THE UNIVERSITY OF MANITOBA

SPECIALIZATION AMONG THE NORTHERN OJIBWA

A PARADIGMATIC PROCESS

by

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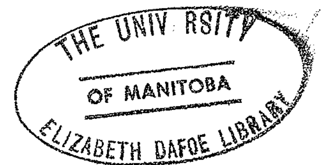

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INTRODUCTION

This thesis is concerned with the Northern Ojibwa as a whole, in which the Bloodvein River will serve as a representative community. The Bloodvein community, then, will not be treated as geographically confined by the territory known as "the reserve", with its accompanying traplines. Nor will it exclude non-native individuals, who are either resident or those non-resident individuals who have become a part of the community's social alignments.

Northern Ojibwa communities with which the author is well acquainted through numerous personal visits, a few of them extended, are Bloodvein River, Pauingassi, Little Grand Rapids, Hole River and Island Lake, all of which are located east of Lake Winnipeg.

Also under consideration, mainly for purposes of comparison, are the Berens River, Round Lake and Pekangikum communities which have been described by A. I. Hallowell (1942), E. S. Rogers (1962) and R. W. Dunning (1959a) respectively.

The supposed danger for anthropology to become unacademic as a result of applying its categories to existing problems will be ignored here. To run the risk of diluting the discipline seems certainly to be no greater than to live with the reputation that anthropologists are interested mainly in embalming the pristine past. Using insights for purposes of easing human tensions in the difficult processes of cultural change is here regarded as a valid function of anthropologists.

The presupposition that value free investigations exist, is in the first place questionable. Consequently there is no attempt here to mask the biases of this investigation. It is assumed that my own bias is one that is justified in the light of the acknowledged concern for the Indian people whose current struggle is so severe that it threatens their continued existence as a people.

The observations are recorded from a stance of emotional and vocational bias in favor of providing a helpful appraisal of the current cultural throes in which the Indian people find themselves.

The findings of this research appear to point in the direction of a somewhat theoretical, yet empirically verifiable thesis, that continuing specialization for Northern Ojibwa communities represents a threat to their solidarity. It may well be a question whether potential developments of specialization forecast such a socially disruptive force that the community, sensing its impact, will waive the benefits of specialization in favor of retaining traditional solidarity. Thus, without competition from the Indian community, the non-Indians assume their specialized roles without serious reactions from the native members in the community.

Where there is specialization among the Indians, there is intensive interest and involvement in selected aspects of activities to the exclusion of other activities. Assuming, however, that cultivation of the entire range of activities is necessary to make the sustenance of that group viable, it then seems clear that some structure must exist in order to co-ordinate, that is, to link all activities together to prevent disruptive fragmentation.[2]

The present Northern Ojibwa community appears to be faced with the inevitable need of developing both the structures of specialization and a competitive set of solidarity structures in order to exist.

The specialist's activity, functionally indispensible as it is, seldom contributes to the construction and/or retention of the old social network that keeps the community intact. And that is so because the specialist of necessity focuses on a narrow scope of interest and activity. In contrast, the solidarity is retained by those individuals whose interest and concern in one form or another embraces all aspects with the community.

Throughout my formal studies I could not escape the fact that there are mounting problems of adjustments and resulting conflict which are pressing for attention. Rather than ignoring or rejecting them, it is in adaptive response to an acute set of prevailing problems that this study is directed. Should anthropological studies aid students of human behaviour to become more knowledgeable in forecasting future development, then that acumen is regarded as a success. It is hoped that this study will contribute to an increased sensitivity and openness required for greater refinement in ethno-historical studies.

The observer in an Indian reserve situation is put under special stress because visiting or resident "whites" have a long standing reputation of being dominators. "Whites" present in the community are typically prestigious individuals, that is, they are at the top of an authority hierarchy.[3] This tradition itself seriously hampers the "neutrality" of the observer. Always he is forced by the community to make decisions or at least offer opinions, a hazard for any observer.

Despite my own congenial relationship to the Bloodvein River people, I remain aware that the information received from the people must be tested against the possibility of being given to me to satisfy me as a "white" inquirer rather than to accurately describe events and ideas as they are understood by the Northern Ojibwa. The following chapters, then, are a preliminary attempt to understand a single facet of acculturation processes--the development of specialization.

CHAPTER I

THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVE

The Paradigmatic Process

While human groups are probably more easily studied as if in a static state, that is, in terms of what they were prior to obvious acculturation, it seems more essential to this observer to study their culture in terms of what they have become and are becoming. The emphasis, then, will be on the process of cultural change.

