Two Malecite Family Industries

A Case Study*

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RÉSUMÉ

Les indiens Malécites de la rivière St-Jean, Nouveau-Brunswick, faisaient corps, culturellement, avec les Abénakis des provinces maritimes et de l'Etat du Maine. Ils étaient composés de groupes distincts d'organisation sociale plutôt lâche, et ils vivaient le long des rivières et des côtes. Toutefois, leurs embarcations légères, le genre d'habitation et d'ustensils démontrent bien que ces indiens étaient essentiellement adaptés au type de culture "Woodland". Bien que l'agriculture ait été une activité économique assez importante, elle n'a toutefois jamais conditionné un développement de structures sociales stables et complexes. On peut dire qu'à l'époque de contact initial, ou peut-être même avant tout contact, les indiens Malécites envisageaient leur milieu selon deux régions: l'une qu'on peut appeler le *nucleus* où ils résidaient de façon assez stable, l'autre la *périphérie*, une région connue et bien délimitée, servant à l'exploitation.

Les contacts culturels entre les Européens et les Canadiens d'une part, et les indiens Malécites d'autre part, eurent pour conséquence d'altérer le système écologique de ces derniers. Le *nucleus* (qu'on nomme officiellement "réserve") devint plus stable mais aussi beaucoup plus restreint, et la *périphérie* s'avéra de plus en plus inacessible à l'exploitation.

C'est avec anxiété que les indiens Malécites se sont vus imposer ces restrictions. De fait, la fabrication et la vente de paniers, habituellement en grande demande, ont été grandement réduites puisque l'exploitation du noyer, matière première de cette industrie, se trouvait limitée par l'inaccessibilité grandissante de la périphérie. En même temps, ces régions, ces forêts et les produits qu'on en tirait devinrent pour les indiens une des dimensions importantes dans l'expression de leur "moi".

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Dans cet article, l'industrie du panier est étudiée comme le moyen par lequel les indiens veulent exprimer l'identité de groupe. Et pour en démontrer la fonction, cette industrie est comparée avec celle du baril qui n'offre pas une telle caractéristique.

BACKGROUND

The Malecite Indians form part of a culture group of the Abenakis, most of whom are located in Maine, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia. The latter are part of a widespread grouping of Algonkian speakers in Canada, who may be found throughout the eastern Subarctic and Woodlands. They were primarily hunters and fishermen; however, the Malecite and other Abenakis developed a secondary focus on agriculture which they probably derived from the southern Algonkians or from the Iroquois (Speck, 1926: 286).

There has been considerable standardization in many culture forms of Algonkians through Woodland regions (Cooper, 1938, 1938a; Flannery, 1939; Speck, 1915; Waugh, 1919). Everywhere they were a people essentially at home with a wood technology, and they used wood efficiently, especially in the service of mobility. Their most outstanding vehicle was the highly manoeuverable, light-weight, and portable canoe; seen in relation to the great rivers that mark the area, their mobility makes this widespread standardization reasonable.

A degree of consistency also ran throughout their working with wood: the bark canoe, the bark box, the bark dish and tray, indeed the bark house: all were constructed according to a single principle by which surfaces were created; they thus provide contrast with the technology of Northwest Coast Indians who began with massive wood surfaces which they carved to desired shapes or split to desired plank lengths. The Woodland Algonkian approach to materials was always light and structural, using wood as skeletal material over which a surface was stretched, bending and holding it under stress.

The social organization of the Malecites was based on bilaterally extended families. Kin groups never extended to clans;

they appear to have been absent in all Abenaki groups (Speck, 1935).

A degree of patrilineal emphasis existed, or developed following contact under the influence of the clear definition of the Family Hunting Territorial System (Speck, 1915). Like all Woodland hunters, there was a tendency with the Malecites to develop fluid social forms and usages. Thus, the sizes of families and bands tended to fluctuate with resource patterns, growing small when hunting resources were scarce in one area, and enlarging in another where they had become more plentiful. Correspondingly, rules of residence and marriage preference were not strongly developed, and political organizations were not clearly structured (Hsu, 1959). Band chiefs exist today who have nominal authority over far greater numbers than they could have marshalled under a system of authority during the past century and beyond. The winter community was invariably small and, while larger aggregates existed at other seasons, the Malecite did not come together, as did Plainsmen, to form large and cohesive units. Chiefs were, then, good hunters, arbitrators, tending to be senior but not old, and they commanded little power even within the attenuated range in which it was applicable. Similarly, no priesthood, nor organization of shamans, marked the Malecite or other Abenakis. These absences, coupled with the absence of clearly defined unilinear systems, indicate the lack of influence of their agriculture to stabilize groups, thus permitting them to settle down and to assume cohesive forms. This, in part, can be explained by the geographical disposition of the Malecite in that transition zone of the 100 frost-free days required between planting and maturing corn (Byers, 1946: 11). It is also probable, however, that the early settling of French traders in Acadia was an important factor in maintaining interest in hunting (and its extensions into a system of trapping) rather than in Farming. Contact did, however, stimulate some wheat and vegetable gardening, and a fairly rigid hunting territorial system, based on individual and family holdings, took effect, or at least became clearly defined, in relation to trade with European settlers (Speck and Hadlock, 1946). It is also probable that contact-influenced concepts of ownership and jealousies over territories (reflected here as elsewhere in the Algonkian world in the function of the shaman as

boundary protector) did little to produce the cohesion of groups larger than families with their close kindred.

Three periods can be roughly defined to indicate the extent to which the territorial base of this group has changed during the last two centuries. The first period, corresponding to the mid-eighteenth century, is reflected in the work of Lahontan for the area as a whole including Quebec (1703: 49-64, 90, 339) and in Gyles' report of his extended contact with the Malecite (1736). Held captive at Meductec, below the present Woodstock, Gyles travelled with his captors throughout Maine, New Brunswick, and Quebec in search of migratory game. While evident from his reports that the group took pains to return to its base for planting and harvesting, it is also clear that they travelled extensively and freely. Thus, we gain the conceptions here, as elsewhere, that the whole area involved a *nucleus** and a *periphery,* the former occupied by the entire group, the latter being traversed by adult men and boys-in-training in search of game, or others collecting raw materials. The peripheries of the area, however, become well-defined with the establishment of the Hunting Territorial System.

A second period marks change that reflects a substantial shrinkage of the peripheral aspects of territories although the Hunting Territorial System was probably still effective, since Speck and Hadlock were able in 1946 to outline family holdings throughout the St. John River. However, it is clear from Moses Perley's survey of the St. John River Indians in 1840 (Perley, 1842) that numerous White settlers had arrived, and were farming. At the same time, some groups, especially those at Tobique Point, had settled down to regular salmon fishing on a large scale, while others had taken up mixed gardening, in which they grew wheat and some potatoes. Evidence from my older informants establishes that the hunting of migratory animals, which normally would carry hunting groups very far afield, had become considerably attenuated. Grandparents of informants, whose ages

* By nucleus I am referring to the unsegmented community or any extended family group within it. For purposes of discussion, and because of the nature of Woodland Algonkian communities, either may be used.

range from fifty to seventy-five years, were involved in a number of subsistence activities, only one of which was hunting large game; there was greater emphasis on winter trapping and summer fishing. By the middle of the nineteenth century the dispositions of the Malecite at discontinuous locations along the River were further consolidated by Government recognition of such locations as officially Indian reserves. This did not, however, take into account the extensions of these reserves into their peripheries. The locations of the reserves, then, were in part valid in regard to tradition, and in part involved arbitrary cut-off points at the official limits.

