LE CENTRE DE RECHERCHES D'ANTHROPOLOGIE AMERINDIENNE
UNIVERSITE D'OTTAWA

ANTHROPOLOGICA

N. 2 - 1956

THE RESEARCH CENTER FOR AMERINDIAN ANTHROPOLOGY
UNIVERSITY OF OTTAWA

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CLAUDE DESGOFFE

disparu tragiquement aux Belchers
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Editorial Staff

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CONSERVATISME ET CHANGEMENT
CHEZ LES INDIENS MICMACS

par

le R. Père Adrien, o.f.m.cap.

La tribu algonquinienne des Micmacs est une des premières, sinon même la toute première, à avoir été en contact avec les Blancs en Amérique du Nord, à cause de la situation de son habitat, qui couvre tout l'est du Canada, de la Gaspésie à l'Atlantique, autrefois jusqu'à Terre-Neuve. Français, Anglais, Canadiens, l'ont tour à tour soumise à la pression toute-puissante de leur culture.

Dans la province de Québec, les Micmacs habitent deux Réserves, celle de Ristigouche et celle de Maria, toutes deux dans le comté de Bonaventure. La première, à l'embouchure de la rivière Ristigouche, compte 872 individus; celle de Maria, près du village gaspésien du même nom, compte 275 personnes. Tous les faits auxquels se réfère cet exposé ont été recueillis par l'auteur dans ces deux Réserves, de 1953 à 1955.

Dans son récent ouvrage sur les Micmacs, Wallis,* frappé des changements survenus dans leur culture depuis quarante ans, en vient à se demander si la survivance de la tribu micmaque n'est pas chose artificielle, si les Micmacs ne restent groupés que par l'appât de la protection du gouvernement: ayant perdu toute originalité, toute culture propre, ils n'ont plus de raison de demeurer à part, en tous cas ils n'en auraient pas les moyens si on les laissait à eux-mêmes: tel est le raisonnement qu'il propose implicitement (sans d'ailleurs conclure).

Je n'oserais certes m'engager à prédire les effets d'une émancipation éventuelle, mais je me crois en droit de contester les prémisses de ce raisonnement. Wallis avait connu les Micmacs à une époque où il subsistait encore beaucoup d'éléments anciens dans leur

* Wilson D. Wallis and Ruth Sawtell W.- The Micmac Indians of Eastern Canada, University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis, 1955, voir pp. 270-271.

culture; aujourd'hui, il ne peut manquer d'être frappé par les changements survenus, et, un peu désabusé, il prend une vue pessimiste. Pour ma part, ayant abordé l'étude des Micmacs dans une tout autre perspective, j'ai plutôt été frappé de la quantité relativement considérable de survivances et de la puissance des facteurs de conservation. Sans doute, les changements sont indéniables, encore que moins nombreux qu'on ne croirait; mais les éléments qualitativement les plus importants, les éléments psychologiques et moraux: croyances, sanctions, valeurs reconnues et poursuivies ... sont demeurés substantiellement inchangés, assurant ainsi la permanence d'une culture authentiquement micmaque, sous un masque emprunté. C'est ce que je me propose de faire ressortir en rapportant ici mes principales constatations dans les aspects suivants de la culture: 1) la culture matérielle; 2) la langue; 3) la mythologie, les croyances, la magie; 4) les comportements moraux, sociaux, religieux.

I. CULTURE MATERIELLE

La culture matérielle a été la première et la plus profondément affectée par le contact culturel avec les Blancs. Dans le costume, l'habitation, l'outillage, on ne trouve plus guère d'éléments vraiment anciens; les derniers canots d'écorce et les derniers wigwams ont disparu vers 1910. A première vue, rien ou à peu près ne distingue les Micmacs de leurs voisins Blancs. Ce serait toutefois trop simplifier que de dire qu'ils ont purement et simplement abandonné leur culture matérielle ancienne pour la remplacer par celle des Blancs. Il faut noter tout d'abord qu'il y a eu une certaine sélection dans les emprunts: ainsi par exemple, pas plus tard que l'an dernier, les Indiens de Maria ont refusé carrément certaines installations hygiéniques qui nous paraissent bien essentielles, alléguant que "ce ne sont pas des choses à mettre dans une maison." Par contre, certains éléments comme la vannerie, très développée à Maria, et considérés par tous, Indiens et Blancs, comme spécifiquement indiens, sont d'introduction relativement récente.

Quant aux objets d'invention indigène ancienne, j'ai pu constater que leur disparition n'est pas toujours aussi entière qu'on le croirait, ni toujours attribuable à la reconnaissance de la supériorité des inventions correspondantes des Blancs. Ainsi, un vieillard de Maria m'a décrit très exactement la

technique de la construction des canots d'écorce; et comme je lui demandais pourquoi on n'en fabriquait plus, il me répondit que c'était à cause de la disparition presque complète des bouleaux de grande taille capables de fournir la matière première.

Par ailleurs, c'est souvent la recherche du prestige et la crainte de passer pour "sauvage" qui font abandonner certains éléments anciens et adopter les nouveautés modernes. Là où ce motif n'existe pas, par exemple dans l'ameublement et la décoration intérieure des maisons, on note un conservatisme beaucoup plus prononcé.

II. LA LANGUE

Si nous passons au domaine de la langue, nous remarquons des phénomènes entièrement différents et à certains égards diamétralement opposés. Ici, le conservatisme triomphe nettement: les Micmacs en effet parlent encore couramment leur langue; c'est par elle que se fait la première enculturation, et c'est l'intermédiaire habituel des communications des Indiens entre eux. Par ailleurs, tous savent plus ou moins bien l'anglais -- appris à l'école et dans les contacts avec les Blancs -- qu'ils utilisent avec les Blancs. A Maria, il y a une certaine tendance vers le français, plus commun que l'anglais dans la région. L'attachement des Micmacs à leur langue est conscient, voulu, considéré par les Indiens eux-mêmes comme un critère essentiel de loyauté nationale. L'abandon de la langue est regardé comme une trahison. A Maria, il y a un individu qui veut à tout prix passer pour Blanc: tout en parlant couramment micmac avec ses congénères, il feint devant les Blancs d'ignorer sa langue, et refuse de l'enseigner à ses enfants; aussi passe-t-il pour un transfuge aux yeux de la communauté: "These people, they don't even speak Indian; why do they send their children to our school?" me disait une jeune écolière en parlant de cet homme et de sa famille.

Malgré tout, la langue subit quelques altérations: les néologismes empruntés à l'anglais l'envahissent. Une automobile, "en micmac," se dit ... car. On compte ordinairement en anglais..... Mais somme toute, ces changements ne sont pas d'une grande importance. Ce qui importe surtout, c'est que la conservation de la langue ne peut manquer de perpétuer certains modes originaux de penser et de sentir: c'est ce que nous allons vérifier.

III. CROYANCES, MYTHES, MAGIE

Le Micmac ne voit sûrement pas le monde comme nous le voyons. Ainsi, pour nous, un remède est un produit chimique agissant physiquement sur l'organisme; il est bien autre chose pour le Micmac: volontiers il utilise les produits pharmaceutiques des Blancs, volontiers il se fait soigner par le médecin ou l'infirmière. Mais il est loin d'avoir abandonné la médecine indigène, à laquelle il recourt dans les cas les plus simples, ou lorsque la médecine des Blancs a échoué. Le plus souvent, il emploie parallèlement les deux médecines: la médecine indigène, conçue comme douée de pouvoir magique et devant assurer l'efficacité de la médecine blanche, cause physique, un peu à la façon dont le chrétien recourt à la fois à la prière et au traitement médical. Une jeune femme, qui devait partir le lendemain pour le sanatorium, me disait: "I'm sure I gonna be cured, because somebody gave me a good Indian medicine." Aucun des nombreux Indiens que j'ai interrogés n'a mis en doute l'efficacité de la médecine indigène. Quand tout le reste a échoué, le dernier espoir de salut demeure dans les décoctions et cataplasmes de la pharmacopée indigène. Il en est d'étranges, comme ce remède contre la coqueluche, en usage à Ristigouche: faire bouillir pendant trois heures une corneille entière, avec plumes et entrailles, et ... boire le jus. Peut-être faut-il voir là une application de la magie imitative: le cri de la corneille ne ressemble-t-il pas à la toux du coquelucheux?

Au reste, la médecine agit moins par elle-même que comme instrument du pouvoir personnel du guérisseur. Il ne suffit pas de connaître la recette, il faut avoir le droit et le pouvoir d'utiliser le remède, pour qu'il soit efficace. (Ceci ne s'applique pas à certains remèdes d'usage courant contre les maux bénins, et qui ne sont pas réservés.) Il faut payer celui qui donne la médecine, autrement elle sera inefficace: après avoir mentionné à une femme de Maria un remède contre l'asthme que j'avais appris d'un Indien de Ristigouche, elle me dit qu'elle écrirait à cet homme et lui demanderait de cette médecine pour son mari, en n'oubliant pas de joindre un dollar à sa lettre, car autrement la médecine n'agirait pas. Or elle aurait pu tout aussi bien cueillir elle-même la plante médicinale en question, aussi commune à Maria qu'à Ristigouche.

Ce guérisseur de Ristigouche a été un de mes principaux informateurs. J'ai retiré de ses confidences l'impression qu'il se considérait doué de pouvoirs particuliers qu'on ne peut appeler que magiques. Sa mère, disait-il, était "medicine-woman," et c'est d'elle qu'il tenait sa connaissance étendue des remèdes indigènes. Mais il y a, ajoutait-il, un autre moyen d'apprendre des remèdes: c'est le rêve. "Sometimes people learn a new medicine through a dream. They dream of a medicine, and then they go in the woods and find it."

La maladie est souvent conçue comme le résultat de la sorcellerie, à moins que ce ne soit un châtiment de Dieu; et il en est de même de tous les événements fâcheux, de tous les malheurs privés ou publics. La malchance, la "bad luck," est ordinairement attribuée à la malveillance ou vengeance d'un sorcier ou ... du prêtre, qui passe pour avoir à sa disposition le pouvoir de châtier les méchants et les indisciplinés:

> "There is too much drinking ... people do bad, and if something happens they say that the priest wished them bad luck: they just wish bad luck on themselves ... That woman who broke her leg, that was a punishment from God. Our bridge burnt, and now some are sick ..... that's a punishment." (J.B., Maria.)

Cette conviction au sujet des pouvoirs maléfiques du prêtre est tellement ancrée qu'on a vu l'hiver dernier à Maria une forte tête de la Réserve se jeter à genoux dans la neige au passage du prêtre et le supplier de lui enlever la "bad luck" qui lui avait été infligée, croyait-il, en punition de sa mauvaise conduite. Il suffit que le prêtre commette l'imprudence de dire en chaire que Dieu ne laissera pas impuni tel ou tel crime, pour que ceux qui ont conscience d'en être coupables s'estiment sous le coup d'un "bad wish" porté par le prêtre. Quand il est à jeun, l'Indien ne se permettrait jamais une insulte ou même une réponse arrogante au prêtre; quand il veut "lui parler," il prend la précaution de puiser un peu de courage dans la bouteille ... mais infailliblement, dans les quelques jours qui suivent, on le voit revenir tout penaud solliciter son pardon. L'attitude de ces catholiques (ils le sont tous) à l'égard du prêtre semble donc inspirée par une réinterprétation qui en fait une sorte de sorcier.

D'autres personnages sont doués de pouvoirs magiques: tout d'abord le buowin ou sorcier, ou plutôt sorcière, car tous nos informateurs insistent que c'est régulièrement une femme. (Il n'en était pas ainsi autrefois.) Il n'y en a plus aujourd'hui, nous dit-on, du moins pas chez nous: ceux de Ristigouche prétendent qu'il y en a à Maria, ceux de Maria en gratifient leurs congénères de Ristigouche, ou du Nouveau-Brunswick, ou même les Iroquois de Caughnawaga. La sorcellerie est disparue ou en train de disparaître, dit-on, parce que désormais la religion est trop forte. Le buowin n'agit que pour faire du tort; personne ne mentionne d'autres moyens d'action magique que le "bad wish" ou mauvais oeil, d'ailleurs parfaitement suffisant pour causer une maladie, un accident, même la mort. A Maria, il y a un détraqué dont la manie est de voler des automobiles, ce qui naturellement lui a attiré bien des ennuis: or on attribue communément sa folie à la vengeance d'une buowin du Nouveau-Brunswick, et c'est ce que lui-même prétend. Un informateur de Maria nous a raconté: "There was a witch a few years ago in New Brunswick, an old woman. People used to go to her and gave her two dollars and she would use her witchcraft for them." Et il ajoute qu'on peut reconnaître les sorcières à ce trait spécial de signalement: "two curls of hair on each side of their forehead, like two horns, which they hide carefully."

Le buowin est couramment considéré comme un individu qui a vendu son âme au diable ... "and he got it all right," ajoutait notre informateur. Comme évidemment personne ne tient à passer pour un suppôt du diable, on ne trouve plus d'individu possédant ouvertement le statut et la fonction de buowin. Mais il n'est pas téméraire de penser que l'on puisse se livrer occasionnellement à la magie, ou même d'une façon suivie, mais toujours clandestine. A Ristigouche, celui qui veut attirer le malheur sur la maison de son voisin met un crucifix dans la fenêtre, dans la direction de la maison de son ennemi. A Maria, il y a au moins un individu dont tout le monde dit fort sérieusement qu'il est un vrai démon, ou qu'il est possédé du démon, "mento," à cause de sa malveillance, de sa méfiance toujours aux aguets, et parce qu'il est sous le coup de la malédiction pour avoir enfreint l'interdiction de verser le sang le Vendredi Saint.

Pour compléter l'image du buowin, disons qu'il ou elle peut enlever le mauvais sort, ordinairement en donnant un petit morceau de racine, ou quoi

que ce soit: ainsi on raconte à Maria que la vieille L.M. avait jeté un sort sur deux chasseurs: leurs pièges restaient vides. Les chasseurs allèrent la voir, lui firent des menaces, et elle leur donna un petit morceau de truite; après avoir touché leurs pièges, la chance revint.

Une autre catégorie de magiciens, mais bons, est celle des "ginap." C'est toujours un homme, doué d'une force herculéenne et de double-vue, champion de la tribu ou de la localité: une sorte de "Superman," dit John B. de Ristigouche. Le ginap sait tout ce qui se passe dans le camp ennemi ou dans les autres réserves. Autrefois les ginap de différentes tribus ou réserves avaient des batailles formidables entre eux. A Maria on montre l'empreinte laissée dans le roc par les pieds d'un ginap qui s'y enfonçaient profondément sous ses pas puissants. "In Maine an Indian told me about a ginap who gave a sample of his power by just dropping his knife on the floor and it penetrated about six inches deep." (D.C., Maria.)

Quelquefois les combats entre ginap avaient lieu en rêve: "they also used to fight in their dreams; the one who is defeated must have forgiveness from the other, otherwise he will be defeated if he has a fight." (D.C.)

Enfin, sans être magiciens, beaucoup d'individus sont censés posséder des pouvoirs spéciaux, d'origine surnaturelle. Bien entendu, le surnaturel a beaucoup plus d'extension chez les Micmacs que chez nous. En fait, tout talent peu commun est plus ou moins surnaturel. C'est un "don," un "don de Dieu," quelquefois aussi un don conféré par des personnages surnaturels qui n'ont rien à voir avec le surnaturel chrétien, tels les "pugulatamutc" (sorte de lutins indigènes) et les "megumwesoo" (fées des bois...) Voici comment une femme de Maria a failli devenir une bonne chanteuse:

> "I was ten years old. I was hanging clothes on the clothes-line. Suddenly I heard voices with music, singing one of the hymns of the dead. (Partie importante du répertoire de chants d'église micmac.) I was so frightened that I ran home and told the people what happened. The old people said: If you had not told anybody what happened, you would have been a good singer. I would have been a good singer

if I had kept my secret." (Mrs. X.B., Maria.)

Quant aux "megumwesoo," voici ce que nous en dit Noël Condo, le chef de la réserve de Maria: "I always thought they must be like fairies. They could teach songs and bestow power. Whatever they teach you, you do it easy. They are not many now."

Au sujet des "pugulatamutc," il circule bien des légendes qu'il serait un peu long de rapporter ici. Ce sont des nains de guère plus de deux pieds de haut; ils parlent une langue à eux; ils ont de petits canots dans lesquels ils remontent la rivière en chantant. Et justement, j'ai eu la bonne fortune de recueillir une chanson inspirée, dit-on, par le chant de ces "petits diables:"

> "Old Etienne Dedam, an old hunter, used to say that once he went at Mount Albert with two other hunters. They left their canoe and the cariboo they had killed a little distance from the place where they were camping for the night. When they got up, they could see that the cariboo had disappeared. And then they heard the Pugulatamutc singing. It was not in Indian, but in Pugulatamutc language. And they made a song out of it, but in Indian:
>
> Tlacadigetj elmigegoeg - Pugulatamutc meneointôg
>
> (trad.) A Tracadieche (Carleton) sur la montagne, Les Pugulatamutc chantent.

Mentionnons pour finir la croyance aux revenants, "skadegamutc," encore très vivante.

Sans doute, toute ces croyances et cette mythologie sont en voie de disparition: les sorciers perdent leurs pouvoirs, les légendes s'estompent, des éléments mythologiques sont réinterprétés dans un sens nouveau, chrétien ou profane, surtout par les jeunes. Ainsi, pour une petite fille de Maria, "pugulatamutc" signifiait simplement ... "dirty man;" pour d'autres écoliers, c'est le forgeron, parce qu'il fait du bruit. Glooscap le démiurge, dont les exploits forment une partie importante de la mythologie ancienne, n'est plus connu que par des bribes de légende: ceux qui en savent quelque chose hésitent à en parler, parce que la croyance à Glooscap leur paraît contredire la

croyance chrétienne au Créateur. On a même fait du nom du démiurge une sorte de sobriquet: un "glooscap" est un matamore, un fumiste. Mais il reste tout de même que dans une grande mesure le Micmac est encore influencé par ces croyances, qu'il vit dans un univers de mystère ("keskamzit:" "magic good luck," ou "something mysterious") peuplé de toutes sortes de puissances occultes, bonnes ou mauvaises. Il subsiste même encore quelque chose de l'animisme anthropomorphique ancien: je songe par exemple aux réflexions du chef Noël Condo, de Maria, sur les animaux, sur les oiseaux à qui il attribuait une intelligence humaine et ce que nous appellerions la personnalité. Tout cela ne suppose-t-il pas des processus mentaux et des attitudes intellectuelles qu'on ne peut qualifier que de "primitifs?"

L'importance attachée aux rêves nous fournit de nouvelles preuves de cette persistance de la mentalité primitive. Déjà j'ai donné quelques exemples en ce sens; en voici d'autres: à Ristigouche, c'est le chef qui insiste auprès du prêtre pour que celui-ci lui donne l'interprétation d'un rêve; il avait rêvé au Sacré-Coeur de Jésus ... et pourtant il n'a pas la réputation d'être spécialement dévot. Il y a quelques années, un Micmac de Ristigouche confiait au prêtre qu'il avait eu en songe la révélation d'un trésor caché; pour trouver ce trésor, il fallait, disait-il, que le prêtre l'accompagnât, revêtu de l'étole ... (les histoires de trésors cachés sont nombreuses.) Un jeune homme appartenant à une famille d'assimilés disait de ses congénères: "Ils rêvent à quelque chose et ils croient que c'est arrivé." La remarque semble exacte. A Maria, l'été dernier, un homme partit soudain pour servir de guide pour des pêcheurs américains: la veille il avait rêvé précisément qu'il était à la pêche avec des touristes, et c'est ce qui l'avait décidé.

IV. VIE MORALE, SOCIALE, RELIGIEUSE

La grande révolution culturelle chez les Micmacs a été l'adoption du catholicisme: depuis au moins deux siècles, tous les Micmacs sans exception sont catholiques. Ceci suppose l'acceptation en bloc des normes et des institutions chrétiennes. En fait, les institutions fondamentales, d'ordre social ou religieux, sont celles du christianisme. Les normes de conduite ouvertement acceptées sont celles de la morale chrétienne. Mais on peut se demander jusqu'à quel degré les structures chrétiennes apparentes sont

intériorisées, jusqu'à quel point les valeurs encadrées par ces normes et ces institutions chrétiennes sont dominantes. On se le demande surtout en constatant certains comportements où semble se manifester non seulement le phénomène banal du décalage entre les normes idéales et les normes statistiques, mais aussi la persistance d'un système de normes et de valeurs étranger au christianisme, et qui pourrait bien être hérité tout droit du passé païen. Ainsi, en d'autres termes, le Micmac, là où sa conduite s'écarte le plus des modèles chrétiens, serait encore un trop bon païen, plutôt qu'un mauvais chrétien.

Evidemment, il ne s'agit ici que d'une hypothèse, et dont il serait téméraire de tenter la démonstration sur la base des seuls faits que nous allons rapporter ici, même avec une analyse beaucoup plus poussée. Je veux simplement faire voir un ensemble de faits qui la suggèrent.

L'état de la morale sexuelle, du mariage et de la famille nous paraît éminemment révélateur à cet égard. La norme chrétienne est bien connue: mariage un et indissoluble, soumis aux lois de l'Eglise, interdiction des relations sexuelles hors-mariage, etc... Or, sur les quelque quarante foyers de Maria, onze au moins comptent des enfants illégitimes: dans huit cas, il s'agit d'enfants d'une des filles de la famille, la fille demeurant avec ses parents sans que ceux-ci n'en éprouvent aucune honte. La maternité hors-mariage n'entraîne aucune réprobation, elle semble plutôt excuser et légitimer les relations sexuelles illicites. Les filles veulent être mères à tout prix; une femme de Maria se plaignait de ce que sa fille, non mariée, était parvenue à l'âge de dix-huit ans ... et n'avait pas encore d'enfant!... il faut dire que la fille était fort laide.

A vrai dire, le mariage n'apporte pas beaucoup plus de sécurité à la mère que la maternité hors mariage, à cause de cette absence de réprobation, et parce que au besoin il se trouve toujours quelqu'un pour adopter un enfant; d'autre part, comme on le dira tout-à-l'heure, le mari n'assume qu'une responsabilité assez limitée à l'égard de sa femme et de ses enfants. Au reste, la fille-mère trouve assez facilement à se marier: on confie les enfants à un autre, ou même le mari accepte de les garder.

Ni à Ristigouche ni à Maria, un couple qui n'est pas marié selon les règles de l'Eglise ne serait toléré; mais ceux qui émigrent en dehors, surtout aux Etats-Unis, épousent volontiers des divorcés ou contractent mariage devant le ministre protestant. Il semble que l'on considère les normes religieuses et morales en vigueur sur la Réserve comme sans valeur en dehors. Et à ce sujet, les migrations saisonnières vers le Maine, où l'on va en groupe travailler à la récolte des pommes de terre ou à d'autres tâches analogues, remplissent une fonction de détente, de libération des inhibitions imposées par la vie sur la Réserve. Il est reconnu en effet (voir Wallis, op. cit., p. 281 s.) que les conditions de vie pendant ces périodes comportent une promiscuité et une absence de pratique religieuse que nul ne saurait se permettre sur la Réserve.

Il faut pourtant remarquer l'absence à peu près complète de perversions sexuelles proprement dites: la sexualité est forte, indisciplinée, mais parfaitement saine et naturelle.

Les longues fréquentations sans but précis, à la manière des Blancs, ne sont guère connues. Il y a une règle d'étiquette, substantiellement inchangée depuis les temps les plus anciens, selon laquelle les jeunes hommes et les jeunes filles ne doivent avoir aucun rapport, même de ceux qui seraient considérés comme parfaitement indifférents chez nous, à moins que ce ne soit pour se proposer le mariage ... ou l'équivalent.

Les responsabilités assumées par le mari à l'égard de sa femme et de ses enfants sont réduites au minimum. Ainsi la femme se procure ordinairement ses propres vêtements par son travail; les enfants eux-mêmes, dès qu'ils gagnent quelque argent -- par exemple à la récolte des pommes de terre -- en ont la libre disposition et se procurent leurs propres vêtements. Les parents ne se reconnaissent aucun droit sur l'argent gagné par leurs enfants. Ainsi, j'ai vu une mère insister auprès du curé de Maria, chez qui était déposé l'argent de sa petite fille, pour qu'il lui envoie les quelque dix dollars qu'elle possédait: l'enfant les réclamait, de son pensionnat, pour s'acheter des friandises; et la mère d'insister qu'elle n'avait pas le droit de refuser, même si cet argent devait être gaspillé.

Les responsabilités par rapport à l'éducation ne sont pas moins réduites. L'enfant est laissé aussi libre que possible; on répugne à le contraindre, encore plus à le punir: il est censé irresponsable. Les parents n'ont pas non plus grand'chose à dire dans le mariage de leurs enfants.

Quand une famille compte trop de bouches à nourrir, on confiera l'un ou l'autre des enfants à des parents ou à des amis; les orphelins évidemment sont toujours adoptés par une famille du groupe; un veuf de Maria a donné les enfants de sa première femme en adoption quand il s'est remarié.

La famille forme donc une unité assez lâche, de structure peu rigide, un groupement où chacun garde une grande part de liberté et d'indépendance. Elle est ouverte sur le groupe; on y entre et on en sort facilement, et l'on pourrait peut-être dire que le sentiment d'identification à la communauté prime celui d'appartenance à la famille. Les enfants sont un peu à tout le monde; un célibataire me parlait de "nos enfants"... Certains individus isolés ont autant de foyers qu'il y a de maisons dans la Réserve.

Ainsi, tout se passe comme si la préoccupation primordiale était d'assurer le maximum de liberté et d'indépendance à l'individu. En fait, le désir de liberté et d'indépendance se manifeste si fréquemment et sous tant de formes diverses, on le trouve à l'origine de tant de comportements, qu'il paraît bien être un facteur essentiel d'intégration. Mais je dois d'abord préciser son contenu: il s'agit avant tout de "vivre et laisser vivre," de ne pas s'imposer de contraintes inutiles, de ne pas se compromettre, de ne pas se faire d'ennemis, pour être en retour laissé en paix. Déjà au XVIIe siècle Le Clercq* essayait de rendre compte de l'intégration de la culture des Micmacs par ce principe psychologique: leur facilité à se consoler après un deuil, la facilité du divorce, etc... tout leur comportement, expliquait-il, étaient en fonction de ce principe qu'il ne faut pas se donner de peine inutilement:

* Le Clercq, Chrétien: Nouvelle Relation de la Gaspésie ... éditée par William F. Ganong, Toronto, Champlain Society, 1910.

"Ils aiment naturellement leur repos, éloignant d'eux, autant qu'ils peuvent, tous les sujets de chagrin qui le pourraient troubler: d'où vient qu'ils ne contredisent jamais à personne, et qu'ils laissent agir chacun selon sa volonté; jusque-là même, que les pères et mères n'osent point corriger leurs enfants, et les souffrent dans leurs désordres, de peur de les chagriner en les châtiant. Jamais ils ne se querellent ni ne se fâchent entre eux, non pas à cause de l'inclination qu'ils ont à pratiquer la vertu, mais pour leur propre satisfaction, et dans la crainte, comme nous venons de dire, de troubler leur repos dont ils sont tout-à-fait idolâtres." (p. 406).

Tout ceci correspond exactement à nos observations sur les Micmacs actuels. Il ne me semble pas exagéré de dire que tout le système de valeurs sur lequel repose notre conception du progrès, l'estime que nous avons des individus ou des groupes entreprenants, "progressifs," de l'homme d'affaires, du travailleur acharné ... est rejeté en bloc par le Micmac. Le travail n'est pas pour lui une valeur; l'argent non plus, du moins la richesse; le confort non plus, ni même la sécurité, quand il faut se l'assurer au prix d'efforts persévérants. Sans doute, si on lui suggère que le succès en affaires, le confort, le progrès, sont de véritables valeurs, il s'empressera d'acquiescer ... pour vous faire plaisir, et ne pas passer pour "sauvage;" mais il ne faut pas s'attendre à ce qu'il change sa conduite en conséquence. Si un changement est imposé de l'extérieur, il le subira, pour ne pas troubler son repos, mais il ne modifiera pas pour autant ses jugements de valeur.

Les quelques individus de Ristigouche et de Maria qui ont acquis par la méthode non indienne du travail persévérant et de l'économie une certaine supériorité économique, et partant la considération des Blancs des alentours, n'ont guère de prestige et d'influence sur leurs congénères; on ne les aime pas, et ils en souffrent. On les qualifie de "bad," de "crooked." Comme le dit très justement Wallis (op. cit., p. 307) le caractère Micmac idéal est décrit comme geolikwaniskik, "one who likes everybody and everything." Ceci correspond fort bien avec ces déclarations de Noël Condo de Maria:

"We must manage to be right with everybody. I could do nothing if I had no friends. Me, I like everybody ... we must manage to do right, because if you don't, you have no friends and you make a bad show. Because lots of friends is just as good as lots of money ..."

A Maria, l'individu le plus estimé, le plus aimé, en somme le mieux ajusté au groupe, est sans aucun doute Old Dan. Ce vieillard inoffensif, un peu simple d'esprit, a subi stoïquement de grandes épreuves: il a été abandonné par sa femme, puis par ses enfants; il est resté seul, pauvre, incapable de gagner sa vie à cause de sa santé chétive et de son âge. Bien loin d'être aigri et de se plaindre, il est toujours de bonne humeur; jamais il ne se fâche, et il prend avec bonhomie des taquineries que d'autres regarderaient comme de graves injures. Toutes les maisons lui sont ouvertes, et on regarde comme un honneur de lui donner l'hospitalité. Le premier panier de "coques" de la saison est pour lui. Ce fut une consternation générale dans la Réserve quand il tomba malade, pendant mon séjour. Jeunes et vieux, enfants même, venaient le visiter dans sa cabane, le visage grave. Chacun s'offrait à rendre service; les femmes lui envoyaient des petits plats, les jeunes hommes entretenaient le feu...

Voilà donc un individu qui n'a jamais rendu aucun service appréciable à la communauté, qui au contraire en dépend entièrement, et qui est estimé et aimé de tout le monde: ne serait-ce pas justement parce qu'il ne peut ni ne veut faire de mal à personne, parce que ses ambitions personnelles ne peuvent entrer en conflit avec les intérêts de qui que ce soit? Ce n'est pas en faisant des largesses que l'on peut conquérir l'estime et l'amitié des Micmacs, c'est en acceptant de bonne grâce les services et les cadeaux qu'ils offrent, en se mettant en leur dépendance, car alors il est bien manifeste qu'on ne peut leur en vouloir, qu'on est inoffensif ... De plus, cette attitude les flatte, tandis que celui qui prend des allures de protection s'attire la jalousie et la suspicion. Pour ma part en tous cas, j'ai senti que j'étais vraiment accepté le jour où j'ai agréé et même demandé de menus services, plutôt que d'en offrir.

D'autres comportements que nous n'avons pas eu l'occasion de signaler jusqu'ici semblent aussi être en dépendance du même principe psychologique. Ainsi il

arrive qu'un jeune couple soit forcé de demeurer pendant un certain temps chez l'un ou l'autre des beaux-parents, en attendant de posséder sa propre maison; dans ce cas, tout en demeurant sous le même toit, les deux familles ne se mêlent pas: on partage les pièces, parfois en faisant une cloison, on fait même table à part, tout ceci pour éviter des froissements et des disputes. A Ristigouche, les deux clubs de baseball préfèrent jouer contre les Blancs plutôt qu'entre eux, pour que la rivalité ne dégénère pas en dispute.

D'autres principes psychologiques mentionnés par les auteurs anciens, et qui ne sont pas sans relations avec celui de la recherche de la tranquilité, peuvent encore se déceler dans le comportement des Micmacs actuels: principe de non-manifestation de la douleur, (le sage n'étant pas censé s'attacher à quoi que ce soit, pour ne pas éprouver trop de peine s'il vient à en être privé) -- préférence donnée aux manières détournées, diplomatiques, sur les voies directes et violentes ... Quant à l'attachement au point d'honneur, également mentionné chez les anciens auteurs, et qui est encore aujourd'hui fort vivace, il semble être non pas une application du principe de la recherche de la tranquilité, mais plutôt sa contre-partie, stimulant à l'action tandis que la recherche de la tranquilité joue plutôt un rôle régulateur. Ainsi se trouve assuré l'équilibre entre les forces d'inertie et de conservation d'une part, et les forces d'action et de changement d'autre part.

Je répète en concluant que je ne prétends rien démontrer en tout ceci; seulement les faits exposés me paraissent justifier certaines hypothèses qu'on aurait sans doute intérêt à essayer de contrôler, non seulement par des observations plus nombreuses et plus précises des comportements, mais par l'emploi de méthodes et de techniques qui permettraient un contact plus direct avec le psychisme des individus: tests de personnalité par exemple.

Cette étude psychologique directe s'avère d'autant plus nécessaire que, placés dans une situation d'acculturation intensive, intégrés à un système d'institutions économiques, politiques, sociales, qui n'est pas le leur, les Micmacs, comme sans doute tous les autres Indiens, sont privés de leurs moyens d'expression normaux. Obligés de se conformer aux normes imposées, il s'ensuit que beaucoup de leurs comportements seront artificiels, que souvent leurs attitudes déclarées ne

correspondront pas à leurs convictions intimes. N'est-ce pas ce que cherchait à exprimer cet Indien qui disait: "Quand nous parlons anglais, nous ne disons que des mensonges?"

Sans doute, à force de "mentir," de jouer son personnage, l'Indien finira par croire sincèrement à ce qu'il exprime, par prendre la personnalité qu'il s'efforce de revêtir; ce sera alors qu'on pourra dire que sa culture propre est bel et bien disparue. En attendant, elle subsiste au moins dans ses éléments les plus intimes, bien que refoulée de plus en plus. Et il faudra bien que l'on en tienne compte si l'on veut agir efficacement et sagement sur cette culture et ceux qui en vivent, et dans le respect de la justice.

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NOTES ON SARSI KIN BEHAVIOR

by

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Apart from reports by Goddard and Jenness (1) Sarsi culture has remained a severely neglected object of ethnological inquiry. In the summer of 1944, following field work among the Athapaskan-speaking Slave Indians at Fort Nelson, B.C., the present author spent two weeks on the Sarcee Reserve near Calgary, Alberta, collecting material on the culture as it existed around the time of white contact (2). The following notes report some of the regularities of kinship behavior, including mode of marriage and patterns of friendship pertaining to that dateline. These data amplify the picture which Jenness has given of the Sarsi and illustrate the rather thorough assimilation of Plains culture that occurred in about one hundred and fifty years. One caution may be suggested, however. We do not doubt that the informant, Pat Grasshopper (through the interpreter, Oscar Otter,) gave us as accurate a description of aboriginal and early contact lifeways as possible. On the other hand, the patterns of behavior which he described, while redolent of Plains Indian ethos and values, might have been carried out by the Sarsi with qualities somewhat different from those of their Blackfoot and other Plains neighbors.

The name Sarsi apparently originated from the designation bestowed upon an Athapaskan people by their contemporaries. Originally, according to Pat Grasshopper, the Algonquian-speaking Blackfoot referred to the Plains latecomers as "saxsiiwak," a word said to denote "real (or "true," i.e., bush) Indian." But Dick Starlight said that the original designation was saxsii, meaning "hard language." We suspect that Grasshopper is more nearly correct and that the root of the word Sarsi is the Algonquian sookii, conveying the idea of strong, powerful, mighty. Combined with the plural, animate suffix, -ak, we get "strong ones" or "hard people," possibly referring to the hardiness of these bush people who had only recently moved out of the forest and into the lusher plains. Formerly the Sarsi no doubt referred to themselves only as "people" (tina). The word for tribe, tsotina, signified "everybody." (3).

Grandparents. Between alternate generations social expectations stressed the respect and restraint which the young owed to the dignity of age. Only a "bad" boy would tease or play practical jokes on his grandfather in the manner found among Northern Forest Athapaskans. Apparently levity on the part of the old man was also considered inappropriate (4). Grandparents deserved respect and deference because of their richer experience, authority, and ceremonial roles. Among the more northerly Athapaskans, with their atomistic social structure, age did not heighten prestige. In the northern forest, where old people were sometimes abandoned to die when they could no longer keep up with the mobile band, any pronounced attitudes of respect might have complicated the struggle for survival by making the obnoxious necessity of abandonment even more conflictful. The intensity of relations was apparently greatest between grandparents and grandchildren of the same sex. It would also appear that a tendency toward cross-reciprocal terminology existed between these relatives, although this was not admitted by informants. That is to say, a person tended to classify his grandchildren of either sex (isua, m.s., icuga, w.s.) with the grandmother (isu) and grandfather (isiga). Grandfather gave his grandson beneficial advice and exhorted him to be brave and kind while an old woman taught her granddaughter herbal medicine.

Parents. The Sarsi family constituted an important institution for learning. In the language of an informant: "We gave our children a great deal of advice on Indian ways; how to be good-natured, gentlemanly, and generous, so that in the future the boy would win respect from the band. If he got respect from the band the people said: 'He has a good father, and the father will win respect.'" (5). A mother was no less a teacher than her husband but she directed her counsel primarily toward her daughters, from whose future public conduct she also hoped to be rewarded.

At birth the mother received assistance from three or four women, one of them an unrelated person experienced with parturition and in herbal medicines. Also present, but not engaging in the work of delivery, were the mother and mother-in-law of the woman in childbed. Men were excluded from the scene, which always took place inside a dwelling (6). To facilitate delivery, the midwife prepared beverages which the mother drank. These were also supposed to heal the body. The oldest woman in the group cut the cord

after which the afterbirth, wrapped in a piece of skin, was cached in a tree or buried in a badger hole. No food taboos followed childbirth and informants denied that any were observed during pregnancy. For a short time after birth women attempted to round the infant's head by molding it with the hands. Twins were happily greeted by both parents. Two or three days after delivery the child's father called a shaman to the tipi to pray for the new individual's survival. At the same time he bestowed a name on the infant, basing his choice on a dream without consulting the parents. The name, which contained advantageous properties, was retained forever. Sometimes a practitioner gave two or three names to a baby, only one of which would be used by the parents. The father paid for the services of the shaman, the payment depending on the family's economic status (7). Throughout a person's career, parents and associates might designate him by various nicknames based on idiosyncrasies of behavior. Thus, the "true" name of the persons could be displaced by competing nicknames and only on ceremonial occasions would the original name be employed. A newborn baby or young child wore no amulets.

Customarily a mother nursed her baby for about two years but sometimes birth of a sibling necessitated earlier weaning. The breast was immediately offered to soothe a crying baby and, should the mother lack sufficient milk, the child often went to another woman to suckle. The wet nurse received clothing and moccasins in return for her services. To aid weaning a woman smeared the nipple with nicotine obtained from a pipe. "When a child tasted this he never liked to nurse again." A woman carried her baby supported in a moss bag and the cradle board was not used. At the age of about one year she discarded the moss bag and the child rested against a carrying belt when being transported. These two stages of packing children still occur among the Slave and Kaska Indians in northern British Columbia. As soon as the child began to speak, parents exerted increasingly direct pressure on his social development. They did not expect that a young child would immediately respond with mature discrimination; so many departures from desired norms continued to go unpunished. From this age children also began to come under the domination of like sexed parents (8). A boy, for example, came to be increasingly exposed to his father's moral advice. The youth's economic activities were also encouraged, his first successful killing of game

being rewarded with a feast to which many poor people and friends of the family were invited. The occasion obviously brought prestige to the parents as well as to the embryonic hunter (9). Pat Grasshopper gave the following account of the feast that his parents had prepared for him (although the events occurred after contact with Euro-Canadians, they probably represent persistence of traditional custom:)

> I shot a prairie deer and father and mother gave the feast. I tied up the legs and packed it home on horseback. I was happy to bring it home. When I got near my father's tipi my father came to meet me. He asked: 'Who killed that deer for you?' I answered: 'I killed it my own self because I am a man.' Then I brought the meat home. My mother took the meat off the horse and set it on the ground. She cut it up. There were five tipis in camp. My father called them all together. There was a big boiling pot. My mother had some saskatoon berries. The whole mess was then boiled. Then they went to a medicine woman. She came into the tipi and dipped into the food and held it up to the sun, praying for my health, long life, and good luck. After that everybody ate. Ever since then I've had good luck in hunting till right today -- every winter.

As long as a youth remained unmarried he contributed the products of his hunts to parents. The mother in turn often made presents of game to friends "because she was glad and proud that her son brought home meat."

With approaching puberty the father concerned himself with a son's ritual life. A renowned shaman regarded this period as of particular importance because he hoped that the boy's successful power quest would earn the latter the privilege of acquiring his father's store of ritual. Apparently all adult men possessed some supernatural power. A mother taught her daughter skills like sewing, cooking, and tanning. No special attention was paid to the onset of menstruation and knowledge of the event remained confined to woman and child. A woman, however, explicitly stressed to her daughter the necessity and advantages of chastity. Sexual virtue held an important place

in the value system of the Plains Sarsi, a position it did not occupy in the northern forest. Chastity opened the way for considerable prestige rewards in a girl's later life. Reinforcing the mother's advice concerning chastity was the encouragement held out by the father, grandparents, and brothers. So the girl came to know that she faced disownment by her family if any evidence of unchastity came to light. Such drastic punishment almost automatically doomed her to a career of promiscuity and social obloquity, for notorious women were not regarded as desirable wives. These sanctions against unchastity are partly related to the fact that an unvirtuous girl destroyed her own magical value. On the other hand, a virgin's participation in the Sun Dance earned supernatural blessings for everyone. Ideally the rule of premarital continence also applied to boys and was also supposed to be a prerequisite to Sun Dance participation. Unlike a girl, however, a youth was not as strongly catechized or supervised. Inherent conflict would seem to have been contained in these divergent emphases. Induced by youths, some girls surrendered their virginity and received the standard punishment for an offense at least partly the responsibility of their seducers. Illegitimacy, of course, brought serious disgrace. "We don't like that," said Oscar Otter. "Today lots of them do it. In the old days both the mother and the kid were kicked out." Anyone who married an unmarried mother paid no bride wealth, indicating that the marriage gift symbolized in part appreciation for virginity. An illegitimate child continued to be dubiously regarded even in later life and felt shame because he lacked a social father. Hearing people comment on his status he sometimes went to his mother who would point out her lover. The youth went to the man and said: "You are my father." The latter might then help his illegitimate offspring. As a result of the sanctions directed against illegitimacy, a girl tried desperately to rid herself of an unwanted pregnancy. Abortion, however, counted as murder and an unwished for foetus was said always to be particularly hard to abort. Should the elders discover evidence of abortion they would punish their daughter. Masturbation in either sex met with parental horror and disgust. The behavior was described as "beastly" and any occurrence earned severe punishment.

Parents conducted their children's marriage negotiations. Customarily a youth's sister, mother, or father formally requested the bride from her

father (10). Before agreeing to the match the latter turned to the girl inquiring: "What do you think, daughter?" The girl held back with a patterned demurral. "Well, father, it's up to you," she said. "If you want me to marry that boy, I agree, because you're my father." The parent then turned to the emissary and added his consent. Should the girl have disliked the proposing youth, the father would have withheld his consent out of fear lest he "spoil" his daughter's life by sending her to a bad home. Only an evil father forced his daughter into a marriage of which she did not approve. Parents did not forget a married daughter even though she no longer lived in their home. Cruelty or non-support by an indifferent hunter provoked a father to recall the unhappy girl. For a man, marriage meant shifting his economic responsibilities and now he began to hunt for his family of procreation. Since he customarily added his family to that of his parents, he continued to give the latter food. He also assumed the responsibility of sending meat to the home of his father-in-law, the wife packing it to her former domicile. There was nothing unusual about a woman paying extended visits to her family.

Consideration of the relative age of descendants played a role in the disposition of a man's goods following death. A very rich person with four or five children made a verbal testamentary deposition in the presence of relatives. Wealth, chiefly consisted of horses that descended to children of both sexes. Regardless of sex, an older child inherited more animals than younger siblings. Lacking children, a man's property passed to his siblings or, if these were also lacking, then to the widow. Women's possessions always descended to daughters. The tipi, however, remained to the husband, unmarried daughters continuing to reside there. In time, if a man remarried, the dwelling would be turned over to a new wife. (11) It became the duty of a son or daughter to care for an aged or widowed parent. Such people were never abandoned but moved along with the camp supported on strong young arms or, for long distances, riding on travoix.

Siblings. Great respect characterized the relations of siblings of opposite sex. Between them "shyness" or avoidance obtained. Informants explained this by saying merely that the two had been "born of the same woman." The sons in a family slept in the rear of the tipi, opposite the entry, while girls

slept on the left of the house separated from their brothers by the father and his principle wife. As long as at least one parent remained alive, siblings retained residence in the household, although undertaking frequent visits to the camps of paternal uncles and aunts. If both parents died, unmarried girls quit the house and left it to their brothers. An unmarried orphan girl might, however, join the family of an older, married brother. Gifts between siblings of opposite sex continued to be exchanged throughout life, the brother giving robes and an occasional horse, the sister returning moccasins, leggings, or a fancy costume. As already pointed out, a man exercised considerable interest in his sister's conduct and could legitimately kill her for premarital unchastity. Should it happen that a husband failed to punish his wife for an act of adultery then the woman's brother, out of disgrace and frustration, might undertake punitive action. Men also advised their sisters concerning a prospective marriage but a brother's influence was subordinated to the father's decision.

Between brothers the age differential played a considerable role in regulating behavior, the younger being expected to follow the advice of the elder. In later years the terminological distinction of lesser age was abandoned and the elder brother term, gina, came to be used reciprocally. Possibly this usage correlated with the fact that from now on the older ceased to order the younger sibling to the degree that this had previously been customary. A brother also acted for his sibling in jural relations, claiming indemnity for an injury or avenging the latter's slaying. During their lifetimes brothers held the levirate in view. A man with children, who feared that he might soon die, told his brother: "If I die, I depend on you, brother. You can marry my wife so that you will look after my children in the future. I depend on you. If my wife married another husband he will treat my children rough. Second husbands always do this."

Parents' siblings. Although the elder brother term was extended to both the paternal and maternal uncles, a nephew enjoyed a somewhat different relationship with each of these men. Both uncles supplemented the father in giving advice and encouragement to a boy. The father's brother, however, seems to have demanded less extreme respect; at any rate joking was common between them. Thus the paternal uncle might tell his nephew: "There's a big buffalo

(or bear) coming." Startled the youth would look around only to perceive the hoax. Like the grandfather and elder brother, the father's brother also sought to promote a youth's endurance of cold and discomfort by tossing him into cold water or rolling him in snow. When camp moved a paternal uncle sometimes invited parents to leave the boys behind. The man then mounted a horse and ordered the lads to run before him. One by one the runners played out and fell down panting. The uncle each time dismounted and refreshed their bodies by covering them with snow. Only the hardier boys ran until they reached the next campsite. Their endurance promised that they would be powerful men in later life. Another ordeal involved men (paternal uncles?) placing small boys on the ground face down and naked except for the breech cloth. Thick strands of unseparated sinew were then employed as a lash for pounding the boys' backs. No attempt was made to provoke the youths to cry out. Such treatment developed the back muscles and gave the boys strength to pack heavy loads of buffalo meat without becoming exhausted. From his paternal uncle a nephew received gifts and might even inherit a costume. As might be expected, under conditions of patrilocal residence interaction with the father's brother occurred more frequently than with the mother's brother. A maternal uncle also gave his sister's son gifts, including horses.

Toward the father's and mother's sisters, behavior remained at all times respectful. Sexual topics were never discussed between these relatives and hardly would a nephew dare to fondle or wrestle with either of these women. Following a lengthy absence it was customary to shake hands with an aunt, but this behavior probably also occurred toward other kin. Our information does not state that the mother's sister was classified with the mother; possibly the informant could not recall the pattern and it no longer occurred (12).

Parents' siblings' children. Relations between cousins approximated behavior between siblings. Sibling terms included both parallel and cross cousins and marriage between them was forbidden. Speaking of the relationship of a girl to her mother's brother son one informant said: "We respect each other -- more than our own sister, because we didn't grow up together nor were we born of the same woman." An enthusiastic comraderie obtained between parallel male cousins reared together in the patrilocal extended

family. Like brothers, these men sometimes exchanged clothes and encouraged each other toward virtues like bravery and courage.

Husband and wife. Two kinds of girls were "about the best" that a boy could hope to marry: the daughters of chiefs and the daughters of parents who, through having given a Sun Dance, had won wide respect. Marriage with a chief's daughter permitted a man to use his father-in-law's excellent horses in hunting and war. This suggests the possibility that matrilocal residence may sometimes have accompanied marriage to a headman's daughter or that bilocal residence constituted the norm. The daughter of Sun Dance celebrants was likely to be a girl who had absorbed the earnest teachings of her exemplary parents and so could be trusted not to deceive her husband by philandering. Successful war records also brought prestige to a family, including its daughters. The personal qualities desired in wife included that she be an industrious and skilful worker, attractive, and, of course, of undisputed chastity. Such a girl, by observing expectations of marital fidelity, might someday be able to celebrate the Sun Dance and thus win long life and good fortune for all the people. Band endogamy was not the rule and marriage also took place outside the tribe. Extratribal marriages sometimes resulted in a spouse going to live with another people. Girls who had acquired a local reputation for unchastity took the opportunity to secure a mate in an area where they were not well known. Since girls generally married when they were fourteen or fifteen years old, such early unions constituted another means that helped to forestall premarital promiscuity. By nineteen or twenty most of the women in the society had already wed. Boys, however, rarely thought of marriage until they were considerably older and possessed a war record able with which to claim desirable girls. When he had achieved these conditions he began to court eligible girls who exchanged gifts with him (13). Never, it was maintained, did Sarsi youths engage in the custom of "pulling pegs" whereby a boy crept under a tipi cover to fondle or cohabit with a girl. The Blackfoot were said to have been "bad for this." Marriage was sometimes preceded by a kind of betrothal or bride service during which the man hunted for his father-in-law and gave the older man gifts of horses. If at a later time marital relations became disturbed, leading to divorce, only the horses given at the time of marriage (i.e., the bride wealth) need be returned

but not those which had been turned over in the betrothal period. With bride service the mother-in-law avoidance came into effect.

Spouse's siblings or parents carried on marriage negotiations. Proceedings often began when a young man returned from a successful war party enriched with captured enemy horses. Proud of his achievement he would see a desirable girl and, picking the best of his mounts, requested his father or brother to take them to the girl's father. Acceptance of the gift indicated that a man consented to consider the suitor. No nuptials were celebrated. On the day of his marriage the groom, perhaps assisted by relatives, presented horses and an amount of clothing, buckskin, and weapons to the father of his bride. The number of horses a parent could expect for his daughter depended partly on his own wealth and rank as well as on the economic status of the groom. A rich man or a man with many relatives who all contributed toward the bride wealth, offered more for a wife than did a poor man. A large marriage settlement conferred prestige on the payee and on his cooperating kin. Because of the close association between economic status and expected bride wealth, rich men and the sons of rich men tended to marry daughters of wealthy families. Thus a degree of class endogamy appears to have characterized Sarsi social relations. Other considerations also motivated a man's readiness to offer a large marriage gift. One of these was the undisputed virginity of the girl. Also, the amount of bride wealth partly determined a man's freedom to punish his wife without fear of a father-in-law's interference in the event that she should deceive her husband. Public opinion became very severe toward an adulterous wife whose marriage had been accompanied by great bride wealth. By recalling his daughter a man became committed to returning the bride wealth which he had received. Sometimes it happened that even the unjust cruelty of a husband went unreprimanded because his wife's father had dissipated the bride wealth and so could not recall the girl. On the other hand a husband might not be willing to give up even an unfaithful wife in return for the bride wealth.

An instance of post contact behavior in divorce is given in the following narrative:

> Pat Grasshopper's oldest sister married a man while she was still quite young. She lived with him for a number

of years. They never had any children. The husband was a good natured, kind hearted man. He died and his widow lived alone for three years. Then one day a man came to Pat and offered him a good horse, asking if he could marry Pat's widowed sister. Pat went to ask the woman, who consented. She lived with her husband for one year. During all this time Pat held on to the horse. Then this fellow, who was a heavy drinker, hit his wife in the eye. The next morning the woman came to Pat and told him to return the horse to her husband, who, she claimed, had been drinking and beating her for some time. Pat gave back the animal and the woman never again returned to her husband.

It was explained that if the second husband had been rich and had paid heavily for the woman, Pat would have had to save all the marriage gifts, or make them up, before he could have secured his sister's freedom. Should a horse have died during the course of the marriage, then an animal of equivalent value had to be handed back in event of divorce. The system here outlined did not always run smoothly. Frequently divorce took place by a cruel husband driving his wife away or by an irate father himself ordered a mistreated woman to leave her spouse. In such cases the wife's father resisted any attempt to force him to return the marriage settlement "because the girl had slept with her husband." Similarly, if divorce followed from a husband's proven adultery, the wife's father also escaped returning the bride wealth.

To her marriage the girl brought a dowry of hides, that provided material for the new family's tipi. Sometimes a completed dwelling was provided through the cooperation of both affinal families or the girl's parents might move into a new shelter leaving the old one for the couple. Following presentation of the marriage gift by the groom, the girl, dressed in her best apparel, went to her parents-in-law carrying a pair of men's moccasins. Entering the tipi she sat alongside her husband-to-be, removed his footgear, and placed the new moccasins on his feet. The marriage could then be consummated. Marital residence was taken up near the husband's family but never in his parents' dwelling.

Prospective spouses encountering parental disapproval sometimes eloped. The elders did not try to break up such a union once it had been accomplished. Therefore the young man still faced the obligation of paying bride wealth. If a poor youth who had eloped could not accumulate the required amount, his parents-in-law might take back the girl, even though she was thereafter regarded as unchaste (she had done a "crazy thing".)