In order to facilitate an analysis of cultural change among the Northern Ojibwa, I propose to employ a methodology used in the realm of physical sciences by Thomas S. Kuhn (1962). Kuhn has demonstrated that normal science functions via an unchanging paradigm which governs the work of its investigators until the paradigm itself undergoes a revolution. The explicit theories, rules and assumptions underlying the paradigm are demonstrated to rest with a specific relevant community which is regarded by Kuhn as the "assenting body". In the case of the physical sciences he is pointing to the community of scientists.

My proposal to employ Kuhn's paradigm as a model for culture change was undergirded by the recent paper of Anthony Wallace (1972), who suggests the paradigmatic process as a model for analysis of acculturation processes. He proposes (1972:469) that the notion of a paradigm is not only useful for scholarship, but is in fact operative within human groups per se. In the case of religion Wallace proposes

that it is the prophets of a revitalization movement who begin to lay down a new paradigm. Wallace points to the work of Alfred Kroeber who emphasized the importance of configurations among human cultures.

Further encouragement for the use of the paradigm model came from a proposal by Rushton Colbourn who suggests that the Kuhnian paradigm be employed for purposes of studies in comparative history (Colbourn 1969:175-178).

Besides the similarity of the paradigm to the notion of configuration employed by Kroeber and made more explicit by Ruth Benedict's Patterns of Culture (1934), its useage is also apparent as a concept by subsequent anthropologists, though in different terminology. Ralph Beals is in effect commenting on the relevance of an "assenting body". Beals asserted, although without demonstration, that "the only kinds of introduced changes that become effectively incorporated into a culture, are those that have the support of the people themselves" (1967:229). In his conclusion of the religious acculturation studies among the Yaqui, Edward Spicer, who seems otherwise committed to the notion of cultural fusion or synchretism, comments:

> "However, a complete explanation of the nature of the fusion would depend on further analysis of the situation in terms of the configuration of the Yaqui religious system...as compared with the configuration of the Catholic system" (Spicer 1958:440).

Spicer's idea of religious configuration may well approximate a religious paradigm, even though the restriction of the paradigm to religion bears further examination.

Irwin Press, following Nadel's "constancies of behaviour" concept (Nadel 1957:21), coins his own term "role configuration" (Press 1969:213) to illustrate the paradigmatic process of cultural change.

According to Press, the paradigmatic change is dependent upon innovative action of "culture brokers" who straddle two cultures, the culture in which the culture broker was socialized, the other in which he becomes active. But to be a broker, he must receive at least minimal assent to become innovative, a factor that Talcott Parsons has termed a "mandate" (Parsons 1961:230). If he does not gain this permission to innovate he will be regarded as an intruder (Press 1969:205).

Eleanor Leacock, in providing a theoretical framework for her analysis of band organization, suggests that, "from an evolutionary point of view, social development does not simply involve a series of accumulative changes. Instead, there is the point at which a real transformation is effected, and something qualitatively different has developed" (Leacock 1969:3).

The point that requires emphasis is that cultural change does not appear to come about with the introduction of isolated components, but occurs, if it does, by the replacement of a class of components--a paradigm.

Kuhn has not restricted the useage or the operativeness of the paradigm to an academic community. He himself makes reference to the presence of paradigms within language (Kuhn 1962:23) and language indeed is a form of human behaviour. There is evidence, then, that the notion of a paradigm is typical of behaviour generally, even for the non-scientific community.

Specifically it will be contended here that shared paradigms exist with members of any human group. To the package of the paradigm belong not only random features, but a class of components, which are highly ordered. To extract or replace one of those components threatens

the cohesion of the class. It tends to fracture the paradigm. Any innovations or the threat of innovation induces a crisis. It will be contended further, that significant cultural changes occur not via the innovation of individual components, but whenever the behavioural paradigm is revolutionized. Paradigmatic revolution will occur only at the point where there is a cultural deadlock between traditional and encroaching cultures. The psychologically oriented notions of cultural cohesiveness propounded by Kroeber, Benedict, Linton and Wallace require a further inquiry to demonstrate whether or not the components of the paradigm do in fact have empirical referents.

