

## Recensions -- Book Reviews

*Social and Economic change among the Northern Ojibwa.* R.M. DUNNING, University of Toronto Press, 1959, X, 217 pp. 30 plates, 16 line drawings. \$5.50.

Dr. R.W. Dunning in "Social and Economic Change among the Northern Ojibwa" offers a major work and interpretation of the Ojibwa of northern Ontario. This study, the first of its kind to deal so exhaustively with the contemporary socio-economic conditions of an Indian community in the eastern subarctic of North America, is a most welcome and valuable contribution. The following remarks are not meant to detract from the merit and scholarly presentation of the monograph. Nevertheless, a few comments are in order.

Although Dunning claims (footnote page 187) to have had a working knowledge of the Ojibwa language, it is most unfortunate that he did not attempt to employ a consistent system of transcription based on the extensive linguistic work of Bloomfield and others among the Ojibwa and Cree. In addition, the native names for certain plants and animals appear to have been incorrectly translated. Dunning gives *shengop* (page 21) for hemlock and balsam. Cognates of this term are employed to the north and south of Pekangekum for black spruce and a special term is generally used for balsam. Hemlock, on the other hand, does not grow within several hundred miles of Pekangekum. On page 23 the term *numay* is said to mean sucker whereas elsewhere within the eastern subarctic the term is used for sturgeon. It would have considerably improved this section if the Latin names of the species had been inserted. An English name sometimes refers to several different species. The word "pickerel", (page 23), for instance, in northern Ontario refers to *Stizostedion vitreum*, but in many published sources devoted to the study of fish to various species of *Esox*.

There are some technical errors in his description of subsistence activities. "When the ice has formed to a depth of 24 to 36 inches the traps (for beaver) are laid" (page 25). The implication is confusing since the depth of the ice makes no difference in the capture of beaver. Furthermore, although nets are employed for the capture of beaver throughout the eastern subarctic they are of much heavier construction than gill nets (page 26) which would never hold a beaver. Finally as regards the capture of beaver, the Indians of northern Ontario did in the past break into a beaver house by a method called *e-ske*. While the practice has decreased it is to be questioned that it has vanished (page 26). In my experience informants suppress mention of this technique since it is forbidden by law and strong pressures were brought to bear in the past to eliminate various trapping violations.

The problem of land ownership is not clearly presented. Dunning says that the community or band communally owns the land (page 48) but modifies this later (page 105) by excepting the right to trap fur bearing animals. This right was vested in the co-residential group. But on page 55 he states that the co-residential group has had communally owned hunting territories since the first records in 1876. And he further states (page 107) that it is the "...trapping group which ultimately controls rights in use as well as rights of disposal of trapping territory." There seems to be an unnecessary amount of confusion over the owners (band or co-residential group) and what is owned (right of usufruct or the land itself).

Another problem that is not clarified in this work is the use of the term "band." In a footnote on page 153, Dunning suggests that there was no band organization in the past and yet on page 186 he speaks of the "traditional leader of the band." Was there or wasn't there a band? If there was a band in the past it is not fair to use the same word for the present grouping which has altered its character tremendously, as pointed out by Dunning (pages 20, 47, 183-185). If there was no band in the past then the term can be used for the present grouping in the sense employed by the government to mean an administrative unit. But this is not the same as what is meant by the term "band" in the anthropological literature.

A point of some significance in Dunning's study concerns his description of the kinship system. Since the system can be classed as bifurcate collateral as Dunning states (page 47), his quoting of Hallowell to the effect that it is bifurcate merging (page 74) seems out of place. Hallowell employs the term not in its commonly accepted meaning but in a manner that would include many if not all kinship systems found the world over. On page 76 Dunning suggests that the differences in kin terms between Pekangikum and all other Ojibwa groups fit in with the changing structure of the community. But the differences in terms can be more logically explained as dialectic variants. If this is not so it is still difficult to follow his argument that they reflect structural changes. Dunning in his kinship chart (page 110) gives "son-in-law" and "daughter-in-law" terms for the spouse of cross niece and cross nephew respectively. While I do not doubt the validity of this at Pekangikum, it does pose certain problems not examined by Dunning. If bilateral cross-cousin marriage is practiced, as Dunning states, how is it that the spouses of cross nephews and cross nieces are called by affinal terms and consanguinal terms as would be expected? This suggests a changing kinship pattern but no notice is taken of this, although the study deals in part with changing kinship behavior. Another point in kinship is the lack of clarity regarding its extension. Dunning implies that the kinship system from Ego's point of view encompasses the entire group regardless of the distance of genealogical connection (pages 72-73, 199). But in several recorded cases of marriages the third collateral line seems to be the limit (page 116), as among the members of the Trout Lake Band to the north of Pekangikum. Finally, in Table XXV (page 154) four marriages are

listed as between non-relatives, suggesting that Ego does not include all members of the community as kin, either affinal or consanguinal.

