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

ANTHROPOLOGICA

N. 4 - 1957

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NOTES ON SOME TAHLTAN ORAL LITERATURE

by

Bruce B. MacLachlan

The present paper is intended merely as an appendix to more extensive extant sources on the myths and traditions of the Tahltan Indians of British Columbia (Teit 1909; Teit 1919; Emmons 1911; Meek n.d.). The material herein was gathered incidentally in the course of inquiries into other matters made in Telegraph Creek, B.C., during the summer of 1956 (1). The several items were gathered at different times in different contexts. The result is a variability in the completeness and quality of my notes. On the assumption that whatever value these items may have may lie in their original form, I have stuck as closely as possible to this form, rather than arbitrarily impose a unified style throughout.

First is a summary given me by a white long-term resident of Telegraph Creek, a highly literate man and amateur student of local Indian ways. This gentleman reports that arrow-making (and perhaps other arts) was a specialized craft.

> The arrow-maker killed his mother, and so he became an outcast and had to run away. Some people set out after him to get retribution. They finally caught up with him while he was sleeping under a tree. They stole up on him and bludgeoned him to death. Some of their blows cracked open his skull, and, to their astonishment, millions of mosquitoes issued from the dead man's head. That's where all our mosquitoes come from (cf. Teit 1917:445,445n.). You really can't blame the fellow for what he did;if you had all those mosquitoes buzzing around in your head, you'd do things like that too.

My informant cited the final moralizing as a trait typically Athabaskan (as opposed to Coastal,) and an accompaniment of many Tahltan Tales.

One elderly Indian informant remained unconvinced that I was not some sort of government agent. In a context of talking about Indians generally he favored me with several myths and traditions. The myths particularly, in his versions, are clearly aimed at propagandizing for certain transparently implicit political and personal ends. These versions of familiar tales are chiefly of interest (a) because of the propagandizing, the points propagandized, and the transformations of the tales (as compared with versions collected earlier) to this end, and (b) because of the replacement of Big Crow (Raven) (2) by God as the principal or sole creator and transformer. This second aspect is certainly related to the first, and it is in keeping with the theology of the informant, who believes all forms of Western religion are equivalent ("I go to any church. It's all the same.") and that these are all equivalent to ancient Tahltan religion ("We believe in one God before we even heard of the White Man ... It's all the same.")

> God made the world at Tahltan. He made the beaver, the game, ... the rocks, the house with the pipe in it across the river (3). That's where God made the world: right up in Tahltan.
>
> When He was finished, He lived in the hole at Eleven Mile (4). In the morning He would come over to the rocks and make water. There was a woman living with Him. She would make water on the other side of the hole. There are two different black streaks running down the rock where they made water. (cf. Teit 1919:212).
>
> When He was finished, He went away. He made the game for food (cf. Teit 1919:230-1.) He told the people to eat moose, caribou, goats, sheep, black bear, grizzly bear. He said, "That's your food." We don't know White Man's grub. We live on meat. The old people tell us that; that's why I'm telling you.
>
> There was no tent at that time. There was thick timber. We build a house, we make campfire; but when travelling we sleep under a tree. This is a long time ago I tell you about, a long time.
>
> When He finish, He go away. He never talk about no grub, no potatoes, no nothing (5); just meat, game -- That's what the old people tell us. They die now. -- and fish; we used to live on

fish.

One time the government wanted us to stop fishing. This was not good. We live on meat and fish (6). You people got cattle; God made us the wild game. "That's your game," He tell us.

When God was making the world, this fellow had all the fire; he wouldn't give it to anybody. He wouldn't give fire to God. So God called the Big Crow, and He said, "Let's get that fire." He put a whole mess of shavings around on His head, and they went to the man who had the fire, saying, "Let's have a dance. Make a big fire." So God and Big Crow danced around the fire, getting closer. Then the shavings on God's head caught fire, and He flew high up into the air, shaking His head, so that fire was spread all around. (cf. Teit 1919:218-9).