The conceptual framework adhered to will hold constant the notion of the ethnos in the sense that Frederick Barth holds the ethnic group as constant (Barth 1969). I will try to demonstrate the operativeness of ethnicity of the Ojibwa people through the drastic clash of modernization. That humans behave with reference to a given body(s) of people to which they adhere in one form or the other, will be regarded as a fixed principle. Specifically, then, the innovation of specialization within such a limited body is dependent on the assent of the relevant community which is immediately influenced by the innovation. In this case that relevant body is represented by the Northern Ojibwa.

Specialization

The term specialization will not be treated as though it were a universally applicable criterion. Rather it will be employed relatively. Specialization will mean specialization with reference to the occupational, territorial, temporal and behavioural differentiation that is apparent in the social organization of the encompassing society.

References to minimal specializations observed among the Northern Ojibwa will therefore not accommodate such culturally relevant specializations as their intimate knowledge and detailed differentiation of floral and faunal types.[4]

An argument may even be advanced for the aboriginal hunting and gathering economy as a highly specialized form of subsistence--specialized to the maximum, given the level of technology. With the introduction of European technology, ideology and, not to forget, persons who did the innovating, the very basis of native Northern Ojibwa specialization was fractured, and a new type of specialization based on a new kind of economy was innovated.

Specialization will be examined in terms of the authority system and occupational roles. Less attention will be given to territorial specialization. Some incomplete references will be made to specializations in time, technology, ideology and behavioural form to demonstrate the composite nature of the behavioural paradigm.

The innovator of culture change, usually a representative of a dominant culture, is the "marginal man" or "culture broker". R. W. Dunning, following Park (1928), Stonequist (1937) and Green (1947), has employed this concept of the marginal man in his analysis of the Northern Ojibwa (1959b). The culture broker operates between two cultures having, so to say, membership in both. As such he has a double orientation. Among the Northern Ojibwa he is on the one hand parochially-ethnically oriented; on the other, nationally oriented.

From the point of view of the cultural group experiencing the innovation, the culture broker is an outsider who has gained an entre in their midst. Despite his prestigious status, the culture broker is

a "straddling individual", who "circumvents traditional behavioural expectations and achieves mobility or dual identity in the face of structural rigidity" (Press 1969:207). Always the culture broker's behaviour is fluctuating between marginality and deviancy. Living in two "worlds", as he does, he cannot ever lose his commitment to either one. He has two assenting bodies to affirm his actions. If his orientation becomes weighted overwhelmingly in one direction, he is rejected by the other. Highly specialized brokers among the Northern Ojibwa, who failed to discover means of gaining local assent for their specialized roles, became "top heavy" models for potential Northern Ojibwa behaviour, thereby creating a type of cultural deadlock. The meeting of the dominant and the subordinate cultures represented by the culture broker was frequently, if not always, the basis of such deadlock.

But the modern, sedentary, much enlarged and increasingly specialized reserve community is no longer an autonomous human group. Its political, economic and ideological structures are increasingly becoming interlocked with those of the encompassing industrialized society. Emile Durkheim's (1932, 1947:260) more general "law" of cultural evolution, stating that, "the division of labour varies in direct ratio with the volume and density of societies", appears to be validated by the current acculturation processes of the Northern Ojibwa. His category, "division of labour", however, requires a more generalized interpretation. For purposes of this study, Marion Levy's broader concept "role differentiation" (Levy 1952:299ff) is more applicable, and references to specialization shall denote that wider concept.

Increasing specialization of roles among the Northern Ojibwa

will be treated in three categories:

1. Minimal specialization represents the kind of specialization wherein the primary economic activity is linked with the immediate environment, that is, fishing and trapping. Persons holding minimally specialized roles are "core" members of the Northern Ojibwa, are selected and their roles sustained by the native assenting body.
2. Semi-specialized roles are those created within secondary economic structures. Holders of these roles do not directly convert natural resources into consumption commodities. The store clerk, firetower attendant, carpenter, janitor and chief are examples of individuals holding semi-specialized roles. These are introduced by whites and made possible by a) the sedentary condition and by b) the presence of "surplus" local personnel. The criterion for selecting the personnel is in part non-native and the sustenance of these roles requires the assent of native as well as non-native bodies.
3. Maximum specialization of roles are held almost exclusively by outsiders. These are usually "whites". Doctors, teachers, clergy, nurses, and superintendents are prominent examples. They are sustained economically and ideologically by an outside assenting body. Personnel is selected on non-familistic criteria (Levy 1952:279). Their function and presence requires only minimal assent from the local community.