The third period of the dispositions of the Malecite is contemporary; this is the Indian Affairs Census of bands and maps of the reserves that may be consulted at agency offices. Here one may discover their specific locations at five major points along the River. These are now clearly delimited, most of them being about one-quarter mile wide, although the northern-most reserve is much larger. At the same time, there is no recall whatever of any family hunting territories even though they are known by ethnologists to have existed.

Today there are about twelve hundred Malecite Indians, most of whom live at five well established locations, or reserves, along the St. John River in New Brunswick. In their homes most speak their own language. Although small in respective numbers, their reserves are well known in the region, and the people of the towns and cities which they are near manifest differing, although generally stereotyped, attitudes toward them. In their turn, the Indians typically orient their economic activities toward the surrounding Canadian or nearby American rural and urban areas. The two southernmost reserves are themselves part of a town and a city; the third is situated in the country, fifteen miles up the river from a city of about 20,000; the fourth is below a town of about 4,000; and the fifth, six miles above a small town. The last two are less than twenty-five miles from an American town and an American city, respectively, in Maine.

Each reserve has an elected chief, and one council member may be elected for each one hundred persons in the band. Chiefs range in age from about thirty-five to fifty, which is within the

modal range of Micmac chiefs in New Brunswick and Nova Scotia; council members are predominantly, but not exclusively, male.

There are varying degrees of political effectiveness of chiefs and councils within contemporary reserves. On the northernmost reserve, which is one of the larger with a population of about four hundred, the office of chief appears to be the most effective, as shown by the number of projects instigated and controlled by the chief and council: the large council hall built from band funds, the several voluntary associations and committees that are sponsored by chief and council or in which members of the council hold executive positions. On the other reserves chiefs tend to act mainly as intermediaries between band members and the agency office.

Kinship is bilateral, tending slightly toward matrilocal clusterings as indicated by some dislocation of grooms rather than brides in between-reserve marriages. Obligations toward kinsmen are marked in many areas of activity, tending to render universalistic orientations difficult to apply, especially when chiefs and councils are required to act in accordance with such orientations. Thus, the principles of political obligation and kin obligation tend to be at variance, but in theory they maintain separate categories of discourse among Malecites.

Men are highly mobile, and women less so. Visiting occurs over a wide range of territory and connects most of the Malecite reserves; even more frequent are visits between the northern Malecite groups and their Penobscot, Passamaquoddy, and Micmac neighbours, roughly in that order of frequency and duration. These visits, involving both men and women, and often whole families, usually are kin-determined, but baseball teams also frequently visit related reserves.

Economic activities are fractionated into a number of discreet spheres, of which most are seasonal. Manifestly seasonal activities are fiddlehead gathering in the spring, seed cutting for potato farmers on the northern reserves, construction work on roads and buildings during the summer, blueberry raking, some raspberry picking during later summer, and potato picking on a large

scale involving all reserves for four to six weeks in September and October. Craft industries are numerous on the middle and northern reserves. Potato baskets come into a large demand by local and American farmers during July and August. Although most active during summer, some potato basket makers continue work throughout the winter, selling at a reduced price. The same conditions apply to the "fancy" basket industry, although it tends to be more continuous during the year and undergoes a considerable upsurge prior to Christmas. There is much overall variation in the patterns of subsistence when one examines the variety of jobs worked at, the relief received, the degree of mobility off the reserve, and the amount of time spent at home. There is also a diversity of attitudes toward the land base, homes, relief, and the proper place of Government in the economy.

THE PROBLEM

Malecite reserves are communities in the sense that those who reside there do so in more or less continuous face-to-face relations; everyone, that is, is known locally to everyone else. While recognizing themselves to be Indians and Malecites (as opposed to their not being White men or other Indians, such as Micmac or Penobscot), they are conscious of being settled on land and in houses which they claim as their own. Self-identity, however, occurs to these Indians as it does to most others in the East, in terms not only of the space they occupy, but as the result as well of changes that have taken place in their occupation of space through time. They speak of the land they claim in terms of the past as well as the present and future in the knowledge that change has been continous and always in one direction: toward a nucleus that decreases in size and surrounding space that has become less and less accessible to free movement.

One may suspect, therefore, that in so far as "being Indian" has meaning to these people in terms of space, they also harbour anxiety; certainly they express it. Additions to their properties are nonexistent in most reserves; on the other hand, deeds of surrender have been brought again and again before the bands, whereas in the past land simply had fallen into the hands of

others. Thus, the trend has been the same in the lives of this generation and the last, as it previously was, the difference being only that it has become regulated. Still, it is not only the shrinkage of the domestic land base that appears to have produced anxieties about group survival and identity; the decreasing accessibility of the territory in which the base or nucleus is set has produced the same reactions. When Malecites speak of themselves as Indians, they refer first to the natural environment; the woods, the streams and rivers, and the animals. Several cases have been heard in the courts of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, of Indians accused of hunting or fishing out of season or cutting wood on private lands. The Indian defence has always been the same: a contention that they have never relinquished their claim on the products of the environment. That the locus of their primary identity was the territory occupied has been firmly established by Speck, particularly in his discussion of the game totems (Speck, 1917). Personal and group identity can emerge and be maintained in relation to a number of loci, such as language spoken or racial type. Both of these are relevant to the Malecite. But what is perhaps most general is that concerning location. Thus, one might speak not only of the primary group in the sense of that which has been intrinsic in one's socialization, but the primary group in relation also to a primary place which has depth in both personal histories and ethnic change. The products of a territory provided more than sustenance to Woodland Algonkians — the Malecite included; they were also used in training, and they provided the means by which occupational and kin roles were activated. A man's reputation as hunter, chief, or shaman, and later woodsman and guide, rested upon his ability to relate his activites meaningfully and productively to the land and its products.

If the implicit problem, then, concerns identity, the pertinent questions are the following: How has a shift in self-identity taken place? Is there evidence that it still is taking place? If there is such evidence, *what activities enter into the problem of identity, and in what way?* It will be suggested in this paper that activities pertaining to the basket industry supply such evidence and that activities connected with the barrel industry fail in many

respects to do so. I do not believe the evidence provided by discourse with Indians is alone sufficient, albeit of great importance. But where language as a vehicle of attitudes, beliefs, and knowledge combines with organized and recurrent activities of groups in endeavours which they identify as particularly *Indian,* then I believe such evidence should be viewed in this context.

The Background of the Basket Industry

The splint or plaited basket (usually, but not always, constructed of Black Ash) has displaced the Northeastern bark container. Although the National Museum of Canada owns good specimens of bark containers that were made a half century ago, the craft was even then evidently being lost. This loss, especially of large containers, was undoubtedly, in part, the result of diminishing supplies of broad surface bark from the Silver Birch; but since the construction of small bark boxes also fell into disuse, it is more than likely that the tradition was displaced as a craft by the growth and good cash returns on basket wares. Along with this loss has gone the loss of porcupine quill decorative techniques that are often associated with bark containers and still widely used among Ojibwa and Cree Indians in Canada.

The technique of building Ash baskets diffused to Abenaki groups in Maine and New Brunswick at some undetermined period either from the more southerly Algonkians or the Iroquois (Speck, 1926: 289). Pack baskets and other rough carrying devices became generally useful to the Malecite; early specimens are all large, usually rectangular or rectangular at base and circular or D-Shaped at rim. Twill specimens have not been received from the area until very recently when the design was adapted to the potato basket industry.

During the course of its development, two aspects of the industry appeared — one in "rough" baskets, the other in "fancy" baskets. Today, persons or groups involved in the manufacture of one tend to ignore the other. There is also a distinction within the "fancy" basket industry between utilitarian baskets, such as rectangular "shoppers", and the delicate circular and varied-shaped containers designed for a number of uses. Those engaged in the "fancy" basket industry produce all their artifacts

— even apple and potato baskets — with such care in their finish as to separate them from the "rough" baskets that are mass produced at a much higher rate of output. It should be noted, nevertheless, that all baskets are today mass produced.

