

IN MEMORIAM

SALLY M. WEAVER 1940-1993

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The anthropology community in Canada lost one of its leading figures with the death of Sally M. Weaver, Professor at the University of Waterloo, at her home in Cambridge, Ontario, on May 5, 1993. She died while in the prime of her career, at age 52, from cancer. In this brief obituary I hope to indicate something of the contribution of Sally Weaver to anthropology at Waterloo, in Canada and internationally. Along the way I will provide an anecdote or two on Sally the person who meant so much to all of us.

Weaver was born on August 24, 1940, in Fort Erie, Ontario. Her university education, both undergraduate and graduate, was in anthropology at the University of Toronto. She earned an Honours B.A. in 1963, an M.A. in 1964 and she completed her Ph.D. in 1967. She was the first female to earn a Ph.D. in anthropology from Toronto and, to my knowledge, was the first Canadian woman with an anthropology Ph.D.

I first met Sal in 1965 while we were both Ph.D. students at the University of Toronto. We shared an office in the Borden Building, where Spadina Avenue circles the Connaught Laboratories. We occupied a "cat walk" which had connected the two halves of the building. It was an ideal set-up for two doctoral students—we kept our desks at each end and the electric kettle and instant coffee in the middle. As we relaxed over coffee we could discuss the theoretical issues in anthropology, our common interest in the Iroquois people, their culture and history and gossip about anthropologists in and out of the department.

At the time the Anthropology Department at the University of Toronto was going through one of its cyclical traumas of internal conflict, so Sal and I hid in our office in the Borden Building, removing ourselves from the blood being spilled in Sydney Smith Hall which housed the bulk of the department.

Our major problem was keeping pigeons out of the office when we opened windows on warm days. Sal was looking for a job, and made contact with the University of Waterloo. Most of us at Toronto thought of Kitchener-Waterloo only as a town one had to pass through on the way to theatre at Stratford. Sal took the train (they ran more frequently then) for her job interview, informing her contacts at this end that they could easily spot her. They should look for red hair and a red fox collar on her coat.

She joined the Department of Sociology and Anthropology at Waterloo as its second anthropologist in September 1966. That academic year she completed and defended her thesis on Health Care on the Six Nations Reserve.

At Waterloo Weaver was energetic in developing the anthropology program. We expanded (I was hired as the third anthropologist in September 1967, and two more anthropologists were hired in 1968), instituted a general, then an honours degree and had our own budget by 1970. Weaver became Associate Chair for Anthropology within the combined department in 1975-76 and moved anthropology to fully independent departmental status. Weaver served the department as its first chair from 1976-79.

Weaver also quickly made contributions to the growth of anthropology, and communication among anthropologists, within Canada. She served a term on the Executive of the Canadian Sociology and Anthropology Association from 1970-73. That organization, however, neither had a large anthropology membership nor did it attract many anthropologists to its meetings. Weaver, along with others, saw a need for a separate association for social and cultural anthropology within Canada. She was instrumental in the founding of the Canadian Ethnology Society (now the Canadian Anthropology Society) in 1974. Sal served as President of the organization in 1975-76. As past-President she organized a plenary session on applied anthropology in Canada at the fourth annual Congress of the Canadian Ethnology Society. On May 8, at the 1993 meetings of the Canadian Anthropology Society (CASCA as the CES is now known), Dr. Joan Ryan was awarded the Weaver-Tremblay Prize in Applied Anthropology, the award named in honour of Sally and Adé Tremblay of Laval.

Weaver was frequently asked to serve on panels and boards beyond the university. Among the positions she held were Trustee, National Museums of Canada (1972-78); Member, Program Committee for Canada, International Union of the Anthropological Sciences, XI Congress (1980-83); Member, Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council's Task Force on Native Issues (1982-83); Board Member, United Nations Research Institute for Social Development, Geneva (1985-88); and Board Member, Association for Native Development of the Performing and Visual Arts (1988-91).