A variant pattern of marriage arose out of the Grabbers' Dance. The Grabbers constituted an association which met in the spring every three or four years (14). Membership was limited to unmarried and divorced warriors but largely included men who, because they were n'er-do-wells, could not secure wives. Jenness implies that membership was purchased (15). Every third spring the group elected a leader and planned a dance. Scouts were sent to all the bands for the purpose of inviting the tribe to assemble. Women who heard about the plans generally became apprehensive but the unmarried men looked forward to the event. The sodality, totaling about thirty or thirty-five members, pitched two tipis in the middle of the camp circle, alongside the chief's lodge. The participants painted themselves with red paint and divested themselves of all clothing except the breech cloth. Then for four days they danced, carrying weapons (bows and war clubs) and a three foot long, red painted pole of saskatoon willow decorated with eagle feathers. On the first two days, beginning late in the day, they danced "all mixed up" outside of the lodges. On the third evening following this dancing they entered the lodge and lined up while one man asked each member to name the woman he wanted for a wife. Unmarried women were the objects of choice but not all of the dancers nominated a girl or took part in the subsequent tipi visiting. The men then quit the tipi and, beginning at one side of the camp circle, proceeded from one dwelling to another searching for the women who had been named. As each was found she was asked to marry the warrior who had selected her. If she assented she followed along behind the crowd of men and women returning to the Grabbers' lodge. Here the members danced with the women who had been "grabbed." Following this dance the men proceeded to their tipis with the women. A woman who refused to accept her Grabber might be seized during the night unless the claimant instructed his fellows to leave her alone. Only the "tough guys" pursued

an unwilling girl. On the fourth day, after a feast provided by the parents of the men and women involved, the association disbanded, the participants going off with their wives for whom they now owed bride wealth. It was said that sometimes fear compelled a girl to accept a Grabber whom she really did not wish to marry. After about a month she would leave him. A girl's father or brothers stood ready to resist any ruffian who sought to force an unwilling girl to follow him. The Grabbers therefore appear to have reserved their choices for women who had shown them favors previously or who could not secure husbands from among the more desirable warriors. It may be significant that Chiefs and members of the Police Society did not join the Grabbers. Chiefs also avoided interfering with the sodality's activities lest they provoke disorder. Members of the Police, all leading warriors, remained too proud to secure wives in this fashion -- if, indeed, they had any need to. Parents might flee the camp circle when they knew that a Grabbers' Dance was scheduled or else they removed their daughters from camp for the duration of the event. The Grabbers probably served to accommodate individuals who failed to find adequate satisfaction in several areas of life, including political activity and family relations (16). The sodality was probably formed primarily from the lower status levels of the tribal community.

Jealousy keynoted relations between husband and wife. "A man and woman, if both were good looking, were very jealous of each other. Each was afraid to go to another man or woman. They watched each other. This often caused trouble between them." Such attitudes served to complicate plural marriages with women other than a wife's sisters. A man who brought home a strange woman could expect his angry wife to attack the visitor. Sometimes a first wife left her polygynous husband. She would then try to remarry as quickly as possible in order to spite the previous spouse. Captured enemy women, perhaps because of their clearly defined subordinate status, were more successfully accommodated as co-wives. Such captives were either kept by the captor or presented to a brother-in-law. "If our sister had a husband we would give this woman to him to be his wife so that she could serve our own sister. If I had no brother-in-law then I could take a captured woman as my own wife. My wife will be glad for my brave deed because she (the co-wife) is an enemy woman. Now she will have lots of help." Only a "bad" or cruel man mistreated a captive woman but rarely did anyone

reproach such behavior.

Severe penalties often followed adultery. Sometimes an offended husband cut off a delinquent wife's ears or nose, a piece of her scalp, or some hair. He might also kill the paramour or claim several of the latter's best horses. In addition the husband might divorce his offending spouse. Failure to protest his wife's adultery in a suitable manner earned a man the disapproval of his wife's brother, who would brand him a coward. Fear of a brother-in-law's criticism, therefore, partly determined a man's severity in dealing with an adulterous wife. In part too his reaction depended on whether the marriage had produced children. If so, a husband proceeded cautiously against an offending wife. Despite men's easily provoked jealousy (and some men often became jealous without cause) female adultery was not rare. The informant explained that some women were born adulteresses. "They would always do it, no matter how you punished them. That's why you killed them. If you left them alone they would never quit and would always bring disgrace on their parents." Women, did not show greater tolerance of their husbands' sexual liaisons. Jealousy led a married woman to attack her unfaithful spouses as well as his paramour with anything from bare hands to knives. As women grew old and less attractive they could less and less rely on their husbands' continued faithfulness. This is illustrated in the following incident, which occurred after contact with Euro-Canadians. The anecdote was told by Oscar Otter.

> When Pat Grasshopper was still a young man he once got a horse and went around to see a young woman he knew. He was married but his wife was getting old. He set a date with the younger woman for a time when the people would move to the hay camps. He told her to stay behind and not move with her parents. One day the people left. He had been to Calgary on a horse and when he got back he saw his tipi and outfit gone. That night he went around to the girl's parents' tipi. She came out. He told her to come with him. She got in front on his saddle and they beat it away in the night. They got down twenty-five miles to Okatokis (Okatoks, Alberta.) It was just getting

> daylight. People coming from the south met them. One man had a democrat and Pat went on with it, the woman riding. They stayed together for a week. They then came back to the reserve. Pat bought a new tent and went to the hay meadow where his old wife was. When his old wife heard he was coming she left right away.

On this occasion the former wife did not return to her husband and took with her the tipi and her other possessions. There were no children. Otherwise, when couples broke up, female children went with the mother and boys remaining with the father. Babies of either sex accompanied the mother. Later, when a boy was grown, he returned to the father. Divorce also followed for a wife's barrenness but the community was not always ready to condone such action. Under no circumstances was a divorcée considered virtuous enough to celebrate the Sun Dance. Informants somewhat unclearly reported women "kept" by men (married to the men?) who were rented for sexual purposes. These prostitutes enjoyed marked lack of respect.

The roles of men and women in marriage complemented each other. Men assumed such tasks as hunting, fishing, scouting, fighting, carrying for horses, ceremonial and political leadership, and protection against wild animals. A man made the tools necessary for hunting, fighting, and domestic industries. In cold weather he volunteered for the job of driving the buffalo into a corral and also went ahead of the moving camp to build a fire that would warm the travelers on their arrival. During a flood, if the people had to cross a river on rafts, four or five swimming men pulled each vessel with a length of rawhide. The women on the raft chanted, "li, li, li, li, li," thereby praising the courage of the men. A man also painted his tipi with efficacious designs derived from dreams (17). In these dreams appeared certain symbols and animals. The dreamer regarded this experience as furnishing him the right to use such designs. Figures were constantly added to the walls in the course of a man's life, some of them even deriving from a wife's dreams. Painted tipis (tipi painting rights ?) could be sold for large sums. Pat Grasshopper asked ten horses from his brother's son, Oscar Otter, as the price for his tipi (18); Pat thereupon dreamed designs

for a new lodge.

A woman's duties included skin tanning, manufacturing clothing and the tipi, root gathering, and cooking. In late summer a wife prepared pemmican for the winter and dried saskatoon or other berries for storage in untanned calf-hide bags. Sometimes she pounded the berries on a flat stone and set them on a hide to dry, afterwards they were stored in a rawhide bag. Grease was also preserved. After boiling marrow from cracked bones the skimmed substance was set aside to cool and solidify for winter consumption. A woman set up and dismantled the tipi and also prepared the frame supporting the cover. She hauled wood, built the fire, made birch bark baskets (the material being purchased from more northerly tribes like the Cree and Stoney), cooperated in the domestic tasks of other women, aided old men who did not have anyone to provide for them, and cared for her own children. During menstruation she warned her husband not to approach her sexually but neither spouse quit the dwelling at that time. In pregnancy a husband cared for his wife, performing many domestic duties lest the woman injure herself and thereby incur a miscarriage. Nothing was learned concerning sexual avoidance during pregnancy but following delivery the couple avoided coitus for about six months (19).

It happened that sometimes an attractive woman and her husband feared that children would make them appear prematurely aged. In such cases they conspired to drown an infant or to abandon it in a badger hole. The informant reported female infanticide for the Blackfoot claiming that a Sarsi who found an abandoned infant from the former tribe had raised it in his family. Description of the couvade provoked laughter, informants reporting that men worked hard after a child was born in order that the mother could rest. Spouses never avoided sexual intercourse intending thereby to show respect to children. Certain occasions, however, required short periods of abstainance. Most important were the four days before the Sun Dance when the fasting celebrants were required to sleep apart. Members of the Police Society also avoided sexual intercourse during the annual season when they governed the camp.

Other affinal relations. A man and his father-in-law maintained a somewhat shy attitude toward each other and communicated as little as

possible (20). The older man felt "ashamed" to look at his son-in-law but the latter sent frequent gifts to his wife's parent. Sharper avoidance marked a man's relations with his mother-in-law. A man would not go near this woman's tipi or even look at her features. She, seeing her son-in-law approach, quickly made off in the opposite direction. A youth who inadvertently saw his mother-in-law's face had to present her with a valuable gift, like a horse. Neither of these affinals ate in the other's presence and necessary communication between them took place through the wife. The latter also conveyed her mother's gifts of moccasins and fancy apparel to her husband. These were gifts designed to reciprocate the steady stream of meat which a man contributed to his father-in-law's household.

In contrast a woman interacted more freely with her parents-in-law. From her husband's father she heard encouragements to chastity and industry and was treated with great kindness. These two relatives freely ate together. A wife seeing her father-in-law's moccasins torn, offered to repair them and in return received a gift, sometimes even a horse. Mother-in-law and daughter-in-law cooperated in domestic duties, the extended family thus coming to be marked by economic cooperation. Toward his wife's brother a man remained cordial and deferent, carefully avoiding obscenities. With a wife's sister a man "always had a little joke;" even sexual teasing not uncommonly occurring between the two. One or more of a wife's sisters might someday become the secondary wives of a capable hunter. While the kin term for wife failed to be extended to the wife's sister, a man called his own and his wife's sister's son by the same word. The levirate as well as the northern Athapaskan pattern of control by a brother-in-law are indicated in the remark that a wife "belonged to" her husband's brother who might espouse the widow. In this event the new husband also gave horses to the woman's father and brothers. Warm cooperation existed between a woman and her husband's sister. When a couple celebrated the Sun Dance the husband's sister presented quantities of moccasins and decorated clothing items to her sister-in-law. These were then distributed to tribespeople.

Friends. Close loyalty marked the relationship of two youths who had grown up together. Remembering the pleasure they had afforded each other as playing children, they took an oath of friendship to the sun, stars, moon, mountains, "or anything dangerous" (i.e., powerful.) Friends addressed one another reciprocally as "brother of the same age." A partner in such a relationship enjoyed a certain permitted license with the other's wife, whom he called "my wife's sister." Married friends sometimes exchanged wives, particularly when one of the pair had been absent for a long period. On his return he would be told: "Brother, you can sleep with my wife to-night." The other replied with a similar invitation. Horses were also exchanged between them at this time. The wives of two friends enjoyed a special relationship and gave one another small gifts. A husband never questioned his wife when she returned from having spent a night with his friend. A friend who had slept with his comrade's wife thereafter called the woman by the wife term. Jealous men did not "trade"wives. Regrettably we did not learn if wife exchange reflected on a woman's chastity, thus barring her from putting up a Sun Dance.

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FOOTNOTES

(1) Goddard, P.E., Dancing Societies of the Sarsi Indians. (Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History, vol. XI, pp. 461-474, 1914); Notes on the Sun Dance of the Sarsi (Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History, vol. XVI, pp. 271-282, 1919); Sarsi Texts (University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, vol. XI, pp. 179-277, 1915), and Jenness, D., The Sarcee Indians of Alberta (Bulletin of the Canada Department of Mines, National Museum of Canada, vol. XC, pp. 1-98, 1938). See also Honigmann, J.J., "Morale in a Primitive Society" (Character and Personality, vol. XII, pp. 228-236, 1944), "Northern and Southern Eschatology" (American Anthropologist, n.s., vol. XLVII, pp. 467-469, 1945), and "Parallels in the Development of Shamanism among Northern and Southern Athapaskans" (American Anthropologist, n.s., vol. LI, pp. 512-514, 1949).

(2) For making comfortable my stay and facilitating field work I am indebted to Dr. Thomas F. Murray, Indian Agent, and to Mr. and Mrs. Joseph Hetherington, Farm Instructor. Funds for field work were generously provided by the Department of Anthropology, Yale University; the Peabody Museum of Natural History, Yale University, and a fund established by Mr. and Mrs. William A. Castleton.

(3) Cf. Sapir, E. "Personal Names Among the Sarcee Indians" (American Anthropologist, n.s., vol. XXVI, pp. 109-119, 1924), p. 110.

(4) Among the Fort Nelson Slave, for example, the grand-father was expected to instigate teasing behavior in order to make "the kids friendly," according to Honigmann, Ethnography and Acculturation of the Fort Nelson Slave (Yale University Publications in Anthropology, No. 33, 1946), p. 69. This was also true for some of the Kaska Indians aboriginally. See Honigmann, J.J., The Kaska Indians: An Ethnographic Reconstruction (Yale University Publications in Anthropology, No. 51, 1955), pp. 77, 79.

(5) Unless otherwise noted the informant is always Pat Grasshopper, Oscar Otter interpreting. Pat was born in 1872 of a father who lived eighty years. Oscar Otter also served as informant. He was fifty years old at the time of interrogation. The degree of his sophistication may be gauged from the fact that he freely used concepts like "power" and confessed to having borrowed from the Calgary Library many books dealing with the Plains Indians.

(6) Jenness (op. cit., p. 26) mentions a birth tent.

(7) According to Jenness (op. cit., p. 18), in the case of a girl baby "the midwife or her assistant, a medicine woman," upon request of the father, sometimes selected and conferred a name immediately after birth. Naming of boys was usually delayed for a week or two after which "some old medicine man or successful warrior" performed the service.

(8) This is not necessarily in contradiction to Jenness' statement (op. cit., p. 18) that "the child, whether boy or girl, remained inseparable from its mother until it attained the age of 9 or 10."

(9) Jenness (op. cit., p. 19) says that after the age of nine or ten a boy was "enrolled in his father's band," although in later life he could revert to his mother's or another band if he chose.

(10) We have here only one (and perhaps the most preferred) of several patterns of marriage negotiation. Mentioning the pattern here described, Jenness (op. cit., p. 23) also describes a variant in which a youth proposes to a girl who communicates the request to her mother who, in turn, tells the father.

(11) The husband's proprietary interest in the tipi is perhaps related to the fact that it was he who decorated the structure with supernaturally derived designs that enhanced its intrinsic value.

(12) Jenness (op. cit., p. 24) says that mother and mother's sisters were classed together.

(13) After the arrival of the Hudson's Bay Company, boy's gifts sometimes consisted of rings made with snare wire and worn on any finger of either hand. In return a girl gave her lover a beaded bracelet. This exchange constituted a promise that each would remain true to the other until marriage was practicable. For evidence of romantic love see Sapir, "The Discipline of Sex," in McDermott, J.F., The Discipline of Sex (New York, 1931), pp. 12-13.

(14) The last Grabbers' Dance was held about 1880.

(15) Jenness (op. cit., p. 42).

(16) It is because of this function that the group appears to meet the definition of an association given by Chapple and Coon: "Individuals who need to interact with someone to compensate for disturbances in the institutions in which they habitually interacted, do so along channels already in existence ... The disturbed individual will secure an adjustment in tangent relations ... Now when a number of people have established tangent relations with each other, and have begun to interact regularly on this basis. The system thus formed is called an association." (Chapple, E.D. and Coon, C.S., Principles of Anthropology (New York, 1942, p. 418).

Jenness (op. cit., pp. 44-46) furnishes a considerably different description of the "nakoltcujna" ("those who make others their associates") sodality. According to him the members dressed in wolf-skin head, wrist, and ankle bands, while the leader carried a black pipe and wore a decorated tanned buffalo skin across his left shoulder. The dances took place in the lodge and after the fourth day the members ran outdoors "and tore the clothes off any man they found outside his tent." One of the tales he publishes as an explanation for the society is congruent with the description of the ceremony that we received from Pat Grasshopper. In this story a widower sets off to visit the country where his deceased wife had gone. He experiences a supernaturel visitation in which he is offered food which, when eaten, will earn him his heart's desire. After dancing for four days and nights his wife appears and he is told to take her home without

looking back.

Goddard in Dancing Societies (op. cit., p. 469) designates the association, "nagultc'ujna" ("preventers"). His description likewise does not mention the "grabbing" of women but he says: "All the people were much afraid of the society. They had to do whatever its members directed. If their demands were not obeyed, they pulled down and cut up the tipis of the disobedient ones. This, however, could only be done when the society was having a dance" or when the group was assisting the Police during the Sun Dance. The association was probably related to the Blackfoot Catchers, a disciplinary group. (Wissler, C. Societies and Dance Associations of the Blackfoot Indians (Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History, Vol. XI, pp. 363-460, 1913), pp. 402-404.) Its activities also recall the Lumpwood and Fox societies of the Crow. Cf., Lowie, R., The Crow Indians (New York, 1935).

(17) According to Jenness (op. cit., p. 91) only shamans could paint their lodges. "Indians who were not medicine-men obtained their painted tents only by purchase."

(18) Jenness (op. cit., p. 92) states that only in former times did the owner fix the price for a painted dwelling. More recently the purchaser decided the amount.

(19) Jenness (op. cit., p. 26) suggests that pregnancy restrictions endured for the last six months of pregnancy.

(20) "After marriage a man and his father-in-law no longer kept aloof," says Jenness, (op. cit., p. 25).

REMARQUES PHONOLOGIQUES POUR UNE ORTHOGRAPHE DU DIALECTE ESQUIMAU DE L'EST DE LA BAIE D'HUDSON

par

Gilles R. Lefebvre

I.0: Introduction

Les considérations d'ordre phonologique que nous esquissons dans cet article ne concernent en tout premier lieu que la région linguistique englobant les quelques familles esquimaudes du nord-est de la Baie James (Vieux-Comptoir et Fort George), les postes du sud et du nord-est de la Baie d'Hudson (Rivière-à-la-Grande-Baleine, l'archipel des Belcher et enfin Port Harrison.) Durant l'été de 1955, l'auteur a eu toutes les facilités de travailler, à l'hôpital indien de Moose Factory (Baie James), avec des informateurs esquimaux de d'autres régions de la Baie d'Hudson; mais il a semblé préférable de restreindre le champ d'étude, afin que les conclusions - même provisoires - ne perdent pas de leur valeur à cause d'une trop grande dispersion.

Les descriptions du mécanisme de la parole sont rigoureusement générales à toutes les langues du monde. Elles étayent nos descriptions particulières du phonétisme de telle ou telle langue. Les langues varient dans l'usage des sons, mais ces derniers restent fondamentalement les mêmes partout dans leur origine et leur formation. Il reste au spécialiste de tel ou tel dialecte d'éclairer sa lanterne aux principes de base donnés par la science du langage.

Après avoir présenté le fonctionnement de l'appareil vocal, suggéré quelques définitions générales (qui seront soulignées), nous verrons quelle aide la phonologie peut apporter dans la solution du problème de l'orthographe; en d'autres termes, quelles sont les relations entre la description physiologique et fonctionnelle des sons d'une langue ou d'un dialecte et les symboles graphiques dont le rôle est de représenter

visuellement ces sons.

L'auteur, n'ayant qu'une connaissance récente, une courte expérience de la langue esquimaude, demande au lecteur de considérer les lignes qui vont suivre sous l'angle principal de la phonétique et de la phonologie. Il ne s'agit pas de critiquer ou de démolir inconsidérément les conclusions d'une longue expérience, mais bien d'apporter quelques pierres à l'édification d'une orthographe plus naturelle, plus conforme à la vérité articulatoire et fonctionnelle. Ce dont les Blancs comme les Esquimaux de l'Est -- et qui sait? ceux de l'Ouest -- bénéficieront.

I.I: Phonologie et orthographe

Nous définirons la phonologie comme la description des sons d'une langue particulière, dans le système des oppositions significatives où ces sons s'intègrent. Nous comprendrons mieux cette définition à la lumière des principes posés pour notre orthographe.

I.I.I: Premier principe: économie de symboles

Les limitations typographiques requièrent de l'uniformité, de la simplicité et de la clarté. D'autre part, la phonétique recommande un seul symbole par son; la phonologie recommande un seul signe pour tous les allophones (variations contextuelles) d'un phonème: ce qui s'appelle une transcription large. Un phonème se définit comme un son du langage doué, dans telle langue en particulier, d'une valeur significative (sémantique) quand il s'oppose, dans un même contexte sonore (phonétique) avec un autre son. C'est la plus petite différence de son servant à distinguer, entre deux "mots" presque semblables, deux sens différents.

> Exemple: /qimmik/ "chien" s'opposant à /kimmik/ "talon." Ici, nous disons que /q/ et /k/ sont deux phonèmes parce qu'en s'opposant l'un à l'autre dans le même contexte phonétique, en position identique (initiale), ils servent à distinguer deux sens différents.
>
> /q-- immik/ vs. /k-- immik/.

De la même façon, un contraste peut opérer en position médiane, comme dans

> /k-ii-na/ "figure, face" vs. /k-i-na/ "qui?"

Ici, la voyelle longue s'oppose à la voyelle courte; et, parce que la différence est significative, il faudra la marquer dans l'orthographe, sous peine de confusion.

Un allophone se définit comme la modification d'un son de base ou phonème dans un certain contexte phonétique, dans une certaine position (dans le "mot"). Prenons l'exemple de la consonne (q). En position initiale, devant voyelle, le (q) occlusif se réalise sous forme de fricative (cf. chap. la coordonnée consonantique), au milieu du mot et seul, ce son est aussi fricatif; dans la même position, mais double, il est occlusif ("explosif"); en fin de mot, il n'est pas terminé, et, parce qu'il n'est pas explosé, on l'appelle incomplet ou implosif (parce que la dernière phase de l'articulation est intérieure.)

Cette série de (q): occlusif, fricatif, implosif représente les avatars d'un (q) type dans des circonstances particulières. Aucun ne peut s'opposer à l'autre pour distinguer des sens. Il arrive que dans le groupe occlusif (qq), précédé et suivi d'une voyelle, le premier (q) reçoive de la sonorisation vocalique: il devient alors un (r) très semblable à l'(r) parisien. Au Groënland, ce groupe s'écrit alors (rq). Nous l'écrivons (qq), car nous ne voyons pas la nécessité d'écrire cette variation contextuelle de (q). Ce qui n'empêche pas la graphie groenlandaise d'être fort acceptable pour des raisons que nous donnerons bientôt.

I.I.2: deuxième principe: une bonne orthographe devrait se tenir entre une transcription étroite (reproduisant tous les sons d'une langue: significatifs ou non) et une transcription large (ne donnant qu'une graphie phonologique.)

Si un signe ou lettre représente les trop nombreux allophones d'un phonème, nous tendrons à une schématisation graphique excessive du système phonique, et, résultat pratique, nous aurons une algèbre ne répondant plus aux besoins fondamentaux de l'écriture. Quels sont ces besoins? Dans nos langues alphabétiques, non hiéroglyphiques ou idéographiques, la lettre est un son qui s'adresse à l'oeil. Or, s'il existe trop de différence entre le son et le signe graphique censé le représenter, mieux vaut garder une orthographe non physiologique et non phonologique, mais tout de même suggestive, que de vouloir utiliser une belle abstraction. Voilà pourquoi il est loin d'être mauvais

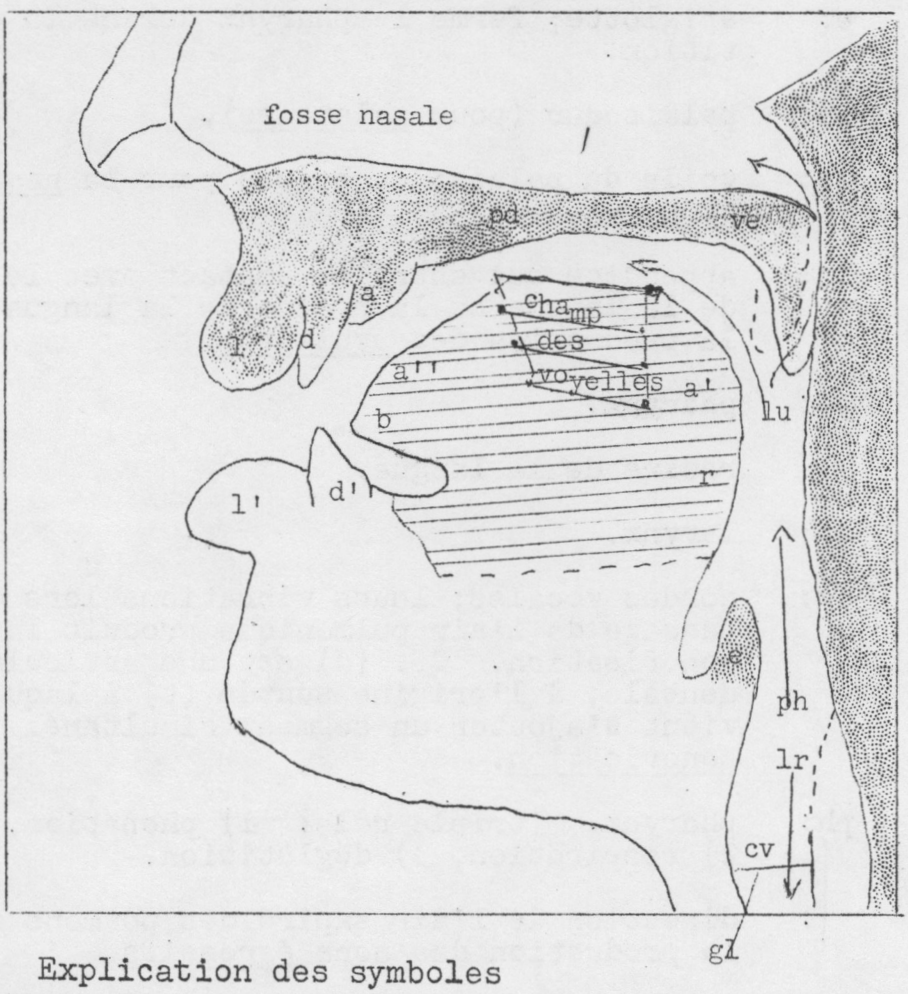
d'écrire (rq) lorsque, fonctionnellement, nous avons (qq); car, entre (q) occlusif (souvent écrit "rk") et (r), qui possède la même articulation uvulaire, mais n'est plus articulé de la même façon, en plus d'avoir reçu les vibrations des cordes vocales. Même si (r) est une variation du phonème (son fondamental) /q/, il serait plus clair de lui donner une graphie séparée.

Ainsi, au lieu d'écrire qaya-q-a "mon kayak," on écrira kaya-r-a (kayara). Nous ferons remarquer ici que le -r- venant du (-q) final auquel s'ajoute une désinence vocalique est différent phonétiquement du (g) fricatif (voir plus loin) venant du (-k) final auquel s'ajoute une désinence (possessive) vocalique. Cependant, cette différence phonétique ne servira pas de base à un classement allophonique, puisqu'on sait les confusions auxquelles on s'expose en ignorant la distinction entre (r) et (g).

Pour résumer, l'orthographe que nous proposons ne devra rien ignorer des oppositions phoniques significatives d'une langue; mais, une fois acquise cette connaissance des sons de base qu'il faut écrire, il sera nécessaire de faire des concessions à l'allophonie à l'intérieur de chaque famille de sons (phonème).

.2.0: TABLEAU SCHEMATIQUE DES ORGANES DE LA PAROLE

Fig. I. (d'après D. Jones, J.-P. Vinay, K.L. Pike)



2.I: Explication des symboles

l: lèvre supérieure. (pour bilabiales).

l': lèvre inférieure. (pour bilabiales et labio-dentales).

d: dents supérieures. (pour interdentales).

d': dents inférieures.

b: bout de la langue. (pour apicales).

a: gencives supérieures. (contact avec a'' pour alvéolaires).

a': arrière, dos de la langue. (pour dorsales).

a'': partie antérieure de la langue. (pour alvéolaires).

e: épiglotte; ferme le pharynx durant la déglutition.

pd: palais dur (pour palatales).

ve: voile du palais; se baisse pour la nasalisation.

lu: appendice qui entre en contact avec le dos de la langue ou la racine de la langue dans la production des uvulaires.

ph: pharynx.

r: racine de la langue.

lr: larynx.
↓
cv: cordes vocales; leurs vibrations lors du passage de l'air pulmonique produit la sonorisation. Cf. (d) est une articulation dentale, à l'origine sourde (t) à laquelle vient s'ajouter un segment simultané: la sonorisation.

ph: pharynx. (triple rôle: 1) phonation,
↑ 2) respiration, 3) déglutition.
|
|: direction de l'air expiré des poumons dans la production des sons égressifs.

gl: glotte (espace entre les cordes vocales; sert au coup de glotte, lequel n'a pas de correspondante sonore.)

2.2: Physiologie de l'articulation dans le langage humain.

Les sons en usage dans le langage humain peuvent être considérés comme des modifications d'une colonne d'air causées par l'action rétrécissante des organes phonateurs qui agissent à la façon d'un instrument musical à vent. Les lèvres, par exemple, peuvent ajouter des harmoniques au son fondamental émis par la cavité buccale, un peu comme le pavillon d'une

trompette. Ce phénomène d'arrondissement produit toute une série de voyelles indépendantes, en français: "eu" à partir de "é", "oeu" ("coeur") à partir de "è".

En général, la colonne d'air est égressive, c'est-à-dire sort des poumons, comme pour l'expiration. La nature du bruit ou de la friction produite lors de son passage dans les cordes vocales, la glotte, le pharynx, la bouche (luette, palais mou, palais dur, gencives, dents), les lèvres, déterminera si l'on a affaire à une voyelle ou à une consonne. Cette dernière division comprendra de nombreuses subdivisions (uvulaires, vélaires, nasales, palatales, alvéolaires, dentales, labiales, etc.) selon le lieu de l'appareil phonateur qui sera touché par les "articulateurs" aidant la colonne d'air égressif. (Cf. "les coordonnées consonantiques.)

Eliminant pour l'instant le critère fonctionnel ou distributivo-syllabique, nous ferons appel au critère de sonorité pour définir les deux classes traditionnelles des sons du langage: voyelles et consonnes.

Ces deux catégories de sons ne se trouvent pas, en réalité, séparés de façon absolue. L'opinion des phonéticiens varie là-dessus, mais pas tellement encore. Daniel Jones et Jean-Paul Vinay, de l'Ecole de Londres, Delattre, de l'Ecole américaine s'accordent pour définir une consonne: comme un bruit de friction plus ou moins grande, résultant d'un contact d'un articulateur-variant selon les apertures (cf. "les coordonnées consonantiques")-accompagné ou non de sonorisation. La voyelle serait un son dépourvu de friction, dû à l'absence de contact d'un articulateur (cf. la langue, qui se meut librement) avec les lieux d'articulation, à l'aperture maxima, passant par les cordes vocales ordinairement en position pour la sonorisation, quelquefois pour le chuchotement. La position de la langue dans la bouche détermine une certaine cavité, une sorte de caisse de résonance qui donne la qualité, le timbre de la voyelle. Le (i), par exemple, s'appelle "voyelle d'avant fermée" parce que la partie antérieure de la langue (cf. fig. I "champ des voyelles") s'élève sous un certain endroit défini du palais dur en laissant, entre la langue et le palais dur, l'espace minimum. (a), au contraire, formé lui aussi par la partie antérieure de la langue, existe dans la cavité maxima possible pour une voyelle à l'avant de la bouche. Ces voyelles sont aussi dites "palatales" pour une raison évidente.

Une troisième catégorie de sons intermédiaire: les semi-voyelles ou les semi-consonnes (cf. y et w) se tient dans le champ des voyelles quant à sa formation, mais fonctionne souvent comme consonnes quant au mode d'articulation. (y) et (w), en face d'une voyelle agissent en fricatives, c'est-à-dire n'obéissent plus au critère de sonorité absolue qui caractérise les voyelles.

3.0: BASES ARTICULATOIRES
LA COORDONNEE CONSONANTIQUE

Comme on pourra s'en rendre compte à la fig. 2, une consonne, ou phone consonantique, se situe au point de rencontre, à un endroit précis de l'appareil phonatoire ("vocal tract"), de deux axes: l'axe des articulations et l'axe des apertures. En d'autres termes, une consonne est l'actualisation bi-axiale d'un type articulatoire, la modification de la colonne d'air égressive -- quelquefois ingressive -- lors de son passage à un point donné du système de phonation. C'est, typologiquement, l'élargissement ou le rétrécissement continu du courant d'air vocal subissant des coupes à des endroits à peu près les mêmes malgré la multitude des langues.

3.I: Les types articulatoires, depuis les lèvres jusqu'à la glotte, peuvent être symbolisés de la façon suivante:

Modes d'articulation/apertures (degré de rétrécissement ou d'élargissement de la colonne d'air.)

P	T	S Š	J	K	Q	'
			R			

lieux d'articulation .....

Ces symboles représentent donc les articulations de base ayant subi ou qui subiront le passage d'une colonne d'air qu'elles arrêteront ou rétréciront ou élargiront. Du stade occlusif jusqu'au stade des semi-voyelles (appelées aussi semi-consonnes) et des continues non fricatives ("u" dans le français "luette"), en passant par le stade fricatif ("h aspirée," "f", "v"), nous observons une ouverture progressive du canal

T

phonatoire selon une échelle graduée que nous appelons "apertures." Chaque niveau d'aperture correspond à une façon de traiter l'articulation de base, et que nous nommons "mode d'articulation."

3.2: Cette dernière notion de mode nous aidera à comprendre la nature de certains sons soi-disant "bizarres," "étranges" qui, en somme, ne sont que des articulations de base qui ont changé de niveau d'aperture, emprunté un autre mode d'articulation sous l'influence du voisinage phonétique, ou à cause de leur position dans le "mot." Ainsi, il sera plus facile de classer le "g" esquimau comme un (g) non occlusif à l'aperture I, c'est-à-dire prononcé avec un léger relâchement des organes articulatoires, de façon à faire passer un mince filet d'air. Au stade précédent, il y avait arrêt complet de l'air égressif, comme dans notre "g" français. De même, le (q) esquimau, consonne uvulaire (prononcée au fond de la bouche: la luette entrant en contact avec la racine de la langue, cf. fig. I) existe au stade occlusif, fricatif (sonore ou sourd) selon des lois de positions dans le mot. Au début du "mot," il est fricatif (aperture I), cf. /qayaq/ "kayak;" en position médiane, il est fricatif quand il est seul, cf. /aquiyuq/ "il dévore;" encore en position médiane, il est occlusif (aperture zéro) quand il est double, cf. /taqqiq/ "mois, lune." Ce dernier son est souvent écrit "rk" comme s'il s'agissait d'un son extraordinaire comportant deux éléments. Nous reportant à la fig. I, nous comprenons qu'il est simple, que son lieu d'articulation est plus reculé que celui de "k." Par conséquent, nous n'avons pas de raison de le symboliser par deux éléments graphiques qui suggèrent des réalités phoniques différentes de (q). De la même façon, le (q) fricatif sera improprement rendu par la graphie "kr" laquelle, si elle est exactement prononcée donnera un groupe consonantique différent de (q) fricatif, et dont le lieu d'articulation sera plus avancé que celui du son considéré.

Il sera peut-être intéressant, après avoir parlé du (q) dans l'esquimau de l'Est, d'attirer l'attention sur un autre son fréquent dans la zone linguistique présentement décrite: le coup de glotte ou arrêt glottal. Ici encore, la notion de mode d'articulation nous fera comprendre qu'un tel son n'a rien de bizarre, d'anormal. En nous référant à la fig. I, nous pouvons observer que la colonne d'air égressive peut subir, au niveau de la glotte, un arrêt (puis un brusque relâchement) d'aperture zéro,

de même que le (t), le (p), le (k). Le mode est le même mais le lieu de l'articulation n'a fait que changer. L'effet acoustique s'apparentant à celui du (qq) explosif/occlusif, il arrive que dans les Iles Belcher, à Port Harrison, (qq) ait la variante (''), c'est-à-dire le double coup de glotte, cf. /ta''iq/ pour /taqqiq/ "mois, lune." Très souvent, aussi, les Belcher auront (''') là où la Terre de Baffin aura (gg) fricatif, cf. /a'''ak/ "main" vs. /aggak/ (à Baffin).

Nous considérerons, aussi, le cas intermédiaire des consonnes affriquées, articulations uniques à début occlusif (aperture zéro) et à finale fricative. De même qu'en canadien-français, les Esquimaux de Port Harrison et des Iles Belcher "mouillent" les "t" devant des voyelles palatales, c'est-à-dire "a", "è", "é", "i". Ils prononcent (ts) dans /ikitik/ "allumette," là où les Esquimaux de Fort George diront (t). Ce (ts) conditionné par son entourage phonétique est différent du (ts) de /naciq/ "phoque" s'opposant au (t) de /natiq/ "plancher." Cependant, comme il semble que le (ts) résultant d'un (t) palatalisé est pratiquement victorieux presque partout dans l'Est, il n'y aurait pas d'inconvénient de le rendre par la même graphie que le (ts) s'opposant fonctionnellement à (t) dans un contexte identique (na--iq).

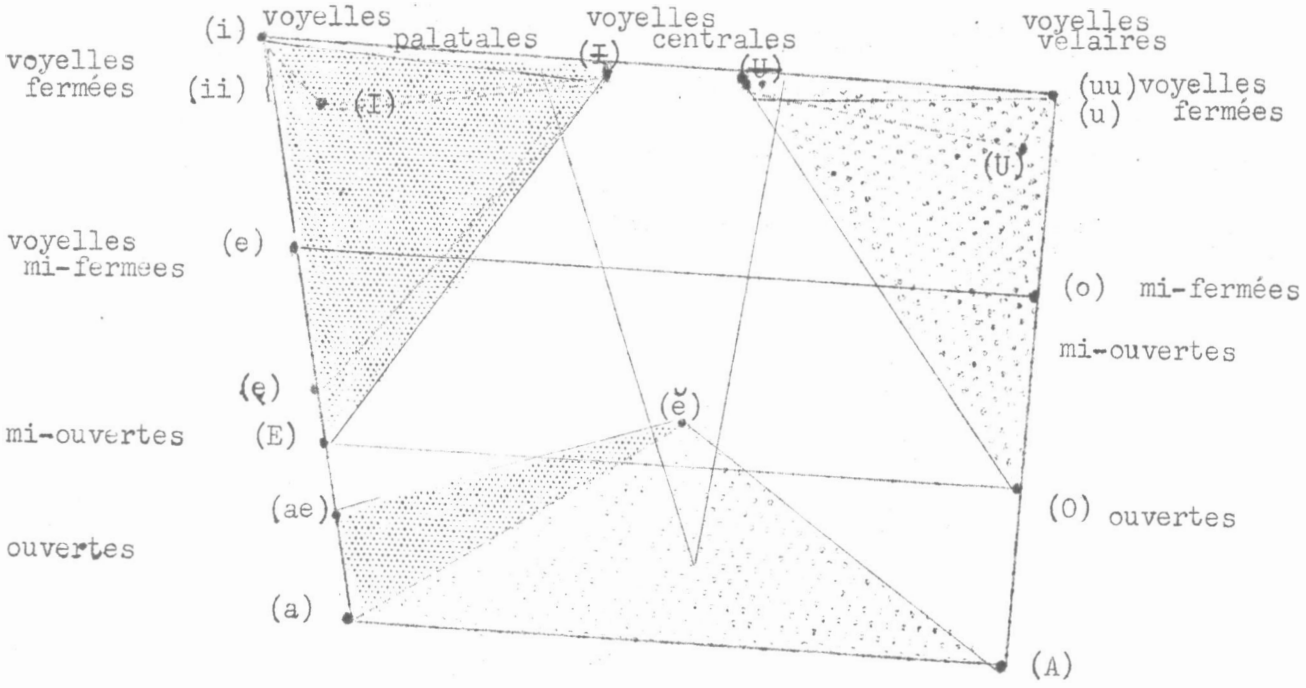
Afin de suggérer une articulation unique et d'économiser les signes, nous employons /c/ pour (ts).

Finalement, la notion de mode d'articulation nous montre que les correspondantes sonores (cf. Schéma des organes de la parole) des occlusives ne sont pas occlusives, mais fricatives, comme si le fait, pour une articulation d'aperture zéro, de recevoir les vibrations des cordes vocales, l'obligeait à changer sa position sur l'axe vertical. Ce phénomène, bien entendu, ne vaut que pour le dialecte décrit dans cet article: l'esquimau de l'Est de la Baie d'Hudson. Par conséquent, quand nous écrirons /b/ en pensant à /p/ (occlusif), nous saurons qu'il faut prononcer avec un relâchement des lèvres, permettant à l'air de passer, ce qui ne se produit pas pour un (b) d'aperture zéro (occlusif). De même pour le (g) dont nous avons parlé plus haut. Ce (g) fricatif est souvent confondu avec le "r" français, (parisien) qui est pourtant différent, puisqu'il est apparenté au (q) fricatif (aperture I) accompagné des vibrations des cordes vocales.

Nous pourrions aussi remarquer qu'en donnant à (l), qui est une consonne latérale, un mode d'articulation plus fricatif, nous obtenons le son assez caractéristique de l'esquimau de l'Est que nous écrivons /ll/ et que Kleinschmidt a transcrit, dans l'alphabet groenlandais, par /dl/. La seule différence qui existe entre le groenlandais et les dialectes de l'Est de la Baie d'Hudson pour ce (l) fricatif, est que /dl/, en groenlandais, reçoit moins de vibrations des cordes vocales que notre /ll/.

Que dire de la nasalisation? Il s'agit plutôt d'un segment phonétique que d'un mode d'articulation. Elle fait plus que doubler le volume de la colonne d'air; d'une occlusive comme (k), elle fait une continue nasale comme "ng" de l'anglais "king," d'une occlusive uvulaire comme (q) elle fait une continue comme le "rng" (cf. Schneider et Rousselière) de l'esquimau. Cf. /pauNa/ "en haut, vers le Nord" (esquimau de l'Est).

4.0: TABLEAU DES VOYELLES DU DIALECTE ESQUIMAU DE L'EST DE LA BAIE D'HUDSON



4.1: Explication des symboles phonétiques.

(i) : comme en français "f<u>i</u>n<u>i</u>". (ii): la même voyelle, allongée.

(I) : comme en anglais "t<u>i</u>p."

(ɨ) : comme en anglais "ask 'i<u>m</u>."

(e) : comme en français "été."

(E) : comme en français "père."

(ae) : comme en anglais "h<u>a</u>t."

(a) : comme en français "patte."

(ĕ) : "e muet" du français.

(A) : comme en français "pâte."

(ʊ) : comme en anglais londonien "boot."

(U) : comme en anglais "good."

(u) : comme en français "roue."

(o) : comme en français "eau."

(O) : comme en français "porte."

(ę) : "e moyen" du français, comme dans "confédération."

(uu) : "ou" français allongé.

4.2 Phonologie des voyelles

Il existe dans ce dialecte 16 articulations vocaliques (cf. tableau) se groupant dans 3 aires de base: phonologiques.

La première de ces aires est /i/, /ii/, et comprend deux phonèmes: /i/ court, comme dans /kina/ "qui?" s'opposant à /ii/ long, comme dans /kiina/ "figure, face."

La seconde aire est /a/, et comprend un seul phonème: /a/, dont la réalisation dépend des contextes phonétiques. Par exemple, le son de base /a/, devant la consonne uvulaire /q/, n'apparaît que sous la forme /A/ uvularisé.

La troisième aire est /u/, /uu/, comme dans /-tuNa/ suffixe personnel de la première personne du présent de l'indicatif, par opposition à /tuuNa/ "esprit, fantôme." De même /aNutik/ "homme, mâle" vs. /aNuutik/ "nageoires." Les allophones de /i/, /ii/ sont: (i), (I), (ɪ), (e), (ę), (E).
Les allophones de /a/ sont: (a), (aa), (ae), (ĕ), (A).
Les allophones de /u/, /uu/ sont: (u), (U), (ʊ), (o), (O).

4.3: Répartition géographique des allophones vocaliques

Pour /i/: (i) accentué existe à Old Factory (Vieux-Comptoir), Fort George, Rivière-à-la-Baleine, Port Harrison et dans les Belcher (Iles).

(I) inaccentué se trouve aux mêmes endroits.

(ɪ) centralisé possède les mêmes critères de distribution phonologique (cf. l'alphabet expliqué par rapport à la phonologie) dans tous les endroits précités.

(e) caractérise Fort George et Vieux-Comptoir. De même (E), (ɐ).

Remarque: Les voyelles ouvertes semblent coincider avec l'influence prédominante de la langue crise; ici, l'on n'est plus dans le domaine esquimau proprement dit, mais en territoire algonquin. Les quelques familles esquimaudes de Fort George et de Vieux-Comptoir, nécessairement bilingues (cri-esquimau), ne sont plus dans leur habitat primitif. Ce fait agit, non seulement sur le phonétisme, -- fait inévitable -- mais encore sur le lexique, montrant par là l'influence dissolvante d'une culture étrangère sur une langue. Mon informateur de Fort George, au contraire des indigènes non acculturés des Iles Belcher, pouvait former sans difficulté des chiffres supérieurs à 20 (en esquimau), couvrant de cadres esquimaux un substrat étranger (anglais, algonquin ou français). Par contre, le vocabulaire du kayak et de la chasse au phoque lui était pratiquement inconnu. Avec la disparition d'une culture (matérielle ou non) disparaissent les procédés linguistiques qui l'exprimaient. Mais il n'en est pas toujours ainsi, puisque nous voyons des peuples habiller des vieux vocables qu'ils ont conservés à travers les siècles, des notions totalement nouvelles.

Pour /a/: (ae) est fréquent à Port Harrison et dans les Iles Belcher. Ailleurs, ce serait plutôt (a).

Pour /u/: les Iles Belcher prononcent (ʊaq) la terminaison (-uaq), cf. /nulluaq/ "filet à poissons" prononcé (nUllʊaq).

4.4: Distribution allophonique des voyelles

Pour /i/, /ii/:
(i): en position accentuée; il se trouve en général mi-long.
(I): en position inaccentuée.
(ɪ̈): devant une consonne uvulaire ou vélaire (cf. fig. I).

Pour /a/: (E), (ę), (ae), (a) devant une dentale comme (t), une affriquée comme (ts);
(A) devant une consonne uvulaire (q) ou vélaire (k).

Pour /u/, /uu/: (u) en position accentuée; (uu):ditto.
(U) en position inaccentuée.
(ʉ) devant une consonne uvulaire ou vélaire.

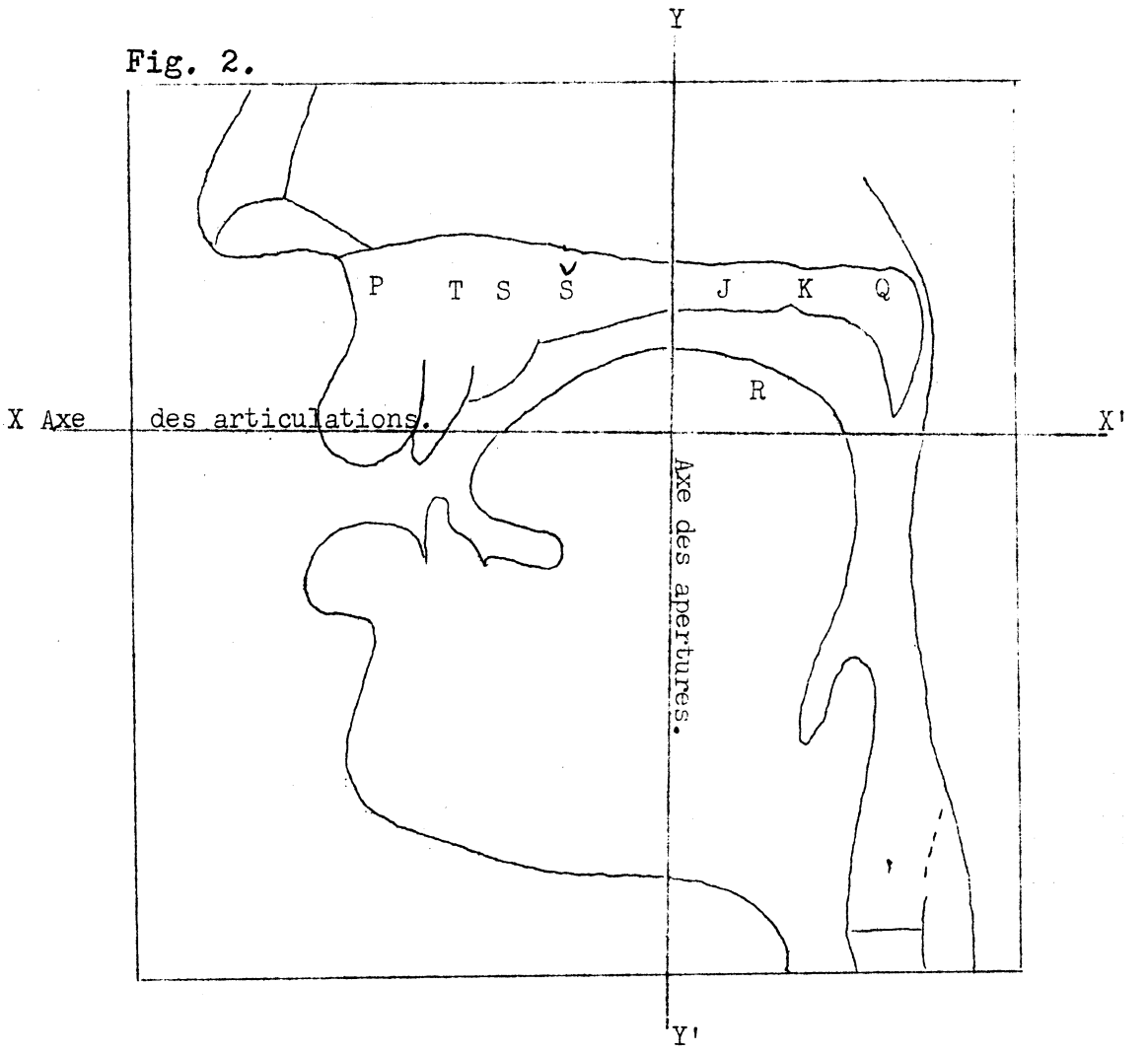
4.5: Diphtongues

/ia/, /ii/, /iu/;
/ai/, /au/, /aa/;
/ua/, /ui/, /uu/.

Au sujet de /ii/, /aa/, /uu/, l'on peut dire que les longues (voyelles) sont de type diphtongué en esquimau de l'Est, puisque l'on semble n'avoir qu'un seul noyau syllabique et deux articulations vocaliques. Ces diphtongues, comme les autres, sont décroissantes.

5.0: TYPOLOGIE DES CONSONNES DANS LE DIALECTE ESQUIMAU DE L'EST DE LA BAIE D'HUDSON

Fig. 2.



P: articulation bilabiale. Comprend /p/, /b/, /m/.

T: articulation dentale. Comprend /t/, /d/, /n/.

S/Š: articulation prépalatale. Comprend /s/, /š/, ("ch" français), /sy/, /c/ ("tch").

J: articulation palatale. Comprend /y/, /z/, /zy/.

K: articulation vélaire. Comprend /k/, /g/.

R: articulation linguale. Comprend /r/ (roulé: cf. Belcher Islands, pour /y/).

Q: articulation uvulaire. Comprend /q/, /r/, /N/ ("rgn").

': articulation glottale. (le "coup de glotte").

5.I: Description bi-axiale des phonèmes consonantiques (dans l'ordre alphabétique, et en se référant à fig. I et 2).

b: bilabiale, fricative, sonore. Elle correspond au "v" de l'alphabet groenlandais. ubaNa, "moi," "je." La Rousselière: "w" (Ouest).

c: affriquée, alvéolaire, sourde. (ts), (tš), cf. anglais "church." Ouest (kl). acunaq, "corde."

d: occlusive, dentale sonore. C'est un phonème rare, qu'on rencontre dans le groupe consonantique des Belcher (dn) correspondant à (qj) dans le reste du territoire. uqjuq, "phoque barbu," Belcher udnu.

g: vélaire, fricative, sonore. Ce son a comme correspondant, dans les Îles Belcher, un double coup de glotte (''). aggak, "main," B. a''ak. -- N.B. Ne pas confondre avec (r).

y: semi-voyelle/semi-consonne palatale. Cf. anglais "yard." Elle évolue entre le "z palatalisé" (zy) et le "y" en passant par le "j" du français "jour." Port Harrison et les Belcher n'ont pas de (y), mais un (zy), cf. ayurnama, "c'est dommage!" Comme (y), (zy) ne s'opposent pas fonctionnellement, on peut les rassembler sous le signe "y."

k: vélaire, plosive, sourde. Cf. français "coup," "café," "quitter." Généralement implosive en finale de mot. (absolue). tursukattak "boîte de conserve."

l: dentale, latérale non fricative, sonore (l'air s'échappe sur le côté de la langue, entre la joue et les dents, sans bruit appréciable de friction, avec vibration des cordes vocales). Cf. français "langue." Il est à noter que (l), dans l'Est de la Baie d'Hudson, est souvent palatalisé, c'est-à-dire articulé en même temps qu'un (y), surtout

devant (e), (i), (a). itillaNa "j'entre."

ll: dentale, latérale, fricative. L'effet acoustique est celui d'un (l) prolongé et "frotté." C'est un phonème s'opposant à (l): /ll/ vs. /l/. aullapuNa, "je sors; je m'en vais."

m: bilabiale, nasale. Cf. français "mais." amaruq "loup."

n: dentale, nasale. Cf. français "nappe."

p: bilabiale, occlusive, sourde. Cf. français "père." Attention à ne pas l'aspirer comme en anglais.

q: (I) uvulaire, occlusive sourde: lorsque ce phonème est double au milieu d'un mot, ou se trouve en finale absolue.
Beaucoup d'auteurs l'écrivent "rk." Cf. remarque 3.2.

(2) uvulaire, fricative sourde: au début d'un mot, ou en position médiane, lorsque ce phonème est simple et devant une voyelle.