The growth and differentiation of the tradition has been marked in widespread areas in Eastern Canada and the United States. Local usages, however, even during the past century, cannot account for this growth, nor can it account for the introduction of standardizing and mass producing tools, such as gauges and moulds, that have been in use for at least a century. Today, the Basket Maker* who is the object of this study can, with his wife, produce a dozen finished "shoppers" in a day, complete with rims and handles. He claims his parents may have produced less in a day, but not less by very many. It is clear that the industry is so established as to be capable of very high output; it is also clear that a division of labour has long been established and that the method of marketing wares, though somewhat haphazard, also has a history three generations long and probably more.

The parents of both the Basket Maker and his wife were active in the industry on a regular basis. The female grandparents of both are also reported to have done so on a regular basis. Thus, the industry on the St. John River dates back about a century. An obituary to "Old Molly Molasses" in an Old Town newspaper, dated January 13, 1868, records that,

> Those who have ever made their stay in our city at any time since 'the beginning of days', have been accustomed to see this aged pilgrim as she passed along our streets leaning on her staff... A few years ago she might be seen with her pack of baskets on her back playing the merchant of her own wares.

Vetromile reports that Indians in Maine,

> ...go around the country selling baskets, mats, and such-like articles... The bargain being concluded, on leaving the house or store, the Indians (who generally are two together in selling) laugh amongst themselves... (1866: 101).

* When capitalized, I refer to a single basket maker.

Older residents of nearby towns on the St. John River have told me that Indians have long been known to travel throughout towns and cities, hawking their wares.

There is no evidence to suggest, however, that this ever occupied the place of a primary industry on reserves; rather, economic activities were varied fifty to seventy-five years ago as they are today. The Indians throughout the St. John River area are reported to have been small farmers, guides, fishermen, servants, and odd job seekers as far back as a full generation and beyond the elders of the present generation. As mentioned above, Moses Perley observed some farming at Meductec in 1840 and extensive salmon fishing at Tobique; some hunting and logging were also reported by him at the northernmost reserves.

Today thirteen families derive a substantial proportion of their seasonal income from the basket industry and five families from various phases of the barrel industry. The two industries thus support nearly one hundred persons for a considerable portion of each year.

Only three closely connected families derive income from the "fancy" basket industry on a large scale, and the nucleus of this group, a man and his wife now in their late sixties, is the primary object of this study. This Basket Maker was himself engaged in many activities other than basket making during his earlier life. He worked in saw mills and logging camps, and on construction jobs as a carpenter. He built a small house as recently as 1958 and claims to have built many of the houses on Indian lands. Nevertheless, together with his wife, he has been engaged in the basket industry for over thirty years. Beginning as a hawker in the countryside and surrounding towns, he also set up shop in resorts during the thirties when large numbers of summer residents became his customers. Other basket makers who went to this area during the period report that the women worked as domestic servants and washerwomen.

What is outstanding in the Basket Maker's reporting of these events is the way in which he embodies all his reminiscences in a context of inter-personal relations between himself (with

his wife) and their Canadian customers.* These are always cast in a light of being symbiotic; it was here, I inferred from him, that the first extended contacts with Canadian domectic units occurred. Previously he had gone into the world of White men as logger and sawmill hand. The Basket Maker's stories of such events appear always cast in the context of rivalry and semi-aggressive manoeuvering. But it was in the basket industry that they found a place for themselves as craftsmen; it is with reference to these activities that they speak of themselves as satisfying the needs of Canadians. This occurred also in their wanderings throughout the countryside; in this context they emphasize their good relations with farmers who, in the depths of the depression, traded fairly with them, produce in exchange for baskets; this they did without cash, of which there was great scarcity.

At present the Basket Maker and his wife (along with three married daughters) work exclusively from an established shop on the reserve, travelling fifteen miles to town either to take up their regular Saturday morning position at the farmer's market or, less regularly, to sell wholesale at the local hardware stores and gift shop. They also are fairly regularly visited by known customers, and orders come to them through the mails from various points in Canada and the United States.

Background of the Barrel Industry

The background of this industry on reserves is much shorter than that of the Basket Industry, and its development is in most respects quite different. Nevertheless, the roots of its development are similar. The country surrounding the northern reserves supports a large number of potato farmers both in New Brunswick and in Maine. These farmers make use of barrels for which they are mainly supplied by a number of small coopers among Canadians and Americans who own complex machinery for the manufacture of staves, bottoms, and hoops. The coopers also purchase their hoops from local Indians who cut, split, and plane immature stocks of Black Ash, selling them on a unit basis. Indian participation in the barrel industry also occurs, however,

* The distinction between "Indian" or ("Malecite") and "Canadian" is an ethnic, not a political, one.

in the *repair* of barrels. At this point — and unlike the Indian basket industry — it enters into direct competition with Canadian barrel makers. Repairing barrels involves rebuilding and attaching new hoops. This cannot be done without machinery designed for the task; thus, a good knowledge of the cooper's trade is essential before embarking upon barrel repairs.

The Barrel Maker is occupied almost exclusively in the repair of barrels. This activity is identical with one stage of barrel making and uses the same machinery. The next step — that of manufacturing barrels — is an easy one, and the barrel maker has occasionally entered this field of activity. At present he maintains a large shop on his own grounds which is equipped with three cooper's windlasses and "guillotines" (hoop cutters).

The Barrel Maker's background is in some respects similar to that of the Basket Maker; his occupations have varied, and he has engaged in a personal and self-directed enterprise. But many of his secondary activities were different. He has played competitive games more regularly and early developed a local reputation as a good baseball pitcher. (He is also known locally by a characteristic name, which is unusual among Indians vis-à-vis Canadians.) He also enjoys trading in a way that the Basket Maker does not; that is, he takes delight in recounting stories of how he set out on a journey with a pen-knife and returned several days later with an old car, having gone through a series of barters to achieve the final trade. A value on *competitive barter* distinguishes the Barrel Maker from the Basket Maker who places a value on *complementary exchange*. While the Basket Maker is fond of recounting how generous farmers were in exchanging their produce for his baskets, the Barrel Maker recounts how he traded sharply, and he sometimes laughs at his own ineptness when outsmarted in a transaction — an indulgent laugh which implies this happened not too often.

Beginning his industrial activities twenty-five years ago, the Barrel Maker entered the industry in a way that is common in the area: he collected immature stocks of Black Ash, cutting and planing them for sale to local coopers. In the course of time he did what other Indians failed to do: he became closely acquainted

with one cooper for whom he began to work, and there he learned the trade. Deciding that he needed only the machinery to set himself up in business, the Barrel Maker acquired his machinery second-hand — first one, and finally three windlasses and hoop cutters or "guillotines" At this time he also secured a variable machine planer that received power from an electric motor. He set up shop behind his house, purchased a used truck, and began repairing barrels.

Immediately prior to the Second World War the Barrel Maker moved his operation into town where he occupied a small warehouse. Local coopers, however, began withholding supplies of barrel staves, thus preventing him from manufacturing on a large scale. His only recourse was to secure the cash necessary to buy a barrel stave machine. He claims that a loan was in fact forthcoming for the purchase of such a machine at the time the Nation declared war in 1939, but arrangements for the loan were cancelled. Subsequently, he moved back to his original position, manufacturing barrels when he was able to accumulate sufficient staves, but he spent the bulk of his time in repairing them.

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At the time the study was initiated and throughout three seasons of observation, both industries were well established. They both were affected by seasonal requirements, although the Barrel Maker was more inclined than the Basket Maker to fluctuate between periods of inactivity and those involving long hours of hard work. Both were thoroughly committed to working in the interest of a market demand. Both industries required the collection of raw material, some knowledge of the materials with which the artisans worked, a set of tools, a plant, and a work group. And both industries had to face the problem of marketing finished goods.

