

settlement Eskimo have now developed mutual antagonism of the "country" vs. "town" variety. The superior resources of the wage-labor based economy also creates a "have" versus "have not" trend in inter-personal relations between these groups.

Many issues are briefly raised (though, of course, it was not within the scope of this research report to do more than this) in the concluding section; issues fundamental throughout the north. If the basis for the changes now going on in the north come from a settlement-based way of life what will happen to Eskimo culture? Can it preserve any real integrity apart from its nomadic, small kin-based local group underpinnings? If wage labor produces much more of the valued commodities of life than can hunting, trapping or even the new handicraft activities, what will happen in a community where jobs are scarce and only a favored few will have them?

Another fundamental problem could be added to Willmott's list, and that concerns the nature of the white community itself. Does not such a community of transient job-holders, whose roots are in the south, really only introduce the Eskimos into a specialized version of a southern, temporate based culture, rather than encourage a locally viable new form?

Willmott points out that under present conditions the relations between Eskimos and whites in the settlement are inevitably caste-like, a condition which limits the flow of many cultural features that require close sustaining social contacts. How much further will the settlement Eskimo continue to acculturate in the Euro-Canadian direction given the limitations of these communities in size, economic absorbtive capacity, and the nature of cultural distance between white and Eskimo?

Willmott's report is required reading for all who are studying northern communities for comparative purposes. His statistics on population, income from trapping, wage labor and government aids, camp membership, and adoption are precisely those data needed in detail from all settlements. Those interested in kinship will find his genealogical charts and list of kinship terms valuable.

As this is a research report based on a single summer's work, its treatment of some subjects is naturally limited to impressions and a few exemples, e.g. child rearing, recreation, role of the church, changing value orientations, etc.

Future studies will have to be undertaken to add materials to the understanding of just how Eskimos and whites interact in the settlement.

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Foodways in a Muskeg Community: An Anthropological Report on the Attawapiskat Indians. John J. HONIGMANN. Ottawa: Department of Northern

Affairs and National Resources, Northern Co-ordination and Research Centre NCRC-62:1, 1961. iv-216 pp., 41 tables, 2 figs.

This study of the Cree Indians of Attawapiskat, Ontario, was part of a larger project aimed at finding out the health and nutritional conditions of two Canadian Indian groups. To achieve this, the Canadian government requested the services of an anthropologist, Dr. John J. Honigmann, "to discover the social problems underlying the health needs and to find ways of coping with them" (*The Health of the Northern Canadian Indians. A plan of Study*. National Committee for Health Studies. Typescript. Toronto, 1947. Cited by Honigmann, p. 1). Honigmann undertook his research with a triple purpose in mind: "first, to show the extent to which the people's food habits are determined by social and environmental factors; second, to outline some of the paths which a planned development program could follow in an attempt to improve the native diet and make the Indians more self-sufficient, and, third to present a body of information that would be useful to government officials charged with administering the Attawapiskat and other, culturally related, Indian group" (p. i). Honigmann fulfilled his purpose to this reviewer's satisfaction.

Fieldwork, on which this report is based, lasted about nine months, from July to November of 1947, and again from February to June 1948. Although interpreters were used extensively, Honigmann learned enough Cree to conduct simple interviews on his own.

The monograph is divided into five chapters and one appendix. The first section discusses the scope and aim of the study, the working conditions of the anthropologist, and the methods he used, while background material — demography, description of the physical environment, etc. — is given in the second chapter. The third part, dealing with the "Community, Family, and Individual", is an important one, especially for an action program, since leadership, channels of communication and other pertinent material are clearly described. The bulk of the study, 134 pages in length, is to be found in the fourth chapter, "Food and Economy", where the annual cycle, seasonal diets, the sources of food (government assistance programs, marketing, food-getting activities), the cost of living and eating habits are extensively treated. In the final chapter, Honigmann lists 12 specific problems such as mortality rate, attitudes, mental health, education, and interaction between segments of the community. To these problems, he offers 13 possible solutions "directed toward the end of *developing Indian life ways* toward greater nutritional and adaptive efficiency" (p. 2). Finally, a brief appendix on the language and a bibliography conclude the report.