CHAPTER II

BLOODVEIN RIVER: A COMMUNITY OF THE NORTHERN OJIBWA

Topography

Among the many streams and rivers that empty into Lake Winnipeg, is the miskowisiipi, "blood river", now Bloodvein River. From its source near the Ontario border, the red-coloured Bloodvein makes its way westward through rocky terrain of the Laurentian Shield. Along its course of approximately two hundred miles, about seventy-five rapids require portaging for canoe travellers. Located at the mouth of the Bloodvein River is the Northern Ojibwa community known by legal description as Bloodvein Band--09, Agency 571, Clandeboye; Fisher River District.

The Northern Ojibwa are distinguishable from three other closely related Ojibwa groupings. The Plains Ojibwa, or Bungi (Skinner 1911, 1914, Howard 1965) reside west of the Laurentian Shield, that is, in the open territories where bison hunting became the chief source of livelihood. Settlements of the Plains Ojibwa are found in southwestern Manitoba, then scatter westward through Saskatchewan. One very isolated community is located as far west as Fort St. John, British Columbia. The southwest Chippewa, whose northerly boundary is contiguous with the Northern Ojibwa approximately at the Rainy River, have been described by Hickerson (1962). The eastern Ojibwa have been so designated by Leonard Bloomfield (1959), who wrote the grammar for that region with the aid of

an informant from Walpole Island, Ontario.

The general area presently inhabited by the Northern Ojibwa lies east of Lake Winnipeg. The community in Manitoba lying farthest to the west is Poplar River, and to the north is Island Lake (Hallowell 1938, Wolfart 1971). Areas beyond the northern boundaries are inhabited by the Cree. The southern boundary is formed by the Rainy River.[5] R. W. Dunning extends the eastern boundary all the way to the Ottawa River (1959a).

Cultural descriptions that undergird arguments for the distinctions of groups from each other are based on organizational and settlement variations, natural environmental boundaries and minimal dialectic differences (Wiebe 1969). There are no environmental boundaries within the region inhabited by the Northern Ojibwa.

The physiographic features of the Northern Ojibwa region are typically that of the southwestern border of the Laurentian Shield. The terrain shows numerous outcroppings of glacially rounded granite, the pattern of the glacial movement consistently showing a northwest to southeast action. The inland area to the east is interlaced with numerous small lakes and streams which form part of the Bloodvein River system. Much of the area is low muskeg.

A meagre layer of gray clay soil supports the vegetation between the rock outcroppings. The forest environment consists of black and white spruce, balsam, some jack pine, poplar, birch, some oak and a variety of shrubs. The summer landscape is rich with a variety of berries. The scattered patches of soil are extremely difficult to work but where drainage occurs, and if the soil is worked, it will produce some vegetables.[6] Hunted animals include moose, deer, rabbit, beaver, bear,

muskrat and fox. Moose provides the largest and most desirable meat source. Canada geese and mallards are the favourite birds. Sturgeon, catfish, pickerel, northern pike, saugers, whitefish, tulibees and suckers belong to the fish taken from the river with gill nets.

Transportation and Communication

The Bloodvein River is navigable by canoe and small outboard motor. As such it provides access to the inland community of Little Grand Rapids and as far east as Red Lake, Ontario. Only on very rare occasions, however, have these trips been made in recent times. Via Lake Winnipeg, the Bloodvein people have access to settlements surrounding the lake. Two Northern Ojibwa communities, Hole River, forty miles south, and Berens River, fifty miles north, are occasionally visited by families travelling in outboard-driven yawls. There are three small Metis communities: Rabbit Point, a fish-processing center, seven miles to the north; Matheson Island, twelve miles west and across the hazardous Lake Winnipeg "Narrows"; and Pine Dock, twenty miles to the south.

Access to the outside world is relatively limited, however. The isolation is sustained due to the absence of roads to connect the community with the nearest highways and other settlements. Crossing the twelve-mile span across the Narrows (also called the Channel) by boat is hazardous because of the prominent northwest winds and sudden summer squalls. Travel across the Channel during the winter season is similarly hazardous because of the frequent ice and blizzard conditions. West of the Narrows is the government dock known as "the end of the road". That point is connected by a grit highway with Riverton, the

nearest town sixty-five miles south.

Outboard motors are usually not larger than thirty-three horse-power. Power toboggans are in popular use for fishing, trapping and transportation in general. Both innovations have greatly enhanced transportation possibilities. Unscheduled airplane service provides emergency trips to Pine Falls and Winnipeg. Supplies for both stores are also flown in. One store is supplied by Selkirk Air Service based in Selkirk, the other by Silver Pines Air Service based at Pine Falls, Manitoba. The community has one two-way radio which is hooked up with the Manitoba Telephone System. It is located in the chief's house. Other private two-way radios with specified frequencies are located on the forestry tower, the nursing station and in the residence of the Mennonite minister.