But so considerable were the differences in their ways of organizing their industries (which reflected, in part, the details of their lives), that it will be necessary, in the interest of our problem, to compare the Basket Maker with the Barrel Maker at major points of analysis, thus emphasizing contrasts in their

relationship with their own people and Canadians in the interest of a market. The points to be compared will be the gathering of raw materials, the plant and the organization of labour, spatial relations of the production unit, and distribution.

Gathering Raw Materials

All New Brunswick Indians who, without some prior arrangement, gather immature or grown stocks of Black Ash on private land, risk prosecution. The increase in that risk during the past generation is reflected in the frequency with which Micmac and Malecite Indians have been required in court to answer charges of trespass. Those who fought their cases argued that theirs was the right to gather the products of the forest "as was their custom" in order to satisfy their needs. During the last 10 years Indians have argued that the treaty of 1725 gave them the right of access to all forest products, and, furthermore, only the Federal Courts could try an Indian concerning matters of treaty (the Federal Government does not agree that there are treaties with Atlantic Provinces Indians.) All recent cases having come to my attention were dismissed but with a warning to the Indian in question not to trespass again. Thus, the courts took the position that this *was* trespass but did not wish to interfere with the livelihood of Indians.

Two positions are generally taken by Malecites on this question. There are those who argue that if one wants Black Ash, he should ask the owner's permission; others, including our Barrel Maker, insist that to request permission is to admit that rights to the products do not exist. The Barrel Maker and the Basket Maker have both frequently pointed out that Black Ash is of use only to them, and to no White man, whether the stocks be young or mature. Among those who hold the conservative position and claim these rights, it has been customary, however, to repay farmers for the raw materials collected by giving them one or two baskets. In point of fact, Indians and farmers are well known to each other, especially in the northern reserves of the St. John River, in part because of the long tradition of Indian basket-hawking through the country, and in part because farmers have for a long time hired Indians as occasional farm hands.

The Basket Maker takes the liberal position. He claims that the system of asking and repaying in kind is good and proper. He does not argue from the point of view of legal rights and is generally disinterested in the subject. But he has not collected his own raw materials during the period I have known him, nor has he done so systematically during the past fifteen years. The Barrel Maker, on the other hand, knows several good locations for collecting Black Ash, all of which are on privately owned land. Some owners are hostile to his entry, while others expect it and apparently take it for granted. Thus, when I travelled with the Barrel Maker on one of his gathering expeditions, he drove his truck to where the farmer was plowing, and they both stopped to talk, first of things in general, subsequently concerning locations of good stands. The farmer pointed to a section of his woods where he advised the Barrel Maker to go, but the Barrel Maker drove to another section, claiming he knew the woods better than did the farmer. Although he appreciated the advice, he told me, he saw no reason to follow it.

The Barrel Maker collects not only for himself, but for the Basket Maker, who is his maternal uncle. Another nephew, who collects for the Basket Maker, also lives on the Barrel Maker's reserve. (These two reserves are fifty miles apart.) On the average of two or three times a month, the Barrel Maker brings his wife and some kinswomen to the small city fifteen miles the other side of the reserve of the Basket Maker (that is, sixty-five miles from his home) where they play bingo. Driving there in his truck, the Barrel Maker sometimes stops at the Basket Maker's home where he delivers Black Ash, charging about two dollars a stock. The average load costs the Basket Maker forty dollars and will allow him to make about three hundred dollars worth of baskets.

Both the Barrel Maker and the Basket Maker know where superior stands of Black Ash can be found. Beyond that point of identification, however, the Barrel Maker's interests in the material need not be extensive; provided he has straight wood and knows how to split it, he will have satisfied all criteria. But all basket makers — and principally those in the fancy basket industry — must look upon the mature log from many points of

view, for materials for standards (vertical splints), weavers (horizontal splints), and rims and handles, all come from different parts of the log. The whitest wood, usually from grains found near the periphery of a log, are selected for an undyed product, but even the slightly darker wood further toward the center must be cut and selected carefully for homogeneity of shading so that the dye lot will result in uniform colour. The Basket Maker is extremely parsimonious in the use of materials as well, and his tools are designed to facilitate this end.

In summary: The Barrel Maker appears to be conservative in holding an opinion that is common to a large number of Indians in New Brunswick; namely, that the land and its products are rightly their own. Like other Indians who hold this position, he quotes treaties at some length and is concerned about their legitimacy. It should also be pointed out that the Barrel Maker is one of the best linguistic and ethnological informants (for reconstructive purposes) on the St. John River.

The Basket Maker does not take a position very forcibly on this question and is content to enter into negotiations with farmers for Black Ash. Nevertheless, he has withdrawn from the activity.

The Plant and the Organization of Labour

Study of the plants fails to support the hypothesis that the two industries may be contrasted on a simple conservative-progressive continuum. If we identify conservatism with the maintenance of personal and group identity, and "progressiveness" with a failure to implement activities in that direction, or with a conscious attempt to invest personal and group identity with an outside reference group, then the two industries are contrastive. While the Barrel Maker appears to be ultra-conservative in his attitude toward the land and its products and in the conservation of raw materials in Indian hands, his plant and his method of recruiting are so patterned as to place him on the "progressive" end of the continuum. The Basket Maker, on the other hand, will be shown to continue his operation on what *has now become* (for the Malecites) a traditional approach to plant and work group.

Spatial separation between the domestic region and the work region appears to indicate acculturative drift; such separation almost certainly began with contact and has continued steadily thereafter. The "folk" model, derived from Redfield (1947) places crafts or cottage industries strictly within the home itself. Also, its output is conceived to be variegated, providing all the material needs of the family for clothing, tools, utensils, containers, and so on. Since the hypothetical group produces what it consumes and consumes what it produces (*ibid:* 354), no problem of distribution arises.

Thus, spatial separation takes place as other changes in industries require it. As industries become specialized by concentration on a narrow range of artifact types, they may be regarded as requiring special facilities, the outstanding mark of which is spatial segregation, and with this the neat production-consumption circle is broken as new patterns of distribution are developed.

The tool kit of the specialist should also be diagnostic. A survey of the literature of basket industries (Butler, 1947; Ekstorm, 1932; Evans and Campbell, 1952; Goggin, 1949; Lyford, 1945; Weltfish, 1930, 1932) discloses little reference to the standardizing and mass-producing uses to which tools may be put, nor is mention made of the fact that the units of construction enter into a type of assembly line. The tools themselves, however, are designed to standardize both parts of the units of production and the units themselves and to facilitate rapid manufacture. This applies to sets of inter-related gauges, the shaving horse, the triangular splitter (bitotig'n) and forms or "moulds." Other tools do not reflect this interest directly.

There is a well-defined division of labour in the industry: one person may perform a single operation on a number of units (the basket weave) while he performs different operations on another set of units (rims and handles); a third operation completes the whole unit. One person, on the other hand, may perform a single operation on a set of units while another performs other operations on a second set at the same time, the third operation being performed by a third. There is therefore

in no sense a simple cottage industry of the sort normally associated with crafts, and the rate of production is far in excess of the needs either of family or of community. The high rate of production of the domestic fancy and potato baskets must therefore be explained in terms of accommodation to a market. Indeed, the entire basket industry is organized with respect to market demands.