N: (I) uvulaire, nasale: c'est un (q) occlusif prononcé avec le voile du palais baissé. Le courant d'air est double: un qui vient du larynx et s'arrête derrière la luette et le dos de la langue; l'autre, plus considérable, qui continue dans la cavité nasale. Ce son est souvent écrit "rng," ce qui n'est pas une erreur trop grande, puisque le "r-" rend compte de la nature uvulaire du phone (son), et "-ng" rend compte de sa valeur nasale. Seulement, le trigraphe "rng" alourdit un texte, et, s'il faut le prononcer exactement, on aboutit à tout autre chose que la nasale uvulaire.

(2) Comme la vélaire nasale "ng" de l'anglais "king" (existant aussi en esquimau) qui provient du (k) nasalisé, ne semble pas s'opposer fonctionnellement à l'uvulaire nasale (N), il n'y a pas d'inconvénient à représenter les deux sons (d'ailleurs assez rapprochés) par la seule graphie "N".

r: uvulaire, fricative, sonore, d'effet acoustique assez semblable au (r) parisien "du fond de la gorge."

Il est très important de le distinguer du (g) fricatif sonore, qui lui ressemble, n'étant qu'un cran plus loin sur l'axe des articulations. Dans la morphologie, /-ga/ s'oppose à /-ra/ comme désinence possessive de la première personne du singulier. Cf. itiga "mon pied" vs. itira "mon derrière." L'écriture se doit de consigner cette différence phonologique.

s: alvéolaire, palatalisée, sourde. C'est un (s) prononcé plus en arrière dans la bouche, avec une légère mouillure (-y). Cet (s) est moins sifflant que l'(s) français. Au contraire du groenlandais, il n'existe qu'un /s/ dans le dialecte esquimau de l'Est de la Baie d'Hudson. Ses variétés contextuelles, s'étendant jusqu'au "ch" (cf. en français), ne s'opposent pas les unes aux autres de manière significative. "sy" peut remplacer "ch" dans un même mot sans affecter le sens.

t: dentale,occlusive, sourde. Cf. français "table." Comme ce son se palatalise (devient affriqué, "mouillé") devant les voyelles fermées, palatales, on le retrouve à la lettre "c."

w: semi-voyelle/consonne vélaire. On l'emploierait au début d'un mot, devant une voyelle. Cf. wiga, "mon mari."

5.2: Groupes consonantiques

(I) de type géminé: /pp/; /tt/; /mm/; /nn/; /kk/; /gg/; /qq/; /NN/.

(2) de type uvularisé: /qp/; /qn/; /qc/; /qs/; /qj/; /qt/; /qb/, /qj/ (B./dny/), /pq/; /tq/.

(3) de type mixte: /rr/ (r roulé du bout de la langue, variante de (y) dans les Belcher); /Nn/, /rn/.

5.3: Accent de mot: dans la plupart des mots que nous avons enregistrés, l'accent d'intensité frappe l'avant-dernière syllabe (pénultième). Il semble, toutefois, que pour le duel et un certain nombre d'unités terminées en (-aa), l'accent tombe sur la dernière syllabe. Cf. maqquq taqqík "deux mois."

5.4. Intonation de phrase: comme dans les autres langues, il existe dans la langue esquimaude des mélodies prosodiques (de phrase) significatives de base. Nous en avons distingué 3 mélodies essentielles:

5.4.1: Ton montant-descendant: affirmatif. Montée graduelle jusqu'à l'avant-dernière syllabe du groupe, puis descente presque abrupte.

5.4.2: Ton montant: interrogatif; exclamatif. Montée graduelle tout au long de la phrase.

5.4.3: Ton égal moyen: sorte de canevas prosodique, ni trop haut, ni trop bas, habituellement employé dans la narration ou le dialogue tranquille.

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SLAVE INDIAN LEGENDS

by

Robert G. Williamson

The following folk-tales are the remainder of a certainly incomplete collection, part of which appeared in the first issue of ANTHROPOLOGICA, 1955. Brief introductory remarks regarding the circumstances of their collection prefaced the initial publication.

In the story of Ah Nontin, there is a possibility of the dialogue having been affected to some degree by modern influences, as the interpreter was a superficially acculturated woman influenced, among other things, by occasional exposure to third-rate Hollywood film performances, which sporadically occurred in the settlement of Fort Simpson, N.W.T.

There are two instances of chronological confusion in the stories of Eh'tsontsia, attributable possibly to the events having some basis in fact, (though much of the detail is obviously apocryphal) - thus there would be several accounts, of which this may be a synthesis, while other folk-tales which are more mythological and traditional in character would be more invariable and clearer in form.

There is evidence of the free admixture of tribal history with accounts of magical and mystic happenings, characteristic of earlier traditions.

A STORY OF A GIANT

There was a giant, who trimmed a big tree with limbs long enough to kill and carry a person. There was a man travelling. He found a trail tramped deep into the ground. "This is queer," he thought, "no animal would do this." He was puzzled as to what this was. He was following snow-shoe rabbit tracks when he came to this pressed-down trail. The snow-shoe rabbit tracks crossed over this trail. As he went on he found a succession of abandoned camps. There were just blankets and weapons lying around, but no people.

He continued to follow the trail, when suddenly he heard singing. He came closer and realized that it was not singing, but someone crying. He found a family -- a man, his wife, and a girl; all of them in tears. At first he saw only the father and the mother. The old lady looked around sharply. She said, "It is sad to tell you that everyone is disappearing. You have seen all these empty cabins. Now we alone are left. Tonight we may perish, so we will give our daughter to you."

The traveller was reluctant to become acquainted with the girl. He first wanted to find out what the trouble was. The girl was so frightened that she clung to the stranger. The stranger said, "Not right now." The traveller went back to the tramped-down trail and camped at the side of it. He heard the ground rumbling. It sounded like thunder. He dug a hole in the middle of the trail, and then broke a red willow and set it over it. A terrible tree came rolling toward him, covered in blood. It pulled the willow out of the trail and disappeared into the hole. He could hear the tree grumbling in the hole. The stranger said to himself, "He's helpless down there and he'll have trouble."

The stranger went back to the old man and told him about the Death Tree. He said that he had done something to prevent it doing further destruction. It's job was to catch and carry food back to the giant. "Be at peace now," said the stranger, "it is all over." So the old people gave him the daughter, and they were married. The giant was left alone to die.

THE STORY OF THE LITTLE BOY

There was a little boy whose father had been killed. The poor widow was very careful with her son and never allowed him to play with the bigger boys. So they stayed a little way off from the other families, and the poor widow used to beg for fish to feed her son. They gave her fish one day, and she went home, very pleased that she could feed her son, and cooked it and placed it on a piece of bark to give to him. The boy smiled and thanked his mother and said that he would take his fish to a nearby rock which was flat, an ideal place for eating. The mother said, "Dear son, be very careful. Keep your eyes open all

the time and if you hear the least noise, or see anything unusual, don't run away, but walk quietly from there, so if anyone sees you he will not realize that you are worried." And the little boy promised to do as his mother asked.

He took his fish to a flat rock and after he had eaten a fair amount, he heard leaves moving and a little noise. He did not glance in the direction of the noise, but was too frightened to eat. He did not move. Suddenly the noise of moving in the bush was broken by the loud quacking of a mallard. He stood up, and without wishing to say anything, blurted out, "What is the mallard doing in the bush? I have never heard of a mallard walking in the bush where there is no water." He heard a great voice say, "Yes, mallard wants you all to stay alive." The little boy went to the stream and pretended to drink, and then he went home.

His mother was sewing and when she looked up and saw the face of her son, so white, she left her work and said, "What is wrong, my son?" He told her what had happened, and the mother ran to tell the other people what her son had said, but they would not believe, or care. The young boys laughed and said that her son was as timid as a girl. "We have just come all together this spring and want to play, so leave us alone." The mother went home very sadly because she knew that though she had given the alarm, they would not believe her, and they would all be killed. The little boy begged his mother to get ready to slip off into the bush. All the other people finally went to bed after much gambling and playing ball, but the mother and son, and two girls crept down the beach and took two canoes and paddled across the river. They arrived with difficulty because it was becoming very foggy. They slept without a fire. In the morning they heard some awful noise and screaming cries from the camp, and jumped into the canoe and started down the river; and in this way they were saved.

THE TWO BROTHERS -- EH LHEUN DEN

There were two brothers living on the Liard River. The older one had a wife and a little child. They saw the smoke of some people camped up river and a lot of people coming their way. Knowing only of people on the Mackenzie, they headed in that direction,

using snowshoes, as it was winter time. The woman became tired because she was carrying the child. She said, "A woman will not break trail for enemies." So they pretended to make camp and they put brush and branches on top of her and she set off, burrowing under the snow. The two brothers kept on the trail. They were becoming tired too.

Where the Liard River flows into the Mackenzie there is a large rock on the up-stream side known as Gros Cap. They climbed right to the top of Gros Cap by way of a narrow cleft in the rock face. They planned to kill the enemy as they climbed up after them. It was the South Nahanni Indians who were pursuing the brothers. As the fight continued, the brothers began to run short of arrows and the older brother said that they must make every shot count. Then he said to his younger brother, "Leave me some of your arrows and go down the Mackenzie River to the camp, and tell the people there what is happening. Meet me with anybody that you see."

The older brother continued to knock the enemy down as they climbed up the cleft, but now he was running short of arrows, so he too left, following the snowshoe tracks of his brother. As he ran down-stream on Mackenzie ice the enemies still chased him. Down below Harris Creek he shot two of the leading pursuers. Before he got to Marten River his brother met him with reinforcements. They set upon the Nahanni war party and killed them all. There were dead scattered all along the river.

The older brother said that he would go back to see what had happened to his wife and child. They returned, and came to the fire-place where the enemy passed right over, and did not notice the woman under the brush pile. She had dug her way toward the shore. They searched inland, and in amongst the thick spruce they found her.

Footnote by the narrator: The Nahanni were always fighting, and in the end wiped themselves out. The Nahanni always advance. When one is killed, and before one can withdraw one's arm and straighten it again, another one presents himself.

"Nahannies came on always. You kill one and before you can bring your arm in and straighten it again there is another one in front of you."

THE SON OF LOUÂ METAH -- THE FISHERMAN

Once, long ago, there was a large number of people staying together near the fish lake. There were too many people to be fed with meat so they moved to a big fish lake for the winter.

(Narrator: Remember that the fish lakes were the most dangerous places in the world in those days.)

In the autumn everyone was very careful, and they watched the weather. When they saw the gray clouds they expected snow. Then the ice froze solid enough for them to walk on it, and they set their fish-nets. Even in mid-winter it was always dangerous, but, as the months went by, nothing had happened to them. Every day the men visited their nets and brought back lots of fresh fish for their families, but every-one was very careful about every movement he made.

There was one person who was wiser than all the others. There was a family with two grown-up sons, a small boy and a little girl. The little brother went to the nets with the other men every morning. The second of the older brothers always waited until eve-ning, never going with the other men to the nets, as his other brother did. He waited until everybody came home, and then he would say to his parents, "I must go to the nets myself now, before it gets too dark." He used to dress warmly and take his club and pack-sack made from babiche and set off.

As he left, one evening, his mother took two fish by the tail and hung them up to cook. When he returned, he had a peculiar expression which they had never seen before, but they did not speak until he himself had said something. He threw his pack of fish down and then sat on his blankets without speaking. His mother placed the two fishes in a birch-bark dish and gave the food to her son. He took it, but could not eat. So his father said to the son, "What has happened to you, my son, and why do you not tell us? Speak up, because you know that we are never safe in this world." The small boy was sitting by his father, looking up at his face. The lad was four years old. The father pushed his young son with his elbows with-out saying anything. This was a signal which meant danger, and the child did not wait for another glance, but jumped up and ran to the nearby camp to raise the

alarm.

In a short time everybody was at his father's camp, asking all kinds of questions anxiously and becoming very excited. Women and children were whispering to each other, trying to find out what had happened.

The son demanded silence, and with a white face asked if everyone was safely home, and they all answered that they were. The son said, "I was going to the nets carefully; as usual I stopped at the shoreline to make sure that everyone had gone home. Before I could step on the trail on the ice toward my nets, I used to wait on the shore and make sure that all the spruce trees were really trees and not someone lying in wait for me. I bailed out the ice,* taking out the fish and placed them in my sack. I got ready to go to the shore and towards home. As I stopped on the shore, I was amazed to find a pair of snowshoes that I have never seen before. They were strange, because our people have round snowshoes and these snowshoes were pointed at the head. I took up these queer snowshoes and brought them part of the way home, and then threw one away into the deep snow on the left, and the other to the right. Then I was even more frightened to make the least noise or even breathe, watching everything that made a black shadow, because it was already almost dark. Then, as I slipped into a clearing, I saw a movement out of the corner of my eyes. I let my pack of fish fall quietly into the snow so that I might have the freedom of movement that I needed. I could not possibly be more frightened than I was. I chose two spruce trees standing together and stepped between them, standing perfectly still, and holding my breath. The person who was coming towards me didn't seem to notice me, but I had my club ready.

This person was dressed entirely in heavy black clothes. When he was an arm's length away from me, I hit him and he fell to the ground. I didn't see him very well, but dragged him away from the trail." He turned to the people and said, "If this had happened to you I am sure you also would not return smiling and hungry; so let us now prepare."

* These would be fragments of ice broken out of one of the holes where one end of the fish-net was supported on a pole.

There was great excitement that night. Some people were very happy, but they told each other that this was no time to be happy as they had to save their families. When their preparations were made, they came together to make plans so that they would know their movements towards the enemy, and not kill one of their own people in their excitement. The son was to be the guide for the warriors because he had just done the killing. At the shore-line they followed the snowshoe tracks back, always moving noiselessly. They smelt smoke, so they took a rest and one of them went ahead. A very short distance ahead a great fire was burning, so brightly that they could see the light a great way off. When the scout got back, he reported that all the strange people were dressed in black heavy clothes. The fisherman's son said, "It must have been their spy whom I killed." He told the warriors to make a big circle in the bush around the fire, but to take great care. He wished them all good luck. They all disappeared into the darkness without any noise, just like spirits.

They were all excited but did not breathe a word to each other. They heard the enemy talking and saying, "What is keeping our spy so long? He must have become interested in a woman." Suddenly the war party gave a great yell and advanced, shouting at the enemy on both sides of the fire. The enemy were very surprised and excited and began to cry out, pushing the fire so that they might see better. The arrows were flying in every direction, even into the fire, and the strange people crawled away from the fire, some of them bleeding from the chest. So the fisherman's son gave orders that they should be finished off with clubs.

The enemy had been killed because they were not careful and watchful, while the others were cleverer. They themselves might have been killed the following day if the old man's son had not been in the habit of going to his fish-nets each evening. The spy of the strangers was very careful but there had been another cleverer than he. The fisherman's son had saved all the people.

Now they moved to the other side of the lake so that if any more of the enemy were to follow them, they would not be found. It was snowing heavily and their tracks were covered up, and the place they chose gave them a long view of both sides of the lake. When spring came, they moved into the bush for meat, and

hides for blankets and moccasins. Thus they lived very well until the summer, when they all moved off, travelling to visit their various relatives. When they got to the Liard River they all began gambling, and playing ball and dancing. Thus they celebrated, for they knew they had been saved once more; but not for long, as there was always war.

WIDOW'S SON AND STRANGER BOY

A long time ago there lived a lot of people together because they didn't have any guns to hunt with and they depended on one particular young hunter who was always lucky. It so happened one day that another young boy who was also a lucky hunter wished to compare his skill with that of the first. The following day the first hunter, whose mother was a widow, set out on his hunt before anyone was awake. So did the other hunter but he went a different way. And the Stranger found no moose tracks, but on his way home he suddenly heard a noise and, stopping quickly, he listened intently. He went to find out the cause of the noise and was surprised to find a very young boy busily cutting up the meat of his hunt, removing the meat from the ribs with his (stone) hatchet.

The Widow's Son had his back to the Stranger but, sensing that someone was behind him, straightened up to find the Stranger watching quietly. To the Stranger's surprise the Widow's Son gave him a welcoming smile and, encouraged, the Stranger Boy told about his unlucky hunt. They agreed to go home together, the Widow's Son bearing meat for his mother.

As they walked, they became very tired and, seeing a squirrel, stopped on their way to rest and play with the squirrel, shooting at him with bows and arrows. They took turns, and the Stranger was the first to shoot. Then the Widow's Son shot, and his arrow got caught amongst the spruce boughs. So he said to the Stranger, "Please stand a little further away while I go and get my arrow." The Stranger did this, but thought it very curious and was on the alert to find out why the Widow's Son was so careful, both of them being boys. Then suddenly without considering the Widow's Son, he turned, and what he saw gave him a great surprise. His mouth dropped open and he was unable to speak. The Widow's Son fell to the ground

with a thud and began to cry very bitterly, frightening the Stranger so much that he trembled from head to toe. The Stranger ran forward to the boy and said, "I am so sorry that I bring this trouble to you. I hope you are not hurt." But the Widow's Son continued crying. Finally he got up and said, "My poor mother never had a son, so I wanted always to be a virgin so that mother will have me as a son. It was a secret she kept, intending never to betray the fact that I am a girl, but now you have come and interfered by finding out that I am not a boy. Now, in order to repay for your offence you will come with me to my mother."

When they got to the widow's home the daughter hung her head and said to her mother, "I greatly regret that his Stranger has come along. On his way home he found me while I was cutting meat and we set off home together. We were playing with a squirrel, trying to shoot it, and by accident my arrow was caught and I had to climb a tree. Thus he caught sight of my body, and I am now not worthy to be called your son any more," and the girl began to cry. The widow consoled the daughter and said, "You have been true and faithful to me, but I am now getting old and cannot hope for life to continue thus forever." So, the widow told the Stranger that she would give the daughter as his wife. The Stranger Boy gathered his belongings and settled with them.

But the girl always had the hunting blood in her heart and was not concerned with married life for several years, being always ready to help with the hunting whenever possible, and invariably she came home with sufficient meat to supply all the inhabitants around them. The husband was just as successful.

Then, one day she found out that she was pregnant, and became occupied with preparations. In due time a baby was born and, to their delight, it was a son. They had both greatly wished for a baby son. It was certain that he would be a good hunter and a good warrior, because in those days they were never at ease, (in fear of enemies.)

They brought up the son well, and later another boy was born. Nevertheless the mother of these children did not give up hunting and was always active in that pursuit, helping her husband. Thus they became a chief family and from then on they had about thirty families following them wherever they went.

Ultimately the sons took the place of their parents as good hunters and warriors and whenever they went to war, always returned home unscathed.

THE STORY OF AH NONTIN

(Ah Nontin means "Brought back")

There was once one family living alone, as the other people had all gone off into the bush for meat and skins for their needs. This family had one son and one daughter. One day they were happy to see two strangers coming to them. The strangers were a young man and a young girl. They came to the campfire and said to them, "We are very glad to see you." And the young man introduced the girl as his sister and she spoke of him as her brother. She said that there was no one to mend his moccasins and that he was her only brother, though they had no parents, and were always travelling, and often seeing no-one for a long time. Thus they said they were very happy to meet the family. They were invited to stay with the family for a time, and the parents of the boy and girl were very pleased because they would now have companionship.

When they were settled in with the family, both boys became very friendly, and went out hunting together. They became as close as brothers; and the two girls were very pleasant to each other and worked at sewing or washing quills or tanning moose-hide. The stranger man began to take an interest in the family's daughter, and the stranger sister was very pleased to see the two becoming acquainted. One day the girl was going for water and he was waiting there, smiling, and said, "My dear, I have become weary waiting for you here, because I must tell you that I love you." The daughter started to blush, but did not say a word to him; so he kissed the girl and asked if he could marry her. The girl replied that he should ask her mother. "What she orders," said the girl, "I do."

In the evening she brought the water home, and the stranger said, "It is useless for me to stay here with you people any longer. I have to be on my way and try to find myself a wife. I am very tired of roaming with my poor sister." The father said to his wife, "What do you think about this? This young man

has been very good while he has been staying with us, helping to carry the meat when there was some to carry." They talked this over as the brother and sister were sitting apart at their own fire-place. The mother said to the stranger, "Why do you have to travel all over the world for a wife when you know that there is my daughter here, and I am willing that you should marry her?" The stranger was very happy and his sister married the son of the family.

After almost a month, the stranger said to his father-in-law, "I will go and hunt, for we are getting short of meat." He planned to take his wife and to travel with his brother-in-law. It was spring-time now and they said they would make a cache or a stage, "And then we will all come back to you," he said. The father gave them his blessing and they left on their hunt. They travelled hard all day and at night they made camp and, being very tired, they slept.

Next morning the stranger suggested that they should separate, and the son of the family was surprised to see his brother-in-law change his mind so quickly. But he agreed, and in a quick glance was surprised to see his brother-in-law with a very serious look, and his eyes were full of hatred. The son controlled himself and soon they were gone.

The stranger found a creek and followed it up until he came to a beaver lodge. Here he made camp and built a strong wooden trap for the beavers. When he returned to his wife, he found her looking very sad, but she didn't say anything. He asked her why she cried, but she smiled and said that she had not been crying and was always very pleased and happy. But she did not mean it. This was because as soon as he was gone she felt that something was wrong, but could not say what. Her husband always kept talking about his sister but never mentioned his brother-in-law, her brother.

One day she said that she was expecting a child, but the husband didn't seem at all pleased. She became very lonely, sitting alone all day, because every morning her husband left early for his traps, and she had no one to talk to. He never brought a beaver home and was always complaining about having bad luck with the beavers. At first he used to come home every evening, but later on he said that it was too much to be running to and fro and that he became very tired working at the traps. "So," said he to the

girl, "I shall not return tonight. Do not expect me." The wife said, "Please take me with you. I am very frightened of staying all alone. Please don't camp away from me. Can we move up to the creek or closer to the creek?" He looked at her sourly and said that it was impossible for her to travel so far, as she was heavy with child. To please him she agreed, and a few days later the baby was born.

It was a boy, and she took great care of him. She thought, "I don't think he loves me, but if he sees his son he might become a better husband and a good father to the boy." Two nights later he came back and noticed her very pale and thin. He said, "At last I have a small beaver. I could not bring it all home as I had to have some food while I was camping, so I have nearly finished it." The poor wife did not seem to hear him. Then he said, "I hope it is a son." She was very glad to tell him that he had a son and he smiled for a little while, but soon the old disgruntled look returned. His wife took the beaver meat and cooked it on the fire and ate it. Meanwhile her husband was fast asleep snoring. He did not want to sit, or sleep close to her, and she thought him very queer. He never told her what he did all day. The following day he said, "I must leave to see my beaver traps, but take good care of my son."

After three nights he had still not returned, and she became very worried because with her small son, she was always expecting danger of many kinds. She feared the coming of enemies, or fierce animals to eat them up in the night. She could not sleep as she imagined that she heard noises. She kept the baby at her breast so that she could run or hide if anything happened. Finally she went to sleep, and the next day her husband came back. She said to him, "Why do you go away for so long, and leave us alone for so long?" He said to her, "Do you not understand that I am doing my best to get good beaver blankets for the winter? Remember my son must not be cold." And he gave her a pat on the shoulder to reassure her and make her believe he cared for her. The son in time became big and playful. The husband kissed his wife and once again told her to look after their son. But the kiss did not mean anything and she did not respond. She still felt that all was not well, as she had since they first parted. She tried to remember the day they left her parents but she could not recall anything wrong. She remembered though, that as they were

about to part from her brother that the stranger said to his sister, "I hope you make a really good wife for my brother-in-law." After he said these words he took his sister's hands and looked for a long time into her eyes. That was when the daughter of the family felt ill at ease.

Thus she remembered all these things, but she put the thoughts away and made up her mind what she should do. She prepared for the return of her husband, and this time he stayed away for four nights. She was collecting wood when she heard him coming, and she brought her wood back to the fire. He picked up his son for a while, but he did not say a word to her. She took his pack and brought out a small beaver which she cooked. In the evening she took him by surprise when she said, "I wonder, how is my brother?" He jumped and looked startled. He replied, "I am surprised to hear you mention your brother's name. I hope they are well and happy together. I wonder how is my dear sister." He gave a very loud laugh but did not look at her. All the more now did the wife feel that something was wrong.

The following morning he told his wife to clean and tan the beaver skin for their son, as the autumn was near and it was time to prepare for winter. Having said this, he left for the beaver traps, as he always did. But this time, as soon as her husband disappeared along the trail, she got up and put the baby between the blankets and the other belongings and ran as fast as she could to pick some berries, placing them by her son. She said to him, "My son, do not move away, or crawl. I shall go and pick some more good berries for you so that you will not be hungry." Then she ran after her husband stealthily. He did not discover that she was following him, but he increased his pace as he got nearer to the creek to visit his beaver traps and she saw his face as he passed through a clearing. He was smiling and singing to himself. She was very surprised to see her husband so happy. Suddenly she realized that there was some secret that he had not told her, and did not want her to know. He rarely brought any beavers or rabbits or chickens home. She was very hungry so she began to eat some cranberries and then crept forward very carefully, trying not to break a twig, because she was frightened that her husband might find her spying on him.

When he reached the first trap, he took out a big beaver and, very pleased with himself, he gave a big chuckle and said, "This is a fine beaver. She'll be very pleased to get him." He re-set his trap, and in his second trap found another beaver and took it out, singing to himself. When he had finally finished inspecting his traps, he had three large beavers and one small one. He could hardly carry them, and had trouble getting on to his feet. His wife ran back a short way and then stopped to listen, and see if she could hear him coming. But instead his heavy footsteps faded away in the other direction. She was very excited and could not see which way he went. She realized that he had been getting many beavers and never brought them home. She began to follow him again. He was walking along by the creek and she saw ahead that there was a bridge which he had to cross. She hid behind a tree because she saw smoke on the other side of the creek. From that spot she could see and hear everything that was said.

As he crossed the bridge, just before he came to the other shore, he grasped hold of a large pole which was sticking out of the water. He pushed it up and down, smiling, and suddenly laughed out loud. Said he, looking down, "It is a good thing that you are out of the way." His wife suddenly began to feel sick and faint, but she had to control herself because she wanted to know what was the meaning of her husband's words and to hear what he said to his sister. She sighed sorrowfully fearing that some dreadful thing must have happened to her only brother. He greeted his sister with many affectionate words and kissed her tenderly. The daughter of the family could see that the woman was starting to cry but her husband was still holding her tightly. She heard him say, "I cannot stay away from you any longer." The sister said "What of the other wife? I am so tired of pretending to be your sister while you are taking care of that other dog. It is no pleasure for me to pass days and nights without you here." She showed great affection toward him. The husband said that it would not be long before they would always be together again as they had before. They both ate together, and then he prepared to leave. He told her always to be careful while he was away at his beaver traps and that if she was hungry to cook some meat, and to cook some fat so as not to starve, and be careful not to choke.

As the wife with the child heard and saw this, she was nearly fainting with hunger and grief. She could see much moose meat drying on poles and fat beaver tails, and was sorrowful that she herself was left to starve. She was unhappy to find that the stranger who had married her was never her real husband but the husband of the other woman who called herself his sister, and now she was left all alone with a child, to starve. She was sure that they had both got rid of her brother, because she did not see him around the fire-place.

Now she had found out all she wanted to know. She got up from her hiding place and stood bravely in full sight of the camp. She walked over the bridge and looked to see what was tied on to the end of the stick, and saw that it was her own brother. There was a rope tied around his neck and the other end of the stick, and his long black hair was flowing down the stream. The tears streamed down her cheeks but she recovered her courage and put on a smile as she came to the fire-place. The other woman did not seem to notice her, so she coughed loudly, and the other woman was very startled. She tried to hide the look of disappointment on her face and greeted her sister-in-law, asking what had caused her to come so far. The baby's mother said that she was looking for berries to feed the child as they were very hungry. "Your brother," she said, "always has bad luck and never brings anything home, but I am very pleased to see that my brother is having better luck and that you have so much meat and so many beavers." The woman said, half-aloud to herself, "Yes. Your brother always was lucky." And she laughed. The baby's mother said that she was in a hurry as her son was waiting for her.

The other wife was frowning and glaring at her and made a face, but the mother pretended that she didn't see. The wife got up and cooked meat and a beaver tail for the mother, but the thought of her brother at the bottom of the creek prevented her from eating anything. The mother of the boy wished that the real wife would become sleepy and ask for her knee as a pillow. She took a moose skin and extracted a long thin bone from it, whittling at it playfully with her knife, and telling the woman, "I remember that my parents used to have this as an awl. They are good if you can make them really sharp." Then she put it aside but near at hand so that she might grab it.

Then her wish was realized. The other woman started nodding, saying that she felt sleepy. She would rest for a while and have the mother's knee as a pillow. Thus she slept, frowning and smiling in her sleep. The mother took the thin sharp bone, placed it in the ear of the woman and gave it a hard push. The woman stretched out her legs without making and sound or waking up. There was not even any blood.

The mother got up very quickly and placed the meat and fat cooked by the dead woman at her side; rubbed grease and meat on the dead woman's hands, and filled her mouth with meat. Then she ran quickly across the bridge to hide behind a tree to watch to see what the man would do when he came back. She did not have to wait long before she heard him coming back to his wife, carrying a big pack containing about five beavers. He was very hot when he put the pack on the ground and spoke to his wife. He knelt beside her thinking at first that she was asleep; but he saw the meat and fat on the stick and that she had been eating, that her hands were greasy and her mouth full of meat. He began crying out in distress, and meanwhile, the mother got up and ran home.

She found her child and took a piece of meat and cooked it for the baby. As it was getting dark, she brought in her wood and water and kept the fire going all night. She was very frightened because she expected that her husband would come home very upset at losing his beloved wife, and that he might kill her. She remained watchful all through the night but he did not come. After five nights, she was putting the baby to sleep in the evening, and arranging him so that she could grab him quickly if anything happened. Suddenly she heard a noise and stood up to listen the better, as the fire was crackling rather loudly. Then she heard her husband coming home, sobbing, and staggering to the fire-place, but also carrying dried meat. He was making a great noise in the night. He threw down his pack, but kept on sobbing like a child.

The mother asked him what troubled him but he did not seem to hear. She asked him again "After five nights you come home and, for no reason, you come sobbing." The husband replied, still sobbing; "I dreamed that my mother died," -- and he could hardly finish his words before he started sobbing again. She knew now that it was time for her to act. For five days now he had been crying, so that his eyes

were nearly closed, and finally he fell asleep, snoring. She stepped over the fire to his side and took a spear and said to the child, "Some monster is killing your father." Saying this, she thrust the spear into him with all her strength. Then she took the child in a beaver blanket and ran as fast as her feet would carry her.

She stopped to rest, then she set out to go back to her parents. But first she remembered her brother, and so she turned and came back past the fire where the man's body lay; but she did not stop until she came to the creek where her brother was submerged. She took the body out of the water and went to the fire-place. She could not see the body of the woman she had killed. Then she saw that her husband had built a stage and, coming over to see, saw that he had placed her body upon it, wrapped in tanned moose-hide which was all white. She threw this down and in its place put her brother's body. She tore the clothes off the woman's body so that the ravens would feed on it. She noticed the signs left by her body having been dragged all over the ground by the husband who thought she had choked when eating and he had tried to relieve her.

Now she set off for her parents who were still living in the same place. When they saw her alone, they became angry, and the mother looked at her daughter and said to her, "Why are you all alone? Where are your brother and sister-in-law? Did you eat them? What kept you alive since there is no one left but you?" The girl did not have time to explain because her mother did not want to hear. Her mother chased her away and told her not to come back again, ever. They gave her no fish or meat, not even for her child. She cried and roamed about looking for berries to feed the child.

It was getting colder, and as she continued picking berries day by day she had to go farther every time and she now had to carry her baby. Once she found a pleasant large clearing full of berries. She laid the child down and started to pick them around the baby. As she worked, she did not notice that she was moving farther away from him and, quite suddenly, she was astonished to see that it was getting dark and she called to him. But there was no answer. She ran to the place where she had left the baby but she could not see him. She ran all around the area but could

find nothing. She became very frightened and did not know what to do, always calling out his name. She could not go home for fear of her parents. They would be even more angry because she had returned first with only the baby, and now even he was gone. Nevertheless she had to go and tell them what happened.

She threw away the berries and, still crying, went home very quickly, hoping that she might get help from them and find her child. At her parents' camp she said to her mother, "I was picking berries for my child because you gave us nothing to eat. I left him where he could eat berries and went out farther. When I returned he was gone. I could see large tracks leading to the place where I had put my son, and I could see that they led away into the bush. Her parents listened, so angry that they could not speak. Now they told her, "Go away before we kill you. We had pity on you for the sake of your child. Now you must go away and never come back again." So she crawled out and hid in the bush for a while. She made up her mind to find her son, even if it took all her life.

Next day she began travelling, until she got so tired that she fell asleep among a thick clump of trees. The following day she moved on again, and after a month she was still travelling, and the snow had come, covering the ground thickly. But she never gave up. At first she had followed the tracks of the enemy who had taken her son, but when the snow had covered them up she continued in the same direction. As the snow got deeper, she became more hungry and very wretched, until she could hardly walk.

She would sleep under a tree, but did not have the strength to build herself a fire. One sunny day, when she began to travel again, she discovered some tracks and began to follow them, very pleased. Finally she took a long rest and then, in the middle of the afternoon, got up and started walking again. At last, in the distance, she saw some smoke, but by now she was very feeble from lack of food and poor sleep. She came close enough to see that there were quite a number of families staying together. She became very excited and frightened, but she had to go to the fire to warm her hands because she was very cold and hungry. As she approached the nearest fire-place, she could see an old woman and an old man. It was getting dark and they didn't see her coming. When she stepped into the fire-light they both looked

up startled and opened their mouths to speak but no words came. They looked pale-faced and very frightened. She said to them, "Please do not be alarmed. I came to you because I am lost and cold and very hungry." The old people said to each other, "She is a poor bush Indian." The old lady took a small birch cup from her bosom and put in it some snow to melt. The young woman was thinking that as she was coming she had noticed a sled track with blood trailing behind it, so she knew that they had meat. The old woman said, "Dear grandchild, what has happened to your parents?" And the young woman said that she had not seen them for a long time.

As they were asking questions, a little boy came along and looked at her with big eyes. Then he ran away and told the others that he had seen an awful bony ghost. So everyone came running to see.

In the old days when a stranger came to the camp from afar off, the people were always curious and listened carefully to what was said, being on their guard for a spy; but when they saw this young woman, they changed their minds and were quite sorry for her as she was so starved and aged.

Suddenly she heard a great noise from the other end of the encampment. She became very frightened because there was much screaming and she could not tell what it meant. The old lady said, "Eh, eh. Listen to them screaming again." And she turned to the starved woman and said, "Do you hear that?"

Then the talk moved to the success of a hunter named Ah Nontin who had shot a moose. "Everyone must come and get themselves a piece of meat," she said. The young woman thought, "This is none of my business. I am tired and still have to make my own fire-place." She had spoken aloud and the old lady heard and said, "But first you must eat, and now you have a chance to get a piece of meat from Ah Nontin. You will be very surprised to hear about him, because he is very young, but very pleasant to talk to. Less than five months ago he was brought home by the man with whom he is staying, and we called him Ah Nontin, which means "Brought back." He grew very quickly and they found that he was very clever and most skilful at hunting. So they married him to two very young girls. Every time he goes hunting he always brings back meat."

As the old lady spoke these words, the mother felt her heart very tight for a while, and she wondered about the strange name. "But the world is very big," she thought, and she could not hope any longer. She went to the dwelling of Ah Nontin and as she stepped into their hut, he was dividing the meat and both girls were going out to give the pieces to every family. He looked up at her quickly but did not recognize her, as he was busy. Then, exposing her breast to the fire, she said, "This breast was once very near to someone. Now, what is wrong? It is freezing." When Ah Nontin heard her, he looked at her for a long time, and his face changed, as the woman looked at him.

Now the two wives came running in, laughing because they were both very young and happy, for they knew their husband was always lucky. They sat down on each side of him and would not say anything to her. So she could take a good look at the lad and, to her surprise, she saw a long scar on his right cheek and knew that it must be her son. As they looked at each other, the woman became convinced that he was her son and he took pity on her because she was so thin and frail. He said to his wives, "Cook all the meat she can eat, and feed her well. Then give her some to take home. She is starving." Ah Nontin's mother said, "I arrived here only this evening. I have no home, and don't know what brought me here after wandering all over the world. I have come far now, and am very tired." Ah Nontin bowed his head, and then, saying nothing to his wives, took his mitts and said, "Stranger, you stay here and eat all the meat you want. I will go and make a fire-place for you." With these words he went out of the hut.

While Ah Nontin was gone, the girls fed her and gave her some meat for the next day. She thanked them and finally left. Ah Nontin was still carrying wood, and he finished as she reached the fire. He came over to warm his hands. He said to her, "Tell me of your adventures. What brought you this far?" So she told him the story about losing her child while she picking berries to feed him. Someone had taken her only son. She had followed the tracks until the snow came, and then carried on in the direction in which they had gone, always seeking her dear son. She said, "I am very sure that my eyes are not deceiving me when I recognize that long scar on your cheek. I want to hear about it because when I was carrying my son his face got scratched with a willow bough -- and I wonder

why they all call you 'Ah Nontin' -- you know what that means."

He became very angry when he realized why he had been given this name by these people -- and he called them dogs. He looked at one of his mother's ears because he remembered that it was marked. It was split, and he had noticed this when she was carrying him. Suddenly the tears were running down his cheeks. He got up and told his mother to be careful and not to mention their discovery to anyone. "Come to me again for meat to-morrow," he said, and was gone.

The following morning everybody was going for meat and the woman took her pack-sack. Ah Nontin was dividing the meat when she came to him. He said to her, "Come, and take this moose meat and marrow." She was too happy to say anything because now she had found her lost son, and she was very careful not to betray herself. Everybody prepared to leave, carrying their meat. In the evening she went back to her fire-place at the far end of the camp.

While she was sitting by her fire, she heard someone coming, and saw her son, Ah Nontin, coming to visit her. She offered him some marrow but he told her to keep it. He sat with her for a short time and then left, saying that it was not wise for him to stay too long with her in case the people realized they had a secret. She was so happy that she did not sleep for a long time. Finally, she slept, but was up again very early in the morning. She had only just melted snow for drinking-water when suddenly she heard a great noise and loud screams. Ah Nontin was devouring his wives. She heard cries and screaming and sticks crackling in a horrible fashion. Ah Nontin called to her to stay at her fire-place and the noise decreased. Finally, she heard no noise of any kind but she kept her eyes on the fire. She did not dare look around. Then, out of the corner of her eyes, she saw a movement, and looking up, saw a huge monster lying on the trail licking blood off his paw. She was too frightened to look again, so she put a piece of marrow on the coals to burn and the smoke blew toward the monster. After a short time he came to the fire and she saw that the great animal was her son who changed back to human form when he smelt the burning fat. He said to her, "At last I have found my dear mother." And she replied that she had travelled far and now her only son was found. She was crying with happiness.

Ah Nontin told his mother to go to one of her daughters-in-law and ask for an awl for sewing. She went to their dwelling, but the place was deserted although there was blood everywhere. She took what she needed for sewing -- needles, an awl, and a knife. She had not had these things before because the bush Indians had no steel or iron, but these people were Crees.

She went back to her son and he brought his own sled to his mother and loaded it with utensils in preparation for a journey. Then he said, "Let us go. We cannot stay here any longer among these dead people."

They left in the direction in which his mother had come. They continued travelling, looking for a good place to camp with thick spruce and a lot of dry wood.

(Aside by the Narrator: It is good to choose a thick place to camp. You will keep warm in winter and make walls with spruce and have wood to burn all night.)

They continued travelling until the beginning of spring when Ah Nontin said to his mother, "Tell me when we are getting close to the camp of my grandfather and grandmother, for I must hunt for meat." After three more nights his mother said, "My son, we are now in our land and you may begin hunting."

The next day Ah Nontin went hunting, breaking trail with his snowshoes at the same time. They did not travel the next day, as Ah Nontin had to turn back, following fresh moose tracks. He moved well and caught up with the moose and shot it. Then he went back to his mother and they moved to the end of the trail where he had left the meat. They made a fire-place, and his mother cut all the meat and hung it up to dry, so that it would not be too heavy to haul with the sled. While the meat was drying, the mother was working the moose-hide, and finally, they were ready to move on. He killed another moose, and they were very busy again for a while, but at the same time the son was always breaking trail ahead.

At last they found some snowshoe tracks and followed them until they saw smoke. Ah Nontin had never heard of the anger of his grandparents, and how they had driven his mother away to roam about alone. She had not told him, because she knew that if she had

he would surely destroy them. So when they came to the camp they made a fire-place for themselves, and Ah Nontin knew that there was something wrong because the old people looked frightened instead of being happy to see their daughter.

One of his uncles came to visit them and Ah Nontin pulled out the package of dried meat and threw it at his feet. Without a word he began eating the dry meat, because he feared that if he did not, or even left it for a while, he would surely be killed. They knew that he never smiled at them or spoke to them, but they were always ready to do whatever he said, and they followed him wherever he went because he was so wise and had good fortune. He was the best of the warriors and always gained victory.

EH'TSONTSIA SAGA - No. 1

Long ago, there lived a family, with three sons. The oldest son's name was Meccagostaye. The second was Kaatahly. The youngest was Eh'tsontsia. Their father was very wise and of course wanted his sons to replace him in his old age, but the two older boys were his greater favourites. The third was too young to arouse his interest because he was as yet unable to engage in manly pursuits. But their father was teaching them to become as wise as himself. Thus he would say to his sons, "Suppose there was an enemy who tried to shoot you, what would you do? If you are not clever and do not dodge quickly enough, you will be killed. I, your father, have done my best to teach you and bring you up amidst all dangers, and I would not like to see you die young. Now I will place my cap on my knee and you must try and knock it off. Whoever does this will take my place in the future."

So Meccagostaye shot an arrow, but his father was too quick. As soon as his son had released the arrow, he straightened his leg so that Meccagostaye missed. Meanwhile the other boy was very interested and watchful, and thus found out his father's trick, observing how he unbent his knee as the arrow was shot. He hoped that his father would give him a chance to shoot to try to remove the cap, because now he knew he could do it.

His father said to him, "You, Kaatahly, are my second son and I hope that unlike your older brother,

Meccagostaye, you will be the lucky one." But Kaatahly thought to himself, "He will not trick me as he did my brother. He is old and not as wise as he imagines himself to be." So he prepared his bow and arrow and his father said, "Go ahead, shoot." Kaatahly held his breath in order to make very sure that he didn't miss. He pretended that he was aiming at his father's cap. At the last moment he lowered his arrow, unobserved by his father, in order to forestall the trick. So Kaatahly shot his father in the knee and, in his surprise, the father cried out loud. "You, Kaatahly," he cried, "are the one who shot in the right place." Kaatahly wanted to pull the arrow out of his father's wound. His father, seeing the awful thing about to happen and knowing how painful it would be, begged his son to revolve the arrow. Kaatahly said, "Father, I did not do this purposely but you forced my hand when you tested us with your cap trick." Saying this, he pulled out the arrow. The father was proud to see the bravery of his son and happy that Kaatahly showed himself to be the wiser. From this day on, he always worshipped his second son, Kaatahly.

EH'TSONTSIA SAGA - No. 2

The poor little son, Eh'tsontsia, was becoming more useful daily. (This is an aside by the narrator: You have to understand that in the olden days it was necessary to become very clever while you were quite small. You had to be light on your feet and never eat too much, and always be watchful and obedient.)

One day Eh'tsontsia asked his father to take him to war but his father refused, saying that the boy was too small. Though more grown-up, the youngest son, Eh'tsontsia, was still too small to go with his two brothers and father to war. The father one day took his family to where there lived many other people, so that his wife would have company. He gathered all the young and old warriors around him and asked them to be ready to fight, as he had a feeling that an enemy was preparing to destroy them. The warriors were all very joyful and excited.

They began to travel from dawn onwards throughout the day, very watchful from the time they left their families and always alert to find a strategic and well-protected location, thick with

spruce and willows. Eh'tsontsia's father spoke to his warriors, "We must camp thus in a protective spot where the enemy will not see our fire, or we would all be destroyed." While the men were busy preparing a camping place, the chief sent one of the men ahead as a scout to discover if any danger was close at hand. The one that is sent ahead must be very careful, in case he betrays the presence of his friends. Soon the man that was sent ahead came hurrying back to the chief. He was very excited and breathless. He said that he had seen many enemies who were preparing to kill them all and their families as well. Thus he proved that Eh'tsontsia's father's premonition was right.

They set about preparations for the fight, and there was much excitement and whispering among the warriors. When they all were ready, they moved towards the enemy. They encircled the camp of the enemy very silently. Some of the young warriors were trembling from head to toe, waiting in the dark, deep in snow, knee high, their teeth chattering with both hate and fear. All this time the enemies were quite unconscious of what was happening about them. They were making preparations for battle on the morrow. Eh'tsontsia's father's people could hear the enemies talking and glorying in the thought of how they would surprise Eh'tsontsia's father's band. They called them dogs, and laughed greatly, not being at all careful or on their guard, believing themselves to be perfectly safe in the night. This was because they had no idea of Eh'tsontsia's father's premonition, and had no idea that he himself was on the warpath.

The warriors always waited for the chief to give his signal. The chief must have the first shot and give a yell. When this signal was given, everyone was trying to shoot the enemy down. Unfortunately, there were about fifty of the enemy, and the warriors of Eh'tsontsia's father only about thirty. Moreover, the enemy had long-barrelled flintlock guns. The enemies were falling in all directions, backwards, forwards, sideways, and face down. Some fell in the open fire, yelling with pain and hate, and asking among themselves where the arrows flew from so fast, killing half of their men. But Eh'tsontsia's father knew that they could not keep it up because there were too many enemies and also they were armed with guns. Fortunately, they were very slow with powder and flint and so frightened and shaky that they

didn't seem to know what they were doing.

(Interpolation by narrator: a reminder): When Eh'tsontsia had asked his father to take him with him, he had laughed and told his son that he was too small, and was foolish to talk in that way. So Eh'tsontsia was very angry and didn't speak and didn't eat. When his father went with his warriors to the war, Eh'tsontsia got up as soon as they had departed and went to his mother. He said, "Mother, I wish to go with the warriors." But his mother said, "No, dear child, you are speaking without thinking. You cannot go because there is no knowing what will happen to your brothers and father." Eh'tsontsia straightened his head and shoulders and said, "Well, I'm going anyway. No one can stop me." He screamed in rage at his mother, "What do you think I am? I am just as much a man as he, my father." The boy was about nine years old and his mother was surprised to see his eyes gleam with hatred, so the poor mother knew it was time to hold her peace and she bent her head and cried; but Eh'tsontsia was not to be pitied. He thought himself a man.

He went off into the night and found his way to his father's fire-place (camp). The men were occupied in warning their feet by the fire and the scout who had been sent ahead had not yet returned. It was during this time that Eh'tsontsia suddenly appeared by the fire. His father was angry, saying that this was no time for playing. He ordered Eh'tsontsia to go home, or hide somewhere until the war was over. Eh'tsontsia rose, and looking right into his father's eyes, said, "My father, I did not come all this way just to return or hide like a girl. Let me be what I am. Whether I am small or big, one thing is sure and that is that I will not return home tonight." His father told him to be a good boy and remain there until everything settled down. His father said that it gave him no pleasure to order him thus, but the boy was only nine years old, and being his youngest son, wanted him to stay behind and keep warm. Eh'tsontsia's father was trying to show him that while being severe, he still really loved and cared for him, but Eh'tsontsia would not be mollified by any of these soft words, and remained quiet.

Later, in the heat of the battle, his father forgot Eh'tsontsia. He was anxious, for he knew that the enemy was gaining. Amidst all the noise and

pouring blood, Eh'tsontsia's father was yelling with all his might in order to encourage his comrades, but they lost many of their men because the enemy was larger in number and more powerful. At last when they were too tired to care, knowing only that they were losing, they didn't notice a small figure moving about like lightning, striking out in every direction: and all the time the enemy kept up their fire. Quite suddenly, they heard the shooting decreasing, and finally all was quiet. Eh'tsontsia's father gave a big sigh of relief, happy to realize that he was still alive, but his sigh was not heard by the other fighting men who were still breathing heavily. They knew that they had killed about half of their enemy, but they also knew that the enemy was still strong and wild, eager to kill them and their families.

Next they looked with wondering eyes as they heard men crying for mercy, and they remembered the little face among the enemy, and every now and again they had heard someone yelling and they all jumped to their feet, amazed, because it was Eh'tsontsia's voice they heard, giving orders to the enemy. Before they had time to speak, the shooting started again. Eh'tsontsia's father's face turned white at the thought that his son would go amongst the enemy to be killed. Then the shooting stopped completely and they ran to see the son of their chief walking noiselessly toward the enemy's fire-place.

Before they got there, they heard Eh'tsontsia giving orders, but the sight was obscured by the spruce trees. When they were able to see Eh'tsontsia, he was less than ten feet away, standing with his feet far apart, looking at all the bodies of the enemy at his feet. Some were still alive but could not shoot because he had a club made of caribou horn, and was swinging this left and right, breaking their arms, so that they would not shoot. He then broke their skulls too. He taunted them, saying that thus they would learn who was the cleverest warrior, and mocking at their noisy guns with flint and powder. He puffed out his chest and removed his belt with a laugh. All the bullets that the enemy had shot at Eh'tsontsia were flattened against his body but he wasn't even scratched.

Eh'tsontsia's father was very happy and excited, so much that he could not say a word. Eh'tsontsia had left one wounded enemy without breaking his arms and legs, but he did not trust the enemy and took

one of the long guns and knelt by the man's side and asked him how to handle the weapon. The enemy told him how to put in the powder and flint and cap and how to fire. Then Eh'tsontsia shot him. Eh'tsontsia turned to his father and said, "You should have stayed at home and asked mother to take care of you." His father was very humiliated in front of his comrades. They all took a gun each and went home joyfully praising Eh'tsontsia.

EH'TSONTSIA SAGA - No. 3

From then on his parents were always ready to do what he told them. One day when it was very sunny he awoke very happy and said to his brother, Meccagostaye, "Oh, brother, what a fine day for hunting!" The older brother agreed and Eh'tsontsia said, "We'll see how good the dogs are. Our father was always very proud of them."

So they started early, but there was no game of any kind, and when the sun rose high, it began to be very hot and the dogs became tired and wanted to rest. Their tongues were hanging out, as they wished for water but they did not find any. So Eh'tsontsia got to his feet and went ahead of the dogs but they did not seem to wish to follow him. Eh'tsontsia turned to his brother and said, "What does our father call these wretched dogs? I don't even know their names." -- and he became rather sulky. He called the dogs, "Father's dogs, father's dogs, come on, father's dogs." The dogs did not understand, so he took his horn club and went at them to break their skulls open. His brother was very sorry for his father's dogs, but he knew Eh'tsontsia too well and didn't say anything. They went home and their father said to the older son, "Why do you come home without the dogs? Where are my dogs?" And his son told him what had happened. But they did not dare to say anything about it to Eh'tsontsia because he was very strong and quick-tempered and did not fear anything.

EH'TSONTSIA SAGA - No. 4

Eh'tsontsia and Meccagostaye and Kaatahly made up their minds to go to war. Eh'tsontsia was the youngest son but he was the cleverest, and so he became the leader in the family. He gave orders to his brothers to bring all the men they could find to serve as warriors. They did this. They went to war against the Cree Indians.

As they approached the enemy, they camped where they could drink and make plans as to how they were going to surprise them. Eh'tsontsia first sent a man to find out how many tents there were in the enemy's camp. In those days they did not know how to count, so they carried a long stick of willow which they broke into as many pieces as there were tents, to make sure that they made no mistake. The messenger carried the pieces of broken willow in his mitt and came back to report to Eh'tsontsia. They slept a little and were up before dawn. They had their bows and arrows and guns ready to start forward.

They advanced without noise to the place where there were many tents, placing a warrior at each entrance; and then they began shooting freely. They greatly frightened the Cree Indians who were still half asleep. Eh'tsontsia's men moved in towards each other, killing as they went, and so they gained the victory. Eh'tsontsia chose two young girls, and took a sled to carry his selection of booty, including an axe, cooking utensils, pail, pots, cups, blankets, and other things. He took the two girls because he wanted them to pull the sled, not because he cared for them. He was interested only in fighting.

The girls started to pull the sled, and Eh'tsontsia yelled at them that they should go faster. When it became too dark to travel they stopped to make a fire-place and everybody was busy. The two girls did not speak to each other. They became his slaves, with never a kind word from him. He was always irritable. So, when they saw Eh'tsontsia's own family and other relatives, they hoped they might find among them a friend, but Eh'tsontsia was always angry with them, and he told them never to move further away than his tent door, all the time during their journey. The two girls had to make sure that he was

kept warm in the sled covered with beaver blankets. Then he got out of the sled, took his bone club, and with a very quick movement he broke open both their skulls and dragged them on to the ice of the river, saying to himself, "Here is good food for the ravens." He was still smiling to himself when his two beautiful wives came out to meet their husband. As soon as he saw his wives, he smiled gladly and his eyes were shining brightly with joy. He told them that they could have the utensils that he had taken, and his father and mother and other brothers were all happy to know that this, the youngest member of the family, Eh'tsontsia, was a hero.

EH'TSONTSIA SAGA - No. 5

Over half a month passed by without excitement. Then he suggested to his brothers that they hunt meat for their family, as they were becoming short of food. Spring was changing into summer now, and the following morning they began to prepare their spruce bark canoes.

They stayed away a week, waiting for each other, so that they were all ready to come back from their hunt together. When the women heard their husbands singing as they paddled back to the camp, they knew that it meant they were very pleased with their hunt. So the children and the wives all ran to meet their husbands and fathers. Eh'tsontsia was paddling close to the shore but it seemed that there was no one to meet him. He was beginning to wonder if there was something wrong when he saw his baby brother approaching in tears.