God stole water too. In those days there was no water. This fellow who had it wouldn't give it to anybody. One day God came up on him while he was asleep and piled (feces) all around his(buttocks). Then, when the fellow wakes up, God tells him he's dirty, and the fellow goes out to clean up. God drinks a lot of water until He's real big, and then flies out over the country, sprinkling a drop here, and a drop there, making the lakes and streams. (cf. Teit 1919:201-3, 219-20; Emmons 1911:118).

There was a big flood. The people knew it was coming. The otter (7) had got up and told them the end of the world was coming. The people got up on top of a mountain. (cf. Teit 1919:199, 232-4; 1917:442-3).

There was a White Man married to an Indian woman, who told her husband about these things, the creation of the world at Tahltan and the other things. He didn't believe. Then one day he found a book in the trail that said all of these things. He went home and told his wife, "By golly, I guess that's right."

God Himself created the world at Tahltan, and He specifically created the game, certain forest products, and fish for the Tahltan. This same God is

also the God of the White Man, and the White Man is, or should be, subject to His ordinances. Thus there is divine sanction for Indian claims implicit in some of these narrations. To the best of my knowledge there is no plan to immediately further restrict the Indians' rights in the utilization of natural resources. Yet to the Indians of my acquaintance, government is a distant, incomprehensible, whimsical, arbitrary entity realized in the person of the Indian Agent. The fear was expressed to me that restriction of Indian rights to wood and to hunt in any season was imminent. The wants of at least the older Indians seem clear. "We don't want all that gold, that copper. You can have it. Just give us a little wood and our game." There seemed a definite feeling that the game belonged (in the sense of free use) to the Indians under some supernatural authority.

The same individual who supplied the myths above also gave some information of the historical-tradition type. One bit of this falls into the same propaganda class as the latter-day mythology:

> The first White Man in had a fiddle. They did not want other people in because other people always fight. They gonna kill him. This man had a fiddle. He tuned it up, and he played that fiddle. They always had a boss. The boss say, "Let the White Man go," because he liked the fiddling. The Tahltan did not kill one White Man, except maybe when drunk. And the White Man gets drunk and fight too. We don't bother the White Man. When he got hard times, we help him.

Two themes stand out in the remaining historical material: that of the early isolation of the Tahltan -- for a long time they existed in the area in ignorance of related peoples relatively nearby -- and that of the former prowess of the Tahltan, which is associated with the current hostility between the Indians of Telegraph Creek and the "Nass Indians" of Prince Rupert.

In the first place we may speculate that the Tahltan are in a subordinate position both in their native home and in Rupert. In the second place these stories seem to reflect some of the anxiety and hostility centering on Rupert. Prince Rupert is the great metropolis toward which those with ambition tend. It is the abstract "outside" in its most important and concrete form. Yet there is some anxiety and reluctance

about going to Rupert. The most obvious implicit explanation for this is the stories I frequently heard from Telegraph Creek Indians about violence suffered by Telegraph Creek Indians at the hands of Nass Indians in Rupert. One white official told me with a touch of apparent impatience that such stories were nonsense, excuses cooked up by the Indians for not going to work in Rupert. Such stories are numerous and plausible, but I am unacquainted with conditions in Prince Rupert.

This second theme was summarized in an aside during one of the historical narrations: "We had plenty of fight. They hate us in Rupert, those Nass." (v. Dawson 1888:194B-195B).

> There was a fight way this side of Stewart. Up to Five Mile damn people come up on Stikine. They surround the place. This boy went out for a drink of water. He saw the people all around him reflected in the water. He pretends he doesn't notice, goes back and gives the alarm. All the people run to Nine Mile except one old man and his grandson, who wants to see what a big fight is like. The enemy attacks. Each of the defenders takes one of the doors, which are at opposite ends of the house. They fight hard, getting very bloody, but not seriously hurt. They call back and forth from time to time, and at one point the youth observes that now he has seen what a big fight is like; and they decide to cut their way through the enemy and go to Nine Mile. This they do.
>
> Another time an attacking party was turned back by high water in the canyon.