In the hypothetical folk community there would be no need for a separate and permanent work region away from the domestic region. Work regions may be set out from time to time within the domestic establishment, but they are not by design so constituted. This would occur only as persons became more or less permanently engaged in production. Therefore, the degree of segregation of regions in space does provide for us a satisfactory measure of the essential professionalization of a particular industry. And if we continue to work with the model of the folk community from the points of view of distribution and consumption, we find that this too can be looked upon in relation to space segregation. In the ideal community there is very little problem of distribution; women may, in fact, make baskets only for family consumption. But when the work unit is turning out as many as two dozen baskets a day, a problem of distribution is implicit. Thus, we may assume some orientations on the part of Indians to surroundings that can be defined in terms of that problem.

The Spatial Relations of the Production Unit

Separate space allocations away from the household are general, but not universal, among basket makers. All those considered here, however, separate their craft so as to provide some permanent work area, and all but two maintain a shop where tools and processed materials may be stored as well as used. The exceptions are peripheral in the activity, and they usually try to work with other established units. The Basket Maker has a converted small house in which the entire ground floor serves as a shop; he and his wife are the exclusive occupants. However, in another house on their property, they include a married daughter, her husband, and children in the household. Two other married daughters live with their husbands and families

in nearby houses. The Basket Maker and his wife, along with these daughters, constitute the work group. All daughters work in areas in their households; thus, households have work areas which are used exclusively by women. The work unit as a whole, then, has a nucleus in the shop which provides processed materials for work in the household work areas. The unit radiates from the Basket Maker and his wife to include only women, for the husbands of the daughters do not participate in the Basket Industry. The industry also has extended itself, through women, beyond those closely connected households; in one case, a widowed sister-in-law and her married daughter were included; in another case, the cousin of the Basket Maker (mosida) was supplied with processed materials for work. While raw materials were provided for these units, a different criterion of payment was applied to the other households: they were paid a wholesale price upon completion of each unit, whereas the daughters were paid out of a general fund that had no specific relationship to units that were produced. The former system of supply and set payment was made available even more generally, but it failed to take effect, and the more distant kinswomen dropped out of production not long after beginning. The work unit has remained stable where it included husband and wife as nucleus and daughters as the periphery of the range of effective extension.

At this point I shall construct several two-dimensional models designed to represent the basket industry at different points in time and to compare it with the barrel industry. The comparisons will be such as to emphasize the relationships between regions of activity which are characterized in part by their spatial dispositions.

The first, called "Model One," belongs with the hypothetical folk community, where the domestic region (region A) encloses the work region (region B). This is one way of saying that the work region is a differentiated part of the domestic region or that the former derives its character entirely through the character of the latter. The work region, then, is part of the domestic region.

An alternative model may be suggested, however, which includes the community as well. In this, I follow Thurnwald, who

would derive the character of the work region in part from the community:

> Any variety of personality implies specialization. Even in primitive society, every person is a specialist in his way. One may be clever at snaring birds, another a deft plaiter of baskets, still another an expert in raising fine crops, the next a brave warrior, a shrewd sorcerer or a convincing orator and so on, in spite of the fact that each one is acquainted with the accomplishments of the others. It is the co-operation, particularly that of the leaders in each branch of pursuit, that builds up the community (1932: 559).

The second model, then, is called "Alternate Model One" and also belongs to the hypothetical folk community, having a direct relationship with it. Thus the region which is the community (region X) encloses the domestic region (region A) *and* the work region (region B), one boundary of which is coincident with one boundary of the domestic region. We would say now that the work region is a part of the domestic region and the community or that the work region derives its character entirely from the domestic region and the community.

Model 2 represents the introduction of a new region of activity (region Y) which is part of the Canadian community. Regions X and Y are now being defined as related to each other only through work or any activities relevant to some aspect or point in the process of any work. In this regard, regions X (the Malecite community), A (the domestic region), and B (the work region, now specifically referred to as a production center for baskets and other crafts) are all related to region Y (the Canadian community) in the same way. *No one region encloses any other region* at this stage of development; region X would enclose both regions A and B if all three did not share boundaries with region Y. Nevertheless, regions X and Y (the Malecite community and the Canadian community) are in different relationships to regions A and B (domestic region and work region), since region B is still part of region A as region A is still part of region X: for either of those regions to become part of region Y, a boundary would have to be crossed; i.e., they would become part of the Canadian community.

Model 3 represents one version of the contemporary relationships of regions, adding a new one. Region C (region of the

shop) is probably the first true differentiation of a work region in Malecite communities. As indicated, the shop has moved out of the household and changed its character in technology, work relations, and distribution patterns in that process. It assumes its character in part from the character of region Y (the Canadian community), but is at the same time continuous with region B which has now also changed its character. Region B is now a domestic work region whose orientation is to the shop. In this respect, region B (domestic work region) and region C (the shop) form *one continuous work region.*

A better approximation for *Model 3* may be one which takes account of changes having occurred in the domestic region as well as work regions. *Alternate Model 3* is designed to reflect such changes. Consider, first, the possibility that in developing a well differentiated work region in the shop, and in removing it from the domestic region, a new relationship to the community has developed. We have seen that the relationship of community to shop does extend the Basket Industry well beyond its own household to others that are closely related; thus, it functions as a nucleus. There are already three such families engaged in this work relation, and there have been experiments in recruiting others. But it also implies, and sometimes permits, the introduction of male recruitment from regions other than that of domestic work regions. Thus, while the shop recruits almost exclusively through the domestic unit, it clearly has other subsidiary functions that could not be present by way of work regions represented in *Model* 2 except through closely related women. Here, as perhaps in most small communities, there is a tendency to collect casual visitors. The Basket Maker's shop is occasionally visited by men during working hours. In the evening, there are regular dart, checker, and chess games played within it, and since these games have become universalistic (tending to cut across kin lines), persons other than close relatives enter into interaction in the shop who seldom do in each other's homes. Among the potato basket makers on the northern reserve, there are two who work in shops that, during summers, are open at one end: they, too, attract casual visitors, and one of the shops is visited most frequently during the day by men who are identified with one or

both of the two factions that characterize that community. The basket maker who attracts such a variety of persons, kinsmen and non-kinsmen alike, is himself noted in the community for his impartiality and fairness in speaking on major issues, and he is known not to carry gossip. Thus, a potential forum, or the "town-hall concept," as Reiter identified it, exists here as in other regions of the community. At the same time, some recruitment occurring on a non-kin basis has been noted, although it seldom occurs. This pattern does not lend itself to the development of a large segmented project. (For instance, all the potato basket makers on the northern reserve could, in theory, get together in a single shop, as could all the fancy basket makers and other craft specialists on the middle reserves.) An often spoken-of proposal to extend the industry to the community at large has little relationship, however, to a natural growth from the existing organization. Thus, while basketry and other crafts are clearly defined as "Indian work," the proposal to organize on a community basis has been one envisaging a large winter work-shop where all reserve Indians may be employed at various established crafts, but always with the proviso that this establishment be run and its products marketed by some Government agency and that salaries be paid by the Government for work within it. Clearly, the Malecite basket makers have worked out no way of rapidly extending their operations to segments of the community that cross-cut kinship lines; on the other hand, they have developed a standardized conception of how this should be done. The proposal probably is, from the Government's standpoint, unacceptable in the form described; it remains to be seen if other strategies are to be used.

Alternate Model 3 also tends to push the domestic unit and the domestic work region (region B) back into the community, not only for recruiting purposes, but with regard to patterns of distribution. This change has been reflected in the contemporary recruiting and distributional patterns described above.