This reviewer, who has visited Attawapiskat last summer, is generally in agreement with Honigmann's material as presented here. It should not be forgotten, however, that this report deals with a situation found in Attawapiskat some 15 years ago. The situation observed in 1962 was naturally quite different and most of this reviewer's remarks have to do with these changes.

Honigmann mentions a fact, in passing, which is becoming more and more obvious to me. He notes that while he could hardly obtain the co-operation of the Indians at the beginning of his fieldwork, he was much more successful on his second visit, that is, after an absence of one to two months. I found this to be true also in Winisk. A "return to the field" could very well become an accepted method of research, at least among the Cree Indians of James Bay, especially for those who plan to spend a year or so in the field. Rapport seems to come easily then, and information flows in at a much faster rate.

The missionaries and the Roman Catholic religion are said to give to the Indians some kind of security (see also LIEBOW, Elliot and John TRUDEAU. A Preliminary Study of Acculturation Among the Cree Indians of Winisk, Ontario. *In Arctic* 15:3:198) and partly because of this, the missionaries have enjoyed a high degree of prestige and authority among the Indians. But, as Honigmann predicted, "the diffusion of new ideas into Attawapiskat will cause the people to question the authority of the priests and perhaps, to disbelieve some of the religious teachings" (p. 41). This prediction was certainly fulfilled in Winisk, and is also in the process of being fulfilled, although to a lesser degree, in Attawapiskat. With the coming of whites in northern Ontario and because of easier communication with the outside world, the expectations of the Indians have changed and many of the roles the missionaries had previously held had to be relinquished. These roles, however, were not necessarily filled by other whites, or, if they were, no clear-cut expectations have been formulated. As a consequence of this state of affair, many social problems have arisen.

From an ethnographic as well as from an action program standpoint, Honigmann makes several pertinent remarks in regard to chiefship. He clearly shows the inadequate authority held by the chief, his lack of preparation for his role and the absence of a reward system which would presumably reinforce his position and make it more appealing (p. 47). The same situation exists today. It does not seem however, that the Indians are thoroughly "familiar with the value placed on leadership and that they themselves now want to realize this value" (p. 49). What Honigmann describes here is probably the *ideal* pattern, the *real* one being quite different. And it is the latter that should be kept in mind if an action program is to succeed. The same could also be said of the chief being "...expected to help and guide others for their good". The latter expectation might be *real* if the guiding and helping were done in a very general way. Inasmuch as it applies to a particular situation, especially to a trouble-case, the *real* pattern is more often of the mind-your-own-business type.

It is true, however, that the chief is shown some kind of respect. This was very apparent in Winisk when the missionaries decided to start a housing project for the Indians. The chief did not agree with the missionaries, and the Indians, who had previously spoken in favor of the project, offered a great deal of resistance. In view of what has been said above, clarity would

be gained by making a distinction between the *role* and the *status* of the Indian chief. The chief's *status* seems to be respected by members of the community and, to some degree, it might even be desired, but his *role* is generally rejected. As a consequence, there is very little pleasure derived from being chief (p. 48).

There is one final point I would like to make in view of the changes that are happening today among the Indians of the area. Honigmann mentions that a program emphasizing wage-labor "would run into serious opposition and enjoy little chance of success" (p. 133); that trapping and hunting activities "are more resistant to change, less likely to be driven out of existence" (p. 163); that trapping is not unpleasant (p. 90); and that successful hunting for meat and fowl "has strong symbolic significance", being one of the criteria for obtaining prestige (p. 167). All these statements undoubtedly describe the situation as observed by Honigmann in the late 40's, but today some of them would have to be altered to be applicable to all members of the community. For instance, young men or young couples now have a strong inclination to "go out", and it is clear from the drop in population that many of them have done so. In 1948, Honigmann reports a population of 468 Indians (the official Census of 1947 gave 645) while in 1962, it fluctuated between 350 and 400 people. Moreover, if Winisk (the post to the north of Attawapiskat) can be said to be a picture of Attawapiskat 5 to 10 years from now, most of the statements quoted above would not be applicable.