In response to a specific question about fights with the Kaska:

> A long time ago a Kaska killed a Tahltan's Bear Dog (8). This started a fight between the Kaska and Tahltan. They killed a lot of Kaska. Then for a long time they and the Kaska didn't see each other. Then they quit, and they do not start a war. They count the dead and the people say, "No more we kill our dogs." They quit (9).
>
> The last fight, which was with the Taku, was at Salmon Creek, where it flows into the

Sheslay. It was settled. (cf. Teit 1909:314-8).

For a while the people didn't know that there were other people living down the river and up the Tuya. The first time they met the Wrangell Indians was when a bunch of Wrangell Indians came way up the river for berries, farther than they had ever come before. The Wrangell Indians didn't know there were any people up here. One girl goes way off from the others, looking for berries. The people steal her. (cf. Emmons 1911:18-9). Only one man, the father of the girl keeps looking for her. The next summer he came back, and he found Tahltan; he looked down on it. The people were dancing. This man had a sealskin blanket. The people smelled it; they hadn't smelled anything like that before; they said, "What makes that terrible stink?" The girl said, "That is a blanket of my people." They found the man, and they gave him lots of stuff. He goes back to Wrangell; he got big pack, and he come in yelling, "I found your daughter." We never fight the Wrangell people (9).

There were people up the Tuya too. (cf. Emmons loc. cit.). We that close, and we don't know about each other. We talk the same language; God made us the same; and we don't know about each other. They found out when some chips came floating down the river. One man said, "Those are axe-chips; there must be people." Another man said, "No, a beaver made those chips." The first man said, "Those are axe-chips. Let's go see." They went and found the other people.

At the mouth of the Taku there were people. The river was blocked by a glacier; the people on either side didn't know of each other. Finally one man went across and returned, saying, "There are people there. They speak our language."

NOTES

(1) The field reconnaissance of which this paper is a result was partially financed by a grant from the Lichtstern Fund by the Department of Anthropology of the University of Chicago. Work in the field was substantially forwarded by the generous hospitality and ready co-operation of Fr. D.A. Cannon, O.M.I. These debts are gratefully acknowledged.

(2) Teit (1919:198n.) states that the Tahltan tcEs-'ki-a means raven, and thus that the Tahltan transformer, tcEs-ki-a-tco, is Big Raven; but that Tahltans generally translate the term into English "Big Crow." Emmons makes a similar statement (1911:117). Palgrave (1902:74-5) gives the meaning of tcEskia as crow, big crow thus being a literal translation of the term applied to raven.

(3) Possibly a reference to the striking feature illustrated in Dawson 1888:71B, Fig. 4, one of the most impressive features in an impressive landscape, all of which is almost certainly covered in Tahltan tradition, e.g. Teit 1919: 211-2.

(4) Locations like "Eleven Mile," etc., are named with reference to the distance by road from the nearest major terminus, in every instance in this paper, Telegraph Creek. Tahltan is approximately twelve miles from Telegraph Creek.

(5) The Telegraph Creek Indians are presently heavily dependent on government rations. Many families maintain small garden plots with seed, including seed potatoes, supplied by the government. Some pressure is apparently put on the Indians to maintain these plots productively. The narrator of this origin myth had told me an hour or so previously that the Indian Agent had refused to give him seed and had reassigned his plot on the grounds that he was not caring adequately for the plot.

(6) The same man also told me with some apparent bitterness that some years ago, when the Tahltan were still highly dependent on a large accumulation of fish, which their annual cycle forced

them to acquire in a few weeks of intensive fishing, a missionary tried to get them to stop fishing on Sunday. Because of the nature of the fishing operation, this would mean loss of more than a day's fishing; because of the tendency of the fish to move in schools, which often pass a fishing site in one day, this could mean a considerable loss.

(7) In Teit's version the prophet was a wise man (1919:232) or possibly Beaver (232n.). My informant says that the owl also tells people things. An owl told him about coming sickness; that spring there was a bad flu epidemic. (The odds on this are pretty good, since, I am told, in recent years at least, there has been a serious flu epidemic every spring.)