Eh'tsontsia jumped out of his canoe and asked his little brother what was the matter. The little brother said, "As soon as you left for your hunt, two strangers came and moved into your camp and took the girls for their wives." Eh'tsontsia became angry and broke his bone club and went to his tent, stepped inside with his arms first and grabbing the two fellows by their hair, he knocked their skulls together saying, "It is a waste to use my club on your skulls." Next he clubbed his two wives on the head saying, "This is what you deserve for being unfaithful." Then he took the meat to his parents.

When he returned to his tent he slept, without first eating. Then he went to the shore and slept for a month, neither eating or talking to anyone.

In this way all his life was passed either in worry or excitement. Every time the warriors wanted to fight, they would go and beg him to lead them, so as to be sure of victory. Thus Eh'tsontsia grew older very quickly, and in time his mother and father died of old age. His brothers all were married and had children. Eh'tsontsia never married again after he had killed his wives, as he said he would never trust women until his death.

EH'TSONTSIA SAGA - No. 6

Everybody knew about Eh'tsontsia and never did women or girls try to become acquainted with him, as everyone was frightened of him. So he moved restlessly all over the world; until one day he found out how lonely he was. He tried to find some of his relatives, but he failed, and so he became older, until he could hardly walk.

He was crawling along one day, very tired, preparing to make a fire, when a young man came along and discovered Eh'tsontsia. The young man gathered many dry sticks and much good wood and piled it all close to Eh'tsontsia so that he would not have to go far to get to the wood. He also fetched a lot of water in birch-bark pans, and some meat, and left them all near him. As he was moving away, he heard Eh'tsontsia knocking sticks together, and he glanced back. The old man was beckoning to him, so he returned. Eh'tsontsia thanked him for his kindness, and said that as a reward he was wishing the young man all the luck that he, Eh'tsontsia, had had in his life. "Come and visit me again in a month. I shall still be here." With this, he said, "Farewell," to the young stranger, and fell asleep.

The young man walked away very quietly.

Later he told his parents what had happened and his father was very pleased because in the olden days, when an old man wished anyone luck, he meant it, and their wishes always came true. If such men went to war, they came back safely.

Some time later, they young man's father said to his son, "My son, you should go and see the old man whom you told me about." The son said, "Father, I am sorry that I did not go sooner." And he promised to go the following day, spending the evening making preparations. His mother made his moccasins and prepared some pemmican for her son. The next morning he was up early and said that he would return as soon as possible. He left his mother busy drying fish and meat, and making fish-nets with willow bark.

Before very long the son returned and he said that the old man had told him that his name was Eh'tsontsia and that he was very old. He said the old man did not wish to be buried in the same way as everyone else in the world. Eh'tsontsia had said, "Tell the world I want to be something very special, and I wish never to be buried. Please watch over me and see that nothing happens to my body." So the young man stayed with him day and night; and then one day, to his amazement, he heard a grunting sound and he saw Eh'tsontsia melting down and turning into a black rock. That was the end of Eh'tsontsia. The young lad told the story to his father and so it has been kept on to this day.

Ottawa, Ontario.

REMARQUES SUR LES CONCEPTS DE SCHÈME

et de

MODÈLE CULTERELS

par

Marcel Rioux

La parution, en 1934, du livre de Ruth Benedict, "Patterns of Culture" (1) -- dont la traduction française porte assez curieusement le titre de "Echantillons de civilisations" (2) -- marque, semble-t-il, le début de la vogue extraordinaire que devait connaître le mot de "pattern" chez les anthropologistes anglophones; on le retrouve même dans la langue courante des Américains, avec des acceptions vagues, dérivées de son emploi en sciences sociales. Parce que la traduction française de ce terme n'est pas uniforme et n'a pas fait, que nous sachions, l'objet d'études de la part de spécialistes de langue française, nous avions d'abord pensé qu'après avoir brièvement établi la signification précise que lui donnent les anglophones, nous pourrions ensuite présenter les raisons qui nous faut opter pour telle ou telle traduction. La première partie de ce projet s'est révélée plus complexe que nous l'avions cru.

En effet, si les mots de "pattern" et de "cultural pattern" connaissent un large emploi, il s'en faut de beaucoup -- peut-être à cause même de cette fréquence d'emploi -- qu'ils soient utilisés avec la même signification par tous leurs usagers. Comme le dit Whiting, l'expression "culture pattern" désigne des phénomènes et des abstractions diverses. "On lui a fait signifié, dit-il, éthos, orientation, traits universels de culture, éléments idéaux d'une culture, en opposition aux éléments de comportement." (23). Chapple croit cette notion de "pattern" tellement embrouillée qu'il se demande si l'anthropologie n'y gagnerait pas à l'écarter tout à fait. "Chacun s'en sert, dit-il, sans jamais employer de définition rigoureuse." (3). Même Kluckhohn, celui qui a le plus systématiquement tenté d'apporter des définitions strictes, s'est vu accuser par Whiting d'avoir employé ce terme dans un sens différent de celui qu'il lui

avait d'abord assigné (23). Parce que, comme le dit Linton, "les définitions et les classifications comptent parmi les outils les plus importants de celui qui s'adonne à la recherche" (16, p. 400), nous tâcherons d'établir la signification de "pattern," de "cultural pattern" et de "patterning." Que cette notion soit importante et soit au coeur de toute la théorie anthropologique contemporaine, il ne saurait y avoir de doute. Pour Lévi-Strauss, par exemple, "le problème qui consiste à définir objectivement ce qu'est un "pattern" et à établir les circonstances qui nous permettent de dire qu'un "pattern" existe est probablement le problème le plus important de l'anthropologie sociale et culturelle." (15). Plusieurs théoriciens voient dans cette notion de "pattern" non seulement un concept extrêmement important, mais ils rangent sous ce terme, tout un aspect de l'étude de la culture. Gillin, par exemple, oppose l'aspect ou le niveau d'analyse appelé "patterning" à l'aspect activité ou contenu culturel. (6, pp. 184-85). Il n'en faut pas plus, croyons-nous, pour justifier l'intérêt que nous portons à ce concept.

C'est d'abord l'emploi de ce concept en anthropologie culturelle ou sociale qui nous intéressera ici; l'emploi qu'en font d'autres spécialistes de l'anthropologie, les linguistes, les biologistes, les ethnologues et les archéologues ne fera que nous aider à préciser le sens général de ce terme; enfin, l'usage des philosophes, des sociologues et des psychologues ne devrait pas nous laisser indifférent mais nous n'avons fait qu'explorer superficiellement ce domaine.

Pour circonscrire approximativement la catégorie générale des réalités comprises dans cette notion, nous ferons d'abord appel à un philosophe. Edel écrit: "La diversité des conceptions du "culture pattern" est bien connue -- les types d'intégration fonctionnelle de Malinowski et de Radcliffe-Brown, le type historique de Kroeber, les configurations socio-psychologiques de Benedict -- mais au risque d'être taxé de simplisme philosophique, je dirai que l'idée sous-jacente à ces conceptions, c'est qu'un objet donné (une culture) est considéré comme ayant une unité quelconque (pattern). (5). Il semble bien, en effet, que ce soit là l'aspect le plus général de ce concept, celui d'unité, d'unité formelle. Cette caractéristique l'oppose, d'une façon très générale, à celui de processus et le range dans la catégorie structurelle de la réalité socio-culturelle; le concept de "pattern" intéresse

l'aspect synchronique plutôt que diachronique. Ce qui ne veut pas dire qu'une fois établi synchroniquement, un "pattern" ne pourrait être envisagé d'un point de vue diachronique et processuel mais c'est d'abord un élément structurel de la réalité socio-culturelle. L'emploi qu'en font les linguistes se rapproche de ce sens général; pour Hoijer, un "pattern" existe là où il y a arrangement significatif de formes à quelque niveau que ce soit." (8). Selon Washburn, la même conception prévaut en anthropologie physique. "En biologie, dit-il, quand on pense à "pattern" on fait allusion aux interrelations des parties ... le progrès de l'idée de "pattern" dans l'analyse du crâne dépend largement du développement des techniques qui permettent de révéler des "patterns." Les mensurations anthropologiques traditionnelles ne révèlent pas de "pattern." Je crois que je peux montrer qu'il est probable que la différence entre l'indice céphalique des Esquimaux de l'Alaska et de celui de ceux du Groenland s'explique par la croissance différentielle de la suture squameuse. Pour arriver à ce résultat, il faut analyser les interrelations (pattern-analysis) entre les parties du dessus de la tête; on ne peut rien faire avec le seul indice céphalique. (21). Donc, il y aurait "pattern" quand existe un rapport significatif entre les différentes parties d'un objet considéré comme un tout.

L'usage de la psychologie ne s'écarte pas de celui des disciplines que nous venons de mentionner. Gardner Murphy, par exemple, définit ainsi "pattern:" "Rapport des parties à un tout et des parties entre elles; par extension, "pattern" est employé, en psychologie, quand on désire mettre en relief les relations des parties plutôt que les parties elles-mêmes." Ainsi défini, le terme de "pattern" se rapproche sensiblement du terme de structure que Gardner Murphy définit ainsi: "l'arrangement des parties qui forment un tout; les façons dont les parties s'articulent ou se tiennent ensemble." (17).

Pourvu d'une signification générale et des acceptions que prend "pattern" dans des disciplines connexes, voyons les sens qu'il a en anthropologie culturelle où il a surtout proliféré. Il faut d'abord rappeler avec Kluckhohn que c'est un "truisme de la méthodologie générale de la science qu'un terme qui doit être employé dans un sens précis et technique ne doit pas couvrir trop de terrain:" (10, p. 114) c'est pourquoi pour éviter cette erreur, il faudra restreindre l'emploi du mot "pattern" à un sens bien

précis.

Il semble bien que les diverses acceptions du mot "pattern" en anthropologie culturelle peuvent se ramener à six:

1) Avec le qualificatif universel, "pattern" a servi à désigner des catégories universelles du comportement socio-culturel de tous les groupes humains.

2) Style de vie d'un groupe donné.

3) Modèles culturels.

4) Elément de la structure du comportement manifeste.

5) Elément de la structure du comportement latent.

6) Rapport vérifiable de dépendance fonctionnelle entre les différentes parties d'un tout.

C'est à Clark Wissler (24) que nous devons la première acception. Pour lui, l'"universal cultural pattern" est une espèce de plan qui va s'ajuster plus ou moins à toutes les cultures. C'est une acception différente des autres en ceci que les cinq autres acceptions s'appliquent à une culture ou à une partie de culture et que celle-ci, au contraire, embrasse toutes les cultures. Au lieu de parler aujourd'hui de "universal pattern," on emploie l'expression "catégories universelles de la culture." (11). C'est un problème fondamental qui intéresse non seulement les sciences sociales mais aussi la philosophie, la logique et l'épistémologie. Le problème pourrait se poser ainsi: existe-t-il des catégories, c'est-à-dire comme les définit Renouvier (14) des "lois premières et irréductibles de la connaissance des rapports fondamentaux qui en déterminent la forme et en régissent le mouvement?" En d'autres termes, existe-t-il, en plus des catégories socio-culturelles, des catégories innées qui, par définition, seraient communes à tous les individus de l'espèce Homo Sapiens? Ces catégories seraient antérieures à celles que chaque culture impose aux individus qui y participent. Si ces catégories universelles existaient et si nous les connaissions, c'est autour d'elles que nous pourrions distribuer les phénomènes observés sans crainte de violenter les phénomènes culturels à l'étude. Quoi qu'il en soit, l'emploi de "pattern" dans ce sens-là est en passe de

disparaître et ne présente aucun problème de traduction puisqu'il est remplacé par l'expression de "catégories universelles de culture."

La deuxième acception de "pattern" nous arrêtera plus longtemps parce qu'elle est plus courante et que son sens précis est plus difficile à établir. C'est surtout à Ruth Benedict que nous sommes redevables de cette acception; son livre, paru en 1934, marque une espèce de tournant dans l'histoire de l'anthropologie culturelle. Le point de vue le plus saillant de cette acception de "pattern" c'est qu'elle se réfère à l'ensemble de la culture; on emploie le mot de "pattern" pour qualifier le style de vie d'une société donnée. Cette acception est dérivée de notions populaires comme celles de génie et d'esprit d'un peuple. Elle s'appuie en dernière analyse sur le principe gestaltien: le tout est plus que ses parties. Julian H. Steward exprime ainsi cette idée: "Le mot "pattern" a beaucoup de sens mais il semble qu'on s'accorde généralement pour lui faire exprimer une unité et une harmonie sous-jacente, une intégration globale. "Pattern" devrait peut-être dénoter l'idée de structuration, mais il est difficile d'exprimer concrètement ce qu'est la structure si ce n'est en termes d'une composante particulière de la culture comme l'organisation sociale. Benedict s'est tirée de cette difficulté en concevant le "pattern" comme synonyme d'attitudes fondamentales, de "life view" ou d'un système de valeurs partagé par tous les membres d'une tribu et qui, conséquemment, explique l'uniformité du comportement. Il n'y a qu'un pas de ce concept-là à celui de personnalité culturelle: les attitudes étant l'expression d'un type de personnalité qui peut lui-même s'expliquer par les constantes culturelles." (20). Il s'agit, en somme, de la configuration globale d'une société, de son style de vie. Pour Benedict, ce style de vie s'exprimait par une espèce de constante dominante qui pénètrerait la plupart des autres phénomènes culturels de chaque société. On peut d'abord se demander si la conception de l'élément dominant de Benedict peut s'appliquer aux cultures hétérogènes et complexes et même, si toutes les cultures relativement simples laissent apercevoir un élément dominant qui informerait tout le reste de la culture. Benedict a le grand mérite d'avoir dirigé l'attention des chercheurs sur le tout culturel; si ses conceptions et ses techniques ne sont plus utilisées, il n'en reste pas moins qu'elle a fait avancer l'anthropologie d'un cran en mettant de l'avant une conception holistique

des entités culturelles. Aujourd'hui plusieurs autres concepts et techniques sont employés pour vérifier ses idées et ses hypothèses: éthos (aspect affectif d'un système culturel global) eidos (aspect cognitif de ce même système), personnalité modale, thèmes culturels, "value-orientation" sont tous des concepts qui remplacent l'emploi de "cultural pattern," au sens de style de vie. Au point de vue traduction, il n'y a donc pas de problème.

La troisième acception du mot "pattern" -- le mot étant quelquefois accompagné de l'épithète "ideal" -- nous fait pénétrer au coeur du problème qui nous occupe ici et nous met en présence de la première difficulté: quand on parle de "pattern" s'agit-il du comportement réel d'un groupe socio-culturel tel qu'on peut l'observer ou s'agit-il plutôt des idéaux de comportement de ce groupe? Il faut d'abord faire remarquer qu'au fond il n'y a pas d'opposition entre les deux termes de cette alternative, mais complémentarité. Il est évident, en effet, qu'il existe une relation entre ces deux séries de phénomènes et qu'on peut dire que s'il existe une uniformité quelconque dans le comportement réel des individus, c'est que cette uniformité est généralement attribuable à une espèce de plan idéal que toute société possède et auquel le comportement se conforme; c'est pourquoi on a quelquefois tendance à faire s'équivaloir les uniformités structurales observées dans le comportement et les modèles culturels qui existent dans une culture donnée, et qui canalisent le comportement. C'est dans ce sens-là que Sapir écrit: "Tout le comportement culturel est canalisé (patterned). Ceci veut simplement dire qu'une grande partie de ce qu'un individu fait, pense et sent peut être envisagé non seulement du point de vue des formes de comportement qui lui sont propres en tant qu'organisme biologique mais du point de vue d'un mode de conduite généralisé qu'on peut imputer à la société plutôt qu'à l'individu." (19). Adamson Hoebel exprime la même idée: "Le phénomène de la culture présente un paradoxe piquant. Le comportement dont est fait une culture consiste dans le comportement des individus; on peut l'observer et l'enregistrer seulement après coup. En revanche, les modèles (patterns) culturels de comportement existent avant que tel ou tel individu entre dans la société. Et quand un individu disparaît les modèles restent les mêmes pour ceux qui continuent à vivre et vont vivre dans cette société-là." (8).

Si les mots de "culture patterns" sont employés par certains auteurs pour qualifier indistinctement les modèles culturels d'une part, et les structures du comportement, d'autre part, c'est qu'en plus de le faire pour la raison que nous avons dite (réelle relation entre les deux), ces auteurs ont tendance à considérer que les deux séries de phénomènes coïncident exactement. C'est le cas, par exemple, des ethnographes qui, après avoir obtenu d'un ou deux informateurs une description de la culture dans laquelle un groupe d'individus vivent, donnent ensuite cette description comme celle du comportement réel de ces individus. Y a-t-il donc exacte correspondance entre modèle et comportement? Il est évident qu'il n'en est rien. Aux fins d'analyse de ces phénomènes socio-culturels, il semblerait utile d'introduire ici un troisième concept pour rendre compte de ce secteur intermédiaire entre les modèles et le comportement réel: le concept de norme. Ce concept, assez voisin de celui de modèle et de structure du comportement réel pourrait servir à élucider le sens des deux autres et à départager ce qu'ils pourraient avoir en commun et qui peut prêter à confusion. Les façons de penser, de sentir et d'agir d'un groupe donné d'individus révèlent des similarités considérables. Nous avons déjà souligné ce que cette uniformité de comportement doit aux modèles. En plus de ces modèles théoriques, un autre facteur, les normes, joue un rôle considérable. Les régularités de comportement deviennent elles-mêmes normatives. C'est dans la dérivation du sens statistique du mot norme (ce qui se fait) au sens de contrainte (ce qui doit se faire) qu'on aperçoit comment on passe d'un domaine à l'autre, du jugement d'existence au jugement de valeur, du normal (statistique) au normatif (obligation). A partir de ces remarques, on pourrait dire que les modèles représentent l'aspect de l'obligation qui est dérivé d'une source théorique, et que les normes représentent l'aspect de l'obligation qui est dérivé du comportement lui-même. Vue sous un angle un peu différent, on pourrait dire que l'obligation dérivant des modèles culturels serait de nature plus juridique et morale que celle dérivant des normes, qui serait de nature plus proprement socio-culturelle. La conception de norme ainsi entendue pourrait être d'un grand secours, semble-t-il, pour l'étude de certains sous-groupes et des communautés paysannes, par exemple, où les modèles théoriques de la culture globale sont particularisés; cette particularisation s'effectue à partir du comportement réel du groupe.

De toutes façons, les concepts de modèle et de norme mettent l'accent sur l'aspect normatif du comportement tandis que le concept de "pattern" tel qu'employé en anthropologie et dans les disciplines connexes met l'accent sur l'aspect structurel du comportement. En bonne méthodologie, nous devrons garder "pattern" pour ne désigner qu'une catégorie de phénomènes; du même coup, le problème de la traduction est résolu.

Et nous passons aux trois dernières acceptions du mot "pattern" que nous discuterons ensemble. Pour Gillin, "pattern" est une abstraction que des observateurs compétents peuvent reconnaître et analyser. Ce concept est un outil scientifique utile parce qu'il nous aide à reconnaître les éléments significatifs d'une coutume sans nous laisser distraire par les variations." (6, p. 475). On conviendra probablement que c'est Kluckhohn qui s'est occupé davantage à définir ce concept; à plusieurs endroits de son oeuvre, il a multiplié les efforts d'élucidation. "Nous nous accorderions probablement pour dire qu'un des sens de "pattern" a trait à certaines constantes ou quasi-constantes relationnelles sans tenir compte de la dimension ni du contenu culturels." (12). Cette même idée revient dans cet autre texte: "Pattern" est utile si l'on se souvient que nous avons affaire non seulement à des uniformités mais à des uniformités structurelles -- c'est-à-dire à une conjonction prévisible de mots et d'actes qui apparaissent dans un ordre fixe." Ou encore: "Pattern" et coutume impliquent un certain degré de contrainte qui produit une certaine conformité de la part de ceux qui sont les porteurs de la culture. Coutume accentue l'aspect d'habitude, l'aspect donné des phénomènes; "pattern" met l'accent sur les interrelations entre les parties du "pattern;" "pattern" implique régularité structurelle." (10, p. 115).

Si, toutefois, on se reporte à l'étude principale de Kluckhohn sur ce sujet, il semble qu'il y ait certaines ambiguités dans son argumentation. Comme exemple de "pattern" il rapporte que 43 informateurs Navaho sur 46 ont répondu à la question "que savez-vous de la magie?" par cette formule uniforme: "I don't know. I just heard about it." (10, p. 109). Comme il dit que "pattern" met l'accent sur les interrelations entre les parties d'un tout, on se demande comment on peut considérer cette réponse comme un "pattern" puisqu'il n'y a ici qu'un seul élément et que pour

qu'on puisse parler d'interrelations et de structure, il faut évidemment qu'il y ait plus qu'un élément. On peut qualifier cette réponse de stéréotype, de comportement culturel mais pas de "pattern" puisqu'il n'a été encore question que d'un seul élément. Du point de vue linguistique cette réponse présente peut-être un "pattern" si le linguiste considère les différentes parties de cette phrase comme formant un tout structuré; c'est d'ailleurs ce que fait Kluckhohn qui qualifie cette réponse de "verbal reaction pattern" tout en ne spécifiant pas qu'il s'agit d'un "pattern" linguistique et non culturel (au sens étroit). Mêmes remarques pour son autre exemple: si le Navaho dit qu'il n'a pas de relation sexuelle avec sa femme il emploiera volontiers: "don't bother my wife." On ne peut dire que cette réponse soit un "pattern" parce qu'elle n'est qu'un élément, qu'un trait culturel; si ce trait entretient un rapport de dépendance fonctionnelle avec d'autres traits, il y aura "pattern." Kluckhohn dit de cette phrase qu'elle est "patterned in its expression," ce qui ne peut que vouloir dire que la réaction n'est pas individuelle mais culturelle. Et si avec Sapir on a admis que tout le comportement culturel est "patterned" entendant par là que ce comportement culturel est canalisé, qu'il n'est pas idiosyncratique ou spontané, le mot "patterned" n'ajoute rien à l'épithète culturel et n'indique pas qu'il y ait interrelation entre certains éléments culturels. L'abus du concept de "pattern" et de ses dérivés peut conduire à sa dévalorisation comme outil scientifique.

Kluckhohn se demande ensuite quelle est l'essence de "pattern" et répond c'est l'"inhibition of random behavior;" c'est là, semble-t-il, l'essence du culturel et non du "pattern." Le "pattern" culturel que nous discutons ici étant à l'intérieur du culturel, il en possède, par conséquent, toutes les caractéristiques. Mais dans l'esprit de Kluckhohn, le concept de "pattern" implique l'idée de structure. Comment se distingue-t-il alors du concept de structure lui-même? Kluckhohn se pose la question et répond que le "pattern" serait une structure "with a degree of conformance on the part of a number of persons." (10, p. 112). S'il s'agit de structure culturelle et il va sans dire que c'est d'une telle structure qu'il est question -- autrement nous ne serions plus en anthropologie -- il est évident, encore une fois, qu'il y aura adhésion d'un certain nombre de personnes à cette structure car autrement il ne s'agirait pas de phénomènes culturels.

Ne pourrait-on pas dire que les concepts de structure et de "pattern" se distingue plutôt de cette façon-ci: alors que la structure dénoterait une simple combinaison d'éléments culturels, le "pattern" se rapporterait non à une simple combinaison d'éléments mais à un tout (variable quant à sa dimension) formé de phénomènes solidaires tels que chacun dépend des autres et ne peut être ce qu'il est que dans et par sa relation avec eux. C'est bien, d'ailleurs, ce que dit Kluckhohn mais sans appliquer ensuite cette notion rigoureusement. Parlant de la matrilocalité, il écrit: "pour l'anthropologiste qui se sert du concept de "pattern" le phénomène matrilocalité est envisagé (pour paraphraser Sapir) non point comme un élément séparé mais comme un élément dans un "pattern;" il est donc évident que ce n'est point un élément qui forme lui-même un "pattern" mais que c'est le rapport qui existe entre cet élément et les autres avec lesquels il est en relation. Ces remarques nous mettent sur la piste d'un autre problème capital que Kluckhohn n'élude pas mais qu'encore une fois il traite d'une façon tangentielle: un même phénomène peut être considéré, selon le point de vue où l'on se place, comme un élément en lui-même ou comme un élément d'un tout. La matrilocalité se compose, comme Kluckhohn le souligne, d'autres éléments tels la présence d'une terminologie de la parenté où existe une distinction entre les parents du père et de la mère, les soins et l'entretien de chacun des autres enfants par les soeurs, la coopération économique; s'il y a rapport de dépendance fonctionnelle entre ces éléments, on pourra parler de "pattern" de matrilocalité; d'autre part, la matrilocalité, c'est-à-dire le fait pour l'épousée de demeurer dans la communauté de sa mère, pourra être considéré comme un élément en lui-même et ici il ne sera plus question de "pattern" mais de trait ou de comportement culturalisé. La même situation se présente en anthropologie physique: Washburn (21) parle des différentes parties du nez qui entretiennent entre elles un rapport de dépendance fonctionnelle de sorte qu'il peut parler d'un "nose pattern;" d'autre part, le nez peut être considéré comme un élément de la face et mis en relation avec les autres éléments du tout qu'est la face; Washburn pourra alors parler du "face pattern."

Le passage suivant de l'étude de Kluckhohn provoque certaines questions: "On ne fait pas la distinction entre ce qu'on observe dans la culture manifeste (overt) et ce qu'on infère de la culture latente

(covert); l'idéal et le comportement sont mêlés." Kluckhohn semble identifier ici culture manifeste à comportement et culture latente à idéal. Or, rien n'est moins sûr. Le comportement latent (covert) est un comportement observé indirectement tandis que le comportement manifeste tombe sous les sens de l'enquêteur; il est évident que les modèles (ideals) et les normes jouent un rôle certain dans le comportement latent (comme d'ailleurs dans le comportement manifeste) mais comportement latent et idéal sont loin de se recouvrir l'un et l'autre. On pourrait peut-être dire que le comportement manifeste pris isolément ne peut révéler qu'une structure, c'est-à-dire une combinaison d'éléments qui peuvent apparaître régulièrement ensemble mais n'entretiennent pas de rapport de dépendance fonctionnelle tant qu'on ne fait pas intervenir la composante comportement latent qui, elle, par le truchement des idées, des valeurs et des sentiments complètent les relations qui entretiennent les éléments du comportement total, ou comme le dit Mauss, du fait social total.

Donc, c'est à la définition suivante de "pattern" que nous nous arrêterons: il y a "pattern" quand existe des rapports vérifiables de dépendance entre des phénomènes socio-culturels solidaires tels que chacun dépend des autres et ne peut être ce qu'il est que dans et par sa relation avec eux; ou plus brièvement: rapports vérifiables de dépendance fonctionnelle entre deux ou plusieurs phénomènes socio-culturels. Cette définition s'accorde en gros, comme nous l'avons vu, avec l'usage de l'anthropologie physique, de la linguistique et de la psychologie. En anthropologie culturelle, ce point de vue a aussi tendance à s'imposer. Kroeber écrit: "Quand les structures des organismes ont été suffisamment analysées, elles se classent en "patterns." (13). Kluckhohn, dans un texte plus récent, parle de "constantes ou quasi-constantes relationnelles." (12). Weakland écrit: "Il semble que cet emploi de "pattern" pour désigner des systèmes de relations relativement constantes et standardisées ..." (22). Nadel: "Les parties qui composent toute culture -- c'est-à-dire les modes variés de comportement -- sont perçues comme reliées entre elles: dans la mesure où ces interrelations existent, quelque chose comme un "pattern" existera puisque par "pattern" nous entendons de telles interrelations." (18).

Ce terme de "pattern" que nous avons défini en nous plaçant à l'intérieur de la théorie anthropologique anglo-américaine, il reste à le traduire. Si nous écartons d'abord l'idée de créer un mot nouveau, le choix se limite surtout à "forme" et à "schème" culturels. Si "forme" comme traduction de "pattern" a l'avantage de se rapprocher de la définition de "forme" en psychologie gestaltienne et de faire appel à un mot connu en sciences de l'homme, il possède l'inconvénient d'être employé dans un autre sens en anthropologie même. Linton, (16, p. 403), définit la forme d'un trait ou d'un complexe culturel comme quelque chose qui peut être perçu par l'observation directe et qui peut être transmis d'une société à une autre; ce terme fait pendant aux concepts de fonction, d'usage et de signification.

Nous nous arrêterons à schème pour deux raisons: parce qu'il a déjà été employé par quelques auteurs et parce que le sens qu'il a en français et en anglais se rapproche de celui qu'on donne ici à "pattern." Roger Girod dans son livre sur les sciences sociales aux Etats emploie le mot schéma: "En fait, le mot "pattern" que nous traduisons par schéma ou modèle est employé par les auteurs américains dans les deux sens. Parfois ils utilisent l'expression "ideal patterns" pour désigner les modèles du comportement, réservant "patterns" tout court pour les schémas de comportement réel que l'on peut observer." (7). D'autre part, Mikel Dufrenne dans son livre sur les théories anthropologiques de Kardiner et Linton emploie le terme "schème." "Et si Linton ne songe pas à justifier les "culture construct" comme nous le faisons ici, c'est que précisément il le distingue des "schèmes idéaux" qui définissent pour un groupe le système de valeurs qui lui est propre ..." (4).

Le Larousse universel donne pour schème plusieurs sens dont l'un, celui qu'il a en dessin, se rapproche de ce que nous voulons lui faire signifier en anthropologie. "Schème (du grec skhêma, forme) dessin, figure servant uniquement à la démonstration et représentant non la forme véritable des objets mais leurs relations et leur fonctionnement dans des conditions de simplicité qu'une représentation exacte ne permettrait pas."

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NOTES ON THE ABORIGENES OF THE PRAIRIE PROVINCES

(Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta)

by

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Foreword

The scope of this paper is to offer a general introduction to the demography of the aborigenes living in the provinces of Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta.

It deals only with the natives who are under the jurisdiction of the Federal Government: Indian Affairs Branch (Department of Citizenship and Immigration) of which there are more than 56,000; we do not include the Metis, who number over 35,000, distributed as follows: Manitoba, 8,700, Saskatchewan, 9,200, Alberta, 8,800 (1941 Census-Dominion Bureau of Statistics.)

The 9th Census of Canada (1951) table 34, shows a population of 21,050 native Indians in Manitoba, 22,253 in Saskatchewan and 22,210 in Alberta. This census does not distinguish between Indians who fall under the jurisdiction of the Federal Government Administration, and the Metis; the rule of governing the enumeration of the 1951 Census for persons of mixed Indian and White parentage was as follows:

(a) for those living on Indian Reserves, the origin was recorded as: Native Indian;
(b) for those not on Reserves the origin was determined through the father by the usual procedure.

Table 56 of the 9th Census (1951) "Mother Tongue," shows for Manitoba: 20,363, Saskatchewan: 21,555, Alberta: 21,844.

It is doubtful whether there are many full-blood Indians in any of the three Prairie Provinces. Furthermore, many people with recognizable Indian heritance do not call themselves Metis, but may state for instance that they are French, Canadian or Scotch.

The greater number of aborigenes (over 46,000) in the Prairie Provinces belong to the Algonkian stock: Saulteux (also called Ojibway or Chippewa), Cree, Blackfoot (including Blood and Peigan.)

The second stock, in rank of importance, is the Athapaskan (called Chipewyan or Déné) which is to be found across the Prairie Provinces, north of the 55th parallel of latitude; it also includes the Sarcee in Southern Alberta.

The Siouan stock is represented by the Assiniboines in Saskatchewan and Alberta (Stonies), and the Dakota who sought refuge in Southern Manitoba and Saskatchewan, from the United States, between 1863 and 1877.

There is one reserve in Alberta whose inhabitants are of mixed White and Iroquois descent.

A few Eskimo families from Fort Chimo, Port Harrison, P.Q. and from the N.W.T., now live in Churchill, Manitoba.

The Treaties

With the exception of the Dakota (Sioux) refugees from the United States, all the Indians living on reserves in the Prairie Provinces are descendants of members of Indian band or tribes who have signed treaties with the Crown. The British Government has always recognized the title of Indian tribes to the lands they occupied.

In 1811, Lord Selkirk bought from the Hudson's Bay Company a strip of land comprising the basins of the Red and Assiniboine Rivers, the region south and west of Winnipeg as far as Rainy River and the territory between Lake Winnipeg and approximately the 102°30' longitude, as far north as the 52nd and the 52°30' latitude. In 1817, Selkirk entered into negotiations with the Chippewa and the Cree in order

to obtain extinction of their title to a territory situated along the Red and Assiniboine Rivers. However, the legality of this treaty is questionable.

In 1870, the Indians repudiated Selkirk's treaty and on August 3, 1871, Treaty number 1 (Stone Fort) was concluded with the Chippewas and the Maskegons of Manitoba.

On August 21st, 1871, Treaty number 2 (Manitoba Post) was concluded with the Chippewas of Manitoba.

On October 3, 1873, Treaty number 3 (North West Angle) was concluded with the Chippewas of Northwest Ontario and Manitoba.

Treaty number 4 (Qu'Appelle) was concluded September 15, 1874, at Fort Qu'Appelle (Sask.) with the Crees, the Chippewas and other bands. In 1875, the Chippewas, the Crees and the Assiniboines who were not present at the Qu'Appelle treaty, gave their adhesion; the same year, a treaty was concluded with the Chippewas at Fort Ellice, who although living within the territorial limits of treaty number 2, had been unable to be present at the signing of the Manitoba Post Treaty.

Treaty number 5 (Winnipeg) was signed September 20, 1875, with the Chippewas and Maskegons of Manitoba and Ontario. In 1908, 1909 and 1910, further adhesions were obtained to Treaty 5, from Indians living north and east of Lake Winnipeg, in the Fort Churchill and York areas.

Treaty number 6 was signed in August and September 1876, at Carlton, and Fort Pitt (Sask.) with the plains Cree, the woods Cree and the plains Assiniboine of Saskatchewan and Alberta. A further cession was included in this treaty on February 11, 1889.

Treaty number 7 (Blackfoot) was concluded September 22, 1877, with the Blackfoot, the Bloods, the Peigans, the Sarcee and the Stonies (Assiniboines) of Alberta.

In June, July and August 1890, Treaty number 8, was concluded with the Indian tribes

occupying the territory south and west of Great Slave Lake with the Crees, Beavers, Chipewyans, Slaves and Yellowknives.

While Treaty number 9 was concluded with Northern Ontario Indians, Treaty number 10, signed in August and September 1906, was concluded with Indians in Northern Alberta and Saskatchewan: Chipewyans (Barren Lands, Lac La Hache and Cree bands.)

Meanwhile, reserves had been set aside between 1874 and 1876 for the refugee Sioux from the United States, in both Manitoba and Saskatchewan.

These treaties (cf. Map number 1: Treaties and Surrenders of land in the western provinces), may be summarized thus: a relinquishment, in all the regions from Lake Superior to the foot of the Rocky Mountains, of all the rights and title to the lands of the aborigenes covered by the treaties, saving certain reservations for their own use, and in return for such relinquishment, permission to the Indians to hunt over the ceded territory, and to fish in the waters, except such portions of the territory as are released from the Crown, into the occupation of individuals or otherwise. Perpetual payment of annuities were guaranteed to each Indian, man, woman and child, plus a token annual salary to each chief and each councillor of each individual band.

The allotted lands to the Indians to be set aside as reserves for them for homes, and agricultural purposes, are not to be sold and alienated without their consent, and then, only for their benefit. The extent of these lands was generally one square mile for each family of 5. A very important feature of all the treaties was the giving to the Indian bands of agricultural implements, oxen, cattle and seed grain.

The treaties provided also for the establishment of schools, on the reserves, for the instruction of the Indian children.

The treaties excluded the sale of spirits on the reserves.

To carry out the provisions of the treaties a superintendency was set up; under the superintendent, Agents who were to reside among them, were placed in charge of particular districts and bands.

The Metis

The Metis population of the Prairie Provinces is mainly of French Canadian descent, though many Metis are of Scotch blood. Their influence with the Indian population was extensive. According to the Hon. Alexander Morris, P.C., late Lieutenant-Governor of Manitoba, "the feeling that was subsisting between the Indians and the white settlers was due to the influence and interposition of the Metis, who, combining the hardihood, the endurance and love of enterprise generated by the strain of Indian blood, with the civilization, the instruction, and the intellectual power derived from their fathers, have preached peace and goodwill, and mutual respect, with equally beneficent results to the Indian chieftain in his lodge and to the British settler in the shanty."

Morris further acknowledges that he had the confidence, support and active co-operation of the Metis in all his negotiations with the Indian tribes.

To this day, the Metis in the Western Provinces can be divided in three classes: those who have their farms and homes; those who are entirely identified with the Indians, living with them and speaking their languages (especially in the northern parts of the Prairie Provinces); those who live in villages, towns and cities, and who can hardly be distinguished from members of the white race.

Many of the second class have since been recognized as Indians, and have passed into the bands among whom they now reside.

It will be remembered that while the Canadian Government maintained a "closed reserve" policy of Indian land tenure, it freed the Metis from the restriction imposed upon them as Indians, giving them the choice of 240 acres of land, on the public domain, or of negotiable scrip therefor, Most of the Metis accepted either land or scrip, thereby, in turn, renouncing their rights and interests in the land or other property of the bands of which they were members. By this act, they were granted all the privileges of citizenship, although they were not given any of the preparation for assuming its responsibility that is still being given to the Indian bands living on reserves.

Native Languages

More than half of Western Canada's 55,000 Indians speak English fluently, as they have had prolonged contacts with the non-Indians in the southern part of the Provinces, and because they have had better educational facilities than the nomadic Indians of the northern forest.

Over 30,000 Indians speak the Cree language (Muskegon in Manitoba and Plains Cree in Saskatchewan and Alberta.) Cree is also spoken by Ojibways whose reserves are in Cree territory. The Ojibway (Saulteux) language is still used extensively not only among the Ojibway Indians of Southern Manitoba and Saskatchewan, but also at a few points East of Lake Winnipeg.

The Blackfoot language is common to the Blackfeet (Siksika), the Peigan (Pikuna), and the Blood (Kainah). Although undoubtedly of Algonquian origin and grammar, the Blackfoot language is quite different from the Cree.

The Athapaskans, all in the most northernly parts of the provinces, speak Chipewyan in Manitoba and Saskatchewan, while they use Beaver and Slave dialects in Northern Alberta. The Sarcee band, near Calgary, speaks an Athapaskan dialect.

The Dakota refugees from the United States have kept their individual dialects (in Manitoba and Saskatchewan: Sisseton, Wahpeton and Mdewakantonwan), while the Wood Mountain Sioux speak Teton.

The Assiniboines (Stoneys) in Southern Saskatchewan and Alberta, speak a dialect originating from the Siouan Yankton; in central Saskatchewan and Alberta, having been extensively intermarried with the Cree, the latter language is predominant.

The Plains Tribes - Historical Notes

Numerically, the Ojibwa (Chippewa), which include the Saulteux Indians, were the strongest nation in Canada, controlling the northern shores of Lake Huron and Superior, to the edge of the Western Plains, where access was denied to them, by their principal enemies, the Sioux. To the northwest, and north, they met always on friendly terms, with their kinsmen, the Cree.

Like the Ojibway, the Cree occupied an immense area of the country, between James Bay to the East and the Saskatchewan River to the West. As they obtained fire arms, they expanded west and north so that, by the middle of the 18th century, they controlled northern Manitoba and Saskatchewan, as far as Churchill River, all northern Alberta, the valley of Slave River and an area southeast of Great Slave Lake. Some of them indeed raided up the Peace River in to the Rocky Mountains, others down the Mackenzie to its delta. They, however, became demoralized through spirituous liquors, underwent constant attack from the Blackfoot confederacy and were decimated by small pox, in 1784 and 1838. The Cree can be divided into two main groups: the Plains Cree, living on the Prairies, and the Woodland Cree, usually called Swampys or Muskegons, who live south of Hudson's Bay and on the Peace, Athabaska, Slave Rivers.

Before the coming of the Europeans, in Western Canada, the Plains Cree comprised only a few bands in northern Saskatchewan and Manitoba, living on the edge of the forest and hunting the buffalo on the Prairie. There, they fought older Plains tribes, allied themselves with the Assiniboine, against the Blackfoot and the Sarcee. They gradually spread over Northern Alberta to the Peace River, raided through the Blackfoot country, to the Rocky Mountains and migrated South to fur trading posts on the Missouri River. Possessing a weak culture of their own, they quickly assimilated many customs of their neighbours, the Assiniboines, and the Ojibwa, who mingled with them.

The Blackfoot were the strongest and most aggressive nation of the Canadian Prairies in the middle of the 18th century; their territory stretched from the Rocky Mountains well into Saskatchewan and from the north Saskatchewan River to the Upper Missouri in the United States. Three tribes comprise the Blackfoot nation: the Blackfoot proper, the Blood and the Peigan. A common language, common customs, traditions helped them present a united front against their enemies: the Assiniboine and Plains Crees, the Kootenay and Salish tribes of British Columbia, the Shoshonean and Siouan tribes in the southwest, south and southeast. A small group of Sarcee, of Athapaskan origin, sought shelter in the Blackfoot confederacy.

Early in the seventeenth century, the Assiniboine, who had separated from the Dakota Sioux a few generations before, were occupying a country from Lake of the Woods, west, dividing into two branches, one of which lived on the edge of the forest northwest of Lake Winnipeg, in close contact with the Cree, while the other centered in the valley of the Assiniboine River, and a little to the south.

With the Cree they fought against the Blackfoot confederacy for control of the Canadian Prairies; they waged war on the Sioux and other United States tribes. Constant wars and diseases thinned their ranks and as the herds of buffalo disappeared, the southern branch retreated to the United States, while the northern branch still lives on various reserves in Saskatchewan and Alberta.

The Dakota (Sioux), 1,000 in Manitoba, 800 in Saskatchewan, are refugees from the United States who sought the protection of the British after the so-called "Minnesota Massacres" of 1861.

A remnant (44 people) of Sitting Bull Band which fled to Canada in 1876, now lives at Wood Mountain, Saskatchewan.

The Athapaskans are represented in the Prairie Provinces by Slave, Beaver and Chipewyan bands.

The Chipewyans, the most numerous Athapaskan tribe in northern Canada, controlled the largest area in the north of the Prairie Provinces. Supplied with fire arms, they drove the Eskimo north of the Manitoba boundary, they oppressed the Yellowknife and Dog Rib tribes (now in the N.W.T.); meanwhile they were keeping an uneasy peace with the Cree to the south. In 1781, nine-tenths of the Chipewyans were destroyed by small pox.

The Beaver occupied, about the middle of the eighteenth century, the entire basin of the Peace River and the valley of the Athabaska River. Before 1760, bands of Cree swept the Beaver from the Athabaska valley. The Eastern Beaver made a truce with the Cree, while the Western Beaver displaced the Sekanee beyond the present boundaries of the Alberta province.

The Slave Indians were neighbours of the Beaver habiting the lake Athabaska country, the basin of the Slave River and the country southwest of Great Slave Lake.

To describe the present location of the various tribes who inhabit the provinces of Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta, it is best to take into account their present distribution according to the latest official census of Indians in Canada, made in 1954, which indicates the population by Indian Agencies, (for administrative purposes) and bands (for identification purposes.)

A bibliography and a list of references complete this general introduction to the study of the Indian tribes inhabiting the Prairie Provinces.

Schedule of Indian Reserves in Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta.

First, the Treaty Number (T.#) is indicated, then the name of the band and the reserve number (R.#). When the name of the reserve is not the same as the name of the band, it is indicated in parentheses under the corresponding name of the band; also, in some cases where there is no reserve, "nil" is indicated in parentheses under the corresponding name of the band. The October 1955 population, (Pop.) is indicated according to the Indian Affairs Branch records; the tribal origin, (Tribe) and the location, the nearest town of importance. The different tribes are pointed out by the following abbreviations:

Assiniboine:	Assi.
Beaver:	Beav.
Blackfoot:	Blck.
Blood:	Bld.
Chipewyan	Chip.
Cree:	Cree
Dakota:	Dak.
Iroquois:	Iro.
Peigan:	Pgn.
Saulteaux:	Saul.
Slave:	Slv.
Swampy Cree:	S.Cr.

Schedule of Indian Agencies

MANITOBA

Clandeboye, Selkirk, Man.
Dauphin, Dauphin, Man.
Fisher River, Hodgson, Man.
Nelson River, Ilford, Man.
Norway House, Norway House, Man.
Portage La Prairie, Portage La Prairie, Man.
The Pas, The Pas, Man.

SASKATCHEWAN

Battleford, Battleford, Sask.
Carlton, P.O. Box 68, Prince Albert, Sask.
Crooked Lake, Broadview, Sask.
Duck Lake, Duck Lake, Sask.
File Hills-Qu'Appelle, Fort Qu'Appelle, Sask.
Meadow Lake, Meadow Lake, Sask.
Pelly, Kamsack, Sask.
Touchwood, Punnichy, Sask.

ALBERTA

Athabaska, Fort Chipewyan, Alta.
Blackfoot, Gleichen, Alta.
Blood, Cardston, Alta.
Edmonton, 405 Post Office Building, Edmonton, Alta.
Fort St. John, Fort St. John, B.C.
Fort Vermilion, Fort Vermilion, Alta.
Hobbema, Hobbema, Alta.
Lesser Slave Lake, High Prairie, Alta.
Peigan, Brocket, Alta.
Saddle Lake, St. Paul, Alta.
Stony-Sarcee, 4th Floor, Customs Building, Calgary, Alta.

MANITOBA - Population 20,620 - October 1955

T.#	Name of Band	R.#	Pop.	Tribe	Location
			Clandeboye		
5	Berens River	13	464	S.Cr.	East sh. L. Winnipeg
5	Bloodvein	12	157	S.Cr.	East sh. L. Winnipeg
1	Brokenhead	4	284	Saul.	Scanterbury
1	Fort Alexander	3	1348	Saul.	Pine Falls
5	Hollow Water (Hole River)	10	211	S.Cr.	Hole River
5	Little Black River	9	110	S.Cr.	12 m. N. Ft. Alexander
5	Little Grand Rapids	14	448	S.Cr.	50 m. N.E. Bloodvein
5	Poplar River	16	226	S.Cr.	East sh. L. Winnipeg
			Dauphin		
2	Crane River	51	113	Saul.	Rorketon
2	Ebb and Flow	52	237	Saul.	Ste Rose
2	Pine Creek	66A	355	Saul.	Camperville
1	Sandy Bay	5	799	Saul.	Marius
4	Shoal River	65	286	S.Cr.	Via Mafeking
2	Valley River	63A	243	Saul.	Timberton
2	Waterhen	45	166	Saul.	Skownan
			Fisher River		
2	Fairford	50	414	Saul.	Fairford
2	Fisher River	44	732	S.Cr.	Koostatak
2	Jackhead	43	134	S.Cr.	36 m. N. Fisher River
2	Lake Manitoba (Dog Creek)	46	266	Saul.	Vogar
2	Lake St. Martin	49	350	Saul.	N.W. Fairford
2	Little Saskatchewan	48	217	Saul.	N. Fairford
1	Peguis	1B	1353	Saul.	Hodgson
			Nelson River		
10	Churchill # 5 (Nil)	-	230	Chip.	Duck Lake Post & Churchill
	Fox Lake (Nil)	-	77	Cree	25 m. S. Gillam
5	God's Lake	23	595	Cree	W. end God's Lake

T.#	Name of Band	R.#	Pop.	Tribe	Location
5	Oxford House	24	530	Cree	E. end Oxford Lake
-	Shamattawa (Nil)	-	242	Cree	80 m. SSE. York Fact.
5	Split Lake	171	569	Cree	Ilford
-	York Factory (Nil)	-	208	Cree	SW shore Hudson Bay
		Norway House			
5	Cross Lake	19	969	Cree	W. End Cross Lake
5	Island Lake	33	1542	Cree	W. End Island Lake
5	Norway House	34	1190	Cree	18 m. N. Warrens Ldg
		Portage			
-	Birdtail Sioux	57	114	Dak.	Uno
2	Gambler's	63	22	Saul.	Binscarth
2	Keeseekoowenin (Riding Mount'n)	61	174	Saul.	Elphinstone
1	Long Plain	6	406	Saul.	S.W. Portage la Pr.
-	Long Plain Sioux (Sioux Village)	8A	139	Dak.	Portage-la-Prairie
-	Oak Lake Sioux	59	162	Dak.	Pipestone
-	Oak River Sioux	58	552	Dak.	Griswold
2	Rolling River	67	151	Saul.	Erickson
1	Roseau River	2	403	Saul.	Dominion City
1	Swan Lake	7	252	Saul.	Indian Springs
2	Waywayseecappo (Lizard Point)	62	415	Saul.	Rossburn
		The Pas			
-	Barrens Land (Brochet)	197	251	Chip.	N. end Reindeer Lake
5	Chemawawin	32	190	S.Cr.	W. shore Cedar Lake
5	Grand Rapids	33	165	Saul.	W.N. shore L. Winnipeg
5	Matthias Colomb (Pukatawagan)	198	499	Cree	Pukatawagan
	Matthias Colomb (High Rock)	199			High Rock Lake
5	Moose Lake	31	151	Cree	S. shore Moose Lake
5	Nelson House	170	846	Cree	Nelson House
-	The Pas (Bignell)	21	663	Cree	N.W. The Pas

SASKATCHEWAN - Population 19,303 - October 1955

T.#	Name of Band	R.#	Pop.	Tribe	Location
		Battleford			
6	Mosquito	109	196	Assi.	N.W. Red Pheasant
	Grizzly Bear Head	110			
	Lean Man (Mosquito)	111			
6	Little Pine	116	302	Saul.	Paynton
	Lucky Man (Little Pine)		12	Saul.	
6	Moosomin	112B	206	Cree	Cochin
6	Saulteaux (Moosomin)	159	121	Saul.	Cochin
6	Poundmaker	114	256	Saul.	Cutknife
6	Red Pheasant	108	292	Cree	Red Pheasant
6	Sweetgrass	113	305	Saul.	Sweetgrass
6	Thunderchild	115B	334	Saul.	Delmas
		Carlton			
6	James Robert (Lac la Ronge)	156	1156	Chip.	La Ronge
6	Amos Charles (Stanley) (Little Red River)	157, 106A		Cree	Stanley
6	Peter Ballantyne	184	828	Cree	Pelican Narrows, Sandy Narrows, Sturgeon Landing
5	Red Earth	29	244	Saul.	On Carrot River
	(Shoal Lake)	28A	103	Cree	Carrot River
5	Cumberland House	20	119	Cree	Cumberland House
-	Wahpaton Sioux (Round Plains)	94A	65	Dak.	6 m. N.E. Prince Albert
6	William Charles (Montreal Lake)	106	536	Cree	S. shore Montreal Lake
6	William Twatt's (Sturgeon Lake)	101	360	Cree	20 m. N.W. P-Albert
		Crooked Lake			
4	Ochapowace	71	230	Cree	N. of Whitewood
4	Kahkewistahaw	72	254	Cree	N. of Broadview
4	Cowessess	73	533	Cree	N. of Broadview

T.#	Name of Band	R.#	Pop.	Tribe	Location
4	Sakimay	74	261	Cree & Saul.	N. of Grenfell
4	Sheesheep (Sakimay)	74A		Cree & Saul.	
2	White Bear	70	486	Saul. & Cree	N. of Carlyle
2	Pheasant Rump	-		Assi.	
2	Ocean Man (White Bear or Moose Mountain)	-		Assi.	

