The New Auchimau

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Abstract -

In the last decade, the development of mining and forestry industries in the territory of Abitibi-East in central Quebec has brought bands of Indian hunters in close contact with a new economic base. The impact has been felt most strongly in a Cree speaking band, called the Waswanipi. Here, the decline of traditional hunting and trapping, combined with the attraction of the settlements developing around newly established industries has resulted in the total abandonment of Waswanipi Post, the locus of this band for at least 200 years. The thesis discusses recent occupational and geographic shifts of this band. The analysis draws on patron-client theory to suggest an explanation of why the band members chose particular occupational categories and settlements when they deserted Waswanipi Post and fractionalized into five groups.

The New Auchimau:
A Study of Patron-Client Relations Among the Waswanipi Cree

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by

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Professor Roger Krohn has been most helpful in providing valuable criticism of the patron-client approach taken in the thesis. My colleagues on the Cree Project merit a special debt of gratitude. They spent many hours in discussion, commenting on and suggesting refinements to some working papers based on Waswanipi data.

Above all, I wish to express my gratitude to the Waswanipi Indians. Every anthropologist will realize that an acknowledgement of thanks to informants made in a preface always seems to be an inadequate and empty gesture in that

they rarely see the work. It is perhaps enough to state that in my case a cliché may be taken literally: "without the patience, understanding and encouragement of the Waswanipi people, this study would not have been possible."

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I. Introduction

In the last decade, the development of mining and forestry industries in the territory of Abitibi-East in central Quebec has brought bands of Indian hunters in close contact with a new economic base. The impact has been felt most strongly in a Cree-speaking band called the Waswanipi. Here, the "push" away from traditional hunting and trapping caused by declining and uncertain fur income, combined with the "pull" of the attractions of the settlements developing around newly established industries has resulted in the total abandonment of Waswanipi Post, the locus of this band for at least two hundred years. This study discusses recent occupational and geographic shifts of this band. I will offer an analysis which draws on patron-client theory to suggest some explanations of why the band members chose particular occupational categories and settlements when they deserted Waswanipi Post and fractionalized into five groups.

The Waswanipi, a hunting and trapping "administrative band" (Honigmann, 1964:332) of the Abitibi Indian Agency in Amos, Quebec, were for over two centuries the clients of one major patron, the manager of the fur trading company, called "auchimau." Since the mid-1930's, and particularly following the late 1940's, declining income caused

first by the disappearance of the traditional summer employment on the canoe brigades and later the reduced income derived from trapping, forced these Indians to seek new modes of summer employment to maintain even a subsistence level of life. Since the mid-1950's, the colonization and development of the surrounding region by Whites has provided an alternate economic base for the summer season which blended nicely into the traditional annual cycle; a situation similar to that discussed by Van Stone among the Chipewyan Indians (Van Stone, 1960). However, the Hudson's Bay Company (hereafter HBC) Post at Waswanipi was closed in 1965 and the Indians were forced to seek new settlements among the new White "mining towns" and "frontier settlements" (Pothier, 1968:64; Fried, 1963:98) where services and stores were available. This sudden departure of "auchimau" made it imperative that the Waswanipi seek new intermediaries with the White world. The response of the majority of Indians was to try and locate a single individual to handle all intermediary functions; the new "auchimau."

Three generalizations will emerge from the following discussion: 1) the choice of new occupations and settlements seems to have been determined largely by the presence of a substitute for "auchimau;" 2) among the new "auchimaus" or patrons, one can distinguish at least two types, which I will call the general patrons and the specialized patrons, the

former providing all intermediary services with the White world, and the latter limiting themselves to providing only one or two patron services; 3) there is a correlation between the Indian's capacity to operate effectively in the White world and the type of patron he chooses. The more limited his capacity, the more likely he is to choose a general patron.

II. The Traditional Waswanipi Economy - The Role of the HBC

There are about five hundred Indians in the Waswanipi "band." These were subsistence hunters and trappers until very recently, and probably about half the band can still be so classed. The band was probably less than half this size at the beginning of the century,[1] but the area they exploited has not changed. Then, as now, the Waswanipi exploited the fauna of the headwaters of the Broadback, Maicasagi, and Waswanipi Rivers, an area of some 14,000 square miles(see map, page 5). As among neighboring Mistassini and Montagnais, this territory was divided into hunting territories controlled by individual families.

Since the culture of the Waswanipi is almost identical to that of Mistassini, studies of the latter (e.g., Rogers and Rogers, 1959; Rogers, 1963, 1967; Pothier, 1965; Pothier and Chance, 1966) apply in almost every respect to the Waswanipi on such matters as annual cycle, values, material culture, hunting territories, etc. In fact, in matters of economy the Waswanipi closely approximated most groups of sub-arctic Indians. They spent some nine months each year

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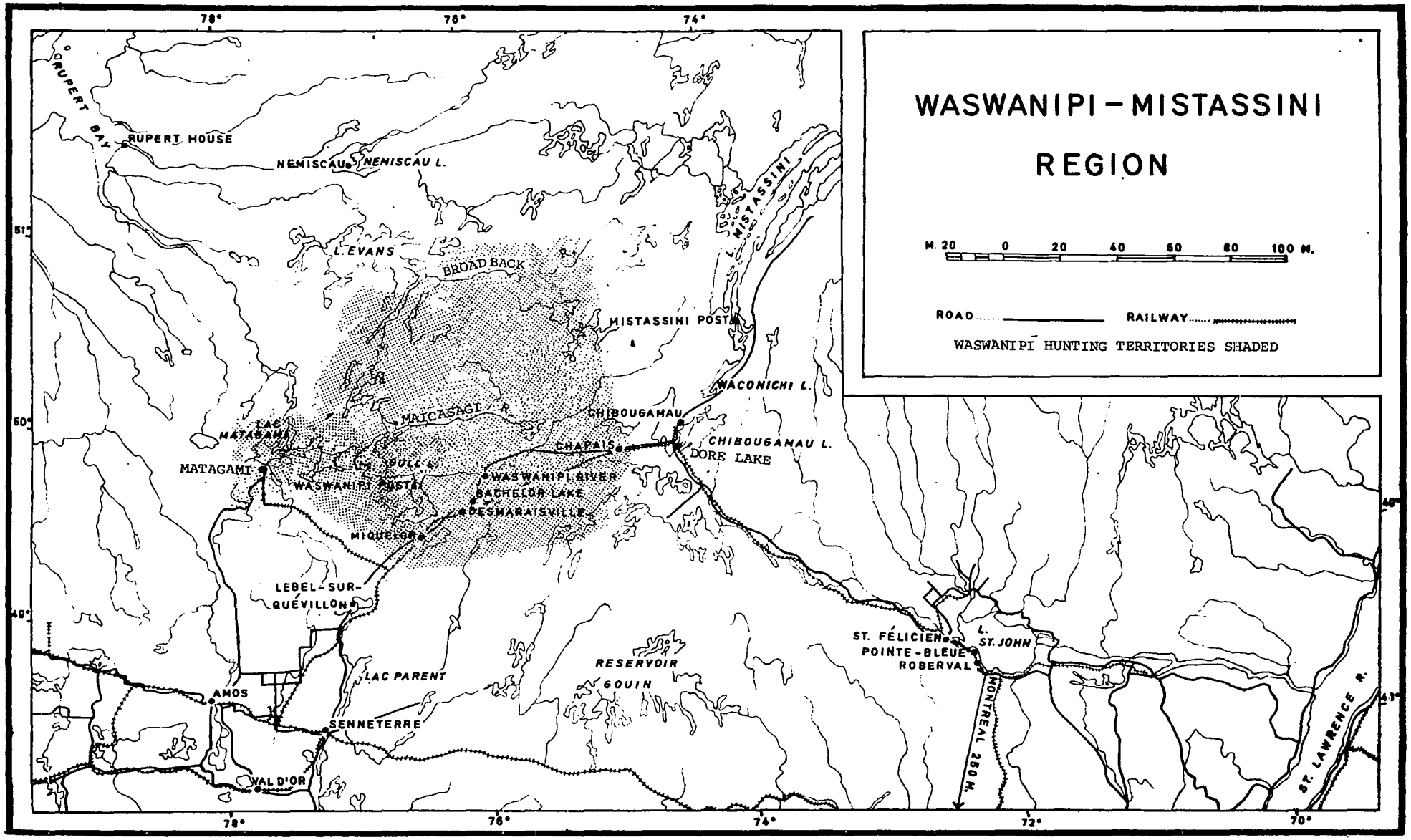
1. H.C. Cooke, of the Canadian Geological Survey, reported that there were "some thirty families" on the Post in the summer of 1915. I estimate that the total population was less than 200.