(8) See "Tahltan Bear Dog," The Beaver, Outfit 287, Summer 1956, pp. 38-41. The Tahltan are said to have been unusually fond of their Bear Dogs, treating them more like pets than was typical of the behavior of northern Indians toward dogs.

(9) The Tahltan rarely, if at all, fought with the Stikine Tlingit and the Kaska. Commercial intercourse and relative lack of violence was typical of these relationships, as it was of most groups in the general area along east-west lines of communication; lines of hostility being generally north-south. The theoretical implications are touched upon in C. McClellan, 1950, "Culture Change and Native Trade in Southern Yukon Territory," Ms. PhD thesis, U. of Calif. (Berkeley), and in B. MacLachlan, 1955, "The Social System of the Western Kaska: Sociological Development in the Greater Northwest," Ms. MA paper, Department of Anthropology, University of Chicago.

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TWO SEVENTEENTH CENTURY MICMAC "COPPER KETTLE" BURIALS

by

J. Russell Harper

Two spectacular 17th Century Micmac burial pits were excavated recently at Pictou, Nova Scotia. Considerable information on burial customs was obtained from these, and a rich supply of artifacts recovered. These graves have an enhanced interest when the discoveries are related to certain 17th Century literary works. Several authors of that period discuss Micmac burial rites while describing Indian life and customs in the Acadian region. The principal writers on the subject are Champlain, Lescarbot, Biard, LeClercq and Denys. All of the literary accounts have some relation to the discoveries but those of Denys are of particular value. Published accounts of similar burials excavated in Nova Scotia seem to be non-existant. Most previously discovered Micmac burials from that period were along New Brunswick's North Shore at Tabusintac, Tracadie and Redbank; descriptions of these are sketchy.

Excavation of the first Pictou pit in 1955 was completed by K.B. Hopps, the property owner, his son Ralph, and George Crawford of Pictou. The material recovered was examined later by the writer and a report prepared.* A second pit located in 1956 was excavated by the writer with the assistance of Frederick Jack, John Berrigan, and other interested parties. A noteworthy feature of both graves was the preservation by copper salts of many organic and normally perishable articles; these were formed from the many copper kettles buried among the grave gifts. The following account will give a description of the graves, a co-relation of

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* Published 1956 as an Appendix to Portland Point, Crossroads of New Brunswick History, Historical Studies No. 9, New Brunswick Museum, Saint John, N.B. The report covers Grave Pit No. 1 in greater detail than the summary information given in this article.

the findings with the 17th Century literary accounts, and a listing of the artifacts recovered.

Pictou is traditionally the centre of one of the seven tribal groups comprising the Micmac confederacy. While much Micmac material has come from Pictou County, no remains have been recovered in the vicinity of the Hopps property. The Hopps site is on a pleasant sandy loam plateau sloping gently to the southward at a 25' elevation and 300' back from the water's edge of Pictou Harbour. It lies 3-1/4 miles from the open Northumberland St. A sandbar curves out into the harbour in front enclosing a lagoon where fish abound, and where quantities of reeds, bulrushes and grasses of types used in Micmac basketry grow.

BURIAL PIT NO. 1 (Fig. 1)

Burial Pit No. 1 excavated in 1955, was divided into two distinct areas or sections. Section One was a circular depression of 6' diameter and 3' deep; it had been carefully prepared. A second depression, Section Two, lay to the north and slightly overlapped the first section. It was of the same depth, covered roughly the same area, but was irregular in shape; this second section was much less carefully prepared. Both portions had nearly verticle side walls.