A great deal of communication among anthropologists takes place at professional meetings. Here Weaver excelled both from the podium and in infor-

mal interaction with colleagues. At one such meeting in Bloomington, Indiana, I had the opportunity, along with Sal and other anthropologists (including a nun in habit), to take a tour of the Kinsey Sex Institute led by its director, anthropologist Paul Gebhard. I recall Sal's reaction to a papier-mâché phallus half a metre high—"It's just like the mushroom we danced around in Brownies."

To turn to Weaver's scholarly efforts, I see four major thrusts in her career.

The first was in history and politics at the Six Nations Reserve. This grew out of her doctoral research. It produced a number of publications, most notably the revision of her Ph.D. thesis published in 1972 as a monograph in the National Museum of Man's Publications in Ethnology, her chapter on the Six Nations in Vol. 15 of the Smithsonian Institution's *Handbook of North American Indians* (1978) and her chapters (still forthcoming) in *The History of the Indians of Ontario*.

Secondly, Weaver took a brief fling at bibliography in a project where she and I were co-directors. The Canadian Indian Bibliography Project was funded in 1971-72 by grants totalling over \$42,000, not a small sum in 1972 dollars. As co-director of the project I acknowledge its great debt to Weaver in exploiting provincial and federal sources of funds beyond the Canada Council. The result was an annotated bibliography of over 700 pages published by University of Toronto Press in 1974.

A third thrust of Weaver's research carried her into the national arena where she examined the policies of the Federal Government *vis-à-vis* the Native Peoples of Canada. Her anthropological skills allowed her to untangle the exotic tribal behaviour of the Ottawa bureaucrat. Because of the interdisciplinary nature of the research and the cross-disciplinary interest in it, she published some of this work in non-anthropological journals. Reviewers of her recent grant application to the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council (for research she intended to carry out in a forthcoming sabbatical year) attest to the impact of her policy research. One noted, "Her work is widely cited beyond Anthropology," and that Weaver "is known to and well respected by scholars in Political Science, Public Administration, Native Studies, and Law alike." A second simply stated, "Dr. Weaver is demonstrably one of Canada's finest social science researchers."

Her book, *Making Canadian Indian Policy: The Hidden Agenda 1968-70* (University of Toronto Press, 1981) has been widely influential. It dealt with the proposal in a 1969 "White Paper" by the Canadian government to terminate its relationship with Native Peoples. On the 50th anniversary of its aid to publication program, the Social Science Federation selected this monograph as one of the 20 best works in English in the social sciences that the SSF had subsidized. A third anonymous reviewer of Weaver's recent SSHRC application, "not from Weaver's discipline," called this book "still the most important monograph in the field."

The fourth thrust in Weaver's research was the examination of the relationship of the state to indigenous minorities in other settings, specifically Australia (with its Aborigines) and Norway (with the Sami). Her research looked not only at the policies of the government but also at the response of indigenous organizations to these policies. It was while she was pursuing research in Norway that doctors first discovered cancer in her system. Weaver brought the same energy and clarity to her classroom presentations that she exhibited in her written work and conference papers. The only consistent complaint on teaching evaluations from lecture courses was sore hands from having to write too much too fast. Her seminars brought graduate-level performance from even average undergraduate students. University of Waterloo graduates who have gone on to graduate school have been unanimous in praising her seminars as providing superior training for meeting the demands of graduate work in anthropology. While anthropology has no graduate program at Waterloo, Weaver did supervise graduate students in the School of Urban and Regional Planning where she had a joint appointment from 1973 to 1988.

All who have had contact with Sal were almost overwhelmed by the enthusiasm she brought to any task in which she was engaged. Despite the re-emergence of cancer diagnosed in early 1993, she continued, to the best her health would allow, to proceed toward the goals she had developed for her upcoming sabbatical year. She continued to work almost to the end, and in fact submitted an updated vita to the Department at Waterloo a week before her death.

Unlike many anthropologists, possibly reflecting Sally's sound judgment of people, Sally made a good choice in her first spouse. She is survived by her husband of 30 years, Dr. David Weaver, Professor of Mechanical Engineering at McMaster University. At his urging, an award for senior undergraduate students who show promise of following a professional career related to Weaver's interests has been established. Contributions payable to the University of Waterloo, with a note indicating they are for the Sally M. Weaver Award in Anthropology, may be sent to the Department of Anthropology, University of Waterloo.