WASWANIPI – MISTASSINI
REGION
M. 20 0 20 40 60 80 100 M.
ROAD
RAILWAY
WASWANIPI HUNTING TERRITORIES SHADED
78°
76°
74°
72°
70°
51°
50°
49°
48°
47°
RUPERT BAY
RUPERT HOUSE
NEMISCAU
NEMISCAU L.
L. MISTASSINI
L. EVANS
BROAD BACK R.
MISTASSINI POST
WACONICHI L.
MAICASAGI R.
CHIBOUGAMAU
CHIBOUGAMAU L.
CHAPAIS
DORE LAKE
LAC MATAGAMA
MATAGAMI
BULL L.
WASWANIPI POST
WASWANIPI RIVER
BACHELOR LAKE
DESMARAISVILLE
MIQUELON
LEBEL-SUR-QUÉVILLON
LAC PARENT
RESERVOIR GOUIN
AMOS
SENNETERRE
VAL D'OR
ST. FÉLICIEN
POINTE-BLEUE
ROBERVAL
L. ST. JOHN
MONTREAL 250 M.
ST. LAWRENCE R.

hunting and trapping on their isolated hunting territories, living in hunting groups which comprised two or three families; gathering during the summer at a trading post to trade furs, engaged in some work involving transportation of supplies, socialized, contracted marriages, restocked for winter, and while so congregated provided a captive audience for the proselytization ventures of Christian missionaries - Roman Catholic in the nineteenth century and Anglican in the twentieth.

The Waswanipi were nomads whose winter locale was the hunting territory and whose summer locale was Waswanipi Post. The viability of the former depended primarily upon the animals, of the latter upon the HBC. Though the viability of the hunting territory in aboriginal times depended upon animals, for over three centuries the exploitation of the territory in the winter season has been contingent also upon the availability of items from the material culture of the Euro-Canadian economy.[2] The unique source of these goods for the Waswanipi has been the HBC. In 1822 they established a trading post on Waswanipi Lake (Davis, 1963:318), from which developed a symbiosis of Indian and the HBC "auchimau."

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2. Soon after contact, the Indian populations of Eastern Canada quickly became dependent upon trade goods - clothing, traps, tools, and firearms - and thereupon abandoned their own aboriginal tools. Techniques of their production were soon forgotten (see Innis, 1962: 17-20).

> "As for the fur exports required to pay for the imports, the whole organization of an inland post was geared to this one end, the Indians being the primary producers and the rest of us (the HBC Manager and the Post staff) catering to their needs" (Anderson, 1961:91).

The dependence of the Indians on a single source of trade goods arises from the fact that the Waswanipi were living in one of the most remote regions of the sub-arctic. Transportation links to the southern Canadian economy were by canoe brigades until the mid-1930's when the bush plane was introduced. Although roads and railways have penetrated the region in the wake of mining and forestry developments in the last decade, even today the bush plane and canoe still assume major importance. In such a wilderness area, the trading posts were the sole service centres. And they were not numerous. Those closest to Waswanipi were Nemiscau, Mistassini, and Senneterre, all over one hundred miles away and accessable only by difficult canoe routes. The importance of the trading post in such remote regions cannot be overestimated, for if the Company decided to close or move a post as they did in Neosqueskau and Nitchiquon, the band was forced to move to a new summer locale.[3]

The Waswanipi Indian received his trade goods through a system of credit or debt, a system characteristic

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3. See Anderson (1961:53) for details of the closing of these posts.

throughout the sub-arctic. Each fall the Indian trapper went to the HBC Post store where he negociated with the manager for a line of credit, and then took this value in supplies, the debt being paid with the winter catch. Anderson describes the scene in Mistassini in the early years of this century:

> "In September the Indian received his winter outfit or grub stake from the trader. This was important business for the Indian, and the whole family -- husband, wife, and children -- participated in it. Each family took its turn at the trader's store, often taking up as much as a half a day of his time. The extent of the advance, or debt, would depend on the individual trapper and his record of accomplishment. When it had been decided by negotiation with the trader, the amount would be measured out in tokens. Trade tokens -- HBC beaver tokens -- were still in use when I started trading (approximately 1911)...The beaver tokens would be set out in rows on the store counter. If the debt was, say, $200, the tokens would be set out in piles of ten...With time and deliberation and the family council, the Indian would finally set about his shopping. So many piles of coins would be set aside for food, clothing, ammunition, fish nets and twines, not forgetting the all important tobacco. If there was any surplus after the heavy items had been taken care of, he would generously give it to his wife to buy needles, thread, and other housewifely necessities" (1961:105).

The system changed somewhat by mid-century when money was used instead of beaver tokens. The advent of the aeroplane also enabled the HBC manager to visit the hunting group in mid-winter, bringing in extra supplies and picking up the fall catch of furs. The winter rendezvous was arranged with the manager when the Indian left in the fall. The

contact point was located on a map and the Indian provided with a HBC calendar with the date of the visit marked.

The amount of credit extended to the Indian, as Anderson notes, was arrived at through negotiation. Under the circumstances, it was important for the manager to be able to estimate the production capabilities of each individual. A former manager of Waswanipi Post described his role this way. "My main job at the Post was to know to the last cent the credit limit of every Indian, and to make sure that he got that amount of credit each fall." The same manager also described the method of handling a situation when an Indian arrived in the spring with a particularly fortuitous catch. At this moment the man was encouraged to buy a large capital item -- a new canoe, a motor, or a rifle -- and in this way the total income from fur production was expended at the Post store.[4]

The system was also changed by the intervention of the Indian Affairs Branch (hereafter IAB). Beginning in the early 1940's, those individual trappers who required assistance received a "fall ration," consisting of a certain amount of

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4. HBC did have a system of "savings account" whereby surplus earnings were retained by the local post and transferred to an account in Winnipeg. Interest was paid on these accounts, and withdrawals could be made. However, cash withdrawals seem rarely to have been made. Rather, purchases from the store were charged against it. This data comes from Mistassini, where I found that several trappers had accounts - one of which amounted to about $5,000 - a few years ago. My Waswanipi data indicate that savings seem not to have been a general feature there.

food, supplied by the HBC Post to the Indian as part of his fall outfit and paid for by the Government. However, it was still necessary for the Indian to arrange a "debt," for the ration did not cover the requirements of a family for the whole winter.

If the Indian hunter was dependent solely on the auchimau for his "debt" and supplies, the profits of the latter depended on the quantity and quality of the furs produced by his clients. The debt system served as a device for stimulating high fur production and insuring the return of hunters to the same trading post (Tanner, 1965:93). So if the Indian had a poor year his "bad debts were usually struck off and recoverable debts charged off at a certain rate until they were fully paid" (Innis, 1962:374). Or if an Indian lost his canoe and stock through accident or fire, the manager would immediately grubstake him so that his productive capacity would not be lost. Anderson precisely refers to such events, noting that the grubstake "might or might not be repayed, but under normal circumstances the Indians always met their indebtedness" (1961:100). The Governors of the HBC were acutely aware of their dependence on the Indians and of the importance of aiding them in times of distress. The Standing Rules and Regulations (1835) of the HBC make this explicit in Resolution No.39:

> "Resolved, that the Indians be treated with kindness and indulgence, and mild and

> conciliatory means resorted to in order to encourage industry, repress vice, and inculcate morality; that the use of spiritous liquors be gradually discontinued in the few districts in which it is yet indispensable, and that the Indians be liberally supplied with requisite necessaries, particularly with articles of ammunition, whether they have the means of paying for it or not; and that no gentleman in charge of the Districts or Posts be at liberty to alter or vary the standard or usual mode of trade with the Indians, except by special permission of the Council" (McKay, 1936:369; emphasis mine).