The floor of Section One was covered with small branches and twigs. Over these a carefully prepared birch bark sheathing covered the entire floor, and then reached up along the sides to a height of 1'6" from the bottom. Sewing holes bordered some bark edges. Several fragments were irregularly daubed with red ochre; others had black patches on their surface, either of paint or the result of decaying organic material. Five layers of pelts lay above the bark on the floor. The final pelt layer lay with flesh side uppermost and was painted red. Three intact inverted copper kettles lay on the painted skin. Beneath each kettle was a very black layer of decayed organic material. A fragmentary human long bone, a single incisor, and a short jaw bone section retaining three molars, were embedded in the mass of fine twigs, rootlets, seeds and hair of which the black stratum seemed chiefly composed. Several grave gifts lay on the black stratum and were protected by the kettles from the earthen grave fill. These included a wooden bow, iron trade axe with handle, awls, fragments of

cloth, and a glazed pottery beaker. Moose skin covered Kettles Nos. 1 and 3, and a black bear skin, hair side down, covered Kettle No. 2. A few scattered articles such as a sword were thrown into the grave fossa around the kettles. Earth had been added until the kettles were covered, then a birch bark sheet laid over the fill at a depth of 1-1/2' from the grave floor; this was at the same depth as the upper edge of the bark lining along the pit sides. The remainder of the grave fossa was filled finally with stones and earth.

Section Two adjoined the first part on the northerly side. Seemingly the carefully prepared portion was not large enough to receive all gifts necessitating the hasty preparation of an extension. Bark and skin covered the bottom of this section's southerly portion only as a flooring for gifts. No such flooring was found under Kettles Nos. 5, 6 and 7. All kettles in the Second Section were mutilated; some were badly crushed by deliberate flattening under heavy pressure (jumped on?), and the balance were slashed with an axe (Fig. 3). All had been evidently "killed" to release the spirit of the dead at burial. Kettle No. 4 covered a black humus layer of the type found under the kettles in Section One. Fragments of carefully woven rush matting lay immediately under this kettle being the floor covering's top layer at that point. Very many French trade objects and some native artifacts thrown into the grave along with the kettles, were scattered about without definite order. Skin and birch bark covered the articles found in part of this Second Section, rush matting other portions, and in places there was no covering of any kind. Stones and earth completed the grave fill.

BURIAL PIT NO. 2 (Fig. 2)

Burial Pit No. 2 was a circular excavation with a total depth of 48" along the northerly side and 40" on the southerly; the floor was level and the difference in depth was the result of the sloping surface of the ground. The diameters at ground level measured 6'8" from north to south and 6'3" from east to west. Sides were virtually verticle to a depth of 34" when they sloped inwards to make a pit bottom measuring 68" x 63". The fill of Pit No. 2 as revealed in excavation may be most readily described by considering it as laying in three distinct strata. The lowest 14" contained skeletal remains from either three or four

bodies together with a compact mass of grave goods; in the next 15" were skeletal fragments from a single body together with two inverted copper kettles and stone and earthen fill; the third section, 11" deep, showed traces of two fires lit over the grave, evidently of a ceremonial nature.

Lowest Stratum - 14" (Figs. 2D, E, F, G)

A bulrush basket in the south west sector was the first object placed in the grave. The grave floor then was covered deliberately with a single thickness of copper sheeting obtained from opening up three kettles. A portion of the pit sides was lined with birch bark sheeting. Much of this was preserved along the easterly side where it reached a height of 16" above the grave floor.

Objects placed in this lowest section of the pit formed such a compact and closely packed grave goods mass that little earth had trickled in among them. Skeletal remains were noted at four points. A flat birch bark pouch containing fragmentary child remains with the second or permanent teeth erupting, was found in the north west sector directly over the copper flooring (Skeletal fragments 5). The head lay at the rim of the pit and the pouch extended to the pit centre. A cranium fragment lay on matting in the same sector at a 45" depth (Skull fragments 3). Conceivably several nearby grave objects may be associated with it. Principally these were strings of glass beads and a leather pouch filled with trade vermillion. A single lower jaw bone lay at the same level in the south west sector (Jaw No. 4). There is no indication as to whether or not it belonged with any of the recovered skull fragments. The upper part of an inverted skull and two long bone fragments lay at a 40" depth in the south west sector (Skull and Fragments 2). Considerable black decayed organic material lay around it together with beads, pelts and remains of kettles.