Duck Lake

6	Ahtahkakoops	104	568	Cree	Mont Nebo (Sandy Lake)
6	Mistawasis	103	374	Cree	Leask
6	Okemasis	96	478	Cree	Duck Lake
6	Beardy's	97			
6	James Smith's	100	580	Cree	Fort-à-la Corne
	James Smith's (Cumberland)	100A			
6	Kinematayo	118	412	Cree	Ormeaux (Big River)
6	Pelican Lake	191	143	Saul.	Chitek
6	John Smith's (Musokoday)	99	250	Cree	10 m. S.E. P. Albert
6	One Arrow's	95	207	Cree	Batoche
6	Petequakey (Muskeg Lake)	102	309	Cree	Aldina
6	Witchekan Lake	117	101	Cree	N.W. Spiritwood

File Hills-Qu'Appelle

4	Carry-the-Kettle (Assiniboine)	76	411	Assi.	S. of Sintaluta
4	Peepeekisis (File Hills)	81	466	Cree	Lorlie (Colony)
4	Okanese (File Hills)	82	123	Cree	Balcarres
4	Star Blanket (File Hills)	83	105	Cree	Balcarres
4	Little Black Bear (File Hills)	84	92	Cree	Balcarres
-	Standing Buffalo	78	310	Dak.	Fort Qu'Appelle
4	Pasqua	79	262	Saul. & Cree	Muscow
4	Muscowpetung	80	240	Saul.	Edenwold
4	Piapot	75	329	Cree	Zehner

T.#	Name of Band	R.#	Pop.	Tribe	Location
	Saskatchewan Inspectorate				
4	Maple Creek (Piapot)	160A	67	Cree	Cypress Hills
-	Wood Mountain	160	44	Dak.	Wood Mountain
-	White Cap (Moose Woods)	94	88	Dak.	Dundurn
	Meadow Lake				
6	John Iron's (Canoe Lake)	165	203	Cree	24 m. W. Beauval
10	English River (La Plonge)	192	236	Chip.	Beauval
6	Island Lake (Ministikwan)	161	148	Cree	20 m. N. Onion Lake
6	Joseph Bighead	124	134	Cree	Beacon Hill
6	Loon Lake	160	160	Cree	Makwa
6	Meadow Lake	105	131	Cree	Meadow Lake
6	Seekaskootch (Onion Lake)	119	540	Cree	N. Lloydminster
	Seekaskootch (Makao)	120			
10	Peter Pond Lake (Buffalo River)	193	247	Chip.	Dillon
10	Portage-la-Loche (Nil)	-	109	Chip.	La Loche
6	Waterhen Lake	130	319	Saul.	18 m. N. Meadow Lake
	Pelly				
4	Cote	64	640	Saul.	N. of Kamsack
4	The Key	65	208	Saul.	"
4	Keesekoose	66	353	Saul.	(Pelly) "
	Touchwood				
4	Muscowequan	85	311	Saul.	Lestock
4	Gordon	86	466	Cree-Saul.	Touchwood
4	Day Star	87	107	Cree	Punnichy
4	Poorman	88	405	Cree	"
4	Yellow Quill (Fishing Lake)	89	286	Saul.	Wadena

T.#	Name of Band	R.#	Pop.	Tribe	Location
4	Nut Lake	90	437	Saul.	Rose Valley
6	Kinistino	91	193	Saul.	Chagoness
			Athabaska		
10	Maurice (Nil)	-	319	Chip.	Fond-du-Lac
10	Maurice (Nil)	-	268	Chip.	Stony Rapids (& Black Lake)
			The Pas		
10	Lac la Hache	-	142	Chip.	South End (Reindeer Lake)

ALBERTA - Population 16,345 - October 1955

			Athabaska		
8	Chipewyan (Fort Chipewyan)	201	174	Chip.	Fort Chipewyan
8	Cree (Fort Chipewyan)	201	499	Cree	Fort Chipewyan
8	Cree-Chipewyan	174	101	Cree & Chip.	Fort McKay
			Blackfoot		
7	Blackfoot	146	1395	Blck.	Gleichen
			Blood		
7	Blood	148	2326	Bld.	Cardston
			Peigan		
7	Peigan	147	822	Pgn.	Brocket

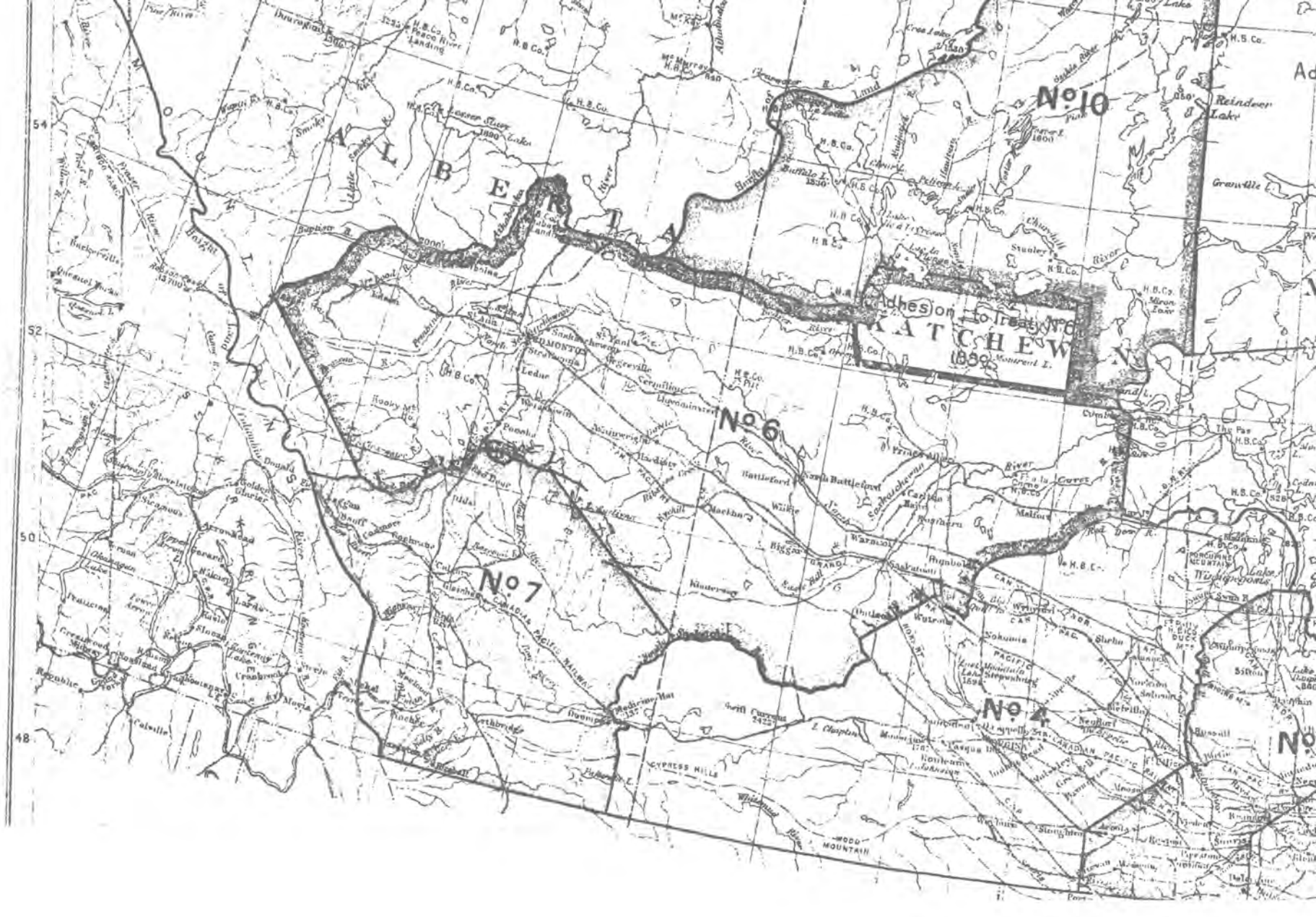
T.#	Name of Band	R.#	Pop.	Tribe	Location
			Edmonton		
6	Alexander's	134	279	Cree	Rivière-qui-Barre
6	Alexis	133	284	Assi.	Lac Ste Anne
7	Beaver Lake	131	119	Cree	Lac la Biche
8	Cree-Chip (Gregoire)	176	80	Cree & Chip.	Anzac
8	Cree - Chip (Clearwater)	174 175			Ft. MacKay Ft. McMurray
8	Heart Lake	167	30	Beav.	Philomena
6	Enoch's (Stony Plains)	135	265	Cree	Winterburn
8	Stragglers (Janvier)	194	95	Chip.	Chard
6	Michel's	132	113	Iro.	Calahoo
6	Paul's	133A	297	Assi. & Cree	Wabamun
			Fort St. John		
8	Horse Lake & Clear Hills (Horse Lake)	152B	81	Beav.	Hythe
			Fort Vermilion		
8	Slave (Hay Lakes) and (Upper Hay)	207 to 212	590	Slv.	Assumption Meander River
8	Ambroise Tete Noire (Boyer River)	164	150	Beav.	W. Ft. Vermilion
8	Little Red River	162	468	Cree	E. Ft. Vermilion
8	Tall Cree	173	169	Cree	Ft. Vermilion
			Hobbema		
6	Samson's	137	978	Cree	Hobbema
6	Ermineskin's	138	467	Cree	Hobbema
6	Bobtail's (Montana)	139	117	Cree	Hobbema
6	Louis Bull's	138B	211	Cree	Hobbema

T.#	Name of Band	R.#	Pop.	Tribe	Location
		Lesser Slave Lake			
8	Bigstone (Wabasca)	166	807	Cree	Desmarais & Wabasca
8	Sturgeon Lake	154	374	Cree	Calais
8	Whitefish Lake (Atikameg)	155	226	Cree	Atikameg
8	Lubicon Lake (Nil)	-	69	Cree	N.W. Atikameg
8	Kinnosayo (Duncan's)	151A	33	Cree	Brownvale
8	Kinnosayo (Driftpile)	150	288	Cree	Driftpile
8	Kinnosayo (Grouard)	150B	25	Cree	Grouard
8	Kinnosayo (Sawridge)	150G-H	33	Cree	Slave Lake
8	Kinnosayo (Sucker Creek)	150A	270	Cree	Joussard
8	Kinnosayo (Swan River)	150E	110	Cree	Kinuso
		Saddle Lake			
6	James Seenum's (Blue Quills)	127	1407	Cree	St. Paul
	Saddle Lake	125		Cree	St. Brides
6	Chipewyan (Cold Lake)	149	480	Chip.	Cold Lake
6	Frog Lake	121	292	Cree	Frog Lake
	Unipooheos	122			
6	Keeheewin	123	250	Cree	Gurneyville
		Stony-Sarcee			
7	Bearspaw (Stony)	142	961	Assi.	S.W. of Calgary
	Chiniquay (Stony)	143			
	Wesley (Stony)	144			
7	Sunchild (Rocky Mountain House)	202	150	Cree	N.W. Rocky Mountain House
	John O'Chiese (Rocky Mountain House)	203	210	Cree	N.W. Rocky Mountain House

INDIAN TREATIES
1850 - 1912
Adhesions to Treaty Nº 5
1908, 1909 and 1910
Nº 10
Nº 8
Nº 6
Nº 5
Nº 7
M A N I T O B A
Reindeer Lake
Granville L.
Nelson
Churchill
Peace River
Athabaska
Edmonton
Battleford
Saskatoon
The Pas


Adhesions to Treaty No 5
1908, 1909 and 1910
No 10
Adhesion to Treaty No 6
1889
No 6
No 5
No 4
No 2
No 3
No 1
No 7
MANITOBA
Reindeer Lake
Nelson
Churchill
Norway House
The Pas
Saskatoon
Battleford
Edmonton
Medicine Hat
Cypress Hills
Wood Mountain
Canadian Pacific Railway


No 8
No 10
No 6
No 7
ALBERTA
Adhesion to Treaty No 6
1889
56
54
52
50


ALBERTA
SASKATCHEWAN
No 10
No 6
No 7
No 4
Adhesion to Treaty No
1899
Reindeer Lake
Athabasca
Peace River
Edmonton
Battleford
Prince Albert
Calgary
Medicine Hat
Lethbridge
Cypress Hills
Wood Mountain
Saskatoon
Regina
Moose Jaw
Swift Current
Yorkton
Prince Albert
Lake Winnipegosis
Lake Winnipeg
Grand Rapids
The Pas
Flin Flon
Churchill
Stanley
Grandview
Dauphin
Portage la Prairie
Brandon
Virden
Melita
Estevan
Weyburn
Moosomin
Indian Head
Qu'Appelle
Fort Qu'Appelle
Wolseley
Broadview
Maple Creek
Shaunavon
Gull Lake
Assiniboia
Rosetown
Kindersley
Biggar
Rosthern
Humboldt
Watrous
Melfort
Tisdale
Nipawin
Hudson Bay
Carrot River
Porcupine Mountains
Duck Mts
Riding Mts
Pasquia Hills
Touchwood Hills
Last Mountain Lake
Quill Lakes
Big Quill Lake
Manitou Lake
Lake Diefenbaker
Lake Newell
Lake Pakowki
Lake Chaplin
Frenchman River
Milk River
Red Deer River
Battle River
Saskatchewan River
Assiniboine River
Qu'Appelle River
Souris River
Pembina River
Athabasca River
Peace River
Smoky River
Little Smoky River
Wapiti River
Dunvegan
Fort Vermilion
Fort Chipewyan
Fort Smith
Fort Resolution
Fort Simpson
Fort Providence
Fort Liard
Fort Nelson
Fort St John
Hudson Hope
Fort St James
Fort Fraser
Fort George
Prince George
Quesnel
Soda Creek
Williams Lake
Ashcroft
Kamloops
Lillooet
Lytton
Yale
Hope
Chilliwack
Abbotsford
Mission
New Westminster
Vancouver
Victoria
Nanaimo
Comox
Courtenay
Alberni
Port Alberni
Ucluelet
Tofino
Barkerville
Wells
Quesnel Forks
Cariboo
Cariboo Road
Dease Lake
Telegraph Creek
Atlin
Carcross
Whitehorse
Dawson
Mayo
Stewart
Hazelton
Kitwanga
Kitwancool
Kispiox
Port Essington
Prince Rupert
Queen Charlotte Islands
Skidegate
Masset
Graham Island
Moresby Island
Dixon Entrance
Hecate Strait
Queen Charlotte Sound
Juan de Fuca Strait
Gulf Islands
Saltspring Island
Galiano Island
Mayne Island
Pender Islands
Saturna Island
Texada Island
Lasqueti Island
Denman Island
Hornby Island
Vancouver Island
Strait of Georgia
Canadian Pacific Railway
Canadian Northern Railway
Grand Trunk Pacific Railway
Pacific Great Eastern Railway
Great Northern Railway
Northern Pacific Railway
Kettle Valley Railway
Crowsnest Pass
Yellowhead Pass
Rocky Mountains
Selkirk Mountains
Purcell Mountains
Columbia Mountains
Cascade Mountains
Coast Mountains
Skeena Mountains
Omineca Mountains
Cassiar Mountains
Stikine Mountains
Liard Mountains
Mackenzie Mountains
Richardson Mountains
Ogilvie Mountains
Wernecke Mountains
Selwyn Mountains
Nahanni Mountains
Franklin Mountains
Horn Plateau
Great Slave Lake
Great Bear Lake
Lake Athabasca
Lake Claire
Lake Winnipeg
Lake Manitoba
Lake Winnipegosis
Lake of the Woods
Rainy Lake
Lake Nipigon
Lake Superior
Lake Huron
Lake Erie
Lake Ontario
Lake Simcoe
Georgian Bay
Manitoulin Island
Sault Ste Marie
Port Arthur
Fort William
Thunder Bay
Kenora
Dryden
Sioux Lookout
Red Lake
Pickle Lake
Lake St Joseph
Lac Seul
Lake Abitibi
Lake Timiskaming
Cobalt
Haileybury
New Liskeard
North Bay
Sudbury
Sault Ste Marie
Timmins
Kirkland Lake
Porcupine
Cochrane
Moosonee
James Bay
Hudson Bay
Ottawa River
St Lawrence River
Gulf of St Lawrence
Anticosti Island
Prince Edward Island
Charlottetown
Summerside
Nova Scotia
Halifax
Dartmouth
Sydney
Glace Bay
New Glasgow
Truro
Amherst
Yarmouth
Digby
Annapolis Royal
Bay of Fundy
Minas Basin
Cape Breton Island
Cabot Strait
New Brunswick
Saint John
Moncton
Fredericton
Saint John River
Miramichi River
Restigouche River
Chaleur Bay
Baie des Chaleurs
Gaspé Peninsula
Gaspé
Percé
Rimouski
Matane
Mont Joli
Metis
Campbellton
Dalhousie
Bathurst
Newcastle
Chatham
Shediac
Sackville
Port Elgin
Cape Tormentine
Northumberland Strait
Magdalen Islands
Anticosti Island
Quebec
Montreal
Ottawa
Hull
Trois-Rivières
Shawinigan
Sherbrooke
Drummondville
Granby
Saint-Jean
Valleyfield
Cornwall
Hawkesbury
Lachute
Saint-Jérôme
Joliette
Berthierville
Sorel
Saint-Hyacinthe
Farnham
Magog
Lac Mégantic
Thetford Mines
Asbestos
Victoriaville
Arthabaska
Plessisville
Lévis
Saint-Georges
Beauceville
Saint-Joseph
Montmagny
La Malbaie
Baie Saint-Paul
Saint-Tite
La Tuque
Roberval
Lac Saint-Jean
Chicoutimi
Jonquière
Alma
Dolbeau
Mistassini
Lake Mistassini
Lake Abitibi
Lake Timiskaming
Rouyn
Noranda
Val-d'Or
Amos
La Sarre
Témiscamingue
Ungava Bay
Hudson Strait
Labrador
Newfoundland
St John's
Conception Bay
Trinity Bay
Bonavista Bay
Notre Dame Bay
Placentia Bay
Fortune Bay
Grand Bank
Burin Peninsula
Avalon Peninsula
Cape Race
Cape Spear
Port aux Basques
Corner Brook
Bay of Islands
Gros Morne
Grand Falls
Gander
Gander Lake
Twillingate
Fogo Island
Labrador City
Wabush
Goose Bay
Happy Valley
Hamilton Inlet
Lake Melville
Groswater Bay
Cape Chidley
Resolution Island
Baffin Island
Frobisher Bay
Cape Dorset
Lake Harbour
Foxe Basin
Foxe Channel
Southampton Island
Coral Harbour
Repulse Bay
Chesterfield Inlet
Rankin Inlet
Whale Cove
Arctic Bay
Pond Inlet
Lancaster Sound
Barrow Strait
Prince Regent Inlet
Somerset Island
Boothia Peninsula
Gulf of Boothia
Committee Bay
Melville Peninsula
Fury and Hecla Strait
Baffin Bay
Davis Strait
Cumberland Sound
Clyde River
Broughton Island
Home Bay
Ellesmere Island
Axel Heiberg Island
Devon Island
Cornwallis Island
Bathurst Island
Melville Island
Prince Patrick Island
Banks Island
Victoria Island
Prince of Wales Island
Somerset Island
King William Island
Queen Maud Gulf
Coronation Gulf
Dolphin and Union Strait
Amundsen Gulf
Beaufort Sea
Mackenzie Delta
Tuktoyaktuk
Inuvik
Aklavik
Arctic Red River
Norman Wells
Fort Norman
Great Bear River
Great Slave River
Hay River
Fort Smith
Yellowknife
Rae
Lac La Martre
Fort Rae
Fort Reliance
Artillery Lake
Aylmer Lake
Clinton-Colden Lake
Lake Athabasca
Lake Claire
Fond du Lac
Stony Rapids
Uranium City
Wollaston Lake
Reindeer Lake
Cree Lake
Lac La Ronge
La Ronge
Prince Albert
Meadow Lake
Lloydminster
Vermilion
Wainwright
Camrose
Battle River
Red Deer
Drumheller
Hanna
Oyen
Brooks
Medicine Hat
Redcliff
Bow Island
Foremost
Cardston
Waterton Lakes
Pincher Creek
Crowsnest
Blairmore
Coleman
Frank
Fernie
Cranbrook
Kimberley
Creston
Nelson
Trail
Rossland
Grand Forks
Greenwood
Midway
Osoyoos
Penticton
Kelowna
Vernon
Salmon Arm
Revelstoke
Golden
Field
Yoho National Park
Kootenay National Park
Banff National Park
Jasper National Park
Waterton Lakes National Park
Glacier National Park
Mount Robson Provincial Park
Strathcona Provincial Park
Cathedral Provincial Park
Wells Gray Provincial Park
Tweedsmuir Provincial Park
Garibaldi Provincial Park
Manning Provincial Park
Cypress Hills Provincial Park
Dinosaur Provincial Park
Writing-on-Stone Provincial Park
Fort Whoop-Up
Fort Macleod
Fort Walsh
Fort Battleford
Fort Carlton
Fort Pitt
Fort Edmonton
Fort Saskatchewan
Fort Assiniboine
Fort Vermilion
Fort Chipewyan
Fort Smith
Fort Resolution
Fort Simpson
Fort Providence
Fort Liard
Fort Nelson
Fort St John
Hudson Hope
Fort St James
Fort Fraser
Fort George
Prince George
Quesnel
Soda Creek
Williams Lake
Ashcroft
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Lillooet
Lytton
Yale
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Chilliwack
Abbotsford
Mission
New Westminster
Vancouver
Victoria
Nanaimo
Comox
Courtenay
Alberni
Port Alberni
Ucluelet
Tofino
Barkerville
Wells
Quesnel Forks
Cariboo
Cariboo Road
Dease Lake
Telegraph Creek
Atlin
Carcross
Whitehorse
Dawson
Mayo
Stewart
Hazelton
Kitwanga
Kitwancool
Kispiox
Port Essington
Prince Rupert
Queen Charlotte Islands
Skidegate
Masset
Graham Island
Moresby Island
Dixon Entrance
Hecate Strait
Queen Charlotte Sound
Juan de Fuca Strait
Gulf Islands
Saltspring Island
Galiano Island
Mayne Island
Pender Islands
Saturna Island
Texada Island
Lasqueti Island
Denman Island
Hornby Island
Vancouver Island
Strait of Georgia
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Canadian Northern Railway
Grand Trunk Pacific Railway
Pacific Great Eastern Railway
Great Northern Railway
Northern Pacific Railway
Kettle Valley Railway
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Yellowhead Pass
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Selkirk Mountains
Purcell Mountains
Columbia Mountains
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Franklin Mountains
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Lake Claire
Lake Winnipeg
Lake Manitoba
Lake Winnipegosis
Lake of the Woods
Rainy Lake
Lake Nipigon
Lake Superior
Lake Huron
Lake Erie
Lake Ontario
Lake Simcoe
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Port Arthur
Fort William
Thunder Bay
Kenora
Dryden
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Red Lake
Pickle Lake
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Lac Seul
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Lake Timiskaming
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Haileybury
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North Bay
Sudbury
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Kirkland Lake
Porcupine
Cochrane
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James Bay
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St Lawrence River
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Prince Edward Island
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Summerside
Nova Scotia
Halifax
Dartmouth
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New Glasgow
Truro
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Cabot Strait
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Fredericton
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Grand Bank
Burin Peninsula
Avalon Peninsula
Cape Race
Cape Spear
Port aux Basques
Corner Brook
Bay of Islands
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Grand Falls
Gander
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Fogo Island
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Wabush
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Rankin Inlet
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Pond Inlet
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Somerset Island
King William Island
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Coronation Gulf
Dolphin and Union Strait
Amundsen Gulf
Beaufort Sea
Mackenzie Delta
Tuktoyaktuk
Inuvik
Aklavik
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Fort Norman
Great Bear River
Great Slave River
Hay River
Fort Smith
Yellowknife
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Lake Claire
Fond du Lac
Stony Rapids
Uranium City
Wollaston Lake
Reindeer Lake
Cree Lake
Lac La Ronge
La Ronge
Prince Albert
Meadow Lake
Lloydminster
Vermilion
Wainwright
Camrose
Battle River
Red Deer
Drumheller
Hanna
Oyen
Brooks
Medicine Hat
Redcliff
Bow Island
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Cardston
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Fernie
Cranbrook
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Rossland
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Midway
Osoyoos
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Vernon
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Revelstoke
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Cathedral Provincial Park
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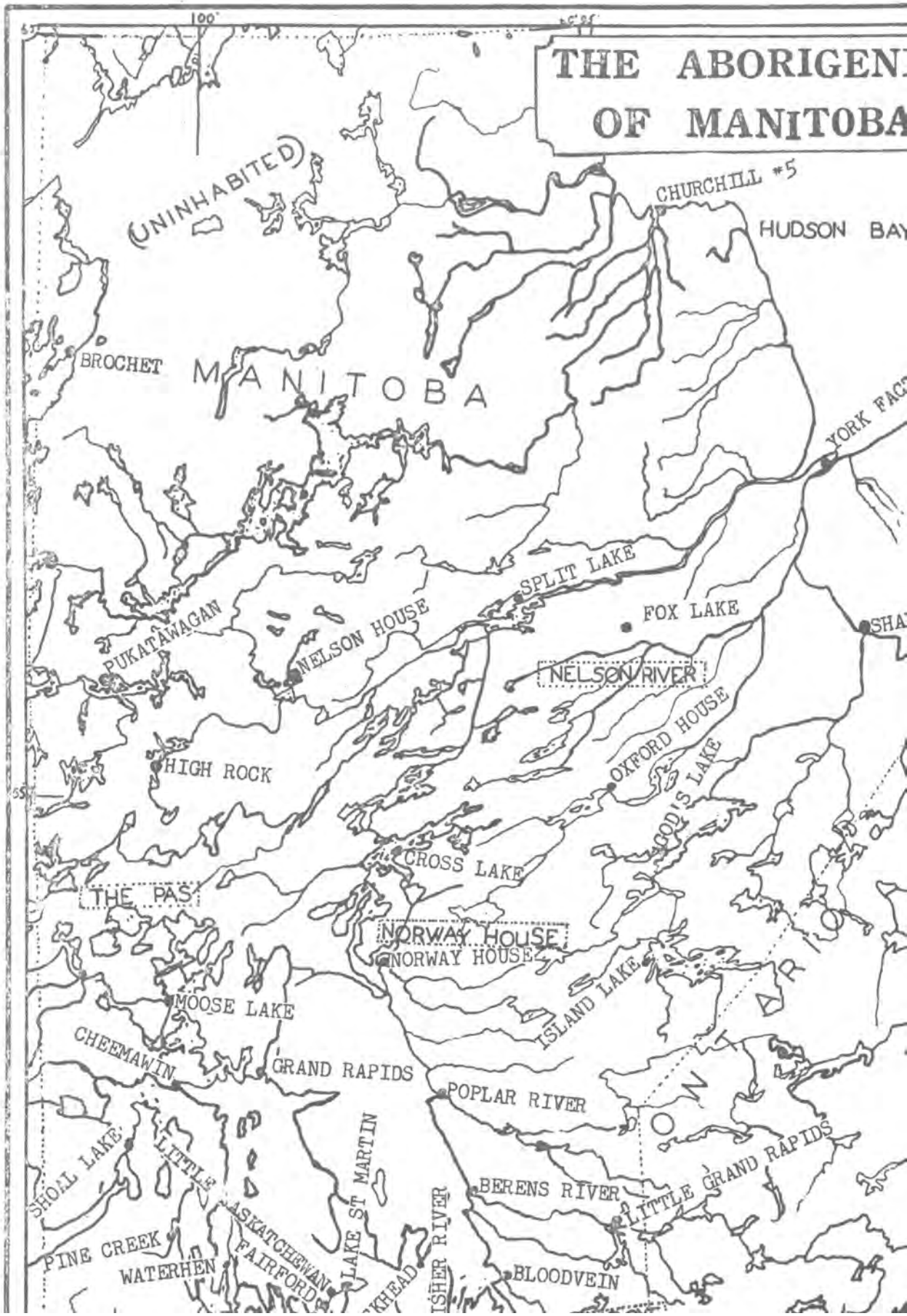
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OXFORD HOUSE
GOD'S LAKE
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CROSS LAKE
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NORWAY HOUSE
NORWAY HOUSE
ISLAND LAKE
MOOSE LAKE
CHEEMAWIN
GRAND RAPIDS
POPLAR RIVER
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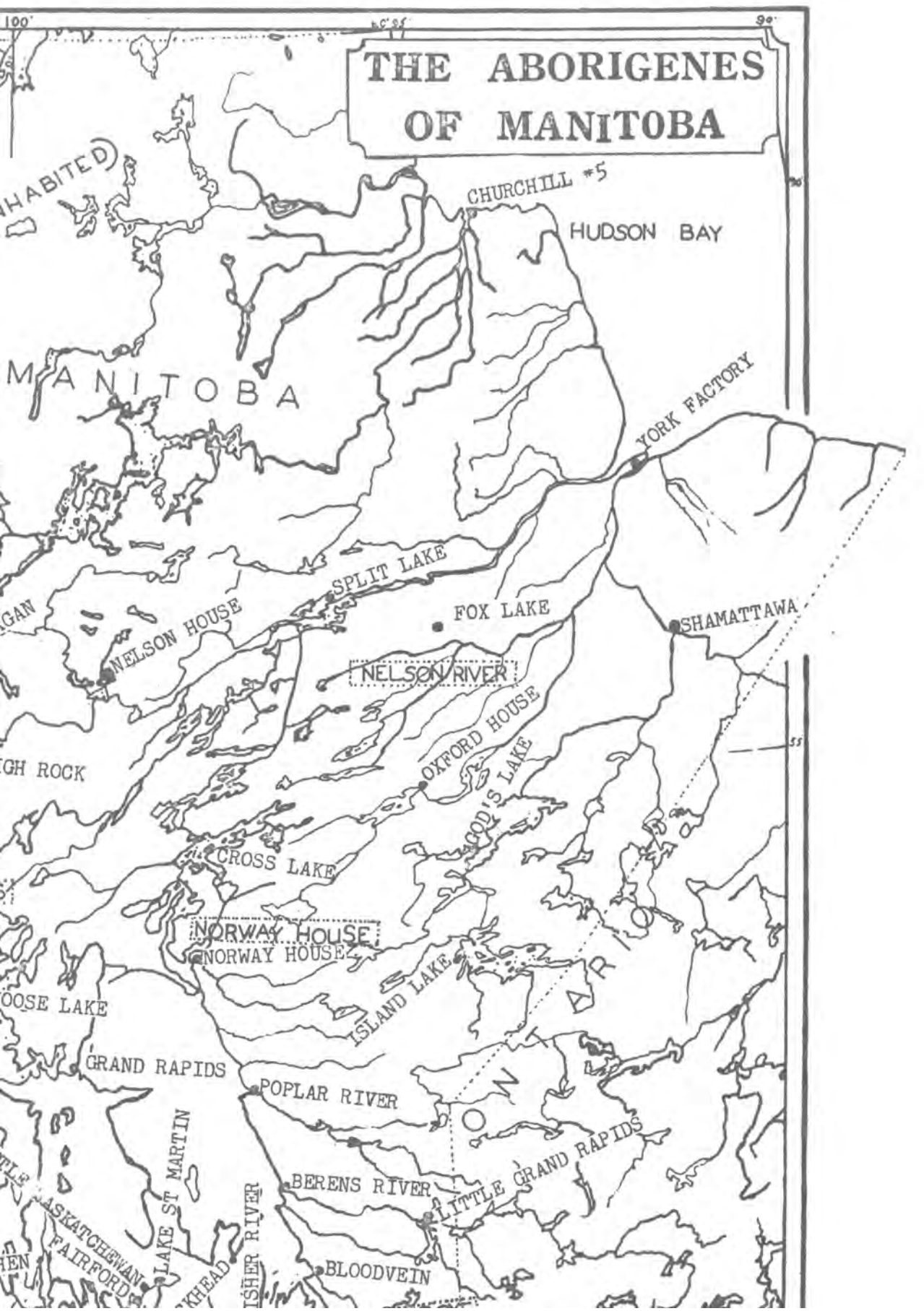
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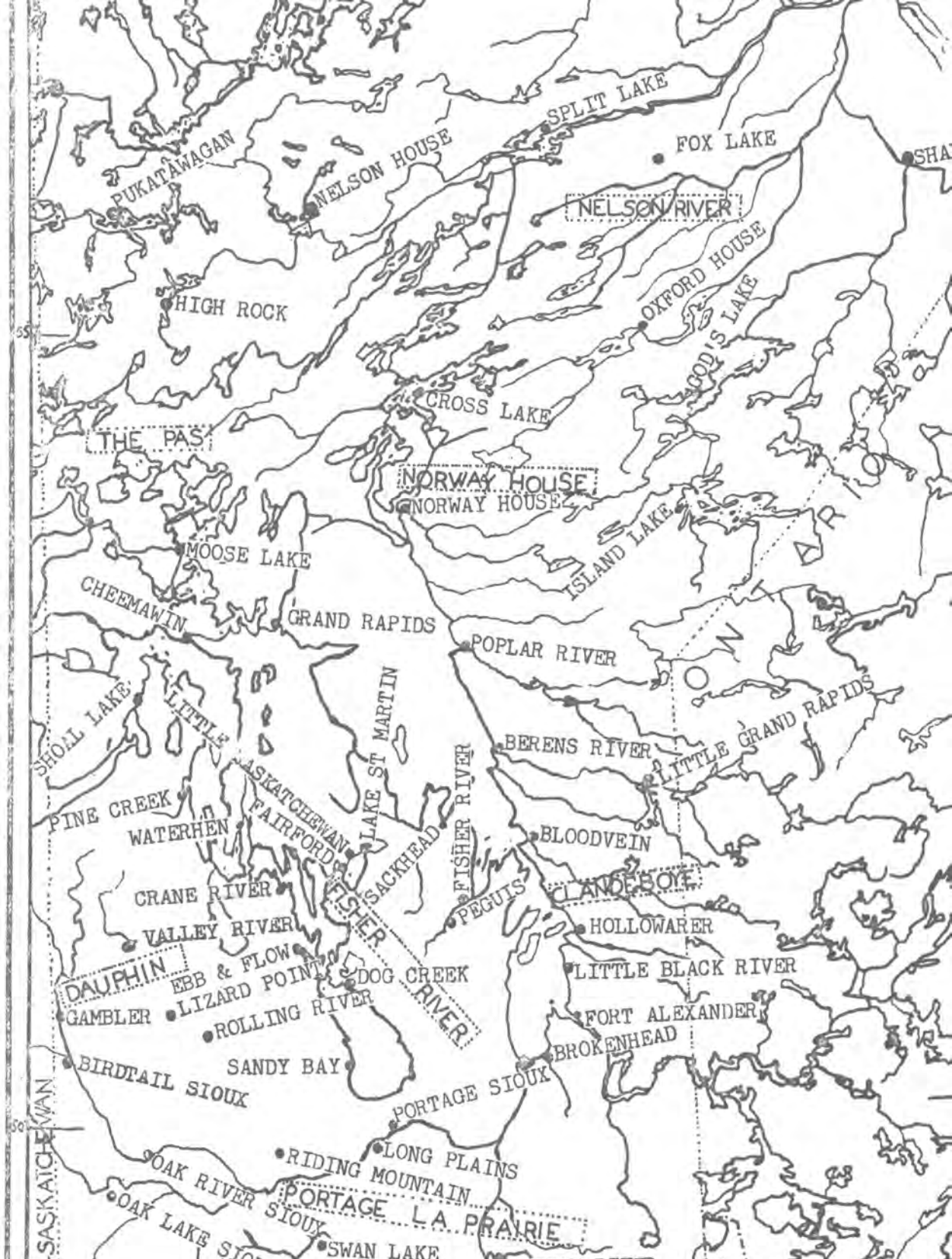
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VALLEY RIVER
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DAUPHIN
EBB & FLOW
LIZARD POINT
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BROKENHEAD
SANDY BAY
BIRDTAIL SIOUX
PORTAGE SIOUX
SASKATCHEWAN
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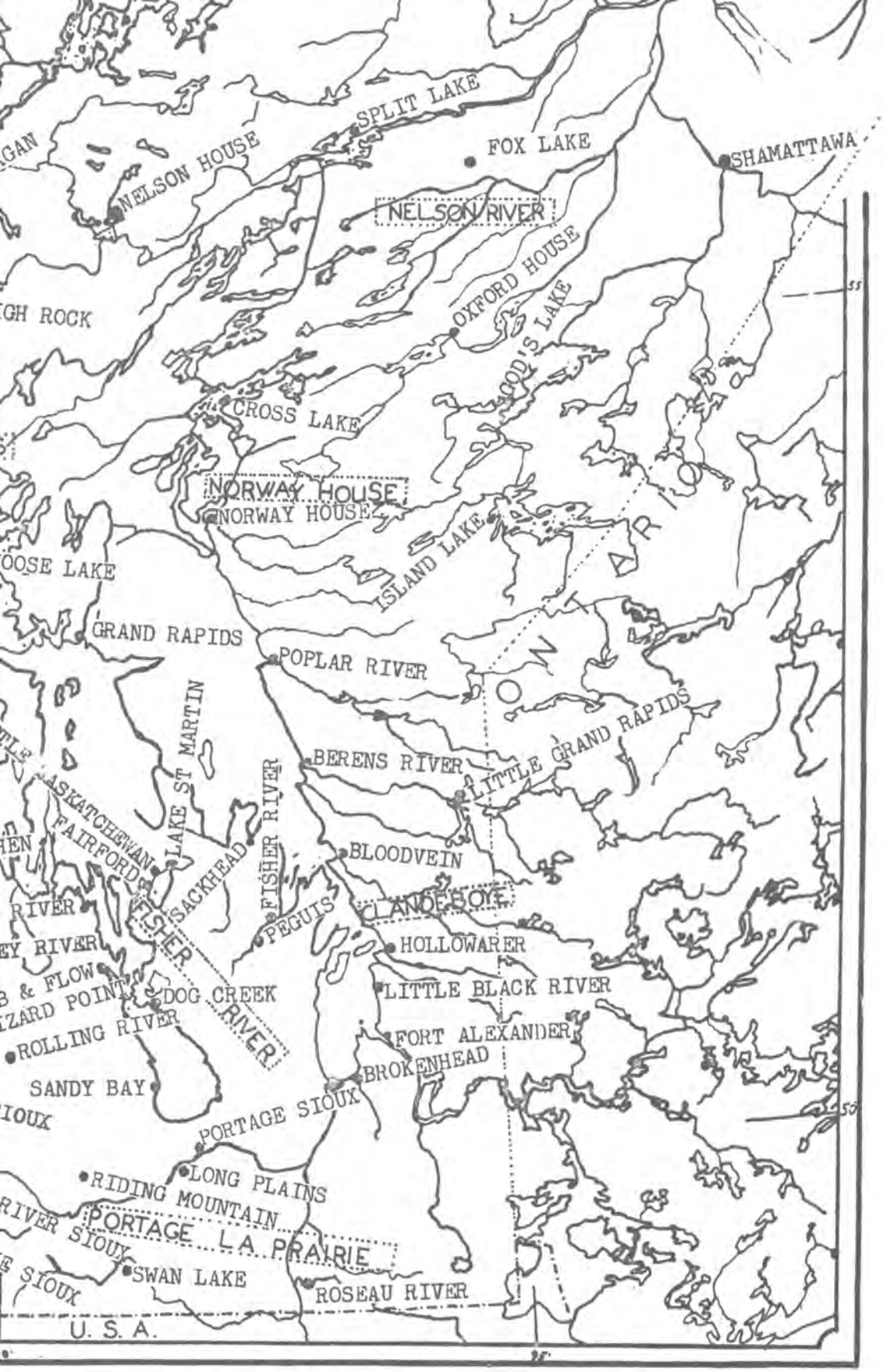
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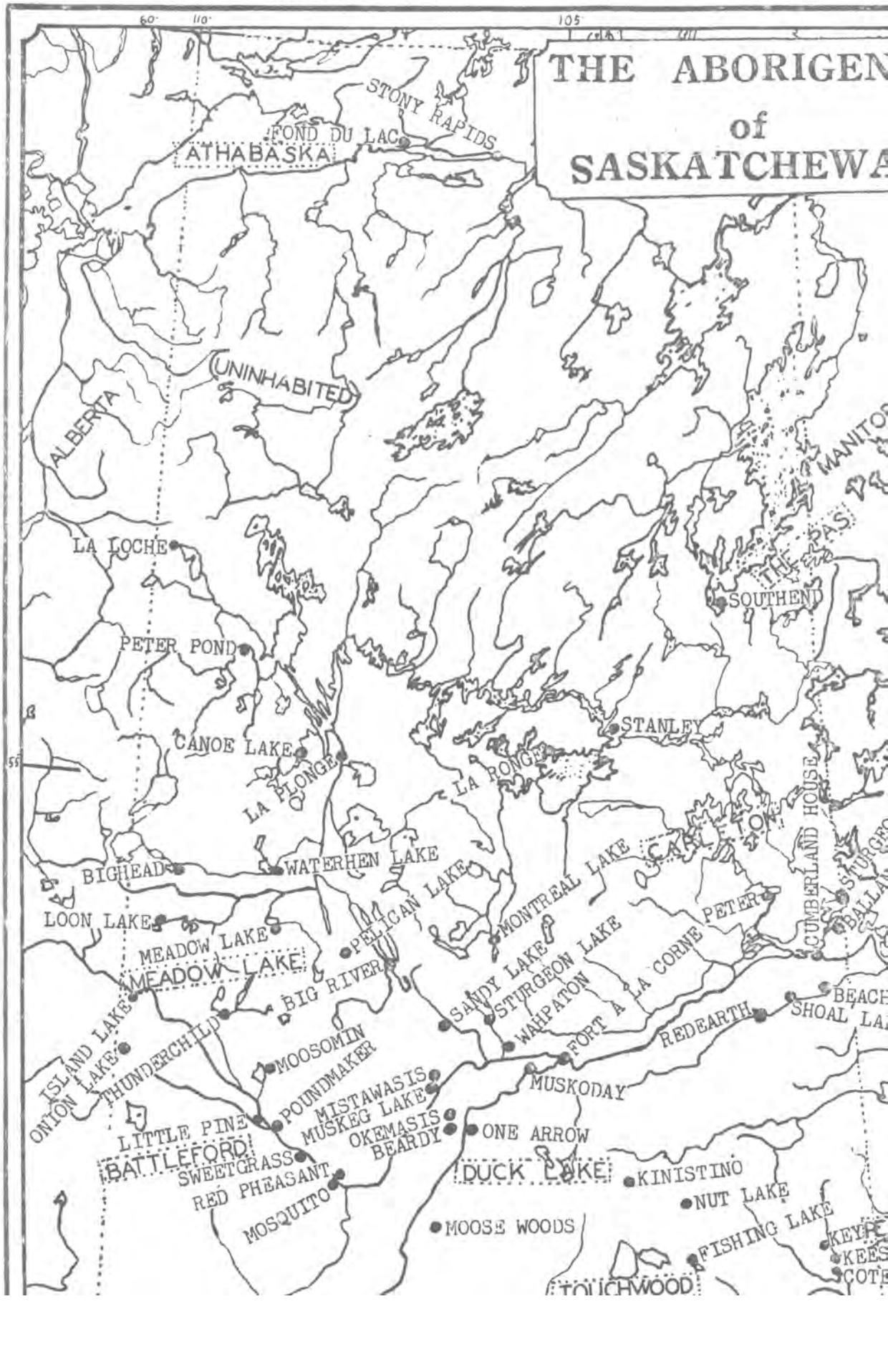
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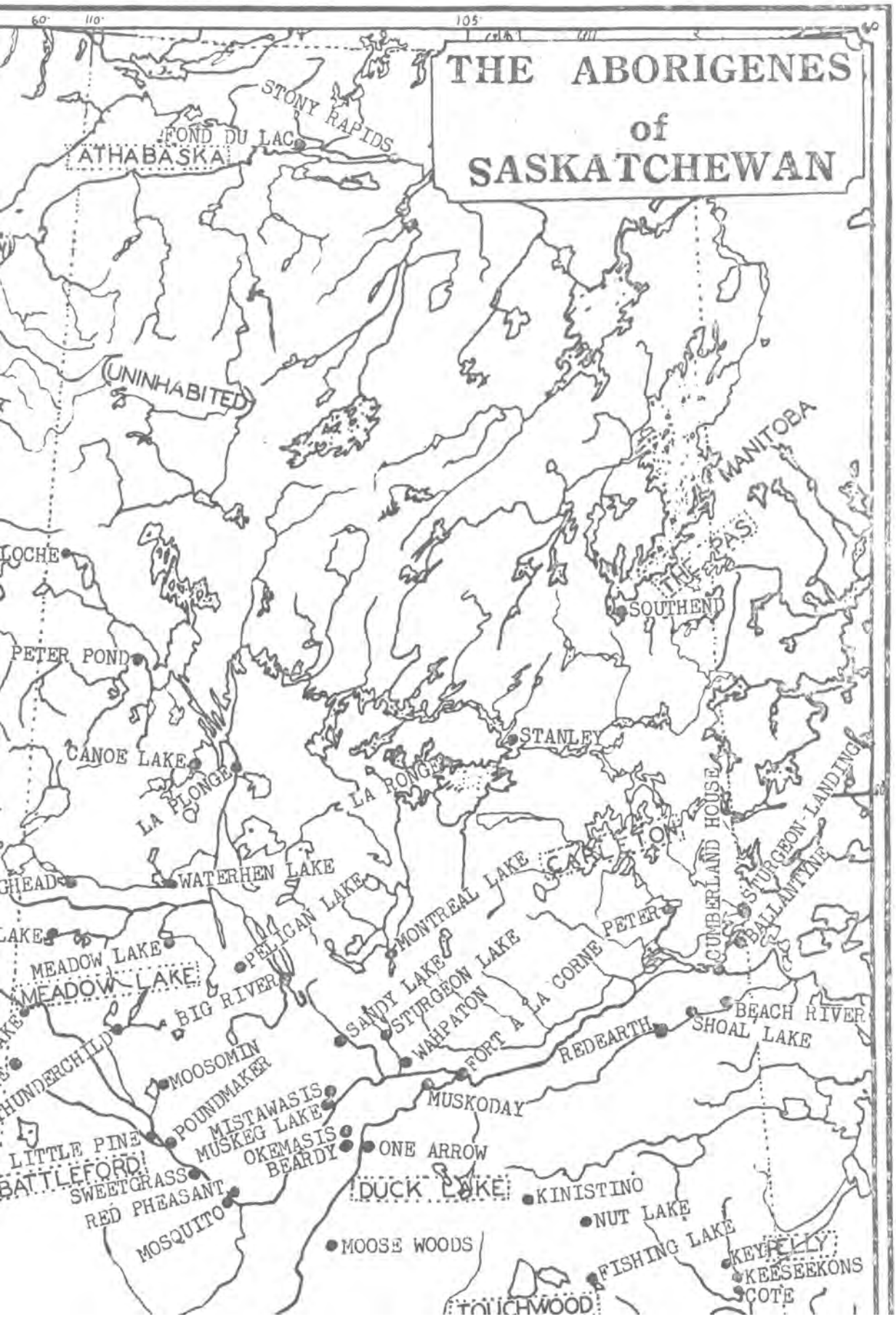
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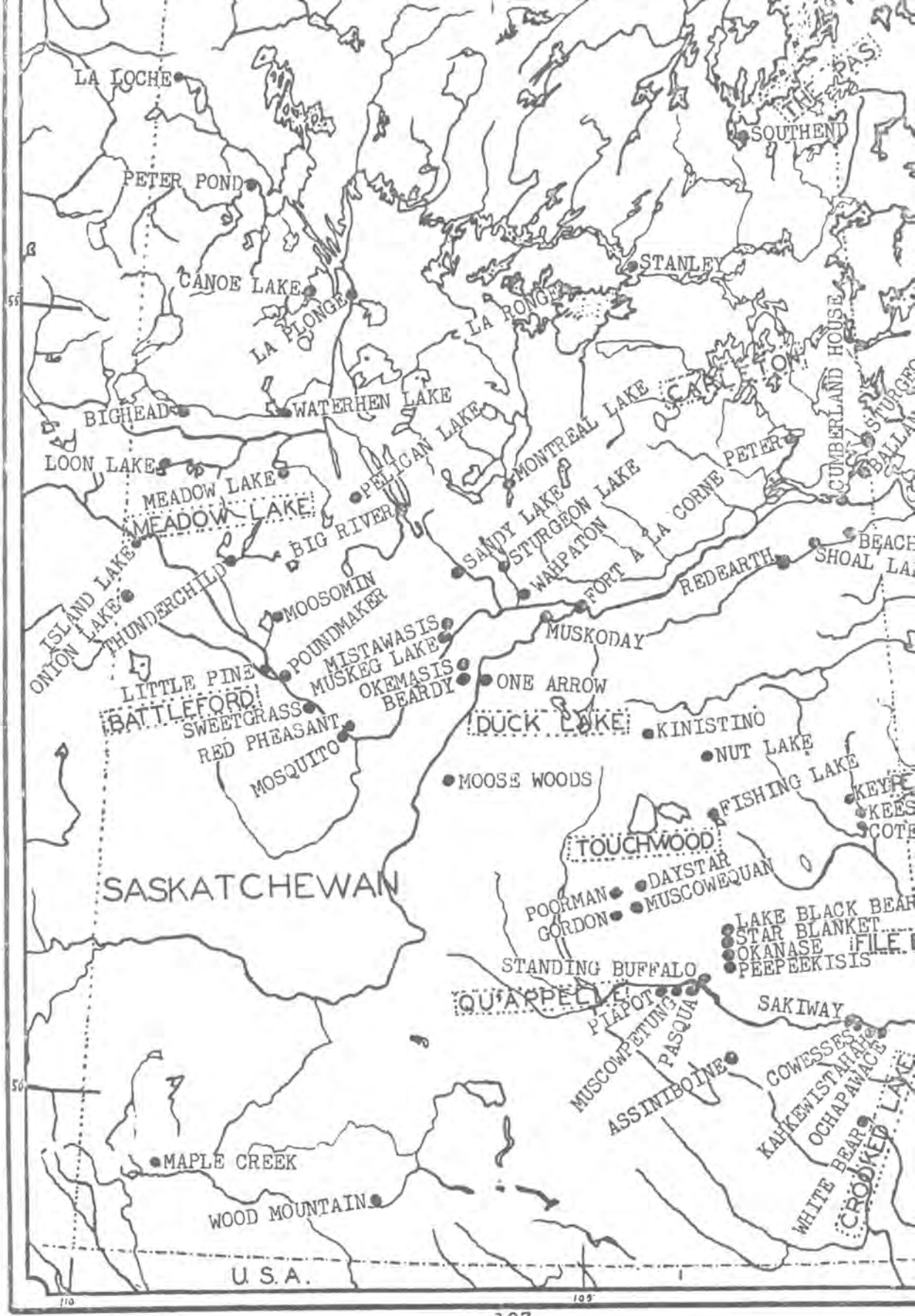
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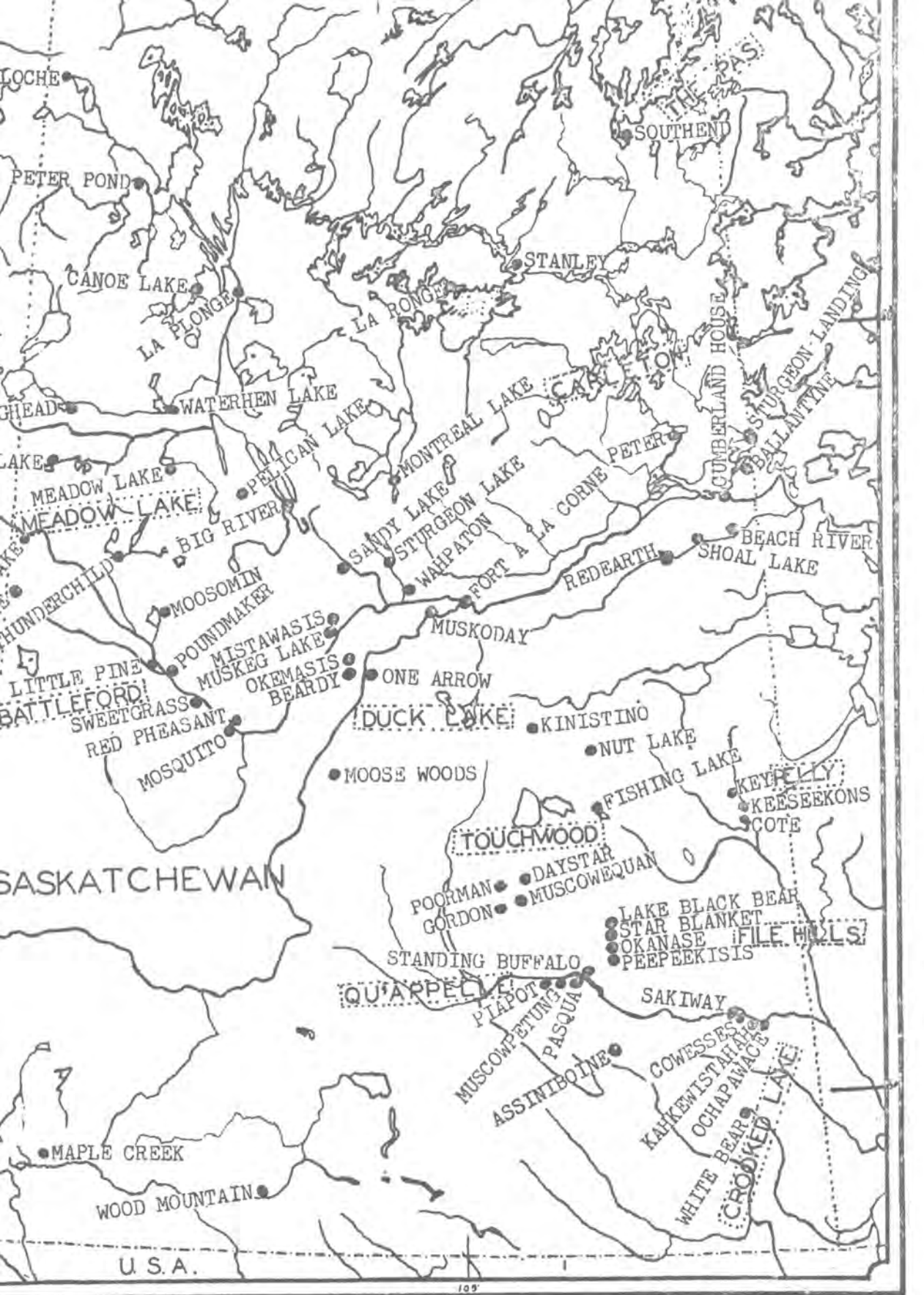
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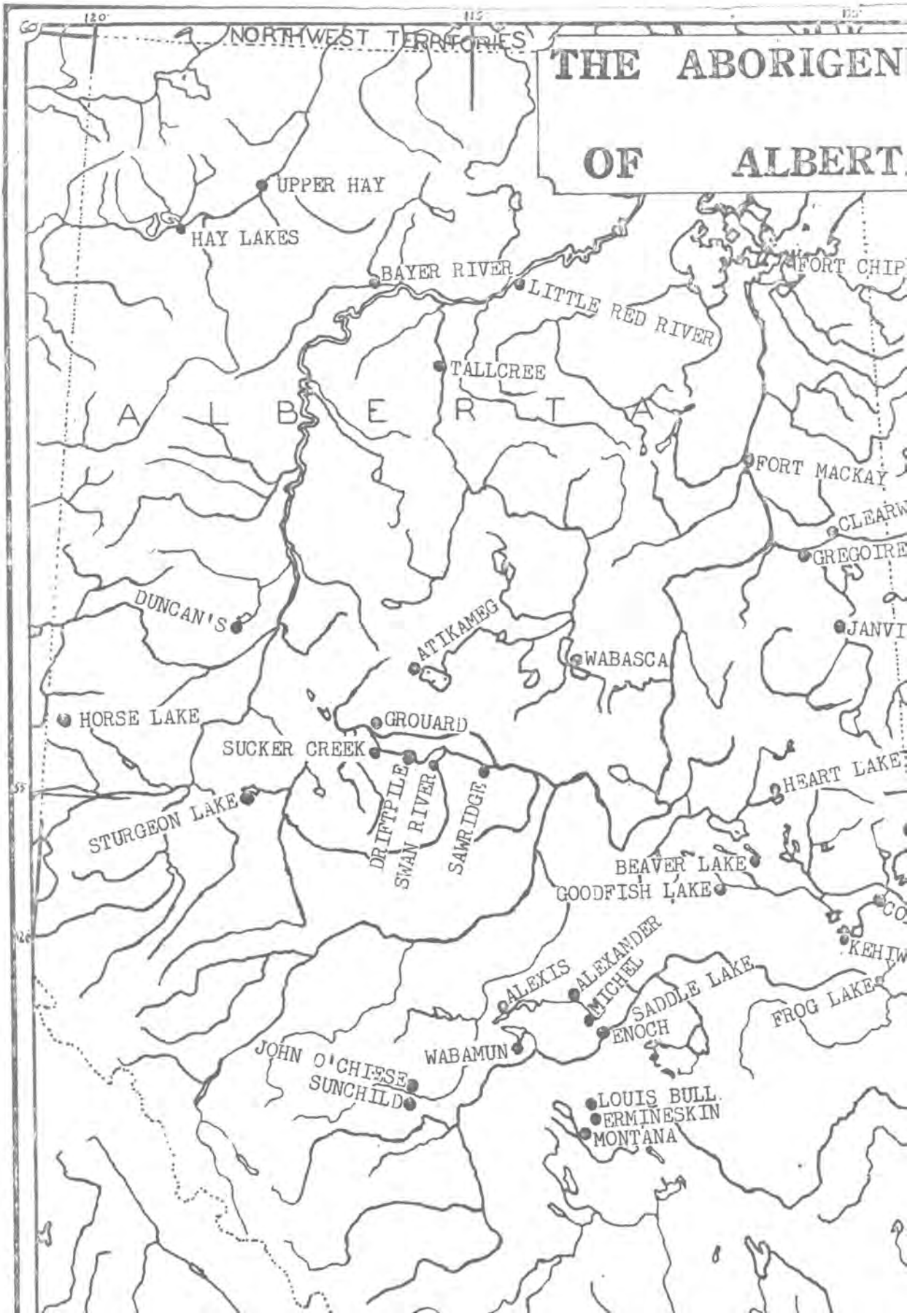
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ALBERTA
FORT MACKAY
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ATIKAMEG
WABASCA
JANVI
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GROUARD
SUCKER CREEK
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SWAN RIVER
SAWRIDGE
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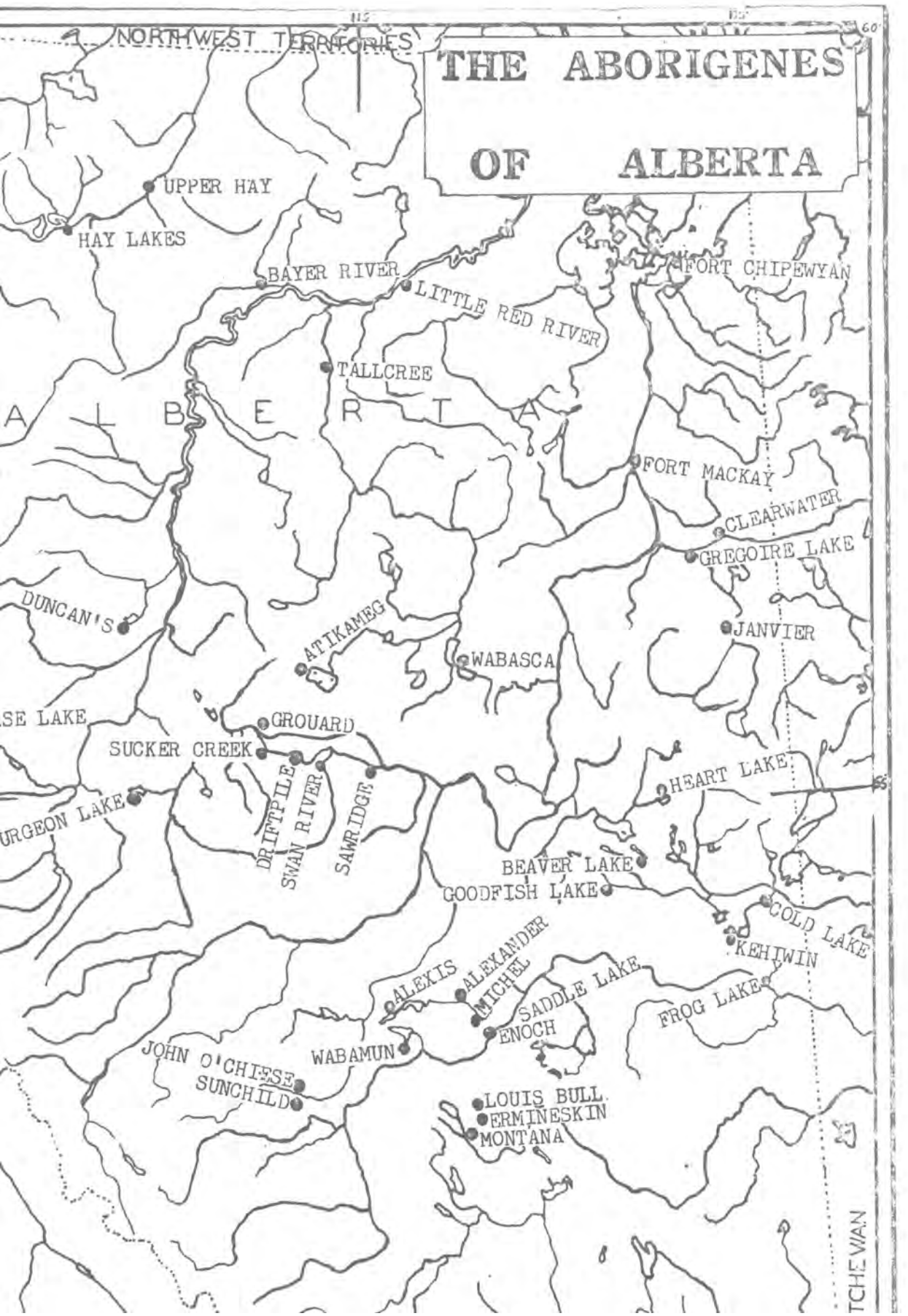
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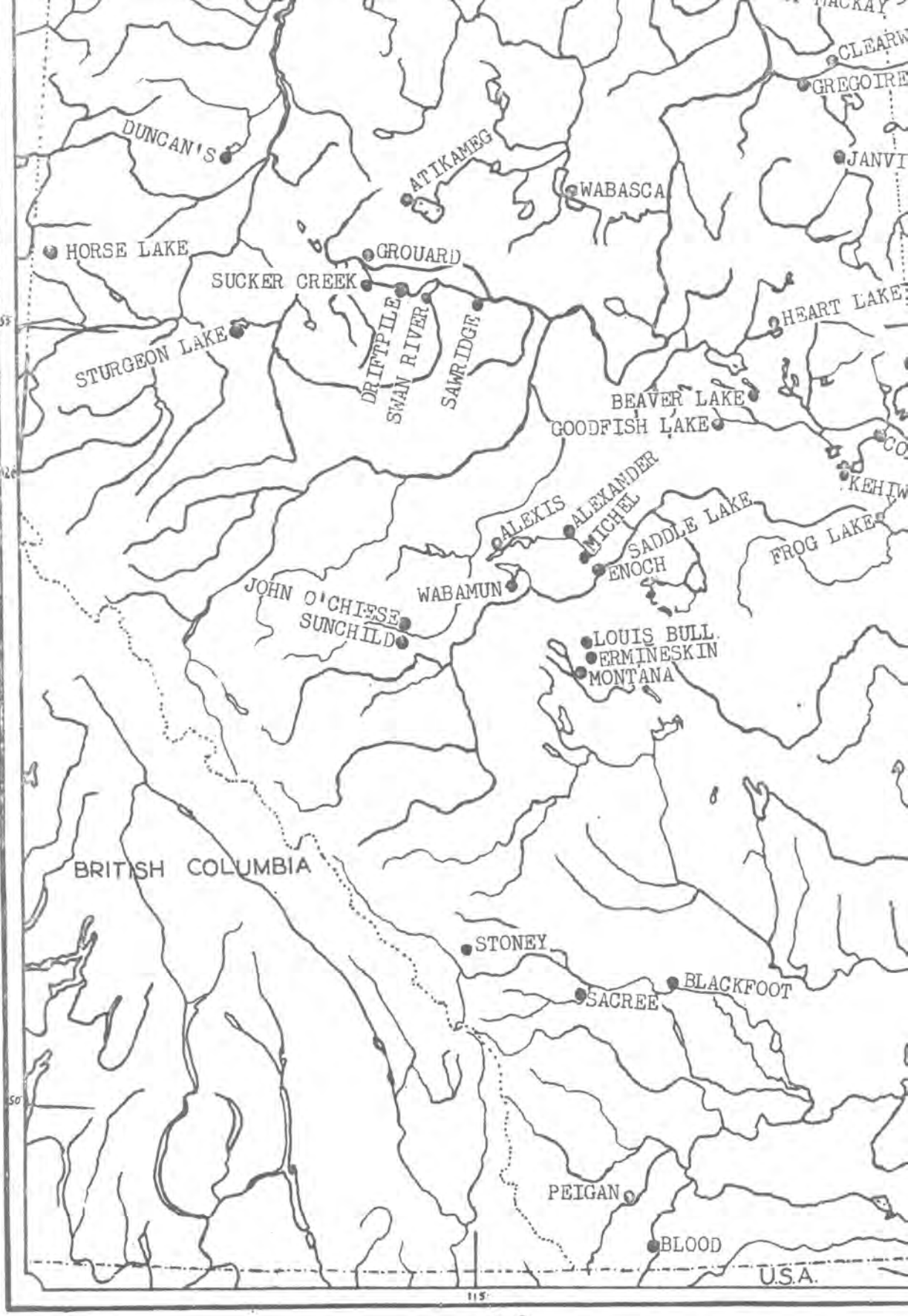
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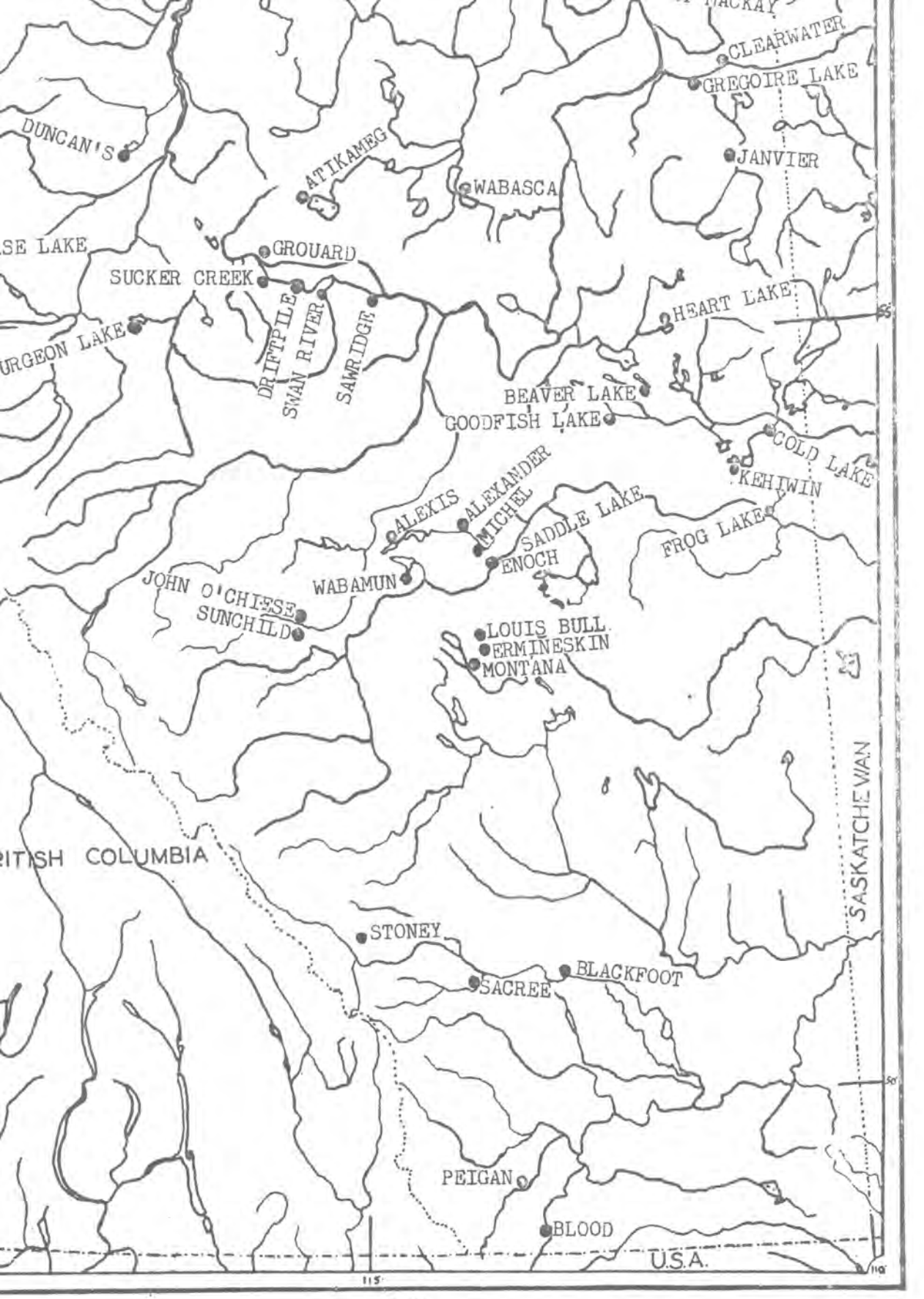
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Indian and Eskimo Welfare Oblate Commission,
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LEADERSHIP AMONG THE NORTHEASTERN ATHABASCANS