Until the methods of transportation changed, the HBC was a very important source of summer employment for the Waswanipi. The canoe brigades required the services of every able-bodied man in the band to take the fur to either Rupert's House or Oskelaneo and bring back the goods required for the trappers for the winter hunt. I was unable to get any accurate figures on the amount of money earned by the Indians. One free trader who worked in the Mistassini-Neosqueskau region answered simply, "We paid them as much as we could," but he then went on to say that the pay was not very high. However, during the absence of the men from the Post, their families received certain perquisites in the form of a weekly ration.

It is likely that these rations were small indeed. A Waswanipi Indian informed me that the "number one ration" which was given to old people or to those in distress consisted of "24 pounds of flour, 3 pounds of lard, 2 1/2 pounds of sugar,

1 1/2 pounds of salt pork, a stick of tobacco (for men only), and a box of matches." This ration was given once a month, "when somebody was awfully hard up and starved." A family was given either a "number two ration," which was double the number one ration, or a "number three ration," depending on the size of the family. The "number three ration" consisted of 50 pounds of flour, 6 pounds of lard, 1 1/2 pounds of tea, 5 pounds of sugar, 5 pounds of salt pork, and 2 pounds of salt, and 2 packages ot tobacco and 2 boxes of matches.

Notwithstanding the meagerness of the wages and the minimal value of the perquisites, it appears that the work on the canoe brigade provided an almost indispensible part of the Indian's economy. Anderson discusses this point (1961:177ff) and concludes that the HBC recognized the importance of this work and was reluctant to introduce the transport of supplies by plane. In any event, it is clear from interviews with the Waswanipi that all the able-bodied men were so employed during the summer until at least the late thirties. Hardship stemming from the loss of jobs at this time is evident in that IAB found it necessary to introduce "fall rations" in 1941. In the same year IAB made the first distribution of relief in the form of second-hand army blankets and soldiers' uniforms to all the residents of the Post.

Further evidence for the importance of the role of the auchimau comes from his position of go-between for most transactions with the outside world. While a few Waswanipi children were away at school in the 1930's, it was he who wrote the letters to the children for the parents, and interpreted the replies. When the IAB began to provide services, the HBC manager formed the communication link with the Agency office. In the last century the HBC had a good deal more control over some aspects of the life on the Post. For example, the presence of the Catholic missionary at Waswanipi was a matter which required the approval of the Company (Carrière, 1957).

The power of the auchimau is somewhat overstressed by Cooke when he suggests that "The Hudson Bay factor is the last resort in all cases. He may and does arbitrarily decide where any man is to hunt in any season" (1915:2). He further claims that the manager could move hunters from one hunting ground to another. Davidson (1928:52) doubts the accuracy of Cooke's claim[5] on the basis that the Waswanipi have a hunting territory system which is similar to other northern bands. He argues that these are patrilineally inherited,

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5. Davidson's statements are based on Cooke's memorandum, but also on other information derived from the missionary Harry Cartlidge, who spent seven or eight summers at Waswanipi Post.

implying that this would be inconsistent with Cooke's statements. Davidson's logic holds, for at present the hunting territories are held by substantially the same families as in 1915, which would scarcely be the case if the HBC were moving people around arbitrarily.

One of Cooke's guides and informants discussed this matter with me, assuring me that the auchimau did not have the power to reappropriate hunting territories, but rather he merely ratified any changes which the Indians themselves decided upon. There is no doubt that if the auchimau suggested a particular course of action his structural position would make his arguments particularly persuasive. For example, at Mistassini Post in 1967, it was evident that many Indians still consulted the manager on all matters of importance -- should the children go to school -- or asked him to arbitrate in disputes, such as the repayment of loans. The manager stated that he discussed and suggested the movement of hunters on different hunting grounds "in accordance with the capabilities of the hunters." The return of Mistassini hunters to the Nitchiquon territory in the past few years clearly followed the suggestion and encouragement of the HBC manager.

We probably have one of the best statements of how the manager saw his role in the following paragraph from

Anderson:

> "My own experience as a trader, coupled with my observation and supervision of others, has led me to liken a successful trader to a happy mother with a brood of children. The successful mother has everything under control. Her children know just how far they can go and no more. Mother's yea is yea and her nay is nay. She is happy with her children and they with her. The weak mother, on the other hand, has no pleasure in her children, for they are always knowingly disobeying her. She threatens to tell Daddy when he comes home, but the children very well know that nothing will come of it. And the result is a disordered and unhappy family. It used to be very much the same with the Indians, or with Eskimos for that matter. Being relatively primitive people, with a childlike naiveté, coupled with not a little cunning, they were quite adept in probing the weak spots in the trader's armour...I believe that your old-time trader developed something of an extra sense in dealing with his native customers. Or it might be applied psychology" (1961:142).

III. The Parameters of Choice

From such a background the Waswanipi Indians were suddenly propelled into the industrial economy of the twentieth century. From the time of Euro-Canadian contact, until the mid-twentieth century, the Waswanipi were able to maintain an almost "autonomous cultural system," requiring only a few items from the material culture of the larger Canadian society to maintain them. These items were obtained by exchanging furs, the only product capable of being produced in the environment at the level of technology possessed by the Waswanipi. When income produced by that commodity dropped to the point where items required from the Euro-Canadian culture could no longer be exchanged, some major changes were required in the system. For a while, perhaps until the mid-1950's, special fall rations issued by IAB were sufficient to maintain a subsistence economy although it was precarious. The situation was alleviated to some extent when economic and industrial development in the surrounding region created a demand for labourers during the summer months. For a few years around a decade ago, this summer employment substituted for the former income earned on the canoe brigade. Though wages were not high, the location of the work permitted some subsistence economy and the

scheduling of the work fitted nicely into the traditional annual cycle.

From the mid-1950's until 1965 the range of summer jobs gradually expanded, and by that year some year-round employment opportunities became available.

Before discussing what the Waswanipi did, it will be useful to have a brief outline of the characteristics of each major job category open to them. In this discussion all employment opportunities of the region are not treated, for some are closed to the Indians, e.g., store clerks, garage mechanics, taxi drivers, etc. I am including pulp cutting operations, sawmill work, commercial fisheries, mineral exploration, guiding, mining, and trapping. At least a few Indians work in each category.

Pulp Cutting Operations: There are many types of work available in pulp cutting operations. Though over sixty percent of the men employed in the industry work as pulp cutters, there is a variety of skilled and unskilled jobs available as machine operators, pulp loaders, truck drivers, scalers, office staff, bunkhouse and kitchen staff, etc., but so far the Indians have worked almost exclusively at pulp cutting. Men working on pulp cutting are paid on a piecework basis, that is, about $6.50 per cord of pulp cut. The work pace is permissive, and a man can work those hours or days he wishes. Interaction with Whites is not required except for a

few minutes a week, the cutting areas of Whites and Indians being segregated. The only necessary skill is that of operating a chain saw, which can be acquired in a few days. It is possible to work on pulp cutting as a family team, with each member of the family contributing his labour to a common purpose. During 1965 and 1966 about one-third of the Indian pulp cutters had the members of their nuclear family working with them.

The capital equipment required for pulp cutting is minimally a chainsaw, worth $230, and a few other tools and special clothing, the cost of which is about $50. There are no by-products from pulp cutting which can contribute to subsistence, so all food must be purchased at the store. For a short period fish netted in Bachelor Lake provided some substantial subsistence. However, the lake was soon fished out.