I pointed out in an earlier publication that the activities of the craft industry serve as a vehicle of self and ethnic identity for Malecites; this occurs with regard to those activities the Malecite call "indian work" (McFeat, 1962: 51ff). I examined

the value-orientations that appear congruent with these activities concerning time, space, and relationships. Suffice it is to say at present that the activities are self-generative of that concept; the Malecite regard their activities as peculiarly their own, and, indeed, they are known by surrounding Canadians in that capacity. It is also significant that the Malecite who work in the basket industry identify themselves readily through the locus of work, rather than through shared membership with all Malecites in the area. There was an attempt by an interested Canadian during the early fifties to establish a new tribal identity, giving them what he regarded as their traditional name, the *Wulastook,* a name which refers to the St. John River. This was to have been a pan-reserve organization that he would have the Indian Affairs Branch recognize as their true unit. Even though letterheads were printed with that name, the organization never did elect a superchief, council, or other representatives. Perhaps it is also significant that the one chief who, although the most enthusiastic, had the least success in producing signatures on a petition favouring this organization, was chief of the northern reserve — the one manifesting greatest solidarity and unity. Thus, tribal identity, though real, cannot be given expression in action. It has no genuine shape.

The next possible locus of identity occurs with the community. This level of identity may in the future be realized; at present, however, it is tenuous, and only one of the five reserves manifests effective leadership while at the same time splitting along a single faction on the very issue of local identity; only the conservatives are so inclined to proceed with their policies. However, the presence on this reserve of a community hall and of the various organizations of Boy Scouts, Cubs, Girl Guides, League baseball, Alcoholics Anonymous, etc., all of them absent in the other reserves, testifies to the growth of a community on the northern reserve.

Craft activities, however, of which the basket industry is an outstanding example, are unambiguously placed by the Malecites within the context of Indian activities. They have continuity with the past, are organized mainly on a kin basis, and they describe a well-defined tradition in technology. Further consider-

ation of the contact between basket makers and consumer will be dealt with below under Distribution; in the meantime, I will confine discussion to the spatial aspects of the production unit and the domestic establishment.

The Barrel Maker

The outstanding characteristic of the Barrel Industry is its lack of a tradition of technology that covers all phases of production. Although gathering raw materials for hoops is intrinsically related to similar activities in the basket industry, and the processing of hoops involves the same tools as the tools of the basket makers, the production unit is essentially different. Nevertheless, gathering and processing of rough materials are almost identical; they involve leaving the reserve in search of Black Ash on private or crown land; cutting, transporting, and pounding (for the basket makers), and splitting (for the barrel hoop makers), and they both are concerned only with male work. (It might be added that various Malecite potato basket makers also collect the Ash for, and process, barrel hoops.) But it is beyond this the two industries diverge, the basket industry toward an organization that always includes women, the barrel industry toward an organization that never does.

Without long historical background and with no background whatever in the "folk" culture of Abenaki Indians, the barrel industry cannot be analyzed developmentally. Therefore it will be expedient to compare its organization of space with that of the Basket Maker. Let us then consider two models, Alternate *Model 3* (Basket Maker) and *Model 4* (Barrel Maker). The first point of obvious difference is in the use or non-use of a differentiated sub-area of work within the household or a group of related households. Its total absence in the barrel industry supports other differences ,the most outstanding of which is the fact that its work force is entirely male. Thus, while both shops exist on the home property and are therefore intimately connected with the family — in space if in no other obvious way — the fact of their relative potentialities for separateness is of great significance to this analysis. In point of fact, the basket makers' regions B and C (domestic work region and shop) are a single work region.

The fact that B is enclosed by regions A and C together (household on the one hand and the shop on the other) may be viewed as a safeguard to the *integrity of region B* (the domestic work region). It also guarantees the continued work co-operation between men and women, specifically those who are related to each other. Region C (the shop of the basket makers), on the other hand, is welded to the domestic unit through this common enclosed region of production within the domestic unit.

As far as can be determined, the barrel industry is organized on the reserve in a way similar to its organization among local Canadian coopers. The machinery in both is the same: a windlass, a "guillotine," hammers, nails, and so on. Local coopers have probably made an adaptation in the use of Black Ash hoops, thus introducing local Indians to one phase of the industry. But the coopers have larger storage facilities than those of the Barrel Maker, and they possess the complex machinery for manufacturing staves without which a cooper cannot proceed on a mass-production basis. This machinery the Malecite Barrel Maker does not have.

The limitation on storage and the seasonal demand for barrels (late summer and early autumn) necessitate a high degree of mobility and a maximum short-time working force in the Malecite barrel industry. The Barrel Maker must maximize turnover during the period available to him for finding outlets. It is thus in the distribution of barrels, as opposed to the distribution of baskets, that problems of special interest are raised in comparing the Barrel Maker and the Basket Maker.

Distribution

The immediate problem, then, is to extend models so that the two industries may be compared in terms of patterns of distribution. In *Models 5* and *6* regions have been added by way of extension. First, the region E represents specific distributional activities. These include taking baskets to the Saturday market in the nearest city where a corner is occupied by the Basket Maker and his wife; the daughters — that is to say, those working in the domestic work areas — seldom accompany them. The Basket Maker also sells wholesale to stores in that city; this

practice he does alone. He dislikes selling wholesale, in part because of the lower return in cash relative to retail (a loss of about 25%) and in part because of the nature of "hawking." However, he can sell wholesale throughout the year, whereas his retail selling is curtailed during the winter, except before Christmas. Ideally, then, the Basket Maker travels and sells with his wife.

The northern potato basket makers have three methods of distribution. That which is most usual is to sell wholesale to a local Malecite entrepreneur who is equipped with a truck and has regular customers among the potato farmers. The reduction for wholesale is similarly about 25% of the retail price. By this method basket makers need not move from their shops, and for the majority this is the ideal method, for most of them do not own vehicles. A second method is by direct selling from the shop. Farmers, both from New Brunswick and Maine, occasionally visit the reserve and pay retail cash prices for potato baskets. This practice is objected to by the Malecite entrepreneur who claims obligations of loyalty from the basket makers, since he buys from them throughout the slow winter months as well as in summer. The third method, used by two basket makers, is to move raw materials, tools, and family across the border to Maine where residence is assumed with a relative in the potato farming area; here, again, farmers come to the basket makers. All told, therefore, distribution methods among the basket makers *are calculated to minimize the separation between husband and wife and other family members,* and they make use of the kin network when movement is required. The domestic work unit, especially that aspect of it including the efforts of women in the home, maintains a continuous influence over all phases of the basket industry except in gathering raw materials. Thus I have represented region E in Model 6 as connected to region X (the Malecite community) along its boundary.

The Barrel Maker's distribution methods contrast with those of all basket makers. As I pointed out above, his approach to distribution is essentially competitive (or symmetrical), whereas those of the basket makers (and especially the Basket Maker) tend to be complementary. (Nor do basket makers like competition

among themselves; they try to fix prices and disapprove of those who cut them. Their only competition is covert: they will not disclose to each other their best sources or new finds of Black Ash stands. Otherwise, they do not want to be in competition, in part because it inevitably involves their women and families.) The product is from their point of view unique to Indians; so there is no outside competition. This is especially true of the Basket Maker whose attitude toward his customers is one of the reciprocal need satisfaction of the exchange that can only include Canadian and Indian.

The Barrel Maker is well aware of the displacement function of his activities; so, too, are the local Canadian coopers. While he is careful to produce or repair a barrel to meet high standards, he has no sentimental attachment to the product itself. His concern rests in improving techniques both of production and distribution. In the interest of the former, he constantly innovates, and his back yard is full of machinery of one sort or another that he has purchased or traded for in the interest of faster and better production. He recently experimented in the mass production of potato baskets, making use of machinery which he attempted to adapt to the task.