by

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Introduction

The Northeastern Denes or Athabascans have gained a sort of anthropological renown for minimality of culture. This minimality is nowhere more striking than in the realm of socio-political organization.

The present essay is simply an exploration of the available literature to see what it can tell us of the traditional socio-political organization, specially as manifested in the patterns of leadership, of these peoples. In those instances where the literature seems especially inadequate I have drawn on information gained in my fieldwork among the Slave Indians to illumine or supplement the documented materials.

The term Northeastern Denes or Athabascans is here used to encompass those peoples classified by Osgood (Osgood 1936) as Hares, Satudene (Bear Lake Indians), Mountain Indians, Slaves, Dogribs, Yellowknives and Chipewyans. All share the simple or 'basic' Northern Athabascan social culture -- that is, obvious borrowings of elements of social organization from either the Northwest Coast or the Plains cultures are lacking. Although they evince some obviously borrowed social features, the Beaver, the Sekani and the Kaska (following Osgood's classification) have a predominant cultural unity with the Northeastern Athabascans "proper" and information on these peoples may be judiciously applied to advantage to the problem of Northeastern Athabascan socio-political organization. All these peoples represent the Arctic Drainage Athabascans of Osgood's classification and, except for the exclusion of the Sarci, are comprised under the three categories of Subarctic Denes, Eastern Denes and Intermediate Denes set up by Father Morice (Morice pp. 263-274).

Of the truly aboriginal condition of the Northeastern Athabascans, there is, of course, no direct knowledge. In even the earliest reports it

is evident that the contact situation had already wrought changes in the aboriginal way of life. Indeed, if Hearne is correct, the small pox epidemic circa 1781 so destroyed the population (90 per cent of the Chipewyans by Hearne's estimate) that Northeastern Athabascan society must have been shaken to its foundations. (Hearne, p.200). Another indirect effect of the European world upon Dene society that preceded the first explorer was the stimulation given to the gun-bearing Crees to raid and plunder the defenseless Mackenzie River Dene for their furs. Whole populations fled their home territories in consequence (Mackenzie, A., passim). That these factors affected the socio-political organization may be well surmised, but the facts are unknown.

The major emphasis of this paper is upon leadership. But, first, a consideration of the social units within Athabascan society is in order to determine which units have a political aspect, and in what way. Now, if the realm of the political in Northeastern Dene society is to be considered capable of investigation at all, it must be conceived very broadly. Accordingly, any social group beyond the nuclear family is here considered to have a political aspect whenever there are present aims, interests and concerns predicated in terms of that group, -- i.e., policy -- that are accompanied by actions, co-ordination and role and power differentiation, however slight, within or by that group designed to promote those ends. (1)

Northeastern Athabascan Social Units

The nuclear family, which is outside the present problem, the kindred, and certain territorial segments that may best be designated, in descending order of inclusiveness, as tribes and macrocosmic groups, macro-assemblages and bands are the social units that crosscut the Northeastern Athabascan peoples. This classification applies both to the historical past and to the present, if it is granted that some of the characteristics of the present-day territorial segments differ somewhat from those of earlier counterparts.

"The Athapaskans do not consider themselves as composing neat political or cultural units" Osgood rightly observes. (Osgood 1936, p.3). This

holds true in the case of the largest taxonomic unit -- the tribe. Due to this vaguity of outline, Osgood has refused to use the word "tribe" for the peoples he classifies as Hares, Satudene, Mountain Indians (2), Slaves, Dogribs, Yellowknives and Chipewyans. He employs the correspondingly vague term "groups." For convenience sake, I will use "tribe" to designate such major divisions as those just cited. For the Slaves, Honigmann (Honigmann 1946, p. 64) has further distinguished regional groups within the tribe which are almost equally nebulous in outline. These he calls "macrocosmic bands." This distinction is doubtlessly applicable within any of the larger tribes. Except for the degree of inclusiveness and of internal linguistic variation, the macrocosmic group (I prefer to reserve the term "band" for the true local group) has the same characteristics, or, more properly lack of distinctive characteristics, as the greater category "tribe."

The following set of conditions are all that investigators have to work with when staking out tribes or other major divisions of the Northeastern Athabascans (3): a set of peoples living in physical contiguity (but not together), speaking a mutually intelligible tongue (though often with regional dialectal variations), sharing a common culture (though not necessarily one distinct in essentials from neighboring tribes), and having at least a vague sense of common identity which may be based in whole or part on the foregoing conditions. Regarding the last point, we know that in earlier days its obverse aspect, namely, the lack of sense of affiliation with, or, more emphatically, the sense of being in opposition to certain other groups was sometimes actively manifested in hostilities against others. This negative expression is the nearest thing to political behavior that we have at the tribal level. And when there is evidence of it, as in the case of the Yellowknives <u>versus</u> their neighbors, (4) we feel justified in drawing clear-cut tribal boundaries. There is evidence that some inter-band recruitment and coordination between segments of a tribe might occur for purposes of warfare. (See below). A statement by Back, (Back, p. 162), however, indicates that in some of the retaliatory warfare between tribal groups, the kindred was the social unit involved in the aggression. (5) In any event, it is plain that consistent or all-inclusive tribal-wide coordination or

integration in regard to external relations was not the case. This condition has its parallel in the lack of any sort of "actions, coordination and role and power differentiation" regarding intra-tribal matters. The tribe has no internal affairs in the political sense. Nowhere in the literature, regardless of how the individual investigator combines sets of peoples into tribes or "nations," do we find evidence of an exception to this statement. Certainly none is presented in the contemporary studies by Honigmann, (Honigmann, 1946, 1949, 1954), Osgood, (Osgood 1931), Jenness, (Jenness 1932, 1937). In the earlier literature, Franklin, circa 1820, presents the richest material that we have on the relations between parts of a whole tribe, namely, the Copper Indians or Yellowknives, who totalled only 190 persons by his estimate. Imbedded in Franklin's narrative is a picture of friendly and occasionally cooperative relations between "chiefs" and between bands (of fluctuating personnel), but adventitious and without structure. Even the great Copper Indian leader Akaitcho, unique in the literature for his outstanding authority and prestige, was not the tribal leader in any overtly recognized sense; his "adherents" or acknowledged followers represented about half of the tribe (Franklin, p. 257); (1819-20-21-22).

The broad interpretation given to the term political in the present discussion allows us to consider kinship units capable of having a political facet. In Northeastern Athabascan society, however, the main significance of kin affiliations, politically speaking, is that they serve as the "in," the entree to band units. Bilateral descent is the rule in Northeastern Dene society, the kindred being the resultant kinship unit. The role of the kindred is seldom brought out in the earlier literature. (6) But the importance of kinship, bilateral and both consanguineal and affinal, in determining association and ties between individuals and the personnel within communities, as evidenced in the present-day local groups of "bush" Slavey along the Mackenzie must represent a tradition of long standing. Recent investigators have recognized this condition in neighboring areas (Honigmann, 1954, p. 84); (Mason, p. 34). Probably there is so little information on the functions of the kindred because it is, in a sense, invisible. The kindred has no "shape" or boundaries and, as a correlate, no political manifestations

such as kin leaders or power hierarchies, or collective interests, activities or goals. We do have some record of the practice of blood revenge in earlier times (Back, p. 162); (Field); (Richardson, vol. 2, p. 26) of adjudication of wergild (Field); (Keith, p. 88), but apparently only sets of primary relatives or band-kin segments are involved, not total kin groups, i.e., the kindreds, per se. Indeed, the latter situation would usually be socially impossible. "Since kindreds interlace and overlap, they do not and cannot form discrete or separate segments of the entire society. Neither a tribe nor a community can be subdivided into constituent kindreds ... One result of this peculiarity is that the kindred ... can rarely act as a collectivity. One kindred cannot, for example, take blood vengeance against another if the two happen to have members in common." (Murdock, pp. 60-61).

All available data, then, lead to the conclusion that neither the kindred per se, nor, except in the segmental exercise of hostilities against other tribes, did the macrocosmic group or the tribe have a political component. To all knowledge(Honigmann 1946); (Jenness 1937); (MacNeish, J.H.); (Osgood 1931) even the government invention of regional "chiefs" and councils, appointed or elected, has so far effected no significant change or innovation in the political orientation of these Athabascans at the regional or tribal levels.

It remains to view those territorial segments that are actual physical groupings-together of persons. Previous passages have already suggested that it is at this level that political manifestations may be found.

It is difficult to gain from the literature any clear picture of the norm, the variations and ranges in the size and the stability of the groupings of the Northeastern Dene. For one thing, it may be that there were tribal or regional differences. Petitot (Petitot 1876, p. 32) states, for example, that the Chipewyan characteristically were in very small local groups of single families, in contrast to other Denes. (7)

This problem aside, there were apparently two sorts of groups. First there was definitely the basic unit, the band -- a group of people who

travelled and camped together, sharing the take of large game in common. A single nuclear family might sustain itself as a discrete territorial and economic unit apart from others for an indefinite period of time (Franklin 1828, p. 300); (Great Mackenzie Basin, p. 102). This condition, may be taken as the extreme of population minimality of the local group. More commonly, several nuclear families grouped together to pursue their livelihood. The number of families involved might range from two or three (Petitot 1891, p. 76) to perhaps a dozen. The upper limit is difficult to determine. Perhaps it at times rose as high as twenty families (Franklin, p. 257), although a large group may have had relatively less duration and perhaps might better be considered a type of macro-assemblage (see below). There were no formal ties or commitments to bind the component families to the band. Any family might part from the group, either to go it alone or to join another band as economic circumstances and/or personal inclinations directed (Richardson, volume 2, p. 26); (Mason, p. 34); (Osgood 1931, p. 73). The group was therefore relatively unstable; personnel altered and bands fragmented and coalesced. As pointed out above, these bands were composed of kindred, in all likelihood with a linkage of primary relations extending between all the families composing the small bands.

Despite the chronic vaguity of the data, it seems justifiable to lump several other sorts of groupings under a type distinct from the band, although in some cases the line of demarcation may blur. The band had a sort of corporate life that commonly extended over a continuous and relatively long interval of time. The other type of grouping was intermittent and brief in nature; it was also characteristically larger than the band, drawing for its personnel either selected members from several bands or several band complements in their entirety. The several varieties of this type of grouping I have called macro-assemblages.

In historic times, one sort of macro-assemblage was what Hearne calls "the trading gang" (see below) -- a number of men assembled under a "chief" for the purpose of selling their furs through him as intermediary with the traders. All those Indians, under several "chiefs," who traded into a particular fort came to be another sort of macro-assemblage. Native terminology for regional groups

of the present day reflects this condition: <u>in</u>tidi <u>kwe</u>gotin (two-rivers-join house people) or Fort Simpson people, <u>θetse kwe</u>gotin (tar house people) or Wrigley people, to give two examples in the Slavey tongue. Besides coming in to trade, they gathered at the fort in large numbers for special events such as the New Year celebration, and, in more recent times, for Treaty.

Other kinds of macro-assemblages continued from aboriginal times. For the edge-of-the-woods peoples, large-scale caribou hunts drew together people from several bands into a camp prior to breaking up into small hunt groups (Russell, p. 104). Apparently, sometimes, as in the case of trading bands, the aggregation was limited to older boys and men (ibid). Some of these peoples in the wooded Mackenzie area drew together seasonally in large groups to exploit fish runs. A generation and more ago in the Simpson-Providence region they travelled to Great Slave Lake for fall fishing, gathering for a time in a great camp above Providence, enlivening their stay with gambling games, song and dancing. (8)

Besides exploiting the opportunity for unusual sociability and gaiety at assemblages of ostensibly economic purpose, in the summer season Denes apparently often gathered for the purpose of sheer sociability, using that opportunity to change their band affiliation. From a young Slave informant comes this account of what "old people" have told him: There used to be great gatherings in the summer on the island in the Red Knife River (a tributary of the Mackenzie below Providence.) The number of people was so great that when they held a "tea dance" the ring of dancers extended out to the edges of the island. It was at this time that people would shift from one band to another. This changing of bands was a very common practice. When children grew up they left the band of their father and mother. Customarily only one offspring remained with the parent's band.

Probably some of these macro-assemblages represent gatherings of those regional populations -- the macrocosmic groups -- referred to earlier.

War parties (now extinct for more than a century) are a final and variant type of temporary group. The scant evidence available indicates that

they were often composed of members of more than one band (Honigmann, 1954, p. 93); (Hearne, passim).

Of all these various groupings, the band, the trading gang, and the war party are the ones in which policy, coordination, and role and power differentiation can be discerned.

The Socio-Political Milieu

"As to forms of government, police and regulations, they have none," says Wentzel (Wentzel, p. 89) in 1807 of the Slaves of the Fort Simpson area. As for the "Dogribs" (9) who frequented Fort Franklin and Fort Confidence during Richardson's sojourn in 1847-48:

> "Order is maintained in the tribe solely by public opinion. It is no one's duty to repress immorality or a breach of the laws of society which custom has established among them, but each opposes violence as he best may by his own arm or the assistance of his relations. A man's conduct must be bad indeed, and threaten the general peace, before he would be expelled from the society; no amount of idleness or selfishness entails such a punishment." (Richardson, vol. 2 p. 26).

Similarly, with the Dogrib bands of Fort Rae in 1913, " ... there is evidently little or no effective authority beyond the coercive sentiment of the band, which may be ignored or avoided by leaving the band or by changing allegiance." (Mason, p. 34).

It is plain that the ultimate locus of power and decision in Athabascan society was in the largely unorganized sentiments and opinions, coupled with not always effective diffuse sanctions, of the social body as a whole. These probably found their most effective expression at those times when the adult men of a group informally came together to exchange news and views of current events and problems, even as they do today. There is an early account (circa 1800) of such a gathering among the Chipewyans. The social "manners" described are still largely observed today.

> "Their government resembles that of the patriarchs of old, each family making a distinct community and their elders have only the right of advising but not of dictating -- however in affairs of consequence the old men of the whole

camp assemble and deliberate on the subjects which have caused their meeting ... the women and children having been previously turned out, at last often a few groans and pious ejaculations from the old men which are answered by the young with great readiness, all this ceremony being done, Quaker-like the spirit moves one of the elders who gets up and makes a long harangue. The young men are permitted to be of the Council and even frequently interfere in their debates which they do with great asperity, particularly when they regard the Europeans or the neighboring nations of whom they entertain an implacable hatred -- however the sage councils of these old Patriarchs act as a counterpoise to the impetuosity of youth ... Some of them are great orators and are said to deliver themselves with great perspicuity and address but particularly they apply their speeches more to the passions than to the understanding; the greatest silence prevails and they make it a fixed point of never interrupting one another while speaking; in general they are grave but not serious and will either join in solemn or gay subjects of discourse." (Macdonell).

The "Council" here referred to is obviously not a political organ of special and explicit function, but the totality of the socially responsible members of the community -- the men.

From Keith in 1810 comes a rare report of deliberate and formal assembly of interested parties (kinsmen) to deal with a "legal" problem.

> "The Natives of this establishment (the Fort Liard Slaves) entertain very just ideas betwixt right and wrong, and decide matters of this nature as coolly and impartially as could be expected from a set of people who are much attached to their most distant relations and who have no determined principles or principal persons for settling such matters. We have had two instances lately of their conciliating disposition. Two Indians, not of the same family, were, at different times, wounded by their companions upon a hunting excursion; one died soon after of his wounds and the other recovered. The latter accident was soon settled by the aggressor giving his gun to the other, but in the former case was debated by a full convention of both parties

(evidently segments of the kindred of the two men), and at last, the affair being proved to be accidental and not wilful murder, the criminal was acquitted on giving up all his property." (Keith, p. 88).

Though not unique (see 4) this is an infrequent occurrence evoked by an uncommon,crisis situation. There is no regularity of assembly or personnel.

In this unstructured milieu of group "government" by consensus and custom the only differential in role and power to be discerned is in the figure of the leader. The problem of leadership can perhaps be best approached through a survey of kinds of leaders or areas of leadership.

Varieties of Leaders

In earlier times three kinds of at least putative leadership may be distinguished: the leader of the basic band, the trading chief, and the war leader. Also, those shamans who by virtue of their powers of prediction and manipulation of the supernatural exercised influence over group behavior might be considered a fourth variety. As subsequent documentation will bring out, several or all of these roles were often or commonly assumed by a single individual.

The trading chief was a deliberate invention of the fur traders. Hearne describes the position of this chief at the beginning of the historic era:

"It is a universal practice with the Indian leaders, both Northern (i.e., Athabascan-Chipewyan) and Southern (Cree), when going to the Company's Factory, to use their influence and interest in canvassing for companions; as they find by experience that a large gang gains them much respect. Indeed, the generality of Europeans who reside in those parts, being utterly unacquainted with the manners and customs of the Indians, have conceived so high an opinion of those leaders, and their authority, as to imagine that all who accompany them on those occasions are entirely devoted to their service and command all the year; but this is so far from being the case, that the authority of those great men, when absent from the Company's Factory, never extends beyond their own family; and the trifling respect shown them by

their countrymen, during their residence at the factory, proceeds from motives of interest." (Hearne, p. 284).

We may infer from Hearne's statement that the chief's trading "gang" of that period, at least, was a macro-assemblage and did not represent just the chief's band associates. Hearne goes on to give a good account of the behavior and motives of the trading chief in enacting his role:

> "The leaders have a very disagreeable task to perform on those occasions; for they are not only obliged to be the mouthpiece, but the beggars for all their friends and relations for whom they have a regard, as well as for those whom at other times they have reason to fear. Those unwelcome commissions, which are imposed on them by their followers, joined to their own desire of being thought men of great consequence and interest with the English, make them very troublesome." (ibid).

Russell characterizes the later-day Dogrib chiefs in much the same way (Russell, p. 155).

By stimulating greed or arrogance, the European-made institution of trading chief on occasion encouraged high-handed behavior by that chief. Concerning the "Dogribs" of the Fort Franklin-Fort Confidence area, Richardson tells us,

> "The power of a chief varies with his personal character. Some have acquired an almost absolute rule, by attaching to themselves in the first instance an active band of robust young men, and using them to keep in order any refractory person by claiming his wife after the custom of the tribe. (A man may "legally" take another man's wife at any time by besting him in a wrestling match.) It is in vain in such cases that the poor husband, dreading to be deprived of his most valuable property, retires to a remote hunting group; for he is sure to receive a message, from some passing Indian, expressive of the chief's intentions; and he generally comes to the conclusion that submission is the best policy. He is certain to fall in with the chief and his band sooner or later, either as he goes to the fort for supplies or ammunition or elsewhere." (Richardson, vol.2, p.28).

The fact that a trading chief might use the White man's evaluation of his status as an argument for the imposition of his desires is illustrated in a first-hand account by Petitot of a clash between a Slave chief and his band. While visiting a Slave village in 1878, Petitot spoke to the assembled people on the need to render respect and obedience to the chief "whose authority is derived from God."

> "Young Hunter (the chief) was pleased with my speech. Without knowing it, I had put my finger on a sore spot ... the chief enjoyed only slight respect ... His orders were openly scorned, his authority was challenged, and his own sons themselves were not free from insubordination. The reason ...? This man wished to impose his wishes instead of making them accepted through his kindness. Father, he had been obeyed. Tyrant, he furnished a pretext for insubordination."

Later that day, "building on (Petitot's)discourse, the chief commenced a harangue in which he signified to his people that he was ready to lay down his charge if he was not better obeyed. (The formal aspect of his "charge" would be his position as trading chief.) Then "one of his peers, Old Sabourin, rose and spoke in the name of the village. He charged the chief, as one of his main faults, with forcing young people to marry against their will. "This is why there is trouble among us."

> "At this moment an indescribable uproar was made in the lodge of Young Hunter. Twenty girls, twenty married women raised themselves all at once against their poor chief, to reproach him to his face for the same wrong. Seeing himself condemned by the public voice, he remained silent."

Further vehement attacks convinced Petitot that the chief had been imposing upon his group for a long time, no doubt presenting himself as master through God "but especially through the English commercial agent of Fort Providence, who, I know, opposes us (the Oblate Missionaries) in secret." (Petitot, 1891, pp. 324ff., my translation).

The fur traders attempted to enhance the authority of trading chiefs by giving them clothing and medals and according them gun salutes (Franklin, p. 142); (Richardson, vol. 2, p. 27); (Mason, p. 34).

And, in line with this concern in having as trading chiefs men of authority, they endeavored to appoint as chiefs those men who already enjoyed especial influence and respect among their countrymen (Mackenzie, 1889-90). Accordingly, McLean says, the "best hunters" were those selected to be trading chiefs (McLean, p. 341). Several other sources indicate more or less directly that being a superior hunter was a usual precondition to the achievement of a superior status and influence within the Northeastern Athabascan band (Hearne, p. 101); (Keith, p. 114); (Wentzel, p. 89); (Osgood 1931, p. 74).

Richardson's summation of the nature of leadership in Athabascan society is pertinent here.

> "Superior powers of mind, combined with skill in hunting, raise a few into chiefs, (leaders) under whose guidance a greater or smaller number of families place themselves, and a chief is great or small according to the length of his tail (i.e., the number of his followers.) His clients and he are bound together only by mutual advantage, and may and do separate as inclination prompts. The chief (leader) does not assume the power of punishing crimes, but regulates the movements of his band, chooses the hunting-ground, collects provisions for the purchase of ammunition, becomes the medium of communication with the traders, and extends his sway by a liberal distribution of tobacco and ammunition among his dependents. At present, the rank of a chief is not fully established among his own people until it is recognized at the fort to which he resorts ... A free expenditure by the chief of the presents he receives from the traders, and even of the produce of his furs, is a main bulwark of his authority, in addition to the skill which he must possess in the management of the various tempers with which he has to do." (Richardson, vol. 2, pp. 26-28).

Here we see that to attain leadership of a band three sorts of attributes were necessary. In historic times the final validation was the recognition as chief by the trader. But to establish preëminence, the individual must first be successful in the vital activity -- hunting. With the further attribute of certain favorable aspects of character, he had the requirements of leadership. It is to be noted that the individual

so endowed was a nucleus around which a band might form and grow. We will recur to those personal qualities of the successful leader later.

It is questionable in what way and to what extent the individual who gained preëminence within the band by his superior hunting skill actually regulated or directed the activities concerned with the chase. Honigmann's Slave informant stated that in earlier days "recognition was ... given to a leader ... who directed people in hunting. Not to obey him might mean starvation ..." (Honigmann 1946, p. 65). But no details of his contribution were given. (10). In those tribes that relied heavily on the large animal herds of the barren grounds (or, in the case of Beaver, buffalo) (Goddard, p. 266) he may have been of some importance in the planning and coordination of group hunting projects, such as the impounding of caribou. Osgood says that caribou hunting among the Satudene "was done generally by a band or group as a communal affair initiated by either of the two most important men, the best hunter or the oldest man." (Osgood 1931, p. 40). Richardson, however, reporting on the use of "reindeer pounds" by the "verge of the woods" Dogribs says, "But, as they (the pounds) need the exertions of all the community for their construction, the indolence of the major part causes them to be rarely made" (Richardson, vol. 2, p. 25), suggesting that the requisite leadership and/or coordination was usually lacking. The only other comments I find regarding the role of the leader in hunting activities are that he "regulates the movements of his band (and) chooses the hunting ground" as previously quoted from Richardson (Richardson, vol. 2, p. 26), and similarly, from Petitot on Dene chiefs in general, that they "régler l'ordonnance des chasses" (Petitot 1876, p. 34). If Richardson's attribution is correct, the decision of when and where to move the hunt would have been the most important act of the band leader.

War leaders existed into the first three or four decades of the historical era. The last recorded incident of warfare between Northeastern Athabascan tribes occurred in the 1830's (Simpson, p. 318) Athabascan-Cree warfare had evidently ceased by that time. Possibly a few hostile incounters between Chipewyan-Yellowknife and Eskimo occurred in later times, but I have found no record of it.

Wentzel, writing in 1807, describes the status of the war chief among the Slave of the Fort Simpson area:

> "When war is declared upon them, they elect a chief from among the old men; to him they submit for advice and commandment; so soon as peace is obtained, this chief is no more obeyed or attended to any further than to support him and his family when old, and ask his opinions in time of trouble. These chiefs (and apparently Wentzel is still speaking of war chiefs here) hardly merit the title they enjoy. Na-kan-au-Bettau or Great Chief is the only one who is a little respected and obeyed; he is a middling sized corpulent fellow, not without a competent share of common sense, at least enough to procure skins and provisions without hunting for them." (Wentzel, p. 89).

In 1821, Franklin says:

> "The chiefs among the Chipewyans are now totally without power ... This is to be attributed mainly to (the Chipewyans) living at peace with their neighbors, and to the facility which the young men find in getting their wants supplied independent of the recommendation of the chiefs which was formelly required. In war excursions boldness and intrepidity would still command respect and procure authority, but the influence thus acquired would, probably, cease with the occasion that called it forth." (Franklin, p. 142); (1819-20-21-22).

Is the implication here that one or more of those men currently acting as trading chiefs would be the ones to assume war leadership should hostilities commence? We know from Richardson that the great Yellowknife chief Akaitcho combined the three roles of trading chief, war leader and band headman (Richardson, passim). Apparently the same was true for the "Northern" or Chipewyan (11) chief Matonabbee with whom Hearne travelled to the Coppermine River. (Hearne, passim). Honigmann, however, says that among the Kaska "the war leader was not identical with the band's headman" (Honigmann, 1954, p. 93) (never identical or not necessarily identical?), going on to surmise that the war leader recruited from several band groups.

From Hearne we have the only eye-witness description of a war-party in action -- at the massacre

of the Eskimo by the Chipewyan at Bloody Falls. In this case, however, a travelling group (escorts for Hearne) turned into an adventitious war party -- at least as far as Hearne knew, it was not the primary purpose of the trip. As far as Hearne's data goes, there was no recruitment or other special activities on the part of any leader. One passage describing the preparation for the assault is suggestive, however;

> "Soon after our arrival at the river-side three Indians were sent off as spies, in order to see if any Esquimaux were inhabiting the river-side between us and the sea. (Two days later the spies and the main party joined up, the spies bringing news of five tents of Eskimos, now about 12 miles away.) When the Indians received this intelligence, no further attendance or attention was paid to my survey, but their whole thoughts were immediately engaged in planning the best method of attack ..."

Just before describing the actual attack Hearne says:

> "It is perhaps worth remarking, that my crew, though an undisciplined rabble, and by no means accustomed to war or command, seemingly acted on this horrid occasion with the utmost uniformity of sentiment. There was not among them the least altercation or separate opinion; all were united in the general cause, and as ready to follow where Matonabbee led, as he appeared to be ready to lead, according to the advice of an old Copper Indian, who had joined us on our first arrival at the river where this bloody business was first proposed." (Hearne, pp. 174-177).

The tenor of this passage (and in the remainder of the account) is that there is no real leadership involved in the attack except, perhaps, for the Old Yellowknife (who with three companions had joined the party only two days before) serving a tactitian prior to the assault. Was he accorded this role by virtue of his age as the prior quote from Wentzel would suggest? As for Matonabbee, Hearne states "... when we went to war with the Esquimaux at the Coppermine River in July 1771, it was by no means his proposal: on the contrary, he was forced into it by his countrymen." (Hearne, p. 330). (12).

It seems likely that successful leaders in secular ventures such as hunting were commonly

attributed with exceptional powers in the supernatural realm. The only clear affirmation of this supposition, however, is Mason's statement regarding the Dogrib of Fort Rae. Indeed, his description of their socio-political organization can probably stand as a characterization of that of earlier Northeastern Athabascans as a whole and for this reason is quoted fully.

> "These leaders are elderly men as a rule, often the paternal patriarchs of the band, and being generally good hunters, experienced woodsmen, and more efficient than the majority of their fellows, their judgment is respected by the members of the gang ... The chiefs or leaders were neither elected or appointed but were those whose powerful "medicine" caused them to be feared and respected and whose authority, knowledge, and competency were admitted to be superior." (Mason, p. 34).

An early manuscript by Roderick Mackenzie speaks of a "great Chief (of the Chipewyans) who is also their High Priest." (Mackenzie, Roderic). Here we apparently have a direct equation of the leader with the shaman. It is very questionable, however, that Mason's Dogrib leaders, although in possession of powerful medicine, should be considered shamans. It is quite possible for a man to employ his strong medicine for personal and (as in the case, for example, of hunting) communal benefits without entering the ranks of those who, by virtue of powerful medicine, regularly divine and cure on a semi-professional basis. (13). Certainly being a shaman was not a necessary requirement for leadership.

Hearne presents the shaman operating as an equivocal agent of social control. Speaking of the Northeastern Athabascan custom of one man forcing another to yield over his wife by besting him in a wrestling match, Hearne says, "Some of the old men who are famous on account of their supposed skill in conjuration have great influence in persuading the rabble from committing those outrages ..." But he then goes on to say that they seldom interfered in cases where one of their own relatives was the aggressor, but rose to the defense when the challenged husband was a kinsmen. Fear of the shaman stifled protest from others. (Hearne, pp. 143-144). Concerning several of the most powerful "doctors" of a generation ago in the Liard-Simpson area, Angus Sherwood (14) states that they were, by their prestige and exertion of moral pressure, in a sense

special agents of a social control.

Osgood describes an apparently unique situation in regard to leadership among the Hare Indians of several decades ago. According to his informant the "Oldest Man" was the primary "chief." Second to him with less authority, was the "Best Hunter" (Osgood 1931, p. 74). This is the only unequivocal statement we have making leadership an ascription due solely to age. And we have at least one case, that of Akaitcho, where an important leader was not even the eldest of a set of brothers (Franklin, p. 270); (1819-20-21-22).

The varieties of leadership discussed have of course undergone changes along with the rest of the Dene way of life in the course of one hundred and seventy years of contact with the Western world. Christian teachings and Whites' attitudes in general slowly undermined shamanism or the possession of powerful medicine as a source of prestige and opening for dominant status. They have been unimportant for a generation now. War and war leaders, though perhaps stimulated at the beginning of the fur trade era, died out over a century ago. The trading chief flourished in the hey-day of the Hudson Bay Company (which governed the Territory until 1870) in the nineteenth century. Today, his function as "mouthpiece" for his followers has been partially filled by the "government" chief, who is supposed to mediate between his constituents and the local government officials. But just as the present-day Indian deals directly with the fur trader, so he is apt to go personally to present a problem or complaint to the appropriate local official. The transformation of part of the Indian population into permanent fort residents, the immobilization of the rest (the "bush Indians") into spaced segments with permanent personnel on legally circumscribed traplines and trapping areas, the decline in the importance of the hunt as the Indians become increasingly dependent on the trapping-money economy -- in all these respects the old milieu of the band leader no longer exists. But in some bush communities of today men in a dominant position can still be found. Details of the contemporary situation, however, are outside the province of this paper.

The Pattern of Leader-Follower Relations: Conclusions

Closely following the words of previous investigators, we have so far considered the areas of activity in and through which an individual might achieve leadership. At the risk of some reiteration, it is now possible to block out the generalized pattern of socio-political relations between the Northern Dene leader and his followers. Then there are the related questions of the universality of leader figure in Northern Athabascan groups and those social, historical, and personal variables that come into play.

The domineering and exploitative behavior of those Dogrib leaders cited by Richardson who were actually able to exercise physical coercion over their constituents by employing gangs of strong-arm men stand out in the literature because, except for a rather vague statement by Keith (see final paragraphs) suggesting an oppressive quality in Dogrib leadership, they are so at variance with the picture gained by other observers. Petitot's detailed descriptions of the Slaves exemplify the more common condition of leader-group interaction. The case of Young Hunter will be recalled -- the Slave chief whose "authority was challenged because the man wished to impose his wishes." Young Hunter found that his "authority" existed only so long as his aims were deemed right and desirable by the group. Cued by a responsible male (who was perhaps in turn cued by the advent of a prestige-ful alien) even the women and girls felt free to express open insubordination. Besides certain unspecified demands upon his sons being rejected by them, the chief found that the group refused to accord him, "demand-right" (see 10) regarding marriage unions. Indeed, the general tenor of the literature indicates that the Dene leader or chief had no firmly established demanding right in any area of activity.

Along this line, another incident from Petitot may be cited. It took place in a Slave village on what is now the Petitot River (East-south-east of Fort Liard). Nadi, the younger brother of the chief, asks Petitot, "Who is master, a woman or her husband?" He goes on to explain, "We have a chief, you see, who lets himself be guided and ruled by his wife. <u>He listens to our advice</u>, but his wife is of a contrary sentiment, and he gives way to her. '<u>I agree with you</u>' he says (to us), 'but my wife does not wish it.' What do you say to that? Is he a chief?" (italics and translation mine.)

Petitot informs the reader, "Less than two years later, a letter from Providence apprised me that the old chief had been removed and that Nadi had been chosen (élu) in his place." (Petitot 1891, p. 347).

Nadi's complaint is not that the chief is not acting independently, but only that he is yielding to the wrong influence, that of his wife instead of his male peers.

The view that the power and control of the chief and/or leader over his group was ordinarily trifling is to be found in most reports. Hearne's generalizations on the lack of authority of Chipewyan chiefs have already been cited. Another observer at the beginning of the contact period, Alexander Mackenzie, writes that "none of the "principal men" of the "Red-knives" living around the Slave Lake fort have "sufficient authority" to be appointed a trading chief. (Mackenzie, A., 1889-90, p. 36). And Hearne reports that more than once the chief Matonabbee was so enraged by the pilfering of his property "and other insults" by his followers that he threatened to leave his own people and go live with the Slave Indians. (Hearne, p. 223). In the early decades of the nineteenth century, we find that "(the Liard Indians) are ungovernable in some respects by their chiefs, whom they obey only in hopes of being recompensed ... They pay no external marks of respect to their leaders, and indeed the latter are little regarded. A boy will often refuse to run an errand for them unless he happens to be a nigh relation." (Keith, p. 69, p. 90). And the "Long Arrowed Indians" (probably Hares) of the Bear Lake area "have no leaders of any authority or note amongst them." (Keith, p. 123).

One hundred and twenty years later, Russell says, regarding Dogrib chiefs, that Hearne's remarks are "equally true today" (Russell, p. 164) and Franklin, (Franklin 1819-20-21-22, p. 142), McLean, (McLean, p. 341), Mason (Mason, p. 34) and Petitot, (Petitot 1876, p. 34), pass similar judgments in different decades on the chiefs of, respectively, generalized "Chipewyans" (including Dogribs and Yellowknives), the "Mackenzie River Indians," the Indians of the Slave Lake area and the Northeastern Athabascan tribes generally.

In sum, the leader characteristically had a very tenuous position in Northeastern Athabascan

society. He might serve as adviser, coordinator, director and perhaps initiator of specific military actions and/or of occasional and particular economic activities beyond the day-to-day hunting and snaring routine. Also, by virtue of his prestige gained from his superior abilities and his awe-inspiring powers he might act as the prime opinion-giver in social matters within the band. His "authority" lay in putting his stamp of approval upon decisions or viewpoints arrived at by the group as a whole or, more specifically, his male peers. The wise chief or leader had his finger upon the pulse of individual and group opinions. He had to woo others to his way of thinking or, that failing, to alter his course accordingly. His position might be buttressed by the attribution of powerful medicine and by the Europeans' evaluation and use as "trading chief" of his already dominant role. But the power of a strong or "great" leader lay in his influence, rather than his "legal" authority. Ordinarily, he had neither the moral or physical resources to impose his will. Birket-Smith's characterization of the Chipewyan chief as primus inter pares (Birket-Smith, p. 66) keynotes the position of the Northern Dene leader.

There is little reason to suppose that all or most local groups had a headman or leader by even the feeble criteria given above. The fluidity and lack of structure of all groupings argue against the likelihood of a leader as a characteristic figure in every group. The intermittent nature of the macro-assemblages did not allow for continual exercise of the leader role, and apparently only in the trading gang and the war party was it ever enacted at all.

In the hunt band there is no firm evidence that the "leader" had any really vital function in economic or other matters. His decisions regarding change of hunting grounds came the closest. Rather, his superior prestige-cum-status was an outcome of his individual skills and endeavors. He was a superior provider and therefore, in a society where communal distribution of large game is a cardinal rule, a good man to fall in with. If he was also a man of sound social judgments and techniques his influence and following was so much the greater. But it is quite likely that in many hunt bands no adult male could be singled out as consistently exercising more influence and being accorded more deference than any other. This was probably especially true in the smaller band of but a few

families. Indeed, its small size may have been at times a function of its lack of a "drawing card."

Certain situational factors did encourage the establishment of headmen. A superior hunter and/or quasi-leader who was made by Whites a trading chief would find his position stabilized within his band and some recognition of his status would be called forth from all individuals who used him as an intermediary in their dealings with Whites. Such exigencies as war or White exploration parties needing Indian helpers (as in Akaitcho's case) might call an individual of superior endowment to the fore. The authority gained in this role might color his relations with other men after the end of the immediate event.

I would like to reemphasize two immediate and basic conditions, suggested in earlier passages, operative in the establishment of leader-follower relations: kin relationships and personal qualities. The importance of kin relations in band composition has already been examined. Such bits of documentation as do exist, plus an extrapolation from my present-day observations, indicate that the sentiments of kinship have been the base upon which the leader builds his influence and his following. "To become a general leader requires numerous relations ..." says Keith, (Keith, p. 109). Primary relationships -- i.e., sibling or parent-child or those at one remove, classificatory father-son or brother, -- probably characteristically formed the core of the leader-follower syndrome. In Franklin's account of the Yellowknives, we find Humpy, the older brother of the leader Akaitcho, mentioned several times in a way that suggests he served as a close associate and lieutenant of his younger sibling. On one occasion Akaitcho "deferred giving a final answer (to Franklin regarding a proposed journey) until the arrival of Humpy ... (Franklin 1819-20-21-22, p. 270). In a small family band, the father would be the usual source of any leader behavior (e.g., Keith, p. 109). In a larger band of several fully mature (related) men, a specific kin status would not be a necessary condition of leadership.

Regarding the small family band, we have from Jenness an account of a strong leader of recent times who started with a family band and expanded both the band and his authority. Old Davie, a French and Sekani breed, "raised a family of four daughters. He selected

husbands for them with great care ... Another family of breeds, probably kinsfolk of Davie's wife, joined the band, which in 1924, numbered forty individuals. Davie wielded the authority of a Hebrew patriarch. He kept his party in its hunting grounds aloof from all settlements except for two or three weeks in the early summer ... and at the posts he camped away from other Indians ... As hunters and trappers their reputation was unsurpassed in the whole of British Columbia. But Davie, the leader, was an old man in his seventies, and none of the younger men seemed capable of taking his place." (Jenness 1937, p. 14). Undoubtedly parallel situations could be found among the Northeastern Athabascans proper.

As to those personal qualities that enable a man to attain and maintain the position of leader the literature gives us few details. Success in hunting, in manipulating the supernatural, and in war as paths to dominant status have already been emphasized.

A leader of any real accomplishment had to possess, in Richardson's words, "skill ... in the management of the various tempers with which he has to do." But, except for Keith's vague phrase that a leader needs "some address and ability" (Keith, p. 109), Richardson is the only observer to speak of good social technique -- the ability to attract, influence, manipulate others -- as a quality of leadership. This is probably because the casual observer would not be likely to encounter or to recognize this faculty in action. The only specific social technique cited is that of generosity, again by Richardson. Generosity may also be considered an ingrained aspect of character, but for a chief, at least, the distribution of gifts obtained from the trader was a social requirement, whether it was a natural impulse or not. We may well suppose that the exercise of the opposite trait, that of niggardliness, much contemned today, would be a serious handicap in commanding prestige.

Courage as an attractive aspect of character is mentioned more than once, (Keith, p. 109); (Jones, p. 325). "Superior powers of mind" (Richardson, vol. 2, p. 26), "superior understanding and conduct" (Keith, p. 114) and "superior knowledge of competency" (Mason, p. 34), unhappily vague phrases, are also cited as attributes of the successful leader. In King's description of Akaitcho's behavior are exemplified further

qualities necessary to a leader of real stature -- the willingness to give most fully of his energies and persistence and endurance in the face of difficulty or crisis, promoting the morale of his group. That these qualities are prerequisite both to outstanding hunting success and to leadership is supported by my field observations.

> "Akaitcho, during this appalling season of calamity (a great winter famine at Fort Resolution) proved himself well worth the rank of chief of the Yellowknives ... He set the example of hunting early and late every day, and, by continued exertion, made every attempt to alleviate the distress which was pressing heavily upon his tribe. The bold manner with which he encountered every difficulty, mitigated in a great measure the growing evil and dispelled the gloom which had seized both the old and the young." (King, vol. 1, p. 173).