Though White lumberjacks earn from $20 to over $30 a day as pulp cutters, the Indians, even with the help of members of the nuclear family, averaged only about $10 a day in 1966 (see Table I, page 19). This is due in part to irregular work days (they miss many days), but it can also be attributed to discrimination in the assignment of cutting areas. The Indians invariably get what they call "bad bush," that is, areas that have rugged or swampy terrain, small trees or sparse growth. The Whites refuse to cut these areas, and since the operator of the pulp camp is required by his contract to cut all the trees in a given area, he must either

TABLE I

Income from Pulp Cutting, June - Sept. 1965
15 Waswanipi Indians*

	Individual	Gross Income
	A	$ 685
	B	1,023
	C	786
	D	1,204
	E	602
	F	466
	G	682
	H	1,082
	I	620
	J	789
	K	411
	L	1,087
	M	430
	N	430
	O	1,400
TOTALS	15	$11,697

Average Income per Man $779.80

Working Days - approximately 80

Average Income per Day $ 10.00

* Sample includes about 80% of pulp cutters and is limited to those on whom data is complete.

pay Whites at a higher rate per cord to do this work or try to distribute "bad bush" among his work gang, a little to each man. The latter course is always a contentious one and is the cause of many arguments between the wood cutters and the woods foreman (the man who assigns cutting areas to the lumberjacks). The Indians have accepted cutting these inferior areas almost unquestioningly, so naturally the majority of their cutting areas comprise "bad bush." Other jobs connected with pulp cutting operations are paid on an hourly basis. They require more skills, and so far only two Indians have been so employed.

Since 1966, pulp cutting operations have been carried out on a year round basis at Bachelor Lake, and Waswanipi Indians now have steady wage employment as an alternative to trapping.

Sawmills: There is only one sawmill in the area which hires Indians. It is a small operation which operates irregularly year round. The few Indians who work there from time to time do semi-skilled work putting lumber through machines. On occasion a few extra Indians are hired as labourers. In the mill, interaction with Whites is high, since Indians and Whites work side by side. They also live in the same bunkhouse, the Indians leaving their families at the settlement of Waswanipi River in their absence.

Communication, when necessary, is in English with the boss, and broken English and French with the White workers. Pay is low, the rate being $1.10 an hour for a ten-hour day. The operator of the sawmill transports those Indians who work with him to and from Waswanipi River settlement on the week-ends in his car. Occasionally surplus food from the cookhouse is given to the Indians who work there and is sent back to the settlement for the families of the men.

Commercial Fishery: The commercial fishery is operated by IAB and hires Indians exclusively. One may work either as a fisherman on a remote lake or in the plant in Matagami. (See Tanner, 1968, for an account of the fish plant operation in Matagami.) Just before the fishing season opens in June, the IAB personnel visit the settlements and sign on the men who are going to work as fishermen on the lakes. Each of these men is given a ration amounting from $25 to $50 and other perquisites such as a new tent or canvas to cover their canoes. While on the lake fishing, the IAB provides a service of supplying groceries on credit. The income from fishing is low indeed, as indicated by Table II, (page 22). But there are additional rewards in the form of "bush food" (fish and occasional game), which is available at the fish camps. Fishnets are provided for everyone, and motors can be rented by those who do not own them. In the fish plant,

TABLE II

Income from Fishing with Matagami
Indians Fisheries Association - June - September 1966
15 Waswanipi Indians*

Individual	Gross Earnings	Duration of Fishing In Weeks	Average Income Per Week
A	$ 203.90	9	$ 22.76
B	174.07	9	19.34
C	579.38	14	41.16
D	418.95	14	29.92
E	371.72	11	33.79
F	350.23	12	29.18
G	540.70	14	38.33
H	104.00	9	11.55
I	197.61	9	21.95
J	235.95	11	21.45
K	60.98	4	15.24
L	220.07	13	16.92
M	229.66	7	32.80
N	132.81	7	18.97
O	114.28	8	14.28
15	TOTALS		$367.64

Average Gross Income per Fisherman per Week $24.50

Average Gross Income per Fisherman per Day $ 4.08

* Sample includes about 75% of all fishermen and is limited to those on whom data is complete.

workers average about $15 a day during the months from June to October. The operation closes in the winter. Indian-White interaction is almost nil, and any that is required is with the IAB personnel.

Mineral Exploration: Mineral exploration provides jobs for prospectors, line cutters and stakers. These skills are easy to learn, but the Indian's principal advantage over the White is that he knows the bush, doesn't require elaborate camps, can take care of himself in strange territory, and doesn't get lost. His services are therefore actively sought by mineral exploration companies. Usually the Waswanipi make their contacts with these companies or individual prospectors in Matagami or Miquelon. Although they may be hired by a phone call or through a third party who carries the message of a job opening, most Indian men simply wait in their settlement for someone to come to them. The work site can be hundreds of miles from their homes. The pay varies considerably for equivalent work. When hired by the day, it ranges from $10 to $15, plus food. More commonly, payment is on a contract basis, which amounts to piecework. Contract payment for staking is about $10 per claim staked, for line cutting from $25 to $35 per mile, depending on the type of bush. On contracts the income can be as high as $50 a day, though the average is about $20. All mineral exploration work is short

term, with a particular job seldom lasting for more than a few weeks.

Usually the Waswanipi work in teams when doing mineral exploration work and at least one of the team must be able to speak English or French. Practically every adult Waswanipi male considers line cutting and staking as the best kind of work available in the area, and it is certainly their favourite. Some have developed a close friendship with employees of mineral exploration companies, and there is a tendency for the same Indians to be hired by the same man. Frequently Indians speak of the possibility of being able to earn up to $100 a day on line cutting and staking (the Waswanipi categorize the income deriving from various types of employment as the maximum possible per day). However, during 1965 and 1966 the range of income per day from this type of work was from $10 to $20.

Guiding: To get steady employment as a guide, the Waswanipi must live near a tourist outfitter and remain on good terms with him, for it is he who engages the guide for the tourist; or he may go to one of the very remote tourist camps for the whole summer, where he is assured of regular work. This means that he may live either at Miquelon, Waswanipi River, or else leave the area for the entire summer. No more than a half dozen Waswanipi have ever gone to remote

tourist camps in any one summer. At Waswanipi River and Miquelon guiding can be considered lucrative for only a few Indians, who are hired quite regularly. The others who hang around waiting for this kind of work manage to get engagements less than a dozen times a month. In autumn, however, during the few weeks of moose hunting, there are guiding jobs available for practically every able-bodied Indian. During this time most Waswanipi leave whatever job they are engaged in and hire on as moose hunting guides.

Guides earn about $10 a day plus tips (averaging about $15 a week), gifts of liquor, or free drinks. This is one job that only Indians can do and they like the work very much. Frequently the Waswanipi regaled me with stories of White tourists, hopelessly inept in the bush, who were saved from peril by guides. Clearly they enjoyed demonstrating their superiority over Whites in the bush environment.

Of course interaction with the Whites is intense in the guiding situation, and some guides have established a very personal relationship with some of the tourists who return each year. These tourists occasionally send Christmas cards, Christmas presents, or bring special gifts for the families of the guides when they return each summer. In at least one instance, a tourist has taken a member of an Indian family (a teenager) back to the U.S.A. for a year.

Mining: Mining jobs have been available in Chapais since 1957, in Desmaraisville since the early 1960's, and in Matagami since 1963. Until 1966 scarcely a half-dozen Waswanipi Indians were attracted to this type of work. The pay is regular and excellent, monthly earnings for a miner exceeding $500, plus fringe benefits. Aside from two Indians who worked in a Desmaraisville mine for two months in 1965, and two young men who worked at Matagami for a few weeks in 1966, it is only at Chapais that there has been any long-term commitment to mining. Indian-White interaction in mining is intense and the language of work is French, though the language skills required to be functional are minimal. Most Indians have expressed dismay at the prospect of working underground, but surface work is available. The income is slightly less, approximately $425 per month. Those Indians who work in the Chapais mine are required to either buy a house in Chapais or rent an apartment as a condition of their employment.

Trapping: Trapping, the traditional economic occupation of the Waswanipi, has undergone important changes in the last decade. The income has steadily declined due both to scarcity of animals and to low fur prices. Fur incomes in Waswanipi ranged from $400 to $800 for the season 1964-1965. A study of the beaver catch of fifteen trappers in the season

1965-1966 (beaver provides most of the income) shows the average catch was 29 beaver, with a range of 6 to 94. In this year the average income from beaver trapping was about $580, based on an average pelt value of $20. This average scarcely covers the cost of outfitting, which was estimated at $579 for the Mistassini area in the year 1963-1964 (Williamson, 1964:23). However, there is a "hidden income" in trapping in the form of meat from the animals killed. I have been unable to calculate the value of bush food, but on the basis of the averages worked out by Williamson (1964:21) and Rogers (1963:39), 29 beaver provide about 600 pounds of meat which we can conservatively value at 50¢ per pound. This represents an additional income of some $300. However, one should also include the meat from moose, fish, bear, birds, etc., which if one were to use the Mistassini figures, would amount to about 5,000 pounds (a figure which I consider extraordinarily high for the Waswanipi area). Nonetheless, it is reasonable to assume that the value of bush food for the Waswanipi Indians may be as high as $2,000.