In summary, then, first contrast occurs in the relation of household and shop. The barrel industry manifests no overlap with a household work region. Nevertheless it is connected — meaning, in this case, that male recruitment of labour derives from the household, in the Barrel Maker's sons. Both work regions are polarized to Canadian consumers, and out of the community, and thus tend to resist influences toward recruitment from the community. This is so in part because there are no significant consumers within either commuity. Consequently, the relationship of the shop to the community is in either case conditioned by the relation of the shop to the household, and this is expressed through the availability of workers from the household. There is, however, no intrinsic connection between the Barrel Maker's shop and the domestic unit (or other close units) as there always is between basket makers' shops and domestic units. The drying up of the source of labour in the basket industry would bring about its end, for without women

it could not exist. On the other hand, the source is good, since the nucleus, or shop, is able to work through the kin network to other household work areas. The sons of the Barrel Maker have various occupational interests other than in barrel production, but loss of this source from the domestic unit does not put the Barrel Maker out of business; it only decreases his output.

The second contrast occurs through distributional activities. It might be said that orientation and movement toward the market automatically become orientation and movement *away from* the domestic unit. If one simply follows the Homans hypothesis that interaction and positive sentiment are positively correlated (Homans, 1950: 111), then he could assume that they lead toward group formation and group consolidation. This is expressed in part by the activities of the Barrel Maker — his continuous movement among his customers, his bargaining and arranging, his personal acquaintance with the actual needs of farmers, and his competition with other barrel makers. He is, as I have pointed out, well known in town; he has played baseball on the town team; he is an active member of a local association. The basket makers remain aloof and arrange their transactions in such a way as to minimize interaction with Canadian consumers unless those consumers come to them to make special requests; they do so frequently, especially to the Basket Maker who takes special orders. The Barrel Maker not only maintains a high rate of interaction in this region, but he does so without including other members of his kin group. His activities in this region are exclusive with regard to all other regions; hence, his physical and apparently permanent move into the Canadian community — lock, stock, and barrel, so to speak — issued in the possibility of his isolation from all other groups on the reserve and, possibly, all other Malecites. The inherent separability of his activities was in the end checked because kin and community relations might have been in danger of severance.

It seems, on the whole, that there is value in regarding the activities from gathering raw materials, to processing, manufacturing, and marketing as a *single region of activity* for the basket makers whose integrity is maintained by the intrinsic connection between shop and domestic unit, but this is not the case regarding

the activities of the Barrel Maker. The Barrel Maker was at one time able to move his entire shop into town, at another time to mount his windlass and "guillotine" on his truck and take his operation to the farmers in the surrounding country. From the points of view of technology and work, this should have been successful. Malecites, as well as other Indians of New Brunswick, are frequently away from home for extended periods of time, sometimes for months, or even permanently, returning only for vacations. The Barrel Maker was only three miles away from home when he set up shop in town; he returned most nights when he had his equipment mounted on the truck. But his whole operation and the quality of contact with Canadians was different not only from those of all basket makers, but from the contacts set up by most other Malecites who leave reserves for work outside. The difference is manifest in his ability to form significant group relations in both spheres — in the Canadian community and in the Malecite community. That the two are mutually antipathetical is suggested in the course of events that followed those attempts by the Barrel Maker.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

Two questions are pertinent to this study, one specific and one general. First, to what extent has cultural continuity been maintained in the two industries, and what significance should be attributed to their differences with respect to continuity?

I attacked this problem first by dealing with the total space of the Malecite as characterized by *nucleus* and *periphery* in their area and as far back as observation could be trusted — to about the middle of the eighteenth century. It was clearly stated, especially in the Gyles report, that a principle of organization existed in which the nucleus of family (and the unformalized community) established a relatively stable base surrounded by country that was exploited by men who returned periodically to co-operate with women in various tasks. Within this nucleus the family unit, especially women, were conceived to participate in the construction of most containers and other light artifacts

on a "folk" basis, supplying the needs of their own group and possibly to some extent the community.

By the middle of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, significant changes had taken place in both the nuclear area and its surroundings. The evidence was clear that Malecite groups were permanently settled and that changes had taken place both in the nucleus and in the periphery. The gradual shrinkage of the community — by this time defined as a reserve — was continuous, while the peripheral regions were becoming increasingly inaccessible to exploitation; at the same time general orientations to Canadian communities were active. Work in the traditional hinterland was sponsored by Canadians in logging, guiding, sawmilling, and so on.

It is probable that during this period the basket industry began to take its form as a market activity, aimed at Canadian consumers. It is well established that mass production and standardizing tools were used generally by the turn of the twentieth century and probably were in general use for twenty-five or thirty years before. All of the gross raw materials for the basket industry continued, however, to be procured in the hinterland, collecting and initial processing being done by men who worked in ultimate co-operation with women, the traditional basket makers. Specific group composition was, of course, undergoing change, and the activities relative to both the hinterland and the household were themselves radically changed; still, the *spatial relations* between nucleus and periphery remained the same, as did the composition of occupational roles as organized on a sex-differentiated basis. While it would be unwise to contend that this is an ancient pattern, those two aspects of it have undoubtedly remained unchanged for a long time.

Growth of the basket industry took place by developing a new domestic nucleus in that spatially segregated region known as the Shop, which brought men and women of the same narrow-range kin group into continuous working relations with each other. The domestic establishment meanwhile maintained its integrity as a work unit by keeping a work region inside the domestic unit, or by maintaining such close proximity between the two regions on the home property that women could work regularly

while, at the same time, attending to domestic routines. Thus the two regions perpetuated the character of being a single continuous work region. Distribution was handled in such a way as to place minimal stress on this region.

The point of congruence between the basket industry and the barrel industry occurs only in the hinterland, where they all gather raw materials. It is in this spatial context that a high intensity of feeling has been generated among the Malecites and other New Brunswick groups I have temporarily designated "conservative" regarding their own sense of personal and ethnic identity. While even the most conservative have little detailed knowledge of earlier methods of adaptation to the hinterland, the conservatives unanimously regard this as an integral part of their earlier home. It is frequently said, "Give me a crooked knife and an axe, and, come what may, I'll get by in the woods. When the Government has sold us out, that's where we'll live." The fact is, of course, that a large number of Malecites still use the hinterland as an occupational periphery, and in making this region continuous with all other work regions in the basket industry they have in fact segregated this industry from other activities and made of it a cohesive, well defined tradition of technology. This the Barrel Maker — in spite of his being conservative relative to the hinterland — has been unable to do and (it appears as a result) *has forced apart regions of activity which have no continuity and belong in separate traditions.* Thus his conservatism does not show appreciation of continuity back to a finite point in time as does that of the basket makers who express it in their work, but it refers to a timeless past before White men arrived on the scene.