Jenness speaks of "force of character" as a quality for leadership among the Sekani, (Jenness 1937, p. 44). From Keith's comments on Dogrib leaders comes a less complementary phrase, "ferocity tinctured with an inclination to dominate" (Keith, p. 109), recalling Richardson's Dogrib bullies. The urge or will, suggested in these last two characterizations, within the individual toward exceptional influence or control over events and people, must we may surmise, always be a factor in the attainment of effective non-ascribed leadership. But for a Dene, this trait of character is highly idiosyncratic in a way that the preceding ones are not. The attributes previously mentioned fulfill certain Athabascan cultural ideals -- the hard worker and good provider, the supernaturally adept, the wise man, the generous man, and so on. But in the Dene view the will to power per se is not conceived to be admirable or socially desirable. The reaction to this will when encountered nakedly is not just indifferent, it is negative.

This distaste for subjugation to the authority of another, or, phrased in positive terms, the motivation toward personal autonomy, is a dominant aspect of the ethos (15) of the Northeastern Athabascans. (Honigmann 1946, p. 84); (MacNeish, J.H.); (Mason, p. 43). The existence of what may be called the cultural theme of autonomy might be suspected from the very fact of the unstructured nature of the social groups that our

documentary survey has given us. Explicit reference to this emotional quality may occasionally be found in the early writers. "The whole of the Chippewayan (Northeastern Athabascan tribes seem averse to superior rule." (McLean, p. 341).

A full exploration of the many-faceted theme of autonomy in the Dene way of life is beyond the scope of this investigation. To the reader is recommended Honigmann's recent study of the psychology of the Athabascan Kaskas, immediate neighbors of the Northeastern tribes proper. His discussion of "egocentricity" as one of the "dominant motivations" of this people is especially pertinent.

> "Egocentricity refers to a dominant motivation charged with a high evaluation of individualism and self interest ... In his ingroup relationships the Indian is ... self-centered and non-authoritarian. He does not seek authority in interpersonal relations, and others can scarcely tell him what to do ... Egocentricity thus leaves little room for patterns of leadership." (Honigmann 1949, p. 250, p. 254).

This ingrained dislike of the authoritarian figure in the Athabascan mind has remained over the decades an intangible but enduring barrier with which that aberrant individual who is impelled toward a dominant role must cope.

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NOTES

(1) The common usage in anthropology appears to be to define the condition of being political exclusively in terms of a territorial group, its political nature being manifested either simply in its possession of "some kind of corporate title to all the territory normally occupied by resident members of that group" (Oliver and Miller, p. 119), or in its ability to achieve concerted action and maintain law and order (McLean, p. 86), or in the foregoing characteristics plus its ability to coordinate its members "for the employment of force against others" (Nadel, p. 187). The customary kinds of actions of a political unit, as designated by the above quotes, are comprehended under my characterization of the nature of the political. But much of the behavior that we call political in or out of Western society (and that would fall within my definition), as evinced by "pressure groups," terrorist or revolutionary groups and so on, does not arise from territorially discrete groups. Weber calls these types "politically oriented groups" to distinguish them from as distinct from the territorially based "political group" proper. (Weber, pp. 141-142).

The same sort of behavior may be also manifested by kin groups, in or outside of the Western world. Lineage groups, for example, may achieve concerted action, maintain law and order (within the lineage), and employ force against others (blood revenge).

For a recent view of "politics" as broad or broader than my definition, see Slotkin. (Slotkin, p. 480 ff.)

(2) Actually, I would doubt that, in the present times at least, the Mountain Indians should be set apart from the Slaves. Casual conversations with Fred Andrews, son of the late "chief" of the Mountain Indians, indicate that they consider themselves a regional variety of Slaves. The peoples who today consider themselves to belong to the unit "Slave" (which they distinguish in their own tongue by the word Dene, as against terms for Dogrib, Chipewyan, etc.,) would probably not have included themselves in so broad

a category in earlier times. See Honigmann on macrocosmic groups.

(3) Besides Osgood, other workers who have presented comprehensive attempts to block out the major subdivisions of the Northeastern Athabascans are, in order of their writings, Franklin, (Franklin 1819-20-21-22), Richardson, Petitot, (Petitot 1876, 1885, 1891), Morice and Jenness (Jenness 1932). Each one has sliced the cake somewhat differently.

(4) Franklin (Franklin 1819-20-21-22, p. 257, 1828, p. 10) for example, cites cases of hostilities between Copper Indians (Yellowknives) and Chipewyans, and between the Copper Indians on the one hand and the Dogribs and Hares on the other (these last two groups in Franklin's terminology include what would today be called Slaves.)

(5) "(Two Indian acquaintances) informed us that, in a dispute between a Chipewyan and their countrymen, the Yellowknives, the former had been killed; but as he was an orphan, no one would avenge his death." (Back, p. 162).

(6) I find that I should not be surprised at this omission from the records of most writers on the Northeastern Athabascans, most of the nineteenth century non-professional observers, for Murdock notes that "Bilateral kin groups (of which, he states, the kindred is the commonest type) have received little attention from anthropological theorists. Consequently, ethnographers rarely notice their presence and almost never report their absence." (Murdock, p. 57). Two of the early observers who do mention kinship relations as important in Northeastern Athabascan life are Keith (Keith, p. 88, p. 109) and Richardson, (Richardson, vol. 2, p. 26).

(7) But another source, the 1888 report on the Great Mackenzie Basin (Great Mackenzie Basin, p. 102), stresses the scattered, family by family condition of the forest peoples.

(8) From a Slave informant.

(9) Some Hare and Slave Indians are probably included under Richardson's general appellation "Dogrib."

(10) One of my major Slave informants was questioned regarding a "boss for the hunt" in earlier days. He said that there were such men; they decided which route individual hunters would take for the day, to circumvent the possibility of one glimpsing another accidentally and shooting him in mistake for game. This is a very minor act. The informant may have been thinking of a father-leader of a family band directing inexperienced sons. The informant said he had never heard of a leader acting as a coordinator for a group hunt.

(11) Morice has identified Matonabbee as a Caribou-Eater, rather than a Chipewyan proper. (Morice, p. 234).

(12) It is possible, however, that Hearne's obviously strong affection and admiration for Matonabbee induced him to overestimate Matonabbee's reluctance on this "horrid occasion."

(13) Goddard makes this distinction -- that of "the fortunate individual who had personal supernatural aids" as against the shaman proper -- in speaking of the Beaver. He also distinguishes the "prophet", "one man of unusual power who directs the religious activities of the tribe" in which they "seem to have considerable liberty in initiating new movements in religion." He gives us no details regarding possible socio-political aspects of their role. (Goddard, pp. 226-231).

(14) Personal communication. Sherwood, a long-time resident of the Northwest Territories, has achieved an unusual degree of knowledge and understanding of Indian life.

(15) Ethos is here used in the sense employed by Bateson: "The emotional emphasis of the culture as revealed in a series of emotional toned behaviors." (Bateson, p. 32).

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NOTE SUR LE MIDEWIWIN

par

Asen Balikci

Introduction

Nous présentons dans cet article une courte description des rituels du Midewiwin ou Grande Société de Médecine des ojibway du Lac des Bois, à l'extrémité occidentale de l'Ontario. Ces textes ont été rédigés par la Rév. Soeur Marie Réparations, d'origine ojibway elle-même, et un groupe d'écolières de l'école indienne de Kenora, à la demande du Rév. P. Lemire, O.M.I. (1).

Le lecteur averti saura facilement reconnaître l'insuffisance des descriptions ethnographiques et l'absence naturelle de tout effort d'analyse compréhensive de la part des jeunes auteurs. Cette impression se confirme dès que nous comparons le manuscrit de Kenora aux travaux très fouillés de Hoffman, Densmore, Kinietz, etc., dont les contributions à l'étude du Midewiwin semblent définitives. Quelles sont alors les raisons qui nous incitent à publier ces textes? Elles sont de deux sortes. Premièrement, à la suite d'une lecture attentive de la littérature anthropologique sur le Midewiwin on peut se rendre compte de certaines variations et différences dans les rituels Midewiwin exécutés par les diverses fractions de la tribu ojibway. Or tout essai d'arriver à une explication anthropologique de ces différences doit être fondé sur un nombre aussi grand que possible de témoignages, même imparfaits. Deuxièmement, les anthropologues qui ont observé ces rituels sacrés, ont eu comme informateurs avant tout des praticiens traditionnels, très soucieux de conserver le patrimoine magico-religieux de leur tribu, méfiants quand il s'agit d'en révéler les secrets, et en général opposés à l'introduction du christianisme dans leur société. Or voici un témoignage, qui vient d'un groupe de jeunes filles indiennes qui ont passé dans le camp adverse des "robes noires." Il éclaire certaines attitudes des convertis envers l'ensemble des croyances des indiens et plus particulièrement envers les praticiens traditionnels.

Le Midewiwin est un phénomène social complexe. Lié aux différentes catégories de la vie sociale, il possède de nombreux aspects que les auteurs n'ont pas manqué d'analyser. Avec D. Jenness, définissons provisoirement le Midewiwin, comme "a secret medical organization garbed in the mantle of religion." (D. Jenness, p. 75). Cet aspect religieux de la Grande Société (2) apparaît clairement dans les relations de cette dernière avec la cascade des divinités algonquines dont les actions nous sont contées dans les très nombreux récits traditionnels. Il est toutefois un groupe de mythes qui nous intéresse particulièrement, c'est celui qui explique l'origine de la Grande Société et qui lui sert de fondement théogonique. Plusieurs observateurs ont recueilli des récits traditionnels relatant l'origine du Midewiwin. Schoolcraft (Schoolcraft, 1860, vol. 1, p. 317), Hoffman (Hoffman, 1891, p. 166, 172, 175, 181, 183), Warren (Warren, p. 79), Copway (Copway, p. 169), Densmore (Densmore, 1910, p. 21), W. Jones (W. Jones, II, Nos. 62 et 63), Jenness (Jenness, p. 69), Kinietz (Kinietz, 1947, p. 179) ont recueilli des textes dans lesquels généralement Nanabozho (3) le héros culturel des ojibway, agissant selon la volonté de Geche-Manitou (le Grand Esprit) révèle aux humains l'art médical et institue les rituels sacrés du Midewiwin. La Section d'Anthropologie du Musée National possède un manuscrit d'une version inédite de ce mythe qui a pour auteur George Gabaoosa, ojibway, de Garden River, Ontario. En voici un résumé:

> (l'action se déroule à l'époque mythique, avant l'achèvement de la création du monde, quand le mal n'existait pas encore sur terre.)

Après avoir jeûné huit jours durant chaque année, pendant cinq ans, un jeune homme vit en rêve un être lui demander de recommencer le jeûne pour le même nombre d'années en compagnie de sept autres garçons. Ce jeûne également terminé, le jeune homme bénéficia d'une autre révélation: un vieillard lui annonce qu'il deviendra un grand guerrier, il s'agit toutefois d'un guerrier d'une espèce nouvelle, il aura à lutter contre les maladies qui vont se répandre parmi les humains. L'arrivée des blancs, la destruction des forêts et du gibier, le déclin de la puissance des ojibway, suivi d'une belle renaissance de la race indienne sont également prédites. Finalement le visiteur surnaturel demande aux jeûneurs de se grouper en parti de guerre et de prendre le chemin de l'aventure, ce qui est aussitôt fait. Les randonnées du groupe se prolongèrent durant sept ans; au bout de la huitième année les guerriers

entendirent au loin un bruit bizarre; conseillés par les oracles ils décidèrent de se porter dans la direction d'où le bruit venait. Après huit jours de marche, ils arrivèrent devant une montagne toute blanche et brillante, de la fumée sortait de son sommet, elle semblait habitée comme un wigwam. Une voix les invita d'y entrer. A l'intérieur ils aperçurent un homme assis (Nanabozho) dans un wigwam décoré de fourrures précieuses. Quatre sièges étaient placés dans les quatre coins pour les frères de Nanabozho, les divinités des quatre points cardinaux: Shawanese (Sud), Ningabecrunese (Ouest), Gewadin (Nord), Wahbunese (Est) (4). Au cours de longues cérémonies Nanabozho (5) enseigne aux guerriers l'art de la divination, la bonne science des herbes médicinales et des plantes dont la connaissance contribue aux succès du chasseur. Nanabozho établit également le système de payements qui se rapporte aux pratiques médicales et le cycle des cérémonies annuelles du Midewiwin. Après quoi les guerriers prirent le chemin de retour, guidés par un énorme chien mythique dont la taille diminuait au fur et à mesure que le groupe se rapprochait du domaine indien. C'est ainsi que ce petit parti de guerre rapporta aux indiens les secrets du Midewiwin.

Le texte de Kenora est reproduit ici aussi fidèlement que possible. Afin d'en faciliter la lecture, la ponctuation a été améliorée. De même, certaines fautes de grammaire ont été éliminées. Nous avons cru opportun, dans le but d'éclairer certains passages, d'ajouter en note quelques commentaires en utilisant principalement les études de Hoffman (sur les ojibway des réserves de Red Lake et White Earth dans le Minnesota), celles de Frances Densmore (réserves de Red Lake, White Earth et Leech Lake), les analyses de Kinietz (région du Lac Vieux Desert), Diamond Jenness (Parry Island, Ont.), de même que celles de Sister Inez Hilger (Red Lake, Lac Courte Oreille, Lac du Flambeau, La Pointe, L'Anse, White Earth, Vermilion Lake, Nett Lake, Mille Lacs.)

HOW THE INDIANS GIVE THEMSELVES TO THEIR MANITOU IN THE SPRING (MITEWAYIN)

All Indians are obliged to follow the Indian religion (6). So every Spring they get together in the Reserve, after the rat hunting (7), in May or June when they have all the money they need.

But they are not obliged to do more than they can. They may prepare for the first, second, third, fourth, fifth, sixth or seventh degree.

When the gathering is announced (8), the sorcerer speaks to the people for three days. Then everybody is very glad and the men prepare the Mitewaygamick, decorated with leaves, and put pine tree branches on the ground (9).

On the third evening the medicine man sends his servant to every tent to tell the people to be ready in the morning with the stuff they are going to offer him. The servant and the medicine man give a painted stick or feathers to each person who is preparing (10). In return the person gives his stuff to the servant (11).

The servants spread all the clothes, blankets and pails and kettles that have been offered on the ground; the prints and the nice colors are hung up on a string and on the Mitewaygamick. Nobody is allowed to enter the medicine wigwam, except those who want to take part in the ceremony; the others look on from a distance (12). They don't let the people come near, for when they throw the migis (sea shell) it could fall on someone; and this person would then be obliged to "ondjinay." This means that something very strange would happen and that there would be much suffering and even sickness and death. So the people have to be very careful and respect all the things the sorcerer says to them (13).

The people that are giving themselves are well dressed (14) and their faces are painted in red and blue (15). The ceremony takes place in the afternoon, after the servant of the medicine man has called them together. The sorcerer beats his drum (16) slowly as they come in and sings at the same time. Everyone takes his place where his things are and sits down. Then the medicine man speaks to them and tells them all they must do in order to keep their religion and serve their Manitou (17).

After that, the sorcerer takes the pipe of peace and offers it to the north, south, east and west; this he does to render respect to the Manitou of all the lands where there are Indians (18). While he does that, the other medicine men sing for him and beat the drum. Then everyone gets up and dances around the Mitewigamick; the sorcerer is always the leader. They all stand, except the medicine men, and sing in turn; the ones that cannot sing hit the drum once and pass it on; it goes all around until it comes back to the sorcerer (19).

Then the sorcerer tells the people to sit down while he prepares a bowl of medicine in a very secret manner. He uses raisins, sometimes rice, sugar and living ants; he puts in the sugar or the raisins so it will not taste of medicine. The other medicine men help him. He then puts the bowl down in the middle of the place and begins to sing and everyone is very silent. He bows before the bowl of medicine and all the others do the same. Then he takes a spoon and gives each one a spoonful of it and takes one himself. He burns what is left over, watching it until it is all gone. He only gives this medicine to those who want to be powerful and who do not wish to be afraid of anything (20). Then everybody feels very happy once more, and the sorcerer tells his servant to pass around the tobacco.

Then the servant goes and gets the dog who is to be killed for them to eat. They take the nicest one in the Reserve, a good hunter; and they feed it and take good care of it for a few weeks ahead (21). First the sorcerer feeds the dog, and after he has finished the servant ties the dog's legs and mouth as it will not suffer and then they kill it.

Then the women cook the dog. They also cook rice and other good things. What is left over of the dog is burnt.

Meanwhile, everyone sits down with the medicine men in the middle, and the sorcerer speaks to those present, one by one, according to their degree. One medicine man holds the person on his back; to keep from falling he puts out his hands, half lying. Then the sorcerer and medicine men bow before the person and the sorcerer gives a migis (sea shell) (22) to each medicine man and also a Mitewayan (Midewiwin badge),

according to the degree of the person. They put the migis in their mouths and make a vomiting noise in their throats. It falls on a member of the person's body: on one of the two hands, feet, knees, elbows or eyes, or on the mouth, breast or head. Then the medicine man puts his hand on the head of the person and takes a bone of an animal or a bear's claw from his bag and puts it around his neck for him to keep (23). During this time the others sing. He takes the sea shells and sews them in the Mitewayan to make the person strong. Then the medicine man makes the person stand up and touches him everywhere where the migis falls and holds his hand while he sings (24). After everybody has sung, the medicine man makes the person smoke according to his degree. For the first one he gives his pipe of peace to smoke once, and so on up to seven times. While the smoke goes up to their Manitou the medicine man sings to the north, south, east and west and walks up and down the Mitewaygamick. Then everybody sits down and he speaks to them once more. To each one he says: "May you live long and have a happy life and see your gray hair and have much pleasure and enter the Indian heaven where we shall never separate." Everybody answers: "Yes" and "Migweti" (thank you.) Once more the medicine man says a prayer and sings to each one. Then they all eat the dog and the rice. If there is some left over, the medicine man burns it up saying: "I give this to my grandmother who is dead; you too, eat some." He has to wait until it is all burnt up. After that they begin to dance again and throw their Mitewayans to each other. They swallow the migis and it makes a noise in their throat. It hurts them and then, after it has come out again (25), the person has to pick up the stuff and bring it to the sorcerer to thank the Manitou for their success. The pow-wow dance lasts for three nights; everybody goes back very happy.

THE DEGREES (26)

First degree: They give an eagle's feather or a weasel (27). These are for people who have power over others; some can go as far as the third degree and no further because they do not have all the qualities needed (28). Everyone is obliged to enter the first degree (29). That is why they can give whatever they wish; dry bird, painted stick, a little mink, a colored stone. Some even give only tobacco. The ones who have no fur skin are not obliged to give any (30).

Second degree: For the second degree they receive a Muskrat skin or an Ishion wand of any kind. The ones that give themselves for the second time are those who want to go to a high degree in order to please the Manitou. When a person dreams of them it means that the Manitou wants them. They have to go and tell the medicine man right away and he speaks to them: "At the first chance you have to miteway." These persons have to give an offering of ten things of any kind.

Third degree: Skin with frog drawing for a medicine woman; for a medicine man, a skin with a man standing or a big mink. Offering: twenty objects. They have to fill up the pipe of peace three times. The ones that want to go further have a special power. The medicine man studies them very closely to see if they can really go on or not. He begins to teach a few secrets to the ones he finds able and takes them to help him to prepare some medicine (31).

The others who cannot go any further stop there. They receive also a migis, which they keep around their necks or in a little bag. The rest of the ceremony is just like the first. (This skin with a man is sometimes used for the 2nd degree. When they wish to use it for the 3rd degree, they just add a different migis; the skin with a frog on it is also given to the men as a characteristic mark of his third degree.)

Fourth degree: They take a wild cat for their Mitewayan. Forty objects are to be given. They take also an Ishion wand for protection. In case of sickness they hang it at the head of their beds or also another Mitewayan filled up with migis. Also they fill up a pipe four times and offer it to the north, south, east and west. They can give a few medicines. They go in the woods to put tobacco in the roots of some medicine plants. The tobacco is offered to the Great Manitou who flies over the trees (32). They also learn some medicine songs.

Fifth degree: They receive an eagle or a night owl, and they have to give sixty things of any kind. The eagle is made standing up; there are migis in each member: legs, arms, head, heart, so the sorcerer will be able to find sickness in all parts of the body. They also receive a wand of authority which will help them in all their needs. We sometimes see the wand outside their tent. Now the sorcerer gives them the power to speak to the Manitou. In Kenora he is a bear,

turtle or snake. In other places they each have their own kind. Now they have the power to use several kinds of medicine and the people have to have a great respect for them.

Sixth degree: They receive a painted stick with some migis stuck on it. Also a pinessiwatig (a bird on a stick) and a cane with ribbon. One hundred and eight things are to be given as offerings. Now they have the power to give any medicine; and they have to help the first sorcerer of the place to gain all his people. They have power over anything, especially over the thunder: when they call for it it comes at once. And whatever else they need is given to them by the Manitou. Therefore, the sorcerer gives them his other secrets, which should be known only to themselves. Should the people not listen to them they can "ondjinay" them. Therefore, they have the power to command the others and to work so as to conduct everyone to the Indian heaven.

Seventh Degree: It is the highest of all and is shown by a bear's paw or a bear's claw. Hundred and ten things are to be given by the one who is receiving this degree. But he gets all what is needed to give to the others, later, when they will be receiving the different degrees from him: drums, tambourines, mitewiyanaks of all kinds, feathers, the pipe of peace, which they receive on the third degree; Ishion of all kinds, migis of all shapes, dry turtle, dry snake, snake heads, fish, bones, black stones to operate and birch bark with the songs of the Indian heaven printed on it. The Indian heaven is drawn on the birch bark which is about eight feet long.

Now the sorcerer has full power to do whatever he wants; he can find out dreams, (33) speak to the snake, turtle, bear and thunder, etc. But he has to be very, very discreet and do all what the Manitou tells him to do. When the sorcerer comes to a house or tent, it is everybody's duty to show him respect. And no one should speak before him. If he asks for anything, one is obliged to give it to him. One cannot refuse him anything.

These degrees are for people who have power over others. The others do not need to do the same. But they are all called to mitew. They are not obliged to give much fur, because the Manitou does not ask the same from

all of them as long as they follow the sorcerer's advice; for he is the one who has been chosen to follow the bear's track and to lead all his people to the Indian heaven.

The bear's track is a road; our old grandfathers said it was the bear who first made the road; also the snake. In other places they say it was the beaver, the moose or the thunder. Each Indian tribe has its own, but it all comes the same, and there is only one heaven for them all.

HOW THE INDIANS GIVE THEMSELVES TO THE DEVIL IN ANOTHER MANNER

(For those who do not give their consent)

Some do not want to give themselves to the Manitou. They do all they can not to miteway. So their parents are obliged to do so for them and all the Indians have to make a little sacrifice. The sorcerer tells the people to go around during the night, for they would see someone who was dead long ago. Or he says the migis is flying around like a spirit to visit the tents and to see what prevents some to follow the Manitou. That is why they say that if people go around the migis will strike them; and they will "ondjinay," or little snakes will go around their necks and choke them. For the Manitou is very happy to see his people getting ready to pay him homage. That is why the roads must be left to the migis for them to go fast and visit the people in the tents to see the nice objects and things they prepared for their offering; and, therefore, neighbours should not go and see what they have to give the next morning.

The sorcerer or his servant goes around to every tent and asks his people how they feel. Everyone answers joyfully: "We feel fine." The ones who do not give their consent do not answer; they do not want to show him much affection nor gain his love. And they are told that if they do not mitew they will not live long. Should a person have died, the relatives have to give themselves to the Manitou in his place. Then they put some of his clothes on the grave and say that he will use them during the night. They also burn food for his soul.

THE MEDICINE MAN'S COSTUME

The medicine man and the chief and their wives have a special costume, It is decorated with rassades work and feathers. The women have a dress of velvet or heavy goods decorated with little tin bells they make themselves and bits of glass; also a bead work band for the head. They wear these things for the great ceremonies such as the pow-wow of thanksgiving which lasts four days, for the sun dance and when they mitew after the rat hunting. It is the best of their costumes (34). The medicine man has a ring called a dancing ring. They pass through the ring as they dance. They also dress up children in such costumes which they wear about twive a year. They colour their faces and try to look as nice as possible, for the medicine man wishes to see his people well dressed; it is done in his honour.

DUTY OF THE MEDICINE MAN AND DUTY OF THE PEOPLE

The people must never say a word against the medicine man; moreover, they must never say a word of what he says or about his secrets. The sorcerer says that should someone do so, the Manitou would tell him right away by means of the "tchissakon" (35), and they would "ondjinay" and something bad would happen. That is why they are obliged to help the medicine man in all his needs.

When a man has good luck hunting, he buys food and wine and gives it to the sorcerer, as well as money (36). He is very glad and receives them kindly. He speaks to them about the Manitou and how they should respect the ones that take his place. When they leave him he wishes them much pleasure, especially to the ones he loves most; and he tells them that if there is anything wrong with them not to be afraid and to come to him, for he is always ready to help them.

DUTY OF THE SORCERER TOWARDS THE PEOPLE WHO ARE PREPARING TO BE MEDICINE MEN AND WOMEN

They are chosen by the turtle (37), but it is the sorcerer who tells the oldest medicine man to give them what they must study. It is a birch bark, one to three feet long and one foot large, on which are written songs and medicines.

They have to come and give an explanation of what they have studied (38). After the seventh degree they have full power in all concerning their religion, but only one of them is permitted to be the head of all the others. Nobody can take his place until he dies (39). A medicine man is very discreet and would rather die than tell what they do (40), such as kill with medicine, or kill their own children when the Manitou asks them to. It takes a very strong-hearted person to be able to do all that is asked of him. The medicine men and women do not feel, nor do they fear anything, for it is their Manitou who asks them. On the contrary -- they are very brave.

HOW THE MEDICINE MEN GET MEDICINE

The medicine men and women pass one night without sleeping and eating. Then they take their medicine bag (41) and follow the sorcerer. He shows them the good and the bad medicines (42). For each root they take, they must give some tobacco as an offering. If they did not, they would "ondjinay," that is, they would get short hands or sore fingers. They feel very happy and sing most of the time.

When they are tired, the sorcerer says: "Let us take a rest." And they rest, and each smokes his pipe of peace. They call for the Great Spirit (43), and the moose or also the bear comes to speak to them from the woods, but they do not see them. They answer all he says. He says all kinds of impure words to make the medicine men and women laugh; the moose or the bear laughs also. They say to him: "Tell us some more, we are so happy to hear you." The moose has a voice just like a mad bull. The sorcerer tells the medicine men and women when it is the voice of the moose. Then he says he will call the turtle, which has a small voice, as if its mouth were full of water: "Ha! I know you all; I often go and visit you and I am so glad that you have called for me." It also says all kinds of impure words. Then the sorcerer calls for the wolf; the wolf has a voice like a dog. He also calls for the bear; the bear has a big low voice.

After they have finished speaking to the Great Spirit, they all take their pipes and smoke. Then they go home very happy; but no other person but themselves must know their secret.

Then the medicine man gives them what is needed for the year, such as snake skin to wear for the ones that have a head-ache, sea shells of all forms, bears paw, a little drum with which to assist the sick, and another bigger drum for the pow-wow.

They are asked if they have all they need and everybody answers: "Ah! yes." Now the sorcerer speaks to them all, always very kindly and gently, to thank the Manitou for their success. He says they will have a pow-wow on the following night and they all sing before leaving the sorcerer with a feeling of great happiness.

THE INDIAN HEAVEN

It is always Summer in the Indian Heaven. There are nice lakes where one can fish and ponds with lots of ducks. There are many kinds of beautiful birds that sing. The Indians have all the pleasure they want there. They don't work and they have all they need. The Bear and the Snake are the gods of their Heaven. At night they tell each other what they want and the Bear hears them, and the next day they get what they wished for. In the morning they dance the King dance, the Sun dance, the Rice dance, the Snow dance and the pow-wow Manitou dance. They are not bothered by the white people nor by their religion.

When the Indians die, they see three roads leading to the Indian heaven which is closed in by a big gate. Only those who give themselves to the devil can go there. Those who take another religion will never see their relatives or family again and they will be lonesome. They will be the slaves of the white people, having to work all the time and never doing as they like. And they will not have the pleasure of hunting, playing cards, ball dances and canoeing. For the white people are very hard on the Indians, only giving them the leavings of their food, not letting them sit with them.

If an Indian tries to run away from the white people's heaven, no one will take him in. He will have to come back to life and give himself to the devil; for this wipes off the mark of baptism and opens the gates of the Indian Heaven.

Some stay on in the white man's heaven, but they cannot enjoy themselves, for they cannot stay with the white people as they do not work well enough. So

they are also put out from the white people's heaven; and the Indian God does not want them because they did not listen to the medicine man when he spoke to them so many times telling them what to do. They are unhappy forever with nowhere to go. They cannot dance and they cannot have pleasure. They cannot change and they have old tents and only enough to eat by day and no more. (44).

THUNDER

When there is thunder and lightening, the medicine man takes a pinessiwatig, (a bird on a stick) and puts it in front of him. He kneels down before it bending to the ground, smoking his pipe and singing, until the thunder goes. When there is a big storm, they all run to the medicine man and ask him to save them from the thunder which will surely kill them. He tells them not to be afraid and that he will send it away.

Once there was a medicine man who was very powerful. There was a big thunder-storm with lightening and falling ice. The medicine man was not afraid at all. All the people were running to his house and were very much afraid. He told them not to be afraid, he would chase away the thunder and lightening. Then he went outside and lifted his hands up to the sky, saying, "I want you, pinessiwatig, to go over there." He pointed, and the thunder went to that side. Then he went inside the house and asked the people if they were still afraid. They answered "No" and then gave him all kinds of things. They made a feast, as they were very glad that he had saved their lives. The medicine man said: "You see what I can do. I can send the thunder to other places. Many people will be killed, but here no-one is dead. In a few days we will hear more." Two days later they heard that many people had died. And the medicine man said: "Now, to thank the Manitou, we will have a pow-wow and I will offer the tobacco." And all thought he could do wonders. (45).

PRAYER OF A MEDICINE MAN

> "My Manitou, I know that you love to listen to what I say to you, and you have put me at the head of my children to be their leader. They are all under me, and I know they will not be taken away from me if you help me. Sometimes, when I am alone, I see those who are trying to take our

children away, and you tell me how unhappy they become when they leave our religion. Then, in spirit, I fly across the sky and below the trees, trying to protect my people. Sometimes I am fainting flat to the ground when I learn that some of your children have displeased you by taking another religion. To lose them makes me feel just as if I were walking against the wind. When the birds that love and help me are passing, I am there, united with them." (46).

TESTIMONY OF A SORCERER

"I see lots of black robes going to all parts, trying to take my children and people from me. And they make them suffer in their heaven. Do not let our children follow them.

What they say is not true; they are trying to get you only to have slaves.

If you want to be happy, do not answer them when they speak to you. Then they cannot have anything to say. And when they ask you about our Manitou, always take their part. They only come to steal us."

The people believe this, because it is the turtle or the snake (who is the Mamitou) who said so to the sorcerer. He asks them: "Will you do this?" and all answer: "Yes." Then everybody speaks about this as if it were very true.

TCHISSAKON

It is the wigwam where the medicine man divines dreams, (47) and where he gets to know all that he wants, such as when someone will have bad luck, etc. It is a spirit or sometimes a person-like being that comes and speaks to the medicine man. The wigwam is nine feet high, covered with birch bark and with bells hung all around. Before the sorcerer goes in, he smokes. When he goes in,the wigwam starts to shake.

The first thing the medicine man does is to speak to the turtle or to the moose. He speaks to the people from inside the wigwam and the people who are listening have to answer "yes" or "no" to whatever he asks in the name of the Manitou.

When the people have dreams, they go to find the medicine man and tell him what they have dreamt. Then he tells his servants to prepare the tchissakon and tells the people the meaning of the dreams they had. They sometimes do that when someone is sick.

When the medicine man is in the tchissakon he tells the people who is coming. He does not look, but he knows what is going on outside. He sees everybody from inside. He asks his Manitou for all he needs and the turtle answers; it has a very funny voice, as if its mouth were full of water, and it speaks very fast. One can understand only a few words and everybody laughs when they hear the turtle's voice. It says all kinds of dirty words so as to make the people laugh and answers all their questions. Sometime this lasts very late into the night. When the medicine man has finished, the men take off the bark and bells and prepare a good supper for everybody, even if it is very late at night. When the sorcerer comes out from the tchissakon, he keeps quiet and is silent for a long time. Then, when he comes back to himself, they fill his pipe for him and he smokes. After he has finished he offers his pipe and smoke to the Great Manitou who came to speak to him, telling him all that the people must do, and to keep away from all that does not concern the Indian religion. After his long silence the sorcerer speaks to the people and tells them all that is going on far away and near, as well as all the dreams. Some say he nearly turns into a manitou and that is why he cannot speak right away; he has to wait for a while until he quietens down.

SHINGWOB (or OFFERING TO THE TREE)

During the times of small sicknesses, such as colds or influenza, each family in the Reserve of the Indians will make an offering to the tree. The offering is always intended to render homage to the Manitou. Therefore, they take some children's clothes or rags with some tobacco tied in a piece of cloth and hang it on the tree. This is to ask the Great Spirit to prevent death in the family. They generally do it in the Fall. While they tie the clothes around the tree, or its branches, they say: "As long as this tree stands, I will live and my children also. Our Manitou has commanded us to offer you these clothes in time of sickness. It is up to you now to keep us from sickness." Then they put some tobacco on a stone

to offer it to the tree. They all give something and are not supposed to touch the things that are on the tree: they will rot.

BLEEDING AS A CURE

When a person has a sore back or a headache or fever, they ask the bravest man, woman or girl to take out the bad blood. When it is a man, they pay him with tobacco; when it is a woman or girl, they give her a dress or a print (48). There is no need for a sorcerer or a medicine man to do the bleeding; one can ask for whoever one likes. But one can take a sorcerer because he has all power.

They ask the person if he wants to have his arm bled. If he says he is afraid, they will tell him that it is for his good. Then for two days he does not eat meat, but only fish or something soft. On the third day they come. One takes a little stick with a little piece of pointed glass or tin and puts it on the arm where the big vein is. With another little stick one ties the arm above the elbow and holds a stick very tight; then one quickly hits the stick on the vein and the blood falls in a basin. It is very black and one lets it bleed until the blood comes light. Then the blood is thrown under a tree where nobody has ever passed. If a big girl goes near where the blood was thrown she "ondjinays." That is why a young girl has to go out of the house until they finish the bleeding. The arm is tied with medicine (sometimes without) for a few days until it is cured. After that the person feels better.

For headaches, one makes a cut on each temple and sucks out the blood with a thimble and puts a piece of paper with some medicine on the wound. When it is cured, the paper falls off.

MATOTOSWAWIN - SWEAT BATHS FOR THE SICK (49)

When a person is dangerously sick, his parents go and get the sorcerer, beseeching him to come and see their sick child. And they say: "We wish you could do something for him and ask our Manitou what he has and if he will become better." The medicine man answers right away: "Yes." He speaks to the parents and asks them a few questions. Then the parents go back home to tell the person that the sorcerer is coming to tell him what is going to happen.

When the medicine man comes to the tent, everyone is in perfect silence. He goes up to the sick person and asks him what he feels. He says a few kind words to him concerning the Great Spirit and tells him that he is going to see what the Manitou will say. The sick person has an Ishion hung up at the head of his bed; also some tobacco and some stuff to pay the sorcerer with. Then everyone goes out with the sorcerer to prepare the "matotoswawin" and they warm up four or six big flat stones. The medicine man takes two sticks to carry the hot stones into the sweat wigwam; he puts them in four corners. Then he comes out and holds the stones in his hands with two sticks each for about 15 minutes. He is half naked, having taken off his shirt and having only his pants on. At the same time he sings to ask the Manitou to show the people that he can do wonders, curing the sick and even the dying. Thereafter he goes and places the last stones. Then they put the sick person in the waginogan (round lodge) which begins to shake. The medicine man goes in and he begins to sing and calls for the turtle; and the turtle speaks to him, but no-one sees it. It is the turtle or snake or bear that is speaking; the medicine man himself does not see it. Then a ball of fire falls into the middle of the waginogen. The medicine man tells the sick person what sickness he has. When he comes out the sweat is falling all over him. They fill his pipe of peace and he offers it to the four cardinal points. It is forbidden for him to wipe his sweat; so he sings once more and then they take out the sick person and change his clothes. After his sweat has dried, the medicine man dresses up. Everybody finds him very powerful. He gives a medicine to the sick person and tells him that he will get better. He puts a migis in the water of the medicine. This water comes from the Manitou; they say it comes from the ocean and that the Manitou brought it from the bottom of the sea. To some other people the medicine man says: "You will not get better; our Manitou needs you in the Indian heaven." Then he speaks to the sick person and his parents about the Great Spirit; after that the sick person is all consoled and is ready to do everything the sorcerer tells him to do.

The person to whom the medicine man has said: "You will get better," must make a sacrifice that will last all his life. It is not to eat one thing: butter, or porcupine, or moose or fish, or heart, or liver;

whatever the sorcerer commands. If the person eats the forbidden food after he gets better he would "ondjinay" and get poisoned.

Then the medicine man shakes his little drum on the heart and on the back of the sick person to take out the sickness. After he has done all this, the parents and the sick person are very glad and they pay him; the best payment they can give is wine.

Now they all go out of the tent and take off the waginogan. The sorcerer takes the sticks and the blanket and the stones; he gives the blanket to the parents for the sick person's use. He takes the sticks and the stones far into the woods. He puts tobacco on each stick, so that nobody can touch the sticks. That is why he has to bury them where nobody has ever walked in order to render respect to the Manitou after he had talked to them. After that the medicine man goes home and he visits the sick person every day to see if he is getting better or not. He puts a painted stick or Ishion outside the tent or house so the sickness will stop.

FUNERAL CEREMONY

After the death of a person, the parents who have looked at their child until he had his last breath and all the relatives begin to cry. They shut the eyes and the mouth of the person who has just passed away.

Then the oldest woman or man comes and combs the hair of the mother or relative; they unbraid her hair and let it down as a mark of mourning; and they put on their oldest clothes. They send all the children out of the tent or house, so they will not see the dead person. The medicine man is always with them; he puts a blanket in the middle of the place with some tobacco and a pipe and begins to speak to the parents. (50). The offering of the pipe, blanket and tobacco is for the soul to give to the Manitou in the Indian heaven as soon as it gets there.

Then they wash the dead person and put the nicest clothes on him. They also have perfume. The medicine man has to stay there with the medicine women to tell them what they must do. They wrap the body in a blanket and they put it in a corner of the room with another blanket hanging over it so that it

will not show. Then they take the things of the departed one and put them away; they also take out all the stuff, blankets, etc., from the house or tent, as nothing should remain in the house; they take their things to the neighbors. The parents stay near the body to render it their last visit on earth, waiting to join the soul in the Indian heaven. When night comes, they burn much birch bark; the fire is to purify the dead person and themselves, and they all take their meals around the fire. They put some food near the mouth of the dead person; some put it at his side. They generally take the food the person liked while he was living (51). They also burn some and say "I give this to my child (or relative or parent), so he may not be hungry on the way." They go and see the body very often and generally hurry to bury it. The graves are not deep, to give the spirit a chance to come out.

After nightfall the parents or the medicine man call all the children that are related to the dead person to put ashes on their own foreheads. They take them one by one and rub them with black ashes. This they do so the children might not die. They say that if they do not rub ashes on the children's foreheads the dead person will come and get them and they will die. They must not touch the ashes nor wash their faces until the ashes fall off. And they must not let the children see the dead person because they must not think or be sad; they must play as much as they can and not cry. And when they bury the body they must not go, but only the grown up people.

The people stay up all night, each in turn. First the medicine man stays. He smokes his pipe of peace to accompany the soul; when he is tired he goes to bed and another takes his place; they do this all night.

The parents come too, and if they cry the medicine man tells them not to or they will stop the soul on its way and it will suffer much before it gets to the Indian heaven (52).

The next day the medicine man tells them that it is time for them to go and bury the one who left them. They wrap the body once more in a blanket or put it in a coffin and all the people follow it to the grave-yard. They bring some food. When they get to the grave-yard, they put the body down and while they

are burying it, the medicine man sings with other men and one rings the rattle.

After they have put boards on the grave they take their lunch and sit at the head of the grave and make a little fire. They burn some food in it. This is their last meal with the departed one. The food they give is for his spirit to eat. Then they put up a little house on the grave with a little door, where the spirit will come out when it wants to visit its relatives. They put ribbons of all colours and necklaces for the spirit to wear in the house. Also a cup, spoon and knife; matches and little sticks ready for a fire; and a pipe and tobacco. If the dead person was a woman, they put her sewing basket with thread, needles, etc., in the little house. For a man they put a gun, axe and all the things that he liked when he was living; also his medicine stick, with an animal engraved on it. It is painted to show how many times the dead person gave himself to the Manitou. The parents must not weep, for now, after all this is done, their child has arrived in the Indian heaven and is very happy. Then they all go back home.

The medicine man speaks to the parents and they tie the hair of the dead person's mother with a piece of leather. The hair of the women is left hanging down. They all exchange their things. If they live in a house they change the door to the other side; and if they have a tent, they exchange it with someone else's, or they change it to another place.

Four days after, the sorcerer comes to see the parents; he speaks to them very kindly, assisted by other people. He tells them that they must not cry any more and not think of their child; for the Manitou has taken him to his Indian heaven. For three mornings the parents go and make fire near the grave and burn some candy, or the food that the dead person used to like (53). If the dead person had a gramophone they go and play it near his grave after ten days, so his spirit may hear his music.

Now if somebody dies in Summer, they have to wait until Autumn for permission from the medicine man to be happy once more (54). He says when the time comes for them to rejoice.

In the afternoon all the people clean up the house where they will have the feast in the evening. The parents go there in the evening and everybody is waiting for them already. The medicine man puts a blanket in the middle of the place, or outside if it is a nice day. They put a bowl full of rice with something in it in the middle of the blanket. The parents, or the ones that are in mourning, come in first. The medicine man receives them in the middle of the place and sits down with them on the blanket in the place of honour. Then all the people come in, each with a present of nice clothes, and take their places in perfect silence. The medicine man tells the parents to eat what is in the bowl; they burn the rest. After they have finished eating they must wash their faces, and the medicine man paints them on the face with red and green. Then the medicine man commands the men and the women to dress up the father, mother and children with nice new clothes and comb the mother's hair as she used to before the child died. They throw away all the old clothes.

The new clothes represent that their sorrow is over, and the old clothes are thrown away, meaning they only belonged to the time of sorrow. After they have dressed up the parents, they take another meal with everybody, and each person gives them a present of anything they wish. Six men sitting in the middle begin to sing. Then there is dancing while the medicine man plays his drum. He tells them that they will have a pow-wow for four days and nights. Everybody is very happy and they have as much fun as possible. They dance nearly all night. Sometimes the medicine man tells the men that are singing to stop for he is going to take some tobacco from everybody, even from the children. He goes around the place holding out his cap. Then he says he is going to put the tobacco in the fire to thank the Manitou for having given them a good time at their pow-wow. He places the tobacco on a stone while he makes the fire. And, laughing, he says he is going to put the tobacco in the fire, but not his cap, because then he would not have one to wear on the morrow. Everybody laughs and he burns the tobacco to the Great Spirit. Then the sorcerer says that it is time for them to stop for that night and that they will continue on the next night. They have the same dance for four nights. The parents paint their faces every morning for four days. Some, to thank the medicine man, give him a horse or a canoe or blankets as a present. But this they are not obliged to do.

NAMING A NEW-BORN BABY

Before the birth of a child, some parents ask the medicine man to come and sleep in their house so he may assist the mother during the birth. On the day after the birth, the parents prepare a feast. They cook Indian rice and other things. They also have wine. Then they invite the sorcerer and other friends to come and see the baby and they pass around the wine and the tobacco. Everybody is very happy and they take their meal in great joy. The sorcerer speaks to the people and asks who has dreamt of the woman and her new-born child. The one who has dreamt of them goes to the middle of the room and says so. The servant of the sorcerer takes the baby from its mother and gives it to that person, who says: "Ha! My gwemay (namesake) his name is Kagwaybinassik." And everybody in the house repeats: "Ha! Kagwaybinassik." Then they give the baby to the sorcerer; he takes it in his arms and looks at it and says: "Ha! Kagwaybinassik is your name." Then he offers the child to the four cardinal points and says: "May you grow up to be strong and have much pleasure and be happy like me, and may your gwemay (godfather, protector) teach you the Indian religion." They give something to the baby to make it strong, so that it may live long. They also paint its cheeks red. The sorcerer then passes the baby to the next person who says: "Ha! your name is Kagwaybinassik." It is passed all around the room like this until it comes back to the sorcerer (55).

The sorcerer gives an Ishion to the godfather or godmother to give to the child. Then they give the baby back to the mother and they drink some more wine. The sorcerer says to the gwemay: "You must take care of the child when it is sick and see that he (or she) grows to be strong and brave; and later you will have to see that he mitews and help him to make his offerings. You will have to teach him how to sing for the sun dance and other songs." The medicine man also gives a birch bark to the godfather or godmother to give to the child when it is bigger.

When the baby has grown up, and if he has bad luck, he tells his gwemay; and his gwemay makes some sticks and colours them with red and blue spots. He takes them and a few yards of print and goes far out on the lake and throws them in the water as an offering to the Manitou, who is the snake. This will

bring good luck. If it is in the Winter, he puts the sticks in a cup of water with some tobacco; and in the Spring he puts them in the lake. And he says: "Manitou, you must give him good luck and all he needs to be happy."

JEALOUSY

When people have obipewedaymi it means that they are jealous of someone. Then the one that has obipewedaymi of someone goes around the house or tent of that person and makes a noise to make him afraid. If the person goes outside and tries to see who it is he cannot see anything. He comes in again and after a while he again hears how the jealous person is pushing at the door and rapping at the windows, and trying to come into the house. So the person in the house asks the medicine man to find out who it is. The medicine man finds this out in the tchissakon and tells him. Then the person wishes to do something to hurt the one who is jealous and he speaks to the medicine man and asks him to help him. He will make him sick by giving medicine, or by the medicine dance. Sometimes medicine men get jealous of each other because of their tricks or what they have done and even kill each other.

LOVE MAGIC

There are four kinds of love medicine (56).

First kind: If a man or a woman does not like another man or woman, the one who is not liked goes and finds the medicine man and asks him for help. So at night, the medicine man calls for the turtle or bear and sees where the girl, woman, boy or man is. Then they try to take some of the person's hair, or a piece of his or her things. When they have something, the medicine man goes out early in the morning before sunrise to get birch bark; he then draws a picture of the person with two hearts on the birch bark with a black stone and puts a few grains of medicine on the middle of the heart. Then he ties it up with the hair in a piece of leather and sends it to the man or woman. When the person who receives the medicine is a girl, she begins to think very much of the man, and at last her heart asks so much for him that she nearly loses her head. She begins to run and look for this man, even thirty miles on foot. She cannot eat before she meets the man and she is sick, she loves him so much. So when they get together, the

girl begins to cry and throws herself at the man and says: "Do as you wish to me for I can die, so much I love you." Then the man does as he wishes and the girl doesn't know what she does. After a day has passed the man receives another powder medicine from the medicine man. He takes a saucer and a little of the medicine with a knife. He makes the girl drink it and she falls asleep. When she wakes up she does not know what happened to her, just as if she has come back from a dream. She cannot leave the man, she loves him so much. But she knows what she is doing, and they marry.

But the one who gives the medicine has to be careful, because the medicine might turn back on him; he must wear medicine given by the medicine man on his left side. We call it medicine to protect the person, so no one can give him either bad or love medicine. They don't often use it because it is too dangerous. It depends if a girl really does not like the man who wants her.

Second kind: One goes to see the medicine man and asks him for the second medicine, which is not as strong as the first. Then one takes the medicine wrapped up in a moose skin, and tries to put just a little of it on the food (candy, gum, meat, etc.) of the other person. When he (or she) has eaten it, he begins to wish he could see the person who did that. They meet and for the first month they don't leave each other, then for a year. When they have their first child, they love it very much because of the medicine. But if later the man ill-treats his wife she cannot leave, she gets too lonesome for him.

Third kind: The persons (such as young boys and men whose wives have died) who use the third kind of medicine like to change friends. This medicine is round like a marble, and when they go out visiting they keep it in their mouths; then when their breath goes on the other person he (or she) falls in love with them and goes with them; but it does no harm. The persons who use this medicine generally have much money and all the pleasure they want, but do not get married.

Fourth kind: (for men only). The medicine man gives this medicine after a dream; he says: "Go and have pleasure for it was made for us: use this so that you can enjoy life. Try to look the woman you want in the eyes, and rub the powder medicine on your hands

when you think you are going to meet her. Then shake hands with her and hold her hand hard." The girl feels something right away and loves him.

WOMEN WHO TAKE MEDICINE NOT TO HAVE A FAMILY

A woman who does not want to have a child goes and asks the medicine man or woman to give her medicine. She has to pay much for it. They boil some herbs in a bunch, and the woman drinks about six cups of the water in a day. She says for how many years she doesn't want any children. The medicine woman or man speaks to the turtle and tells it that this woman does not want children. The turtle answers: "Yes, let her have pleasure." If this woman has had children already, they make her drink the medicine at the birth of a child for about nine days. She boils the same herbs three times and the medicine man puts a sea shell, which they say was brought by the turtle himself, into the water. They leave it in the little medicine pail for nine days. They make young girls drink the medicine at about the age of 12 years. After they are married and wish to have a child they go and find the medicine woman or man, who asks the turtle for another sea shell and gives her another medicine for nine days. After that she has a child. When a young girl has something happen to her she drinks another medicine and the child dies; they put it in the bush or on the moss, and the medicine woman or man gives the girl some medicine so she will not feel her sickness and let the others know about it.

POISON MEDICINE

When somebody is not glad, or jealous of another person he pays the medicine man to poison that person. So at night the turtle comes into the tent of the medicine man. And a big ball of fire goes around the tent and falls in the middle. The tent shakes but does not fall. Then the medicine man is all alone and calls for the Spirit to come into the tent; it shakes again when he learns where the person is they want to poison. The next day the man comes and the medicine man gives him the medicine to put on the road where the person will walk. When the person touches the medicine he cannot walk and his leg swells up and is full of matter, even little worms. Sometimes it stays like that for all his life and he does not die. Others ask for the person to die right away. Some also put the powder medicine on the food of the person. Then

his mouth becomes crooked, or he has a headache, or he becomes blind, or hair grows on his face. When they put medicine on the food it is more dangerous, for it causes some bad sickness to form in the body. If the medicine man himself gave the medicine, and if he is paid much, he can cure the person. If not, every Spring, when the leaves begin to grow, the person is very sick; also in the Autumn when the leaves fall. Those who are pretty are poisoned most; they have many sores on their faces and can never stand the sun. Some are sick for all their lives and some die right away. One can ask the turtle for poison for them to die or for poison to make them suffer all their lives.

CONCLUSIONS

Le texte des informatrices de Kenora est suffisamment riche pour nous permettre un essai de définition du Midewiwin. De nombreux auteurs ont insisté sur les fonctions religieuses du Midewiwin, de même que sur les pratiques magiques et curatives des praticiens traditionnels. Nous avons là deux aspects importants de la Grande Société de Médecine qu'il faudrait distinguer avec un peu plus de précision.

Toute définition des phénomènes religieux et des phénomènes magiques parmi les primitifs et conséquemment tout effort de précision des relations que ces deux catégories de faits entretiennent au sein d'un phénomène social plus large dépendent étroitement du cadre conceptuel et des critères choisis dans les définitions. Ainsi en dehors de certains faits extrêmes que l'on range sans hésitation dans l'une ou l'autre catégorie il peut arriver qu'une pratique traditionnelle donnée puisse être considérée comme religieuse ou bien magique selon les différentes théories. La confusion est accrue par la complexité extrême de ces sortes de faits. Voyons toutefois malgré les complications, quels sont les éléments religieux dans le Midewiwin selon le schéma élaboré par W.J. Goode (57). Premièrement le Midewiwin est une société de praticiens traditionnels qui dans la plupart de leurs pratiques font intervenir des facteurs non-empiriques ou symboliques. Ainsi au cours des cérémonies les hommes-médecine font appel aux êtres surnaturels ou manitous. Ils leur parlent, écoutent leur réponse, prennent conseil et agissent en conséquence. Ainsi un bon nombre des divinités ojibway, les esprits personnels y compris, participent directement ou indirectement dans les différentes cérémonies et pratiques. Geche-Manitou, le Grand Esprit lui-même, malgré le fait que son assistance est rarement demandée au cours des cérémonies, conserve une attitude paternelle envers le Midewiwin puisqu'il en est le créateur. Deuxièmement, les cérémonies du Midewiwin sont sacrées. Leur exécution est souvent précédée par des jeûnes et des visions. Le caractère sacré des cérémonies éclate dans les pratiques purificatoires, que les membres doivent accomplir avant la réunion cérémonielle. Ainsi Hoffman écrit: "During the process of purgation, the candidates' thoughts must dwell upon the seriousness of the course he is pursuing and the sacred character of the new life he is about to assume." (Hoffman, p. 204). La puissance du migis projeté contre le corps du candidat qui perd connaissance à la suite du choc

est comme un condensé de la force spirituelle sacrée qui demeure diffuse dans tous les éléments du Midewiwin. En plus le secret profond dont les choses du Midewiwin sont entourées, les hésitations des informateurs à parler de ces cérémonies, nous permettent de ranger l'ensemble du Midewiwin dans la catégorie du sacré. Troisièmement, le caractère religieux du Midewiwin apparaît dans ses relations avec la mythologie ojibway. Les origines de la Société sont expliquées par un mythe fondamental qui sert de base à toute la cosmogonie de la tribu en expliquant les actions des divinités principales, leurs relations avec les premiers indiens et l'achèvement de la création de la terre. Les chartes sacrées qui contiennent ces mythes et les récits sur l'histoire des ojibway dans leurs migrations vers l'Ouest sont la propriété des Mide. Quatrièmement, il faudrait remarquer la présence d'un système rituel complexe relativement rigide à l'intérieur d'une bande et pour une certaine époque, et d'un collège de praticiens instruits, capables d'exécuter les cérémonies sacrées. Cinquièmement, les rites funéraires qui mettent en jeu des traits particuliers au Midewiwin, la présence continue des praticiens traditionnels à ces rites et surtout la croyance que l'au-delà est un monde Mide sont à remarquer.