However, in order to exploit this "hidden income" the trapper must have a line of credit each fall to outfit for trapping and have a well-stocked store to simplify the complicated process. With the closing of the Post in Waswanipi, the Indians must now travel over a hundred miles south to Senneterre to obtain their specialized stock. Credit facilities are practically mandatory, and it is difficult to arrange credit

other than through a local specialized outfitter such as the HBC. The "fall ration" provided by IAB varies from person to person, but it is approximately $50 per family per month while they are in the bush. This is a sufficient subsidy to enable some people to continue trapping on a subsistence basis.

The pattern of trapping has changed as well. One or more members of the hunting group now must return to a settlement around Christmas to sell their fall catch and purchase additional stock for the rest of the winter. For this reason many hunting groups are reluctant to go to distant trapping grounds, preferring instead to utilize the territory nearer the highway so the midwinter trip will be easier.

Table III (page 29) brings together for comparative purposes, the information presented in these descriptions along with some additional data. It is beyond the scope of this analysis to attempt to interrelate all the dimensions presented in the table to show how they affect the Indian when he is making his job choice. Neither will it be necessary for my analysis to spell out the basis of the typology developed for each factor. In the present context, the table will serve to demonstrate the complexity of the factors involved and the dangers of attempting explanations which consider only a couple of these variables. All the factors do not operate necessarily simultaneously in all cases. In

TABLE III

Parameters and Attributes of Job Choice

Occupation	Income per day	New Skills Level Reqd.	White Interaction	Location	Minimum Capital	Stability	Season	Work Style	Language of Work
Pulp Cutting	$10.00	Few	Low	5 areas, all in bush near Bachelor Lake	Chainsaw	Stable	Year round	Bush	Not Important
Sawmill	$10.00	Some	High	near Waswanipi River	Nil	Unstable	Year round	Industrial	French & English
Commercial Fishing	Less than $5.00	Few	Nil	Remote Lakes	Canoe & Motor	Stable	Summer	Bush	Cree
Fish Plant	$15.00	Few	Low	Matagami	Nil	Fairly Stable	Summer	Modified Industrial	Cree & English
Mineral Exploration	$10.00-20.00*	Some	Medium	Varies, but always bush	Almost Nil	Unstable	Year round Mostly Summer	Bush	English or French
Guiding	$12.00**	Few	High	Miquelon, Waswanipi R., remote camps	Canoe & Motor	Unstable (except in remote camps)	Summer	Bush	English
Mining	$25.00	Many	High	Chapais, Matagami, Desmaraisville	Mining Clothing $50.00	Stable	Year round	Industrial	French
Trapping	See text	Few	Nil	Family hunting territory	Minimum $1,500	Stable	Winter	Bush	Cree

* Plus free food. On contract work the rate is about $25.00 - $30.00 per day.

**Including tips.

some instances a previous choice precludes or limits subsequent courses of action. For example, once an Indian has settled in Waswanipi River or Miquelon, he has no possibility of exploiting the work in the fish plant which is located in Matagami. If he moves there, he finds that in order to go pulp cutting when the plant closes in the fall, he must migrate to a pulp cutting area. Thus the initial decision to settle in a particular location is critical for it limits later possible courses of action.

In the following section I shall discuss some of the factors involved in that initial choice. I will present what I perceived as a general pattern, though there are some individual deviances from it. For example, I will discuss the importance of Indian-White interaction, suggesting that there is a tendency for the Indians to favour those jobs where this interaction is low. According to Table III, Indian-White interaction is "high" in the context of work in sawmills, mining and guiding. Guiding should then be as unpopular as mining. But as I have indicated previously, it is one of the most favoured jobs. In this case we will have to consider, among other factors, work style and new skills required. The work style of guiding is "bush" oriented, an attribute which is favoured by the Indians. It also has many characteristics of the hunt, the "holy occupation" (Speck, 1935: 76) of the Indians. In such work, the guide is in his own

environment, using skills he has developed since childhood. Many Waswanipi told me that guiding was their favourite job because "there is no work involved." Considerations such as these offset the reluctance to work in a situation where interaction with Whites is "high."

It should also be noted that not all the job choices presented in Table III have been open to the Indian over the last decade. Some men worked in certain occupations not included in the table at some period. A few worked as fire rangers during the summers (a job they liked very much) until Whites took over these jobs once the highway was opened. However, since the closing of the Post in 1965 there have been job opportunities in all the categories I have included.

IV. From Hunter to Proletariat

Notwithstanding the availability of summer employment in the region at a time when they needed it, the Waswanipi were nonetheless ill-prepared to exploit the wage labour market. Less than fifteen percent of the adults have been to school. None in the whole Band have completed high school. Even for those with some educational qualifications, their cultural background, differing widely from that of the White majority, made them an object of discrimination. Employers who held stereotyped views of the Indian as a lazy, dirty, unreliable and shiftless type, were not anxious to hire them. Moreover, it was difficult to communicate instructions to them on the job, and those few who knew English well lacked any significant advantage, French being the functional language of the region. (A combination of Anglican missionizing and education gave the Waswanipi English as a second language in this predominantly French region.) The level of language proficiency for adult Waswanipi is presented in Table IV (page 33).

Nor did the Indians fit well into the White communities, living as they did in crowded and "dirty" tents which were an embarrassment to local residents. Job skills were limited largely to those in a uniquely bush setting.

And the Waswanipi were poverty-stricken.

TABLE IV

Language Proficiency of Waswanipi Indians - Speaking

(N - 125)

	No Response		Fluently		Fairly Well		A Few Words		Not At All	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
ENGLISH	3	(2.4)	9	(7.2)	40	(32.0)	56	(44.8)	17	(13.6)
FRENCH	9	(7.2)	1	(0.8)	4	(3.2)	26	(20.8)	85	(68.0)
CREE	0		101	(80.8)	23	(18.4)	0		1	(0.8)

(Source - Cree Culture Change Questionnaire, 1965)

A further disadvantage for the Indian resulted from the difficulty they experienced in interacting with Whites. Sindell (1968) and Wintrob (1968) treat the problems which Indian children have in understanding White interaction patterns. The adults experience the same problems. This is not merely an aspect of racial differences. I refer, rather, to the uneasiness felt by all simple societies in the face of impersonal patterns of interaction (Redfield, 1956; Foster, 1962). Preston observes that the James Bay Cree are reluctant to move to locations of better employment, preferring

"to stay home where, if life is not all that

> they want it to be, at least they know who their neighbours are, how to act and react to the people they meet, and what to expect from the environment. Even among the younger people who have successfully completed a number of years of school, the difficulties of leaving the north appear to be a greater evil than the frustration and incompetence of an Indian who does not know how to make a living in the bush. In sum, the risks of going south (leaving the traditional life) still seem large to most of the people of Rupert's House" (Preston, n.d.:4).

The Indians desire to relate to the White world on a personal basis. This is well demonstrated in that Waswanipi either don't know a White at all, or else he is "my friend." There is no middle ground, no casual acquaintances. Interaction is almost exclusively with those people of whom an Indian can say: "He is my good friend," or "I know that man very good, he is a nice man." But it is questionable whether this affective sentiment is reciprocal. There are ample indications on the part of the White, be he taxi driver, lumberjack, bootlegger, prospector, or tourist, that the "friendship" is viewed more instrumentally. Such "friendship" gives the White the opportunity to exploit a source of cheap labour, or even to acquire access to the sexual favours of the Indian's wife or daughters.

It is not at all surprising that a group which was so completely dependent on the HBC <u>auchimau</u> in the traditional context should experience particular difficulty in moving to a complex society, even for a few months in summer. Nor can the

sudden decision to close the HBC Post be seen in terms other than as a catastrophe, especially for the older people, for its closing not only meant that auchimau had abandoned them, but that the other services at the Post, the nursing station and the church facilities, were closed as well.