Climate

The climatic descriptions for the nearby community of Berens River were made by Hallowell as follows:

"The average annual temperatures range between seventy-six degrees and a minimum of twenty-one degrees below zero for an annual mean of thirty-one degrees" (Hallowell 1955:21). No comprehensive temperatures have been recorded at Bloodvein River, but Hallowell's figures do not reflect sufficient extremity in temperature ranges. Summer temperatures are known to have ranged above ninety degrees and winter temperatures have dropped as low as fifty degrees below zero. The Bloodvein River and Lake Winnipeg are frozen over for six months of the year; that is, between the middle of November and the middle of May. There is some variation in the time when "freeze-up" and "break-up" occur.

According to Hallowell, the average snowfall for Berens River is 47.4 inches per year (Hallowell 1955:121).

History of the Band

Since the Lake Winnipeg area was among the last regions of Canada to be explored, very little is known about Indian peoples immediately east of Lake Winnipeg prior to 1750. Data about preOjibwa habitation is at best fragmentary. At least two rock paintings within ten miles of the mouth of the Bloodvein River indicate the inhabitations of boreal moose hunters as early as 1000 A.D. (Steinbring and Elias 1968). Unclassified surface finds of projectile points, other stone tools, and pottery gathered on the eastern shoreline of Lake Winnipeg just north of Bloodvein River suggest a possible 3000 B.P. habitation. Older members of Bloodvein River and the inland community of Little Grand Rapids talk about the powanak, "Sioux" who are said to have been in the area to the southeast mewisha, "a long time ago". The presence of Sioux in the southeastern area of Manitoba is noted by Skinner (1911).

Historical data gathered by Hickerson, including earlier records of traders and missionaries, points to a northwest movement of the Ojibwa during the last part of the eighteenth and early part of the nineteenth century. Observations of the Ojibwa are first recorded by the Jesuit, Claude Dablon, at Sault Ste. Marie in 1670 (J.R. 54:133-135). It is generally held that Sault Ste. Marie represents somewhat of a pivotal point from which the various sub-groupings of Ojibwa peoples dispersed. The Northern Ojibwa pushed their way northeast displacing the Cree who surrounded the Hudsons Bay area and regions east of Lake Winnipeg

(Hallowell 1955:114-115). Hallowell documents the arrival of Alexander Henry at the mouth of Winnipeg River. Henry found a Cree village there in 1775 (Hallowell 1955:115).

There are at least several synonyms for the term "Ojibwa". The name "Saulteaux" is the most frequently employed, particularly by A. I. Hallowell, who uses it almost exclusively. The Bloodvein River people do not usually employ the term Ojibwa or Saulteaux in self-reference. Instead they use the term anishinaabek, "the people". Other Northern Ojibwa peoples are known as fellow anishinaabek, but Crees are maskegowak, "muskeg people". Members of the Rabbit Point, Matheson Island and Pine Dock Metis communities are decidedly not anishinaabek either. Recognized as fellow anishinaabek are the bands from Hole River, Little Grand Rapids and Fort Alexander, which also can be classified ethically as Northern Ojibwa.

When treaty No. 3 was signed in 1873, there was no permanent settlement at the mouth of the Bloodvein River. According to the older members of the Bloodvein community, the people were scattered a short distance along the east shores of Lake Winnipeg in the vicinity of East Doghead, a fishing area lying seven miles to the southwest. The former community of East Doghead was regarded as a band during the early 1900's. Frederick Leach, a lay priest of the Roman Catholic church who spent a total of fifty years as a teacher among the Northern Ojibwa, mostly at Bloodvein River, notes in his autobiography that the first chief at Bloodvein River was elected in 1924 or 1925. Leach himself entered that community as its original teacher in 1920 (Leach 1971:16).

George Barker, former chief of the nearby Hole River reserve, originally resided in the Bloodvein area. Barker has written an

information filled autobiography entitled "Life Story of Mr. George Barker" (unpublished). Barker, who was born in 1896 at East Doghead, recalls moving up the Bloodvein River to spend the winter there since the supply of fish and rabbits was good (Barker undated:2). Commenting on the year 1903, Barker points out that "we had no chief on the reserve at that time. There was only one councillor for the whole reserve by the name of John Young" (Barker undated:2). When Leach arrived at Bloodvein River, he was unable to procure public aid from the government to open the new school. The government aid for the construction of the building was unavailable, because, according to the government's rationale, the Indians left for the bush for the winter.