Il est d'autres traits dans le Midewiwin que l'on peut considérer, selon la classification de Goode, comme religieux. Certains aspects des cérémonies annuelles d'initiation au Midewiwin, cérémonies qui mettent en état d'effervescence toute la collectivité, au cours desquelles les candidats sont reçus, selon les règlements rituels, les promotions assurées, le contenu des chartes sacrées révélé, les mythes traditionnels contés et qui ont pour résultat de "renforcer l'esprit" des assistants peuvent être rapprochés de la catégorie religieuse. De même certaines attitudes supplicatives et propitiatoires qui apparaissent nettement dans les chansons récitées au cours des cérémonies. Ainsi le praticien supplie-t-il la divinité de lui envoyer la vie et la science des herbes. La divinité consent paternellement. Certaines relations entre praticiens traditionnels et laïcs sont également d'un type qui apparaît comme propre aux religions. Les témoignages des informatrices de Kenora sont très significatifs à cet égard. Le praticien-en-chef conserve une attitude paternelle au sein de la collectivité. Dans ses menées contre la pénétration du christianisme il se place en protecteur des croyances traditionnelles et de ceux qui leur sont demeurés

fidèles. Ainsi le praticien fait-il figure de pasteur qui mène son troupeau. L'opposition contre le christianisme et plus généralement contre les croyances étrangères, a pour résultat de développer l'esprit de groupe au sein de la hiérarchie Midewiwin ainsi que dans la conscience des laïcs. Les praticiens ont de plus en plus le sentiment d'appartenir à un groupe, à une élite, ce qui est encore un comportement de type religieux. D'un autre côté le Midewiwin est réputé poursuivre des buts positifs: initier, enseigner, guérir, rendre les esprits forts et résistants, etc. De même l'obligation dans laquelle se trouvent les praticiens d'assister au moins une fois par an aux cérémonies rituelles. Egalement le sentiment clair que les praticiens possèdent dans certaines situations de contact culturel de préserver dans le cérémoniel Midewiwin l'ensemble du patrimoine religieux traditionnel fait que les cérémonies deviennent un but en elles-mêmes, elles sont la preuve de la vitalité des croyances anciennes. Ainsi Hoffman écrit: "The purposes of the society are twofold; first to preserve the traditions just mentioned ..." (Hoffman, p. 15). Ce sont autant de traits qui constituent l'aspect religieux du Midewiwin.

En raison de la complexité du Midewiwin et de l'insuffisance des descriptions de certains rituels poursuivant des fins maléfiques, il est ardu et hasardeux de vouloir, même sommairement, analyser le côté magique de ce fait social. Essayons, malgré les difficultés, de proposer quelques distinctions. Il faudrait distinguer d'abord entre rituels que l'on pourrait considérer comme plus proprement magiques (rites maléfiques visant à tuer quelqu'un ou à le rendre malade), et rites plus complexes, comme les cérémonies curatives, qui pour certains traits seulement pourraient être rapprochés de la catégorie magie. Si l'on considère toutefois les faits de plus près, on remarquera que les critères idéaux qui servent à caractériser la magie et la religion dans la classification théorique de Goode révèlent un mélange inextricable d'éléments plus ou moins magiques ou religieux au sein d'un fait social complexe comme le Midewiwin. Ainsi un rituel compliqué comme, par exemple, la cérémonie d'initiation ne saurait être globalement rapproché vers l'une des deux catégories en raison de la multiplicité des rites secondaires dont il est composé et qui ont souvent à leur tour, un aspect magique et un autre aspect religieux. Ainsi la classification de Goode ne doit être considérée, dans le cas de l'analyse d'un phénomène complexe, que comme une hypothèse de travail.

Les cérémonies magiques sont réputées poursuivre des buts spécifiques et particuliers. Par ce côté, les cérémonies curatives du Midewiwin, ainsi que les rites maléfiques viendraient se ranger vers le pôle magique. On pourrait dire de même pour l'attitude manipulative très importante dans les actes magiques. On sait l'importance de cette attitude dans les cérémonies curatives et maléfiques. On la retrouve toutefois dans les cérémonies d'initiation. Quant aux relations du type client -- homme d'affaires qui caractériserait les faits magiques en opposition des relations plus anonymes du type pasteur -- groupe de fidèles propres au comportement religieux, on retrouve les premières dans les cérémonies curatives et maléfiques. Les faits magiques, semble-t-il, répondent à des fins individuelles; c'est encore le cas des cérémonies curatives et maléfiques qui sont exécutées sur la demande des patients; de même toutefois pour certaines cérémonies d'initiation qui peuvent avoir lieu en vue de l'admission d'un candidat particulier dans la société. Pour les cérémonies magiques, ce serait le praticien finalement qui en déciderait, contrairement aux cérémonies religieuses qui paraissent obligatoires. Il est exact en effet que dans les cérémonies curatives et maléfiques il y entre un élément facultatif, et que les cérémonies annuelles d'initiation apparaissent comme obligatoires, de grandes variations locales toutefois peuvent être observées. Les faits magiques semblent dirigés contre la société ou un de ses membres. C'est le cas des rites maléfiques, nullement des cérémonies curatives. Finalement, tandis que les rites religieux sont susceptibles de formalisation, ils peuvent être considérés comme des buts en eux-mêmes. Les rites magiques toujours poursuivent certaines fins précises. C'est le cas en effet des cérémonies curatives et maléfiques. Nous voyons ainsi qu'il est difficile de considérer les rites curatifs et maléfiques comme purement magiques et les rites d'initiation comme essentiellement religieux. Ils font tous appel aux mêmes facteurs non-empiriques et symboliques; on remarque la présence de la même cascade d'esprits bons ou mauvais, de rites rigidement constitués, et n'est-ce pas le même collège de praticiens qui préside aux uns et aux autres?

Concluons donc que les rituels Midewiwin possèdent des éléments que l'on peut disposer sur toute l'étendue du continuum magico-religieux idéal, particulier aux cultures primitives et que par conséquence on peut les définir comme véritablement magico-religieux à la fois.

Le cérémonial Midewiwin a un côté esthétique qui mérite d'être remarqué. Les rites s'accompagnent de chants parfois fort longs en raison des répétitions continues. Les chansons relatent l'action des esprits dans la cérémonie et la signification des actes rituels accomplis. Chaque chanson est représentée par une image. Les rythmes sont marqués par les battements du tambour. Les faits esthétiques apparaissent également nombreux dans les vêtements cérémoniels richement décorés de dessins géométriques ou floraux aux couleurs vives,dans l'art de construire des effigies, dans les décorations des objets rituels, etc.

Les fonctions morales du Midewiwin sont importantes. Un informateur de Densmore s'exprime ainsi: "The Midewiwin is not so much to worship anything as to preserve the knowledge of herbs for use in prolonging life. The principal idea of the Midewiwin is that life is prolonged by right living, and by the use of herbs which were intended for this purpose by the Mide manido." (Densmore 1929, pp. 86, 87). L'observatrice énumère quelques unes des normes professées par le Midewiwin: "Respect toward the Midewiwin is emphasized, and respect toward women is enjoined upon them. Lying, stealing and the use of liquor are strictly forbidden." (Densmore 1929, p. 87). Dans certaines communautés où le mode de vie ancien et l'ensemble des valeurs traditionnelles ont été conservés, le Midewiwin apparaît comme le fait social qui intègre et sert de base aux comportements moraux traditionnels. Cette fonction du Midewiwin apparaît avec clarté dans l'antagonisme qu'oppose les praticiens traditionnels à l'action missionnaire.

Quant à l'aspect économique du Midewiwin, qui est très important, pourrions-nous souligner de nouveau (voir Note 11) qu'il constitue un facteur majeur dans la distribution inégale des richesses dans les communautés ojibway. Offrandes rituelles à toute occasion, payements pour l'instruction des candidats continués jusqu'à leur admission dans la société, payements pour les médecines de toutes sortes, pour les cérémonies curatives et les pratiques maléfiques, ont pour résultat de constituer une classe de privilégiés. L'opposition décisive des praticiens traditionnels aux influences étrangères peut être ainsi partiellement motivée par des facteurs économiques. Cette opposition, en réalité très complexe, peut trouver une autre explication dans le prestige que les praticiens retirent de leurs fonctions comme médecins et comme grands dignitaires dans

le Midewiwin, fait qui les place à la tête de la hiérarchie sociale. Leur puissance et leur efficacité dans la magie maléfique est une autre source de prestige. Nous voyons ainsi la possibilité de relier le Midewiwin à la structure sociale de la société ojibway.

Il nous reste de relever le côté technologique du Midewiwin, apparent non seulement dans tout ce qui est cuisine magique, activité manipulatoire des cérémonies, mais également dans la construction des objets rituels, loges sacrées, etc. La préparation des candidats englobe aussi l'enseignement de l'usage de certaines plantes utiles,

Concluons que le Midewiwin constitue un complexe de rituels magico-religieux qui possède en plus, d'importants aspects technologiques, esthétiques, économiques et moraux. Le Midewiwin ainsi peut être relié aux différentes catégories de la vie sociale. Il peut être considéré toutefois comme un fait social global, irréductible à la somme de ses parties, en raison précisément de la signification nouvelle et supérieure qu'il acquiert en tant que totalité. Et c'est dans l'examen comparé du Midewiwin parmi les différentes communautés ojibway que l'on se rend compte au mieux de cette signification supérieure qui est comme le résultat de l'importance variable dans l'espace et dans le temps des éléments dont il se compose, et des relations de ces éléments entre eux, face à certaines influences étrangères dans des situations globales de contact culturel. Il serait intéressant de considérer le Midewiwin comme le foyer culturel des ojibway, en raison de sa complexité, des variations qu'il connaît dans les différentes communautés et, en général, de son importance dans la vie des indigènes. Il serait dangereux toutefois de porter un jugement général. L'importance du Midewiwin dans la vie sociale des ojibway varie considérablement selon les différentes communautés, il est même des bandes, comme celle de Parry Island, d'où il est absent. Or ce qui importe dans l'étude d'un fait social comme foyer culturel, selon les théories de Herskovitz, c'est les différentes interprétations possibles et objectivement apparentes de ce fait social dans différents types de comportement dans une communauté. Les difficultés deviennent importantes quand on pense que la majeure partie de la littérature ethnologique concernant le Midewiwin consiste en descriptions ethnographiques. De ce point de vue le Midewiwin est étudié comme une institution rigide et objective. Or toute

étude du Midewiwin comme foyer culturel devrait dépasser le point de vue culturologique descriptif pour atteindre les jugements des indigènes sur le Midewiwin. Davantage, le Midewiwin devrait être intégré dans l'ensemble de la vie sociale afin que l'analyse précise de ses relations avec toutes les autres catégories sociales devienne possible. Et cette étude devrait être étendue à plusieurs communautés ojibway considérées comme unités sociales et culturelles.

Un dernier problème, celui des variations du Midewiwin dans l'espace et le temps, appelle quelques remarques (voir Note 26). Quelles sont ces variations? Elles portent sur: a) un cas extrême: l'absence du Midewiwin dans une communauté ojibway. b) la présence ou l'absence de tel ou tel élément d'un rituel complexe, comme le repas rituel de viande canine, les bains purificatoires au début de la cérémonie d'initiation, etc. c) la disposition différente des éléments du rite au sein du complexe rituel. Ainsi, dans la cérémonie d'initiation, le repas rituel peut avoir lieu au début de la cérémonie (Densmore 1910, p. 40), à la fin (Hoffman, p. 218), ou au milieu, avant la pantomime de l'avalement des migis (informatrices de Kenora). d) les changements de signification d'un élément du rituel, comme l'oubli du sens mythique de certaines plantes signalé par Hoffman, la désacralisation d'un bain de vapeur relaté par Hilger, l'oubli de la signification des offrandes de tabac aux quatre points cardinaux, etc. e) les changements dans la signification de l'ensemble du Midewiwin. Ainsi, à la suite de la lecture des travaux de Hoffman, nous considérons le Midewiwin comme une société très secrète dont les aspects religieux et curatifs sont prépondérants. Dans les travaux de Landes l'accent est mis plutôt sur le côté économique et maléfique (il semble toutefois que tels aient été les principaux centres d'intérêt de l'auteur); dans les livres de Densmore c'est l'aspect esthétique du Midewiwin qui est le mieux éclairé, (peut-être en raison de la perspective de l'auteur); Kinietz révèle l'extraordinaire importance de l'aspect curatif d'un Midewiwin démocratique, vaguement laïc et sans secrets, tandis que les informatrices de Kenora soulignent à la fois les fonctions morales de gardiens des croyances anciennes des Mide et leur opposition à l'action missionnaire. Malgré les perspectives particulières des auteurs qui peuvent considérablement déformer la réalité globale nous demeurons avec l'impression que le Midewiwin, tel que pensé par les indigènes peut se charger de significations différentes selon les

communautés. Comment arrive-t-on à un tel résultat? Il faudrait d'abord examiner les facteurs qui déterminent les changements dans le Midewiwin. Le premier facteur, et qui n'est pas des moins importants, consiste dans les éléments personnels, subjectifs, particuliers aux praticiens traditionnels qui influencent l'exécution de certaines cérémonies. Nous pouvons faire ici un rapprochement entre les façons de guérir les patients des hommes-médecine et les styles narratifs particuliers à chaque couleur populaire de traditions folkloriques. Ainsi, chaque homme-médecine possède ses chansons curatives personnelles, et il y en a qui sont de sa composition. Ainsi Densmore écrit: "Each Midewinini has his own set of songs, some of which he has composed and some of which he has purchased for large sums of money or equal value of goods. It occasionally happens that two men have the same song, but this is a coincidence" (Densmore, 1910, p. 26). La manière dont ces chansons sont chantées, de même leur ordre de récitation dans les cérémonies sont personnels, un peu comme le conteur populaire combine dans un seul récit deux ou trois contes folkloriques en leur donnant une teinte et une tournure particulières. Deuxièmement, le fait même que de nombreux éléments du Midewiwin sont propriété personnelle et secrète, (comme les chansons curatives, des traditions de toutes sortes, les explications symboliques,) etc., conduit les praticiens à garder jalousement leur savoir et à ne le révéler qu'avec réticence et contre payements élevés; sur ce point Hoffman écrit: "much knowledge is believed to have been lost through the reticence and obstinacy of former chief priests ..." (Hoffman, p. 202). Ceci serait, à notre avis, un facteur important qui explique les inégalités dans la distribution de certains éléments du Midewiwin parmi les différentes communautés ojibway.

A ces deux facteurs il faudrait ajouter un troisième, c'est l'ensemble des éléments culturels étrangers qui tout le long d'une longue histoire de contact culturel ont pénétré et transformé la vie indigène. En effet il suffit de considérer l'extraordinaire étendue du territoire ojibway, des rives septentrionales du Lac Ontario à l'ouest du Lac Manitoba, ainsi que l'histoire mouvementée de ces indiens qui, dès le début du XVIIe siècle entraient en contact avec les blancs dont ils faisaient leurs alliés ou leurs ennemis et avec de nombreuses tribus indigènes pour s'en rendre compte de la diversité, de la durée et de l'intensité des processus d'acculturation auxquels les

ojibway ont été soumis. Ainsi on verra qu'en un certain lieu, à une certaine époque une bande ojibway a eu certaines expériences de contact culturel avec des étrangers, expériences qui ont eu des répercussions sur certains aspects de la culture de cette bande et très probablement sur ce complexe rituel qu'est le Midewiwin. Ainsi seulement, en analysant l'histoire particulière du Midewiwin dans chaque bande que l'on arriverait à expliquer les divergences actuelles. Faudrait-il toutefois éviter de considérer les processus de contact culturel comme une action mécanique qui aurait simplement pour résultat de faire disparaître certains traits culturels et d'en introduire d'autres? La signification globale et dynamique du Midewiwin, telle que pensée par les indigènes eux-mêmes demeure, à notre avis, le grand centre d'intérêt des études du Midewiwin, et de ce point de vue le texte des informatrices de Kenora constitue une contribution importante.

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Ottawa, Ontario.

NOTES

(1) Nous tenons ici à remercier particulièrement le Rév. P. Laviolette, O.M.I., du Centre de Recherches d'Anthropologie Amérindienne qui a eu la généreuse amabilité de remettre ces textes à la section d'Anthropologie du Musée National du Canada en vue de leur publication.

(2) Voir nos conclusions.

(3) Pour un examen approfondi des prouesses de Nanabozho, consulter Chamberlain, 1891, p. 193.

(4) J.N.B. Hewitt a recueilli des textes du même informateur. Dans une courte note (Hewitt, p. 114) cet auteur fait mention des mêmes divinités. Jenness écrit Shawanigizik (Sud), Wabenokkwe (Est), Nanibush (Ouest), Giyuedin (Nord), (Jenness, p. 30) et Densmore, Wabunkdaci (Est), Cawanunkdaci (Sud), Ningabianunkdaci (Ouest), Kiwedinunkdaci (Nord), (Densmore p. 21). Consulter également Coleman, (Coleman p. 37).

(5) Les mythes sur l'origine de Nanabozho sont nombreux; l'informateur Gabaoosa, qui a un penchant visible pour les abstractions philosophiques et les synthèses élégantes, considère que la naissance de Nanabozho a eu lieu à la suite de la transgression d'un tabou par sa mère, La Mère de la Vie. Nanabozho semble être le premier être né sur terre, il est petit-fils de Mesahkumigoqua -- la Terre.

(6) En raison de la rareté des biographies d'ojibways et des documents contenant quelques renseignements sur les relations entre laïcs et praticiens traditionnels il est très difficile de juger de la nature et du degré de l'obligation sociale qui intériorisée, accompagne l'ensemble des croyances et pratiques se rapportant au Midewiwin, ou qui de l'extérieur se trouve exerçée par la société indienne traditionnelle et plus particulièrement par les Mide. D'un autre côté, l'attitude des jeunes informatrices de Kenora envers le Midewiwin appelle quelques remarques. Les informatrices indiquent clairement leur détachement des croyances traditionnelles en employant, par exemple, des expressions comme leur Manitou pour désigner le Geche-Manitou des indiens, etc. On peut demander toutefois quelle est

l'étendue et la profondeur de ce détachement. La solution du problème dépend de la conception qu'on se fait des aspects plus proprement magiques de Midewiwin. Sans vouloir aborder l'étude des éléments profonds du Midewiwin, qu'il nous soit permis d'ajouter que le Midewiwin, à notre avis, ne consiste pas en un ensemble à part de pratiques magiques exécutées par les Mide, mais en une masse de croyances et de rites qui sont rattachés aux différentes catégories de la vie sociale. Il faudrait particulièrement remarquer les représentations qui servent de fondement aux rites et qui assurent leur efficacité. Il est toutefois une croyance fondamentale, et sur laquelle reposent toutes les autres, c'est la croyance générale à la réalité de l'acte magique exécuté dans le Midewiwin: le praticien se met réellement en communication avec les êtres surnaturels de l'existence desquels on ne saurait douter, les pouvoirs dont il est investi sont certains, les effets attendus de l'accomplissement convenable de l'acte magique le sont également. Et c'est cette croyance globale qui constitue le fond du Midewiwin, c'est la source des pouvoirs du Mide. C'est ainsi que Mauss écrit: "Il y a dans la société un inépuisable fond de magie diffuse, auquel le magicien lui-même puise et qu'il exploite consciemment. Tout se passe comme si elle formait autour de lui, à distance, une sorte d'immense conclave magique." (Mauss, p. 131). Et si l'on remarque de grandes variations dans les rituels Midewiwin à la suite des modes et degrés différents d'acculturation des groupes indiens, il existe toujours un fond de magie Midewiwin qui persiste partout où le Midewiwin a été pratiqué de façon suivie (tel n'est pas le cas des ojibway de l'île Parry où le Midewiwin ne s'est jamais établi de façon durable.) Même les personnes qui se détachent définitivement du système traditionnel semblent encore conserver ces croyances fondamentales: le témoignage des jeunes auteurs de ce texte est significatif; tout en substituant le diable à l'ensemble des divinités indigènes, elles continuent à croire à l'efficacité des actes magiques. Leur attitude apparemment négative contribue-t-elle ainsi à la persistance du Midewiwin. Une informatrice de Landes, chrétienne depuis longtemps, s'exprime ainsi: "Mrs. Wilson feared to visit among the indians because a sorcerer might not like what I say, and give me a twisted mouth

or make me crazy so that I would not know when I moved my bowels or made water. Edith Bones got a twisted mouth like that." (Landes p. 133).

(7) Warren affirme également que le printemps est la saison durant laquelle les grands rituels sacrés du Midewiwin sont exécutés (Warren p. 265). Densmore ajoute que les grandes cérémonies peuvent avoir lieu également en automne (Densmore 1910, p. 13). Il faudrait distinguer toutefois entre grandes cérémonies périodiques au printemps, au cours desquelles les initiations et les promotions ont lieu et qui sont fréquentées par un grand nombre d'indiens, et petites assemblées tenues irrégulièrement et qui ont pour fin de guérir un malade. La périodicité des grandes cérémonies déterminée par le rythme des migrations et chasses saisonnières, tend toutefois à s'atténuer là où les bandes se sont fixées.

(8) Schoolcraft écrit que dans la direction des vents, l'état des nuages et autres phénomènes météorologiques, les praticiens recherchent des conditions favorables au succès de la cérémonie; l'absence de toit dans les loges cérémonielles permettrait ainsi aux exécutants d'observer facilement les changements météorologiques (Schoolcraft p. 360). Hoffman donne une chanson d'imploration pour le beau temps au début des cérémonies d'initiation. (Hoffman, pp. 207, 208).

(9) Pour une description plus détaillée de la loge cérémonielle et du symbolisme de ses différentes parties, consulter: Sister I. Hilger (Hilger, p. 66). Densmore, (Densmore 1929, p. 92 et 1910, p. 36), Kinietz, (Kinietz, p. 189), D. Jenness, (Jenness p. 72), Schoolcraft, (Schoolcraft p. 360), Warren, (Warren p. 77) et surtout Hoffman, (Hoffman pp. 187, 188, passim).

(10) Selon Densmore, ce messager est nommé ockabewis (Densmore 1910, p. 25), il est porteur également de tabac qu'il distribue aux invités (Kinietz p. 190). Pour une description de cette pratique, consulter également Sister Inez Hilger, (Hilger p. 67) et D. Jenness, (Jenness p. 71). Hoffman donne des dessins des bâtons d'invitation. (Hoffman, pl. X11).

(11) Le problème des payements et offrandes est très important. Avec Hoffman il faudrait distinguer entre payements pour l'instruction du candidat et offrandes aux Mide avant que l'instruction n'ait commencé (Hoffman p. 164). Il va de soi toutefois que les cérémonies curatives ne peuvent être exécutées que contre payement immédiat. De nombreux auteurs ont remarqué l'importance de ces payements et offrandes qui constituent le côté économique du Midewiwin. Les prix demandés pour les cérémonies curatives et autres sont souvent exorbitants. Kinietz, (Kinietz p. 188) et Landes, (Landes p. 127) avancent le chiffre de 50 dollars. Warren écrit que le candidat amasse les biens nécessaires durant tout l'hiver précédent la cérémonie (Warren p. 265). Hoffman écrit sur ce point: "Sometimes a number of years are spent in preparation for the first degree of the Midewiwin, and there are many who have impoverished themselves in the payment of fees and the preparation for the feast ..." (Hoffman p. 164). Pour des renseignements supplémentaires sur cet aspect du Midewiwin, consulter également Skinner,(Skinner p. 157) et Sister I. Hilger, (Hilger p. 68). Sister Hilger ajoute que les offrandes sont faites à Geche-Manitou (Le Grand Esprit) toutefois ce sont les praticiens traditionnels qui en font le profit. Ainsi peuvent-ils amasser des richesses considérables; davantage, il arrive que les parents des praticiens sont choisis par ce dernier pour l'assister dans l'accomplissement des rituels; ils retirent par là des bénéfices économiques considérables. (Landes p. 130). Nous trouvons là les bases d'une répartition inégale des richesses. Pourrait-on ajouter que les vicissitudes de la chasse contribuent à la répartition irrégulière des ressources et rendent incertain l'accès des indiens aux grades du Midewiwin, et, qui est plus grave, diminuent la certitude du bénéfice des pratiques curatives?

(12) Kinietz remarque que la cérémonie dans sa forme actuelle n'est plus du tout secrète, en raison de la participation massive au Midewiwin de tous les indiens. La cérémonie toutefois garde son caractère privé (Kinietz p. 187).

(13) Il nous semble opportun de donner un bref aperçu des différentes fins que poursuivent les cérémonies selon les témoignages des informateurs. Nous avons déjà mentionné la grande réunion du

printemps au cours de laquelle les initiations et les promotions ont lieu, ainsi que les fréquentes cérémonies curatives. Sister I. Hilger mentionne des cérémonies de remerciement pour faveurs reçues. (Hilger p. 63). Ailleurs, Densmore ajoute que les membres du Midewiwin sont censés assister au moins à une cérémonie chaque année afin de renouveler leur "force spirituelle." (Densmore 1910, p. 13).

(14) Warren remarque sur ce point: "The day that the ceremony is performed, is one of jubilee to the inhabitants of the village. Each one dons the best clothing he or she possesses, and they vie with one another in the paints and ornaments with which they adorn their persons, to appear to the best advantage within the sacred Lodge" (Warren p. 265). Il est très important de remarquer l'atmosphère de fête et la grande excitation collective qui accompagne les cérémonies. Sur l'importance et la nature des vêtements cérémoniels, consulter Hoffman, (Hoffman pp. 298, 299).

(15) Même remarque chez Sister I. Hilger (Hilger p. 68), Hoffman analyse les peintures faciales particulières à chaque degré (Hoffman pp. 182, 183, pl. VII).

(16) Pour une description ethnographique du tambour cérémoniel, consulter Sister I. Hilger (Hilger pp. 69, 70), Kinietz, (Kinietz pp. 190, 191), Densmore, (Densmore 1929, pp. 95, 96 et 1910, pp. 11, 12) et Hoffman, (Hoffman p. 190). Sur l'utilisation du tambour au cours des cérémonies, consulter les travaux de Hoffman et Densmore, (Densmore 1910).

(17) Il semble que les informatrices font allusion ici à l'instruction des candidats. (Consulter également le paragraphe sur les devoirs de l'homme médecine envers les futurs Mide). Ceci est un élément très important du Midewiwin. Landes, après avoir indiqué que la totalité des indiens du groupe qu'elle a étudié dans la région du lac des Bois participait, à des degrés différents, au Midewiwin, ajoute qu'il faudrait distinguer entre praticiens traditionnels et patients. Il se trouve ainsi que les deux catégories sont initiées aux mystères du Midewiwin, il va de soi toutefois que l'initiation des praticiens traditionnels est bien plus longue, laborieuse et complète que celle des laïcs. Quelles sont les conditions d'admission dans le

Midewiwin? On peut faire partie du Midewiwin pour les raisons indiquées dans la Note 13. Il semble toutefois, selon Landes, que l'admission d'un indien au Midewiwin ne saurait avoir lieu qu'à la suite de l'accomplissement d'une des quatre conditions traditionnelles (Landes, pp. 128, 129): 1) instruction reçue en rêve; 2) conseil du devin (tcisaki); 3) pour raison de substitution - dans le cas du décès d'un candidat survenu avant son admission dans la société, un parent est autorisé à prendre sa place; 4) dans l'affliction du deuil, une personne peut demander son entrée au Midewiwin, afin d'avoir son "esprit renforcé." Hoffman fait mention de la première condition. Au cas toutefois où elle ne serait pas remplie le candidat aurait la possibilité d'acheter un migis, (coquillage de mollusque marin), symbole sacré du Midewiwin et postuler ensuite pour son admission dans la société. (Hoffman p. 164). La troisième condition également apparaît dans un texte de Hoffman (Hoffman p. 189). Les différentes étapes de l'instruction des futurs Mide sont très bien décrites par Hoffman (Hoffman, chapitres sur l'instruction des candidats.) L'instruction des candidats est souvent très longue. Celle du premier degré peut porter sur plusieurs années. (Hoffman p. 164). La préparation pour chacun des trois degrés suivants dure au moins un an. (Hoffman p. 224). Le candidat annonce au praticien officiant sa décision, il l'invite avec les trois autres Mide assistants dans son wigwam. Là, sa pétition est discutée; le montant des payements et la valeur des dons une fois fixés, un instructeur est désigné. La science traditionnelle est enseignée par petites doses. Les répétitions sont nombreuses, les idées enveloppées dans une phraséologie ambiguë. Ainsi une atmosphère de mystère et de respect se trouve créée, renforcée par des fumigations traditionnelles de tabac, etc. (Hoffman, pp. 180 et 189). Dès le début le candidat prend connaissance des propriétés magiques du tambour Midewiwin, de la crécelle cérémonielle et des migis sacrés. Il apprend les chansons traditionnelles et l'usage magique des plantes. Le contenu des sacs - médecine des autres Mide lui est présenté. L'art de préparer des effigies lui est révélé. Le candidat est également introduit à la connaissance de l'ensemble des mythes ojibway, en particulier les récits traditionnels sur l'origine des ojibway et du Midewiwin.

A cet effet la signification des vieilles chartes d'écorce de bouleau est révélée. Quant à savoir si le candidat est également instruit dans la sorcellerie maléfique, nous ne trouvons mention dans Hoffman. Landes toutefois écrit que deux Mide, sous l'influence de la boisson ont proposé à des chrétiens de les instruire dans la sorcellerie noire, contre payement. (Landes p. 133). Il semble ainsi que la magie noire est susceptible d'être enseignée, en dehors toutefois du cadre de l'instruction traditionnelle conduisant à l'acquisition d'un degré dans la hiérarchie du Midewiwin.

Concluons donc que l'instruction du candidat porte sur l'ensemble de la science traditionnelle du Midewiwin.

(18) En réalité ces offrandes de tabac dans les quatre directions cardinales constituent un hommage aux divinités des quatre points cardinaux dont nous avons donné les noms. Hoffman toutefois décrit encore deux mouvements de la pipe dans les fumigations rituelles, l'un dirigé vers le haut, offrande à Geche-Manitou, l'autre vers le bas, hommage à Nokomis (la terre) qui est la grand'mère de l'univers (Hoffman p. 190).

(19) Pour une description détaillée des cérémoniels Midewiwin observés en différentes régions du pays ojibway, consulter Sister I. Hilger (Hilger p. 67), Densmore (Densmore 1910, pp. 2, 24 à 51), Kinietz (Kinietz pp. 187 à 210), Jenness (Jenness pp. 71 à 75), Skinner (Skinner p. 153) et surtout Hoffman (Hoffman, chapitres sur l'initiation des candidats.)

(20) Nous n'avons pas rencontré ailleurs mention de cette pratique qui doit être distinguée du repas rituel offert par le candidat.

(21) Trois observateurs mentionnent cette pratique: Sister I. Hilger (Hilger p. 67), Densmore (Densmore 1910, p. 37) et Skinner (Skinner p. 153). Il est curieux qu'elle soit absente des descriptions très complètes de Hoffman. Tous les auteurs toutefois décrivent le repas rituel qui a lieu à la fin des cérémonies.

(22) Le migis, coquillage marin, est l'emblème sacré du Midewiwin. Il joue un rôle important dans la mythologie ojibway. Ainsi, selon une tradition

préservée pictographiquement sur écorce de bouleau et recueillie par Hoffman, Nanabozho le premier projeta le migis dans le corps de la Loutre mythique afin que cet animal devienne immortel pour révéler les secrets du Midewiwin aux Anishinaubag, les ancêtres des ojibway.

(23) Voici l'explication que Hoffman donne de ces colliers:
"A Mide of the second degree is also governed by his tutelary daimon: e.g. if during the first fast and vision he saw a bear, he now prepares a necklace of bear claws, which is worn about the neck and crosses the middle of the breast. He now has the power of changing his form into that of a bear, and during that term of his disguise he wreaks vengeance upon his detractors and upon victims for whose destruction he has been liberally rewarded." (Hoffman p. 236).

(24) Voici comment Jenness décrit la cérémonie de la projection des migis dans le corps du candidat:
"The head priest opened the ceremony by beating a small water-drum and chanting a song. As soon as it ended the candidate knelt in front of him, and the last priest in the line, gripping his medicine-bag in both hands and crying hwa hwa hwa hwa hwa, pretended to thrust it into the youth's breast. He quivered violently, shaken by the hands of the preceptor and assistant. Then the second priest "shot" him, and the third. Last of all the head priest "shot" him, and he fell forward as if dead; but when the six priests laid their medicine-bags on his back a sacred shell (migis) dropped from his mouth and he showed signs of reviving. The head priest danced with the shell round the lodge, displaying it to each medé, and inserted it again in the initiate's mouth; and again he fell forward as if dead. Then the four priests marched round him and touched him with their medicine-bags. Instantly he revived, and, at a command from the head priest, rose to his feet." (Jenness p. 73).
On remarquera que selon les textes de Hoffman, le migis est projeté contre la poitrine d'un candidat au premier degré. Dans le cas des candidats aux degrés supérieurs le migis est projeté sur les articulations des membres, coudes, genoux, épaules, etc... ceci confère aux nouveaux Mide des pouvoirs supérieurs. (Hoffman pp. 234, 237.)

(25) C'est ainsi que Jenness décrit le dernier acte de la cérémonie d'initiation:
"The next act in the play was a pantomine with the sacred shells. The priests removed them from their bags, pretended to swallow them, coughed them into their hands, and displayed them furtively to their associates with low murmurings of ho ho ho. Then they concealed them in their bags again and resumed their seats" (Jenness p. 74).

(26) L. Lafleur a examiné le problème général de la diversité et de la non-concordance des observations des spécialistes du Midewiwin et particulièrement la question du nombre des degrés qui varie d'après les auteurs. Il conclut que les observateurs n'ont pas suffisamment distingué entre les témoignages des praticiens traditionnels et ceux des laïcs, les premiers étant infiniment mieux au courant des choses sacrées et très secrètes du Midewiwin. Cette confusion des deux catégories de témoignages serait à l'origine des non-concordances des observateurs. Au sujet des degrés, Lafleur écrit:
"If a layman is sick more than four times, he may have more than four ceremonies of initiation. The fifth would be a modification of the first. As all ceremonial matters come in fours, most laymen take it that there are four degrees. If, however, he has been ill more than four times, or if he knows of someone who has been, he may believe that there are eight degrees. Even twelve or sixteen are possible, The priest, of course, knows that there are only four, and he will never be initiated more than four times, although he may on rare occasions buy information from priests of other communities after his fourth-degree initiation." (Lafleur p.707). En effet certains auteurs notent l'existence dans la hiérarchie Midewiwin, de quatre ou huit degrés. Hoffman a observé quatre degrés, le premier étant de loin le plus important: Skinner également quatre (Skinner p. 154). Jenness toutefois note un seul degré à Parry Island, (Jenness p. 74), tandis qu'un informateur de Hilger à Lac Courte Oreille, tout en indiquant l'importance essentielle des quatre premiers degrés, ajoute que la hiérarchie comporte six degrés en tout, il les nomme et précise les symboles qui leur correspondent (Hilger p. 65). Densmore note huit degrés (Densmore 1929, p. 88) ainsi que Warren (Warren p. 100) et Landes (Landes p. 127). Les informatrices de Kenora indiquent sept degrés, les attributs et pouvoirs de chaque

degré sont indiqués ainsi que le montant des payements correspondants. Il ne semble donc pas qu'il s'agit d'une simple répétition des quatre premiers degrés, comme Lafleur semble l'indiquer. Il paraît au contraire, comme nous espérons pouvoir le démontrer dans nos conclusions, que les causes des différences remarquées dans les rituels du Midewiwin sont nombreuses et très complexes.

(27) Fait confirmé par Hilger. Au Lac Courte Oreille, à la Réserve du Lac du Flambeau et à White Earth la peau de belette est l'emblème du premier degré. (Hilger p. 65).

(28) Parmi les conditions à remplir pour passer à un degré supérieur, l'obligation d'effectuer de grands payements semble la plus considérable. Le candidat doit aussi posséder certaines qualités: curiosité intellectuelle, crédulité, niveau élevé d'intelligence, un certain "pouvoir spirituel," et la capacité de se mettre en relations avec les êtres surnaturels, etc.

(29) Il faudrait ajouter ici: obligé pour raisons de santé.

(30) Le peu d'importance de la contribution matérielle des candidats à ce premier degré est à remarquer. Les informatrices malheureusement n'indiquent pas s'il s'agit d'un rite d'initiation ou d'une cérémonie curative. Au cas que ces indications seraient toutefois exactes elles montreraient une démocratisation importante du Midewiwin, qui n'est pas sans rapport avec l'évolution du Midewiwin étudiée par Kinietz.

(31) Il semble ainsi que c'est à partir du troisième degré que l'initiation des futurs Mide devient vraiment importante.

(32) Hoffman donne une explication différente:
" ... a smoke offering is made before the object is pulled out of the soil, and a small pinch of tobacco put into the hole in the ground from which it was taken. This is an offering to Nokomis - the earth, the grandmother of mankind - for the benefits which are derived from her body where they were placed by Kitshi Manido."
(Hoffman p. 197).

(33) Cette fonction est également accomplie par le tcisaki ou devin. Il est regrettable que les informatrices ne distinguent pas entre Mide, Wabeno et Jessakkid (Tcisaki, devin), trois classes de magiciens qui ont souvent des fonctions différentes.

(34) Voir note (14).

(35) Allusion aux pouvoirs de vision et de divination de l'homme médecine incarnés dans la pratique de la tente tremblante.

(36) Voici comment Hoffman décrit cette pratique: Hoffman pp. 221, 222:
"The method generally employed to give to the hunter success is as follows: When anyone contemplates making a hunting trip, he first visits the Midé, giving him a present of tobacco before announcing the object of his visit and afterwards promising to give him such and such portions of the animal which he may procure. The Midé, if satisfied with the gift, produces his pipe and after making an offering to Ki'tshi Manido for aid in the preparation of his "medicine," and to appease the anger of the manido who controls the class of animals desired, sings a song, one of his own composition, after which he will draw with a sharp-pointed bone or nail, upon a small piece of birch bark, the outline of the animal desired by the applicant. The place of the heart of the animal is indicated by a puncture upon which a small quantity of vermillion is carefully rubbed, this color being very efficacious toward effecting the capture of the animal and the punctured heart insuring its death." Il paraît que les wabeno également ont le pouvoir de contribuer efficacement au succès du chasseur. Ils prélèvent à leur tour leur part sur le gibier tué.

On remarquera, que ces pratiques constituent un élément important dans la distribution des ressources, renforcent les privilèges économiques des hommes médecine dont nous avons fait mention dans la note (11).

(37) Allusion aux visions que les indiens ont dans leurs rêves des êtres surnaturels.

(38) Voir note (17).

(39) Il ne semble pas que la suprématie de l'homme-médecine-en chef soit traditionnelle et surtout à ce point incontestée. Il paraît certain, au contraire, qu'un praticien traditionnel puisse, en raison de certaines capacités et circonstances particulières et surtout à la suite de ses actions maléfiques, acquérir un prestige, une puissance, et des richesses qui le mettent nettement au-dessus des autres praticiens. Sa position semble toutefois constamment menacée en raison des inimitiés que ses pratiques malfaisantes provoquent dans le reste du collège des magiciens. Ainsi se voit-il en danger, lui et les autres membres de sa famille, de recevoir à rebours les attaques magicues qu'il a lancées auparavant.

(40) Le secret, bien naturel, dont les praticiens traditionnels entourent leurs actions, de même que le silence rigoureux qu'ils imposent aux indiens sur tout ce qui concerne le Midewiwin a été la cause du caractère incomplet d'un grand nombre d'observations. Malgré la complexité des facteurs qui inspirent ce silence (un bref examen de ces facteurs se trouve dans Hilger, p. 64) pourrait-on souligner l'importance des menaces de vengeances terribles dont les informateurs trop bavards se trouvent accablés par les praticiens traditionnels. Les chrétiens sont également terrorisés (consulter Landes p. 132, Barnouw p. 97, Warren p. 66).

(41) Au contraire, les autres observateurs affirment généralement le caractère individuel de l'instruction qui s'harmonise mieux avec les modalités de payements traditionnels.

(42) On remarquera que l'enseignement porte non seulement sur les plantes médicinales mais également sur les plantes utiles employées dans la construction des habitations, ustensiles, etc. (Hoffman p. 197). Pour une étude approfondie des plantes utilisées par les ojibway, consulter Densmore (Densmore 1928).

(43) Les invocations au Grand Esprit sont prononcées dans une atmosphère de recueillement très respectueux, incompatible avec les rires des praticiens, tels que décrits par les informatrices.

A propos de ces invocations, une informatrice écrit diable au lieu de Grand Esprit (Geche-Manitou).

(44) Nous voyons la vigueur des menaces qui poursuivent les baptisés. Les souffrances dont on se propose de les accabler sur terre, grâce à la magie noire, vont être continuées dans l'au-delà. Nous trouvons ici un exemple admirable de la façon dont les conditions et problèmes actuels qui préoccupent ces indiens sont projettés dans un monde surnaturel. Le paradis des indiens est un autre monde comme celui-ci, sans défauts toutefois. Les élus mènent une vie de plaisir et se font servir par des êtres surnaturels. Les blancs aussi ont leur place; ils s'appliquent à faire souffrir les indiens baptisés. Ce récit constitue un exemple lumineux de la façon dont certaines représentations traditionnelles se métamorphosent, enrichissent et compliquent parallèlement aux transformations de la vie sociale.

(45) Le tonnerre occupe une place importante dans la mythologie ojibway. A Parry Island Jenness a recueilli les noms de douze manitous-tonnerres. (Jenness p. 35). Quant à l'influence que les hommes peuvent avoir sur le tonnerre, Sister Hilger écrit:
"The old Indians believed that thunder and lightning were caused by thunderbirds. The ones who had dreamt of these birds when fasting while they were still innocent had power to stop storms. Here is what they would do: When a storm arose they went out-of-doors, motioned with their hands for the storm to move away, saying, "Go slowly; go around; go away!" (Hilger p. 44).
Pour d'autres pratiques semblables consulter Coleman (Coleman p. 38).

(46) L'attitude des hommes-médecine envers l'action missionnaire apparaît ici avec clarté. Le praticien traditionnel a nettement conscience du danger que représente l'action missionnaire pour l'ensemble des croyances traditionnelles de la tribu et surtout pour sa situation privilégiée. Il devient l'ennemi des influences étrangères et le protecteur des indiens demeurés fidèles à la tradition.

(47) Les fonctions de devin sont exercées parmi les ojibway essentiellement par le tcisaki (selon l'orthographe de Landes) ou Jessakkid (selon Hoffman). C'est une catégorie de shamans qu'il faudrait distinguer des hommes médecine ou Mide. Voici comment Landes définit ses fonctions: "The tcisaki is a diviner in every possible field of human interest. If hunters solicit him, he divines the whims of the weather, or the habitat of the latest caribou herd. If warriors solicit him, it is to divine the outcome of the expedition. He is employed to detect the whereabouts of lost articles. And in the field of spiritual and bodily ills, he is a diagnostician who recommends, but does not administer therapy." (Landes pp. 122, 123). Le dôme de la tente tremblante n'est pas couvert afin que les esprits puissent entrer et sortir librement. Les tremblements de la tente sont l'action des esprits.

(48) Il semble au contraire, selon Landes, que deux catégories de praticiens se partagent ces fonctions: 1) les Patcickaowe et 2) les Paskikweige. Voici comment opèrent ces derniers: "the technique is to prick veins in the leg to induce menstruation: or to prick veins in the arm of leg to relieve strain in that part ... The instrument is a four-inch stick, split to hold a sharp flint or a sharpened ten-cent piece. This is held against the spot and struck into the flesh with another piece of wood." (Landes p. 123).

(49) Il est nécessaire de distinguer deux sortes de bains de vapeur; premièrement les bains de purification cérémoniels que doivent subir le candidat à l'initiation (Hoffman p. 204) et les praticiens traditionnels officiants (Densmore 1910, p. 25); deuxièmement les bains de vapeur curatifs qui sont censés chasser les impuretés et douleurs du malade (Hilger p. 96). Une catégorie intermédiaire est constituée par les bains purificatoires par lesquels certains praticiens traditionnels doivent passer avant de prodiguer leurs conseils aux malades, (Landes p. 122) ou avant de procéder aux actions curatives (Hilger p. 88). Voici comment Hilger décrit une cure aux bains de vapeur: "A wigwam (...) was made of branches of the elder tree. Its owner sweated in it for an hour and a half, "never longer," whenever afflicted with rheumatic pain. After covering the frame-work

with blankets, he heated stones, carried them and a pail of water into the wigwam, undressed inside of it. (His clothes were pushed to the outside so as to keep them dry.) He then sprinkled cold water on the pile of heated stones producing as much steam as he desired. (Hilger p. 96).

(50) Selon Densmore, le praticien traditionnel parle pendant un certain temps à l'âme du décédé qui est supposée rôder autour du corps; il la dirige sur le chemin de l'au-delà en lui prodiguant des conseils sur quelque tournant à éviter, la confiance qu'elle doit montrer aux esprits qui veulent l'aider, etc. (Densmore p. 74).

Quand le praticien traditionnel parle aux parents, c'est pour les assurer de la réalité des croyances Midewiwin concernant les âmes des morts et leur vie dans l'au-delà.

(51) Le décédé est supposé consommer cette nourriture durant son voyage de quatre jours jusqu'à l'au-delà.

(52) Pour une description détaillée des cérémonies funéraires d'un chef ojibway, consulter Densmore (Densmore 1910, p. 54 passim).

(53) L'esprit du feu est nécessaire à la cuisson des aliments que l'âme du décédé emporte dans l'au-delà.

(54) Sister I. Hilger rapporte un tabou fort curieux à cette occasion:
"Formerly for one year following a death all the members of the deceased person's family were not permitted to participate in seasonal occupations, such as production of maple sugar, gathering of wild rice or berries or garden vegetables, or hunting or fishing, unless someone fed them a portion of the food being gathered. After having eaten from the hands of another, the mourners gave a feast and were thereby released from the taboo." (Hilger p. 87).

(55) Voici les remarques que Densmore fait au sujet de la propriété des noms obtenus en rêve:
"This name was given ceremonially to either an infant or adult by some one who had received

"spirit power" in a dream. The child or person receiving the name was supposed to receive a definite benefit from it, but he could not transmit this acquired power to anyone else; thus a person who received a ceremonial dream name in his infancy could not on attaining maturity give this name with its accompanying power or protection to another child or person."
(Densmore 1929, p. 52).

(56) Pour la description d'autres charmes d'amour, consulter Jenness (Jenness p. 83). Hilger (Hilger p. 160) et Densmore (Densmore 1929, p. 108).

(57) Warren déjà avait attribué au Midewiwin une fonction nettement religieuse: "their mode of worshiping the Great Spirit, and securing life in this and a future world, and of conciliating the lesser spirits, who in their belief, people earth, sky and waters." (Warren p. 100). Il semble toutefois qu'il faudrait considérer avec une certaine méfiance les écrits de cet auteur en raison de ses théories sur les origines hébraïques des ojibway. Ainsi les traits culturels ojibway qui peuvent offrir quelque ressemblance avec la religion de la tribu perdue d'Israël se trouvent-ils avantageusement présentés.

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L'origine du motif de la double courbe dans l'art algonkin

Les ethnologues connaissent bien l'ouvrage classique de Frank G. Speck, intitulé "The Double-Curve Motive in Northeastern Algonkian Art."[1] Cette monographie, par ses nombreuses illustrations hors texte, constitue presque un album de l'art décoratif indigène de l'est du Canada. "The motive itself, écrit Speck, is what may be termed the "double-curve," consisting of two opposed incurves as a foundation element, with embellishments more or less elaborate modifying the enclosed space, and with variations in the shape and proportions of the whole. This simple double-curve appears as a sort of unit, capable of being subjected to such a variety of augments, not infrequently distortive, as to become scarcely recognizable at first or second sight." (p. 1).

L'origine du motif reste douteuse. "What the origin and history of the double-curve design may have been, ajoute Speck, it seems unsafe to say. It occurs more abundantly and is most characteristic among the extreme northern and eastern Algonkian tribes. Since it is restricted to them as a fundamental motive, it may be regarded from two points of view: it may have originated in the northeast and drifted westward; or it may have been derived from an original old American design element that became remodelled and specialized to its present form among some of these tribes and was subsequently adopted by their neighbours in general ... From the fact, however, that those tribes where the design is most characteristic do not have any particular symbolism in art, one might presume that it is throughout much of the region primarily an ornemental rather than a symbolic motive." (pp. 2-3). Et plus loin: "In conclusion it seems reasonable to suggest from the material at hand that we have, in the

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1. Geological Survey (of Canada), Memoir 42 (No 1 Anthropological series), 17 pp., 25 fig. et 18 pl. hors texte, Ottawa, 1914.

double-curve motive, an originally non-symbolic decorative element, a presumably indefinite plant or floral figure, common to all the members of the northeastern Algonkian group both north and south of the St. Lawrence." (p. 17).

L'opinion de Speck, si plausible soit-elle, appelle néanmoins des commentaires. La double-courbe est sans doute fréquente; mais il ne s'ensuit pas nécessairement que ce soit l'élément de base. D'ailleurs, il faut parfois beaucoup d'imagination pour assimiler des motifs floraux à la double-courbe. "If we accept the double-curve as the primary element in the art of the region, écrit Speck, then the floral designs and geometrical figures form a class subordinate in importance which we may term the secondary class." (p. 2). On pourrait, avec autant de raisons, prétendre que tout motif décoratif dérive du motif floral, que le motif fondamental est la double-fleur, ou la double-feuille, ou que la double-courbe n'est, en définitive, qu'une double-feuille réduite aux nervures ou une double-vrille. Beaucoup de prétendues doubles-courbes, d'autre part, semblent de jeunes frondes de fougères.

La plupart des dessins algonkins, -- composés d'éléments floraux ou d'éléments géométriques, -- sont presque toujours à symétrie bilatérale (exceptionnellement à symétrie axiale.) Il serait plus juste de considérer comme élément fondamental de l'art décoratif algonkin, non pas la "double-courbe," mais le motif à "symétrie bilatérale."

Les dessins algonkins ne donnent aucune idée de la perspective volumétrique. Un végétal, vu de côté, semble donc formé d'éléments opposés et doit se présenter dans le dessin algonkin comme un plan à symétrie bilatérale. Mais, on peut invoquer une opinion plus vraisemblable pour expliquer la fréquence de ces motifs.

Speck n'a pas oublié de noter,[2]-- mais sans tirer de conclusions toutefois, -- que les Montagnais préparent leurs motifs décoratifs en s'inspirant de modèles en écorce de bouleau mordue. Une mince pellicule de bouleau, pliée et mordue entre deux dents,

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2. id. p. 11.

déplacée de façon fantaisiste, donne une fois dépliée des motifs symétriques. Les artistes les plus habiles obtiennent même des personnages, des grenouilles, des papillons, des végétaux. Très souvent, ces dessins à symétrie bilatérale ne représentent aucun objet défini et sont de purs motifs décoratifs, bien plus, de l' "écriture automatique." Une feuille pliée en quatre ou en huit donne des motifs à symétrie axiale. Cette technique fournit des modèles pour les paniers en écorce grattée et les travaux de perles. On recourt aussi à cet art pour des fins récréatives; c'est alors un passe-temps des femmes et fillettes, ou mieux un exercice. La plupart des jeux indigènes, du moins chez les Montagnais, sont des jeux d'adresse qui ont toujours, en définitive, une fin utilitaire. Comme dans une classe de dessin, la maîtrise de l'art de l'écorce mordue demande une longue et patiente pratique, et tous ne parviennent pas facilement à fabriquer des modèles utilisables dans la décoration.

Il me semble que le motif de la double-courbe, ou plus exactement la fréquence du motif à symétrie bilatérale dans l'art algonkin, -- a été imposé par les modèles d'écorce mordue, un art primitif qui pouvait se passer d'outils perfectionnés. Remarquons d'ailleurs que l'aire du motif de la double-courbe coïncide pratiquement avec l'aire du bouleau. Chez les bandes algonkines de la Prairie, (Cris et Pieds-noirs où le bouleau fait défaut), le motif de la double-courbe devient secondaire: "We find the double-curve with weakening force pervading the designs of the Cree and Blackfoot," écrit Speck. Aussi, considère-t-il la Prairie comme une région "where the double-curve is subordinate."

Si le modèle en écorce mordue a favorisé le motif à symétrie bilatérale, on peut se demander, avec raison, pourquoi le motif à symétrie axiale, également exécutable en écorce mordue, n'a pas eu plus de succès. C'est peut-être que le motif à symétrie bilatérale se prête mieux à la frise que le motif à symétrie axiale; en effet, la décoration algonkine recourt beaucoup aux motifs de bordure. L'élément à symétrie bilatérale s'exécute aussi plus facilement que le motif à symétrie axiale; et l'on sait que l'art décoratif de la forêt boréale n'a pas atteint le même palier que l'art décoratif de la côte du Pacifique. La civilisation de la côte du Pacifique, avec ses ressources économiques inépuisables, permettait l'avènement d'artistes professionnels; tandis que l'organisation sociale et

économique des chasseurs de la forêt boréale s'y opposait: l'art décoratif comme l'industrie vestimentaire y était la tâche de toutes les femmes et non de spécialistes. Enfin, le motif bilatéral a pû être imposé par des raisons d'ordre esthétique; les styles peuvent être influencés par le milieu, mais ils sont d'abord une production de l'intellect. Il n'est pas nécessaire d'y chercher un déterminisme.[3]

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3 La présente note a été présentée au congrès de l'ACFAS en 1950.

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