Those Waswanipi who began to move to new White settlements in the mid and late 1950's required, even for the summer months, a substitute for the type of services that the HBC auchimau provided them. The discussion in Section V indicates that these services were minimally land, income, credit, and broker. Events show that the Waswanipi sought all these services from the same individual. The first group to spend the summer away from the Post were a few families who began to stay in the Miquelon area in the mid-1950's to be on hand for any job which might become available. It was not a difficult move, for this was the center of their hunting territory, and their winter camp was located a few miles from this new "frontier settlement." This was a kinship-based group, father, sons, and their families, who placed their tents near the house of a White man, who had married an Indian, one of the daughters of this group. This man operated a small tourist business, and incidentally provided some employment in guiding. He was of considerable importance, for he was contacted by prospectors or government surveyors to suggest the names of Indians who might be available as guides or assistants.

None of these Indians who settled on what this White called "my land" worked for a sawmill which was operating at Miquelon. They worked, rather, as guides, line cutters, or stakers, except one summer when they, together with other Indians in Waswanipi, cut out a right-of-way for the railroad. Although this pattern has persisted up to the present, the work is often of short duration. Other work has been available readily in pulp cutting at Bachelor Lake, but very few of the men moved there to work. Throughout this period, most continued to trap in winter and, until the Post closed, utilized the services of the HBC for outfitting and trading furs.

Unfortunately I have no data to indicate the role the White broker mentioned above played in providing credit for the Indians who lived on "his" land. However, it is clear that he is the principal intermediary between IAB and the Indians in this settlement, and for some years for the Indians in other areas as well. At least until 1965 he was perceived as having a very powerful influence on IAB, something which he boasted about, and whether true or not, the Indians saw him in this generalized role, handling welfare cases, beaver quotas and payments, governmental forms relating to sending children to school, etc. They were much impressed that IAB officials consulted with him on each visit and conducted their business from his premises.

By 1965 when the HBC Post closed, the only employment

available in Miquelon was guiding and occasional mineral exploration. The sawmill that had been working in the area closed in 1963. In 1966 a pulp cutting operation opened one mile from the community and this provided employment for a few Indians. Nevertheless, when forced to leave the Post in 1966, most Indians moved to Miquelon.

The second major summer population shift from Waswanipi Post occurred in 1958, when the IAB established a commercial fishing operation. This was an attempt to provide an ancillary economic base for the Indians which would complement the trapping industry. It is a heavily subsidized program with all the major capital, equipment, and organizational facilities being provided by IAB. Indians engaged in commercial fishing took their families to remote lakes for the summer, visiting the Post only during the annual weddings and for a week or so before returning to their hunting territories. IAB provides a complete service for the Indians who are fishing -- grocery deliveries, credit facilities for equipment and food, special rations, etc.

In 1960 a White man came to Waswanipi Bridge to set up a commercial fishing operation on nearby lakes. However, by 1962 he closed down this business and opened a tourist outfitting establishment in its stead. Soon after he arrived a few Indian families settled near him. The Waswanipi had found a man who would provide them with occasional jobs

fishing or guiding, and happily his small store would extend credit to them. He was agreeable to their settling on land which he had leased from the Province, and extended his valuable services in communicating with prospective employers or government officials. In addition, a small sawmill operated at Waswanipi Bridge in 1963 and 1964 before moving on to a nearby location. This provided employment for a few men on an occasional basis.

With the closing of the Post in 1965, a few more families moved to this location, where they now take all the work they can in guiding, at the sawmill, or occasionally in line cutting or prospecting. Some men leave their families in this settlement while they go to work at nearby Bachelor Lake in pulp cutting.

In 1963 the sawmill operator at Miquelon closed his mill and commenced pulp cutting in the Bachelor Lake area. The following year those Indians who were not involved in commercial fishing, guiding, or mineral exploration, sought employment as wood cutters with this entrepreneur. This caused a major exodus from Waswanipi Post, and that summer only about fifteen families remained. The pulp cutters took their families and set up tents near the cutting area. This operator provided them with credit advances, financing for chainsaw purchases, emergency loans, etc. Nor has he objected to the tents being set up on the land beside his bunkhouse or in his cutting areas.

He also helps the Indians fill out government forms and takes time to talk to some of the men. Though there are five other pulp cutting operators in the Waswanipi region, the Indians have worked almost exclusively with this man.

In mid-summer of 1967, the Waswanipi assumed various jobs outlined in Table V (page 40). The distribution given is representative rather than definitive, for there was some mobility between the jobs at various times of the year, even in summer. For example, some of the men listed as having "odd jobs" might be unemployed one week but have fairly steady work for the next month. Similarly, I noted people whom I have classed as "pulp cutters" leaving the Bachelor Lake area for over a week to go to some lake to fish for subsistence. Or a guide might leave his work for a few days to take a line cutting or staking job.

The deployment of the work force changed somewhat in the fall just as fieldwork was ending. Consequently it is difficult to provide accurate estimates of those who went trapping. The best estimate that I can make for 1966-1967 is about fifty percent of the families. However, many did not return to the bush after Christmas. These men stayed around the new settlements waiting for work, many living on government rations. Again, it becomes difficult to classify some people who said that they were trapping, who in fact tended a few traps near one of the settlements. Where is one

TABLE V

Occupations of Adult Waswanipi Males by Location
Summer 1967

	Matagami	Miquelon	Fish Camps	Camp St. Laurent	Waswanipi River	Chapais*	Total	%
Pulp Cutting				16			16	16.8
Sawmill					2		2	2.1
Commercial Fishing	5		14				19	20.0
Fish Plant	7						7	7.4
Mineral Exploration	2	2			1	1	6	6.3
Guiding		2			2		4	4.2
Mining	2					6	8	8.4
Odd Jobs	5	3			1	2	11	11.3
Unemployed	5	7		1	3	3	19	20.0
Other	1				2		3	3.2
TOTALS	27	14	14	17	11	12	95	100.0

* The Indian population of Chapais also includes some James Bay and Mistassini Indians. They are not included in this list. All work in the mine. Percentages do not add to total because of rounding.

to place a widow and her two teen-aged children who spent a part of the winter a few miles from one of the settlements snaring rabbits and setting a few traps? The pattern of trapping certainly is changing, but it is still too early to determine the importance of the trend away from it. A rise in fur prices, for example, could well result in many Waswanipi returning to the bush in the winter and significantly changing the population distribution among the settlements.

What is clear, though, is that now about half the Waswanipi are no longer hunters. Certainly many who are presently dependent on wage labour continue to make occasional sorties to the bush in the winter. Some old people take a few beaver from nearby trapping areas. Others undertake the winter hunt in the traditional manner, but return to the settlements at Christmas to remain there the rest of the winter. None of these are serious commercial ventures and such hunters depend upon "rations," wage labour if available, or other members of the family to assist them. This type of hunting does not even produce enough country food to sustain the group, so there is an increased dependence on store food, which is very expensive in the region.

The young men express a clear preference for involvement in wage labour which produces a cash income. This affects the older men who would like to continue trapping but find it difficult to make up a viable hunting group which ideally

should include young men and women. Thus, older people who would normally be active producers cannot risk the trip to the better hunting grounds which are isolated, for they fear accident and sickness. Their efforts at subsistence hunting near the settlements are perhaps valiant but unproductive.

In a decade the Waswanipi have been transformed from a band of hunters to a landless proletariat. That less than twenty percent of the band live in any one settlement has had a devastating effect on their social structure and cultural integrity. Table VI (page 43) indicates the extent of the fractionalization.