In Winisk, hunting and trapping have lost much of their significance. Although the Indians might say that they prefer trapping to working for wages, very few, in any, will refuse to work whenever a job is offered to them. Wage-labor, more probably the regular pay-cheque and permanent residence in the vilage, is not only accepted, it is highly valued, much more so than trapping. (LIEBOW & TRUDEAU p. 202). This is certainly true of the younger generation in Attawapiskat in regard to working at Moosonee, and of most of the Indians of Winisk. This sudden shift in values is probably due to what Honigmann refers to as the guarantee of quick-returns and, also, of security. As one Indian said "You work for an hour [at the base], you get \$1.25. When you trap, maybe you work for two days and you get nothing and maybe you get \$100. You never know." For members of a community that is said to live in "widespread anxiety" and "economic insufficiency" (p. 206), wage-labor and its consequences, such as permanent residence and intensification of social life, is almost certain to be well received.

These remarks offered here are meant as complements to the situation observed by Honigmann in 1948, and they certainly do not invalidate this important and commendable report. This much awaited ethnography of the Cree Indians of Attawapiskat fills a gap in our knowledge of the Indians of the James Bay area, and Honigmann must be congratulated for publishing it. Moreover, it is a good example of how anthropology can serve as a basis for an action program. There is little doubt that the hospital, the

school and other changes introduced in Attawapiskat since 1948 are due to some extent to Honigmann's study and recommendations. It certainly is a credit to his informative and scientifically sound report.

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Band Organization of the Peel River Kutchin. Richard SLOBODIN. National Museum of Canada Bulletin No. 179, Anthropological Series No. 55. Ottawa: The Queen's Printer, 1962. iv, 97 pp., ill. \$1.00.

The Peel River Kutchin, most nearly identifiable in officialese as the Loucheux Band Number Seven of Fort MacPherson, are an easterly group of the Kutchin peoples whose combined lands straddle the Pacific and Arctic watersheds along the Arctic Circle from the Chandalar River of Alaska to the Mackenzie Flats of the Northwest Territories of Canada. Slobodin's work, based on eighteen months in the field in 1938-1939 and 1946-1947, has yielded substantial advances in Kutchin ethnography. The material in the present study comprehends, in the author's words, "an inquiry into the structure of Peel River Kutchin social groups in the light both of ecologic considerations and of the particular history of this northern Athapaskan people..." (p. 5).

Beginning with the proto-contact period of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the author presents in several compact chapters an historical survey that stresses those changing conditions and contacts that altered, directed, and redirected the course of livelihood and social organization of the Peel River people, in severalty and as a total group. Among the more notable periods of alteration and expansion of the oecumene of the Peel River folk are the Klondike gold-rush days that drew most of the band into the Dawson area in the summer, provided new and varied summer occupations, and stimulated through contact with westerly Kutchin a limited potlatch revival. As with other Athapaskans of the North, the demands and fluctuations of the fur trade have dominated the deployment and economy of the Peel River Kutchin through the first half of the twentieth century.

In his precise delineation of the kinds of extra-familial groupings of the Peel River people and of the ecologic bases and structural principles that underlie them, Slobodin has made a worthy contribution not only to the ethnology of the subarctic but to the fields, potentially allied, of primitive social organization and of small-group interaction. The six kinds of groups of the Peel River folk are summed up in a dual classification derived from G. Homans. Viewed in terms of "external system", comprehending the group's behavior as an adaptive response to environment and the problem of survival,