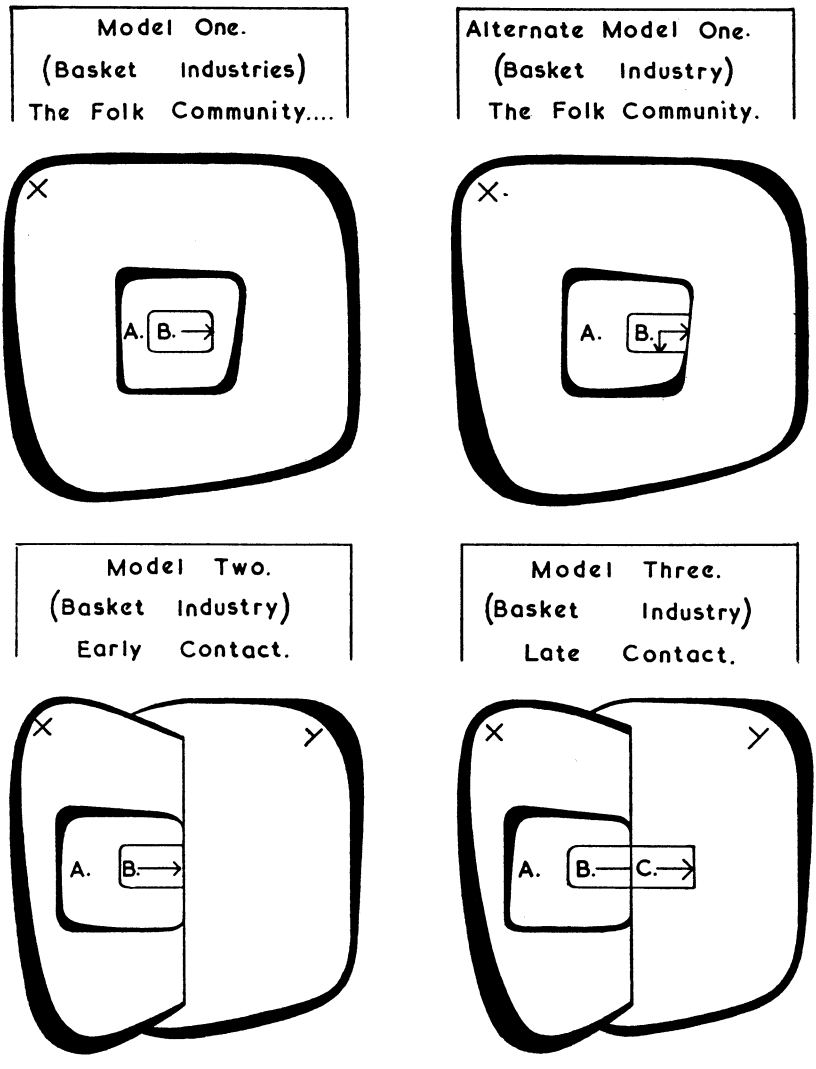
In all respects other than the one mentioned, the two industries are deeply contrastive. Not only are the technologies different in all phases of manufacture, but so too is recruitment for work, the complement of the work group, and the pattern of marketing. They represent, among other things, two very different ways of regulating contact with Canadians.

In a sense, the specific question asked above has its more general form: "What is an Indian?" If this case study is to be used in answer, then the following general statements of both

structure and process seem warranted. Regarding structure, *it is necessary for the group to have some concept of its identity as a group or as an ethnic entity.* The concept of "Indian," as expressed among the Malecites, is present and widespread, and has remained as such because of certain enduring conditions that tended to support the concept in spite of change. The process of identity-maintenance is built-in, so to speak, because reserves are themselves real spatial entities, held in place by legislation, by tradition, and in part by centripetal group dynamics: interaction generates not only positive sentiment, but further interaction as well. Change itself does not take place unnoticed; as the native language tends toward disappearance, as racial differences from Canadians become less marked with each new intermarriage, as dress and the activities of Malecite youngsters become increasingly identified with those of Canadian youngsters, as radio, televison, the Reader's Digest, and Life are increasingly apparent on reserves, the swamping effects of massive one-way diffusion not only diminish the basis for a concept of what is "Indian," but *it is noticed that they do.* Nativistic adaptations are not indulged, although a reaction specifically to these influences is discernible, particularly in the tendencies of some reserves to fractionate along a single boundary between "friendlies" and "hostiles," or "liberals" and "conservatives," relative to the question of whether or not they should do anything about maintaining or revitalizing identity.

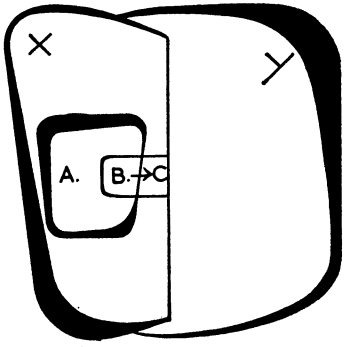
It is also necessary to express this concept of Indian identity in some form of social action. This the Malecite do, but in varying ways which have effects on different sorts of institutional behaviours. Thus, opposing school integration is one form, spreading diffusely across all the reserves' "conservatives." Casting a "conservative" vote in reserve elections is another form which, while defining one clear issue in the community, tends to make it a cohesive unit to an extent greater than is possible on reserves that do not split this way; in this manner, reserve identity becomes a reality that cuts across kin lines. But many activities generate the concept of self and ethnic identity simply because they exist in organized form. One of these applies to the contact of kinsmen between reserves of the same or different Indian groups and

RELATIONSHIPS AMONG REGIONS OF ACTIVITY OF MALECITE BASKET AND BARREL INDUSTRIES.

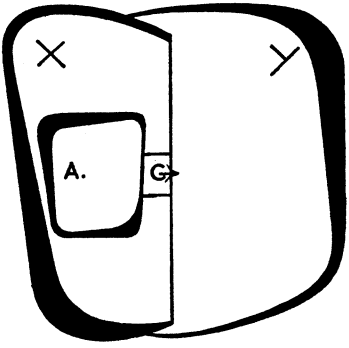


REI.

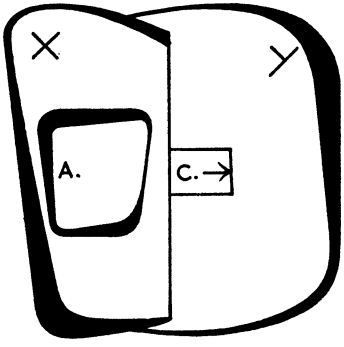
Alternate Model Three.
(Basket Industry)
Late Contact.



Model Four.
(Barrel Industry)



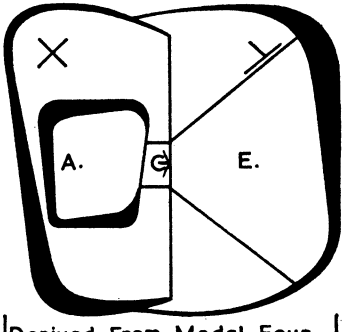
Alternate Model Four.
(Barrel Industry)



— REGIONS —

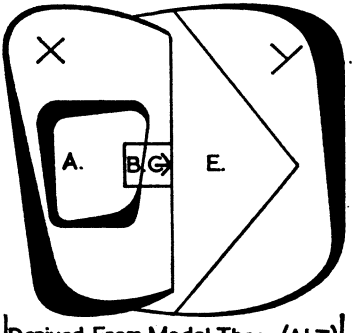
X = MALECITE COMMUNITY.
A = DOMESTIC REGION.
B = WORK REGION.
→ = ORIENTATION OF EFFORT.
Y = CANADIAN COMMUNITY.
C = REGION OF SHOP.
E = REGION OF DISTRIBUTION.

Model Five.
(Barrel Industry)



Derived From Model Four...

Model Six.
(Basket Industry)



Derived From Model Three (ALT.)

involves widespread visiting; another applies to the newly organized Alcoholics Anonymous on one of the reserves and the interest it has generated in its spread to reserves in Maine, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia. These activities are not self-consciously Indian, but they activate interaction and a concept of groupness, and embody concepts that apply only to their own forms of organization.

Regarding process, it is clear that while many forms of behaviour have disappeared altogether, some (while being obviously different from their earlier manifestations) are still present. It is in this context, not in terms of its economic significance, that the basket industry is important. It is not the context of sentimentality about the industry that is important. What preserves the character of the industry, while at the same time fixing the concept of "Indian work," is the fact that *through time a regular series of shifts in pattern have taken place* in technology, in spatial relations, in the man-woman close kin work group, and in the regular inter-ethnic contacts that are expressed through distribution.

Out of these activities a set of value-orientations have emerged. These were dealt with elsewhere (McFeat, *op cit.*) and are not relevant to this study. What *is* relevant and constitutes the second and most general yet unanswered question is this: To what extent have the expression of value-orientations that have been "worked through," so to speak, in the concrete action of the basket industry, diffused out of this industry to become applicable in other contexts in Malecite and Eastern Algonkian culture?

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