Since the closing of the Post, the Waswanipi have made representations to IAB to have a new reserve established for them in closer proximity to available job opportunities. It must be noted that the fractionalization of the band has made it difficult to exert concerted pressure, particularly when the response from the authorities was negative. However hope continued to be maintained, though in 1966 and 1967 it became evident that there would be no early decision on the matter. Some Indians then constructed more permanent tar paper or scrap plywood shacks in the new settlements. This was done on their own initiative, for IAB would not provide any direct assistance for improved housing (except in one isolated case where an Indian was given special rations totalling about $200 to maintain his family while he was

TABLE VI

Distribution of Waswanipi Band - June 1967

Location	N	% *
Matagami	72	14
Miquelon	86	17
Waswanipi River	63	13
Chapais	54	11
St. Laurent Camp)	86	17
)Bachelor Lake		
Saucier's Camp)	13	3
Fish Camps	72	14
Senneterre	23	5
Gagnon Siding	9	2
Cities throughout Canada	9	2
Unspecified	13	3
TOTAL	500	100

* Percentages do not add to total because of rounding.

working on his house).

By the end of the summer of 1967, my impressions were that many of the Indians who had built houses would stay in that particular settlement even if a reserve were now set aside. Should IAB eventually provide houses for them on such a reserve, they would undoubtedly live in them for at least part of the year, but several expressed to me quite clearly that they preferred to maintain their present shacks as an alternate home. The distribution of Waswanipi Band as presented in Table VI will probably reflect the relative sizes of the groupings for some time to come.

V. The New Auchimau

In this section, I will look at the kind of relationships the Waswanipi established with the White world when they moved to the new settlements. Clearly a new relationship had to be forged almost from the beginning. As we saw in Section II, the HBC provided at least four major services. First, the very location of the trading post in the region made possible the exploitation of the hunting territories. In this sense, we can say that the HBC provided the land. Second, credit facilities were made available. Third, the HBC was the sole source of income, both from the sale of furs and work on servicing the Post - canoe brigades, Post day labour, etc. Fourth, the manager was the cultural broker with the White world. At least these four services were immediately required when an Indian moved to one of the new settlements.

The ties between the Waswanipi and the auchimau can be subsumed by the term "patron-client relations." In anthropological literature this term refers to a structural linkage by which a simple society is connected to the market, the national or regional government or the larger society through an affective relationship with an intermediary called a patron. Though discussions of patron-client relations have tended to focus on peasant societies (Wolf, 1956, 1966a; Kenny, 1960,

1962; Pitt-Rivers, 1954; Barth, 1959; Foster, 1963, etc.), at least one study (Paine, 1967) has discussed the relationship between "the Marginal Man" (Dunning, 1959) and the Eskimos or sub-arctic Indians in these terms. At Waswanipi Post, the auchimau filled the role of patron, the "socially or politically or economically superior person in a vertical relation with his social, political, or economic inferior" (Wolf, 1966b: 86). What is important in this case is that auchimau was the sole patron, the social and political and economic superior, and he provided all important intermediary functions for the Indians. In Paine's terms, he filled the roles of patron, middleman, go-between, and broker. I will use the term "general patron" to refer to an intermediary who performs all these functions for the client. This will contrast with "specialized patron" which I will use to refer to one who performs only one or two of these functions.

Before examining the Waswanipi data, it will be helpful to look at some aspects of the patron-client "contract" which emerge from the peasant studies mentioned above. This contract requires two levels of analysis, that pertaining to the individual transaction between patron and client -- for example, the auchimau purchasing furs and selling supplies to an individual Indian in Waswanipi -- and, second, the same transaction can be analysed in the context of the macro-system -- in this case the fur industry in Canada. The first enables us

to analyze the goods and services exchanged to determine "balanced reciprocity" in the micro-system, that is analyze "transactions which stipulate returns of commensurate worth or utility within a finite and narrow period" (Sahlins, 1965: 148); the second involves a comparison of balanced reciprocity in the macro-system in order to establish whether the contract is exploitative. In such an analysis exploitation can be defined as the differential between balanced reciprocity in the micro-system and in the macro-system. If a client considers a contract which can be analyzed as exploitative to be fair exchange, we can conclude that he undoubtedly is unaware of the value of his goods and services in the macro-system. The marginal utility of the goods and services is different in the two systems.

The patron's very considerable advantage in negotiating a contract is that he knows the marginal utility of the goods and services in both the micro and the macro-systems. This he gains from his knowledge of or ability to operate in the macro-system. It is assumed that when a client gains some knowledge of or acquires some ability to operate in the macro-system, he will place a new value on his goods and services, and that this will be reflected in the contract which will be less exploitative. This knowledge and/or ability can be acquired mainly from two types of inputs from the macro-system; first, from formal education or the mass media; second, through

experience. If poverty, illiteracy, or as in the Waswanipi situation, a language barrier, preclude the former, experience will be his only teacher, and this means that his patrons control the inputs. In these circumstances a general patron may enhance his advantage by using his role as broker to interpret the macro-system to the client in such a way as to protect his advantage from any cultural change which may endanger it.

It is paradoxical that while the client can improve his bargaining position by dealing directly with the macro-system, there seems to be a preference among the most disadvantaged clients to seek one general patron which has the effect of most completely isolating them from it. The Waswanipi case provides an interesting comparison with other studies of what happens when a complex society comes in sudden contact with a simple society. The Indians, like many peasants, seek a general patron to "manipulate on his behalf the social and natural processes which he can neither understand nor predict" (Pearse, 1961:201).

As the Waswanipi moved to new settlements and jobs, it is not surprising then to find that they quickly attached themselves to a White entrepreneur. In Miquelon, he is the owner of a small tourist establishment, married to an Indian. At Bachelor Lake, he is the pulp operator; while at Waswanipi River, he is another tourist outfitter. In Chapais, the

mine manager's influence is not so much in evidence, but he nevertheless serves as a key behind-the-scenes figure. In Matagami and at the fish camps, the Waswanipi are dependent on the IAB commercial fisheries operation - a "co-operative" operated by White government officials. Each serves as the important new auchimau or patron for the Waswanipi.

These new patrons have several attributes in common. They all speak English and French. All can provide jobs either directly or through influence. All control, or have influence in the administration of land used by the Indian. If unable to provide credit directly, they have influence on those who grant it. However, the manner in which the new patrons serve their clients differs considerably.

The Chapais mine manager is a specialized patron. He originally hired Indian labour for the mine out of a sense of obligation to some Waswanipi whose hunting territories were destroyed when the mine was established. From the beginning he has insisted that Indians working in the mine live in town in company houses on the same terms as members of the White community and develop normal business relationships. Indians resident in the town are aware of his power and potential bargaining position with IAB. Although they try to involve him in particular cases, he seems to have followed a pattern of remaining in the background, forcing them to act on their own, while lending the weight of his

support.

In contrast, the new patron in Miquelon seeks to be a broker for the Indians and tries even to monopolize all dealings with IAB and other Whites. When IAB officials come to visit the Indians in this settlement they first call on this man and all business is conducted from one of his cabins. In addition to consultations on welfare and other matters, he often serves in a quasi-official capacity, including the obtaining of parents' signatures permitting children to be sent to residential school and collecting beaver pelts for IAB.[5] Prior to 1960 this patron frequently suggested names of Indians to prospectors until the Indians themselves gained a certain reputation. In later years his business has provided employment for three or four guides at the most, and now he is not considered as important in getting a job. However, there is strong evidence that he was the general patron prior to 1965. His popularity fell only after he tried to influence IAB to locate the new reserve on land not favoured by the Indians, but on which he held mineral rights. Clearly there is evidence that he was using his influence with IAB to maintain control over the Indians.

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5. This occurred when beaver was on a quota system and purchases were controlled by the Province, which worked through IAB in the Waswanipi area. The system changed to free trading in the winter of 1966-67, but the quota of beaver still must be negotiated with a government official.

The White man at Waswanipi River enjoys a very high paternalistic image in the eyes of the Waswanipi. This small entrepreneur provides credit for Indians in his store, runs a relatively cheap trucking and taxi service for Indians, and hires guides and occasional labour for his tourist establishment. Speaking English, he serves also as an important intermediary between Indians and the White world. Of all the new patrons in the region he is the closest to the Indians. Indeed he is sufficiently respected to be a part of the gossip chain. He encourages the Indians to improve their economic base and housing and chides those who drink too much or spend money in a profligate manner. He has been active in seeking jobs for Indians and arranging meetings with potential employers. In general the Indians at this settlement consult him on any matters of importance which refer to interaction with Whites or relations with IAB. Indian houses are on land which he has leased from the Province. They chose it in preference to adjacent Crown land, and sought his permission to build. He did not encourage them, but permitted the settlement when they told him that they felt more secure on his property.