Finally, I question Dunning's interpretation of the use of the term "totem" when employed in the phrase quoted (page 82) of a Dear Lake Band informant. Certainly to the east at Round Lake such a statement would be translated as "everyone is my friend or relative," and would not imply that everyone was "brother" as Dunning has done in this case. This would be a minor point except for the fact that it is used to strengthen his argument in favor of the solidarity of brothers.

This leads to a final major consideration of Dunning's argument. Dunning's major thesis is that formerly group size and dispersal were restricted and controlled by the "ecology." With the advent of subsidies and a money economy the ecological controls were no longer operative. There was an increase in population, size of co-residential group, and solidarity between brothers. The increased solidarity between brothers is thought to be shown by the change in residence pattern (page 108) from partial uxorilocal residence to a predominance of virilocal residence. In addition band endogamy came into effect along with band unity and exclusiveness.

Criticism can be made of one point in this argument: Dunning's statement that the solidarity of brothers has become strengthened through the lessening of ecological controls. First, he gives no indication as to what the bond between brothers was in the past. Secondly, he bases the change on the fact that the number of cases of virilocal residence has increased in the past forty years. His use of percentiles (pages 62-63) to show this trend when his number of cases is well below 100 does not seem legitimate. (This comment also applies to the use of percentiles to show changing incidence of cross-cousin marriage, page 151.) Furthermore, he reduces the number of permanent uxorilocal residences by stating that the immigrant husbands had no other choice within the band (page 61). Although this may be true could they not have returned to their natal band? In addition, his figures for the past are as he himself says, "perhaps not quite so accurate." If the data as given by Dunning are treated statistically in a four-fold table the results barely support his contention of significant residence change. If the three immigrant husbands are included or a reduced time span employed there would be no significant change in residence pattern.

<i>Case of Residence</i>			
	past	present	
Uxorilocal Residence	5	3	8
All Forms of Residence	18	62	80
	23	65	88

Chi-square equals 6.0. P equals approx. 0.05 with two degrees of freedom.

Since the numerical changes in residence pattern do not appear to warrant the weight accorded them by Dunning without much more corroborative

data, then the statement (page 208) that "Both residence patterns and camp conflicts reflect the development of... the solidarity of same-sexed siblings" is not substantiated.

The weight of criticism frequently obscures the positive contributions of an ambitious work such as Dr. Dunning's. In spite of the technical errors and a few questionable interpretations, I would again like to stress the value of Dr. Dunning's work. He has brought much clarity, originality, and sound observation to the social and economic organization of the Cree-Ojibwa of the subarctic. His point regarding past residence patterns (page 49) in which the need for continuity of the co-residential group is uppermost in determining residence solves a much misunderstood situation. Another excellent contribution, perhaps the most important, in his discussion of the random nature of cross-cousin marriage (page 154). Other points of value, such as the wealth of detailed information this work contains, could be mentioned. There is no question that Dr. Dunning's work makes a fine contribution to the literature on the Cree-Ojibwa peoples.

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*A Journey from Prince of Wales's Fort in Hudson's Bay to the Northern Ocean 1770, 1770, 1771, 1772.* Camuel HEARNE. Edited with an Introduction by Richard GLOVER. Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada Limited, Publishers 1958. xliii, 301 pp., 6 illustrations, 1 map, \$6.50.

Samuel Hearne was employed between 1769 and 1772 by the Hudson's Bay Company to locate a copper mine that had been reported as existing to the north and west of the Churchill River near the Arctic coast. After two unsuccessful attempts, the explorer, accompanied by Chipewyan Indians, reached the Coppermine River traveling overland across the Barren Grounds from Prince of Wales's Fort at the mouth of the Churchill River. The original edition of Hearne's account of this remarkable feat of exploration was published in 1795 and has long been considered a very rare book. In 1911 the Champlain Society published a limited edition of the journals edited by J.B. Tyrrell and it too is difficult and expensive to obtain. A need thus existed for a readily accessible, up-to-date edition of Hearne's travels, and this scholarly edition by Professor Richard Glover of the University of Manitoba fulfills the requirement admirably.

In his introduction, the editor provides the most detailed biographical information available on Hearne and his discussion of the explorer's early