Amateur historian, David Adrian, who spent the summer of 1966 at Bloodvein River, collected the following information of Bloodvein's original inhabitants:

> "Involved in this group of seven according to reports, were only two families. This was firmly asserted in the face of the fact that at least five different names were involved. Three Swift sisters, whose husbands died, Donald Stomach, John Skye, the father of Henry Benson and the father of George Turtle, were they whom fate had spared to build the reservation. The Swift sisters eventually remarried. Donald Stomach changed his name to Green and became the ancestor of most of the Greens on the reservation today. These include the four sons of Joe Norbert, Gabriel Philip and Fred, who is the present chief. John Skye, now John Young, is the ancestor of all the Youngs of Bloodvein. Alex Turtle and his father George, are the descendants of the one survivor of the Turtle family, resident in Bloodvein. The only members of the Benson family in the settlement, are Robert Benson, Florence Orvis, and Mr. and Mrs. Henry Benson.
>
> This accounts for a good part of the population today. Other families have moved in from distant reservations. Dave Fisher, father of George, Felix and Oliver, most likely came from Fisher River, as did Johnny Crate, the father of Jacob Crate. In 1922 Alfred Cook arrived from the Selkirk reservation. John Hamilton, a Cree Indian, and the father of Harry and Harold, came from Cross Lake. From Little Grand Rapids came the Bushies, Tache Dunsford and Alex Green. This does not account for all the families of Bloodvein, but it gives a good indication of the

> origin and growth of the community. Most of the Indians who cannot trace their lineage back to the original settlement, it is said, come from Little Grand Rapids. This seems possible since some of the religious practices still being carried on there are those that were discontinued in Bloodvein around 1945" (Adrian 1966:2).

Adrian was also informed that the Hudsons Bay Company first opened a post at Bloodvein in 1905.

It seems apparent that the Bloodvein people did not exist as a settled community until the early nineteen hundreds, as the memoirs of Barker attest. According to the Department of Indian Affairs, the population for the Bloodvein band in 1917 was 74. The scattered families seemed to lack cohesive organization as they became sedentary. Hallowell (1955:120) indicated that at Berens River "leadership rested on the so-called 'medicine man', those who were reputed to have gained the most power through their dreams from super-human entities, pawaganak, "dream visitors" (1955:121). Hallowell noted further that such individuals were frequently the first 'chiefs' elected to represent the newly constituted 'bands' in their dealings with the Dominion Government" (1955:121).

Most of the people presently residing at Bloodvein River are Northern Ojibwa. Resident "whites" include a store clerk, five school teachers, a Roman Catholic priest and a Mennonite lay minister whose wife is a practical nurse. "Whites" visiting the community more or less regularly are the R.C.M.P. officers, the conservation officers, the Indian agent, the school superintendent and a health supervisor.

The present Bloodvein population is 5.22 times that of 1917. A steady increase continues. In 1959 the population was 202. The band list of July 1972 shows a population of 386. These figures show that

population almost doubled within thirteen years.[7] The average number of living offspring from current fruitful women over forty years of age is 8.92. In 1968, 36% of the population was nine years or younger. 64% were under twenty.

As a whole, Bloodvein's economy is sustained largely by public assistance. A substantial amount of income for several families, however, is gained from extensive fishing, trapping and harvesting of wild rice. Wage labour, when earning projects are introduced, makes up an additional share of the income. For some the food supply is regularly supplemented by some hunting, fishing and as the seasons permit, by the gathering of strawberries, raspberries, saskatoons, blueberries and _mokosominim_, "cranberries".

Occupations of Bloodvein people, as listed in order of importance by Jean Lagasse in 1959 were 1) fishing, 2) trapping, 3) lumbering and 4) rice harvesting (Lagasse 1959:279).

No detailed information was obtained for trapping income. However, Lagasse's study (1959b) of the east central area, including Bloodvein, showed an average annual income of $434.09 per trapper in 1956-7. Lagasse's figures covering comparative annual figures between the years 1953 to 1957 show no increase in trapping income. Typical for all trapping areas of northern Manitoba, is the annual decrease in the number of trappers per community.

In 1958, 3,628 pounds of green wild rice were harvested. The price paid to the picker was 38 cents per pound for a total value of $1,378.64 (Lagasse 1959b:74).