For this patron, the advantages of having an Indian clientele are fairly obvious. He is the sole White resident in Waswanipi River and he requires guides, occasional labour, etc. It would be difficult for him to operate his tourist business without an ample supply of cheap stand-by guides and

labourers. Moreover, Indian customers probably account for well over one-half of the business in his small store.

The primary role of the patron at Bachelor Lake was to provide jobs for the Waswanipi. They looked to him for work in 1964 along with necessary credit advances. He arranged to give to each Indian on his books the amount of $30 each week, primarily for food purchases, regardless of the number of days worked or cords of wood cut. Since a chainsaw is indispensable for pulp cutting, he also arranged for groups of three Indians to purchase jointly a saw "on time." His manner of operation was very similar to the HBC. He outfitted the Indians for pulp cutting and deducted the charges from their piecework earnings. He frequently assisted the Indians in matters of unemployment insurance claims and similar dealings with government departments other than IAB. He provided emergency loans in times of illness. Though there were other pulp cutting operations in the Bachelor Lake area, all but two families worked for him until 1966. Those not working were reported to have been fired as drunkards and troublemakers.

Indians were an attractive labour force for the pulp operator. He had to provide accomodation and meals for itinerant woodcutters who made up his labour force. Feeding and housing men in an isolated area is an expensive proposition, and though the men pay a small amount for the services, the operator claimed that in 1965 he had to absorb an expense of

about $1.25 per man per day even after he received a government subsidy. The Indians were an asset, for they lived in their own tents and ate at home. In 1966 and 1967, the Indians began to get some advantage from the subsidized meals (55 cents a meal for hearty lumberman's fare) when enlarged dining facilities were opened. I have already discussed the other obvious advantage of having a labour force on which "bad bush" can be pawned.

During the summer of 1966 the special services of this pulp operator gradually terminated. Loans were no longer granted after several hundred dollars in unpaid bills were left outstanding. Cash advances on wood to be cut were terminated as well. The pressures of business left the operator with less time to deal with the Indians directly and they seldom saw him. Complaints about "bad bush" gradually increased, and in the autumn of 1966, the majority left this settlement and migrated some fifteen miles to another pulp operation where the operator offered them special privileges such as their "own" cutting area (both good and bad bush), a special location on which to pitch their tents, a line of credit in his own kitchen stores, and some personal attention. It is noteworthy that prior to this none of the other operations offered these "extras" and none attracted Indians.

The patron functions performed by the IAB personnel directing the commercial fisheries operation most closely approximate those formerly offered by the HBC. They provide

a job, credit facilities and land (in the sense that the HBC did), as well as total broker services. The fishing "co-operative" is a sort of institutionalized general patron. This co-operative, if it is the most paternalistic of the new patrons, is also the most successful in isolating the Indian from any contact with the White world.

A few Indians who have settled in Matagami are under the general patronage of the IAB fisheries personnel, though they don't work for the co-operative. One of these is an incipient Indian patron who does contract work in mineral exploration. He is helped by IAB in such matters as accounting, business advice, etc. Tanner (1968) reports that there are also a few such individuals in Dore Lake near Chibougamau. At the moment it appears that other Indian patrons could emerge, providing specific employment services, though they are nevertheless pressured by the Indians to fill the role of general patron.

In choosing new settlements and employment opportunities, it is clear that the Waswanipi tend almost exclusively to settle on land owned or controlled by a White man who is perceived as a general patron. They literally settled on the patron's doorsteps. Since the Waswanipi speak English as a second language, it is not surprising that in each case the patron speaks English. Though always perceived as an economic figure, the patron does not seem to have been chosen

on the basis of his economic power alone. Certainly there were more powerful employers who might be considered as potential patrons. The Waswanipi have also sought to have one patron handle all their business with the White world -- transactions with IAB, Income Tax, Unemployment Insurance, welfare payments, etc. The poverty of the Waswanipi demanded that they have access to someone who could provide credit facilities and financial assistance to substitute for the HBC.

A significant feature of the regional settlement pattern is that no Indians live in Desmaraisville. This is a small "frontier settlement" (Pothier, 1968) between Waswanipi River and Miquelon near a small mine. There are two potential patrons in this settlement: the mine manager and the owner of a small store. The Indians received no overt offers of employment from the operators of the Desmaraisville mine as they did in Chapais and Matagami. This is scant evidence, but it is an indication that the Waswanipi have waited for a potential patron to make the first move, or at least reinforce their initiative. An inference may also be drawn from a story related by several informants, both Indian and White (which I could not substantiate). It was reported that the mineral "showings" or "find" which resulted in the opening of the Desmaraisville mine were discovered by an Indian who passed the information on to the present owner in the expectation of

a reward. I was told that he was given about $1,000 cash for his effort, which the Indians considered to be grossly inadequate in view of the subsequent value of the information. They felt that he had been "cheated." Whether or not the story has basis in fact, it indicates that the Waswanipi did not trust this man, and seems to explain why they did not approach him as a patron.

The owner of the small Desmaraisville store does not give credit to the Indians, though they have requested it on many occasions. There is also a suggestion that there may have been some negative experiences with this potential patron as well. This is inferred from the Cree name used in referring to him. He is called Tschkamaboon chenoo, which is translated as "forked old man" or "crooked old man."

Also important to note is that those Waswanipi who are operating without the services of a single general patron all are products of the school system. All speak English and have been in residential schools for at least a few years. They are "modern," described by their elders in phrases like "they are like White men; they don't keep the Indian things."

The disadvantages of the Indian are manifold as he moves into the Euro-Canadian society. He is a member of a minority group who is discriminated against in the region. He speaks a language which Whites cannot understand, and the

language he has been taught in order to operate in the White world - English - is not functional in the French-speaking region in which he lives. His cultural background and his preference for interpersonal relations combine to make interaction with the White industrial society almost impossible. Practically all Indians are functionally illiterate in the language of the region. They are landless, and lack the capital resources and job skills which the industrial society demands. There is a limited outlet for the skills of their profession as hunters and trappers which are now becoming non-viable. The economic forces which have demanded their relocation have largely limited their choice of employment to the unskilled labour market. Their desire to seek strong "general" patrons in these circumstances is understandable, and its implications are of great importance.

In the short run this dependence on a general patron probably serves the Indian well. When forced to relocate, he was unprepared for the shift to the forestry and mining industries. The patrons have provided jobs and some protection and guidance in this initial stage. They filled a vacuum. However, continued dependence on general patrons leave the Indian in an essentially static position. Unless he has the opportunity to learn how to operate in the larger White society, his position will remain marginal. For example, employment in the forestry industry at a level above that of

hewer of wood necessitates learning French, establishing meaningful relations with Whites, and acquiring skills as machine operators, office personnel or mechanics, etc., to list only a few of the most obvious requirements. These he will not learn quickly if he limits his contact primarily to a general patron.

The case of the Indians in Chapais demonstrates the importance of having a wider selection of patrons. While in the beginning the mine manager assumed the role of a general patron, he quickly forced the Indians to seek other more specialized patrons by insisting that they deal with the regular mine officials and town authorities themselves, and that they establish their own commercial contacts in town. This is in contrast to Matagami, where the IAB acts as general broker for the Indians on all matters such as job placement, political negotiations and the commercial aspects of the "co-operative."

A major distinction must be made between the Indians who are now coming through the school system and those adults who have had little or no schooling. The younger Indians learn much of White interaction patterns in school and are thus better prepared for life in an industrial society. The majority of the adult population, however, lack this preparation. They will acquire some ability to operate in the Euro-Canadian society only through direct interaction with the White world or

through specialized adaptive programmes which are non-paternalistic.

Recent trends in Waswanipi indicate that the Indian, by becoming client to a general patron, has limited his potential occupational and geographic mobility. To progress beyond these limitations he will have to establish relationships with more specialized patrons. The speed at which the Waswanipi can accomplish this depends in large part on the development of specialized programmes designed to teach the Indian how to operate in the broader world around him. IAB efforts such as training an Indian in the operation of a bulldozer or other technical skills are not enough.

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