Gifts to the deceased placed with these skeletal remains showed no evidence of orientation, the only apparent purpose having been to distribute them evenly so that the top of the stratum would be relatively level. These gifts fall roughly into two categories, either articles obtained from the French in the fur trade, or articles of native origin.

Of the French trade goods, eight copper kettles, all crushed or completely smashed, were

distributed at fairly regular intervals. Two others were crushed but still retained a recognizable form. The rest were so fragmented that the only way to make anything like an accurate count was from the number of handles which were intact and found scattered among the sheeting fragments. Trade axes, chisels, scrapers, spears and other French iron material was similarly distributed without apparent orientation. Strings of glass beads were thrown in. Two woollen blankets, one folded, were placed without apparent orientation.

Native articles were similarly distributed in a haphazard fashion. Those of Micmac manufacture were principally several grass or reed baskets, only a small one being nearly complete. Two sections of sewn rush matting were recovered. A birch bark dish was practically intact, but two wooden fragments which could not be identified with certainty were possibly portions of bowls or boxes. Pelts and birch bark sheets collected by the natives were distributed throughout the entire level. At one point pelts lay in layers still 4" in depth. In the grave's southerly section, a birch bark layer covered five thicknesses of pelts which in turn were separated by another bark layer from a further three thickness of pelts. Rush matting lay beneath these layers of pelts and bark. Deer, moose, bear and squirrel skins were recognized among the many pelts in the grave, but because of their fragmentary nature no accurate count of the total number which had been consigned to the pit could be made.

A birch bark sheet lay over this 14" stratum. No traces of the bark covering were noted in the north east sector. Either there had never been any there, or a lack of copper in proximity to the bark had resulted in decay without leaving traces.

Second Stratum - 15" (Fig. 2C)

The only grave goods in this stratum were two inverted copper kettles, one in the south east and the other in the north east sectors (Fig. 4). That in the north east sector (Kettle No. 1) was intact and kept earth fill from skeletal material consisting of a large portion of a skull and several long bone fragments (Fig. 5). Traces of pelts lay over the kettle. That in the south east sector (Kettle No. 2) had been placed intact in the grave but now has a hole from corrosion allowing the earth to trickle into what had originally been a vacuum. Beneath this second kettle

was a half inch layer of black organic material, principally of vegetable matter and somehwat similar to the black layer in Grave Pit No. 1. A pile of beech nuts, conceivably a food offering, lay in the black layer. This kettle was wrapped snugly in sewn birch bark sheeting.

A few large stones and earth were filled in to just cover the kettles in the pit centre, but this fill was heaped higher around the pit margin forming a saucer shaped depression.

Third Stratum - 11" (Fig. 2B)

An ash layer from a fire lit over the grave lay in the saucer shaped depression. The fire had been extinguished, another 10" layer of earth added, and a second fire lit. A charred stick still remained in the ash of the second fire. Further earth was then placed over the second fire (Fig. 6).

RELATIONSHIP OF THE PICTOU BURIALS TO THE LITERARY ACCOUNTS

The foregoing brief descriptions of the two Pictou grave pits confirm in various aspects accounts of Indian burials in that district during the 17th Century. Some of the early writers were presumably eye witnesses of burials, and in the following an attempt will be made to correlate what they have said with what was actually found in the excavations.

Nicholas Denys who operated trading posts in Northern Nova Scotia as well as the Bathurst area of New Brunswick, has given an elaborate description of Micmac burial rites. He tells first of the sorrow at the time of death followed by funeral orations reciting the deceased's lineage, prowess and such like. A ceremonial feast or tabagie was then held, after which

> "The women went to fetch fine pieces of bark from which they made a kind of bier on which they placed him (the deceased) well enwrapped. Then he was carried to a place where they had a staging built on purpose, and elevated 8 or 10 feet. On this they placed the bier, and there they left it about a year, until the time when the sun had entirely dried

the body."

Mourning during the year by the deceased's wives is described, and

> "The end of the year having passed, and the body (being) dry, it was taken thence and carried to a new place, which is their cemetery. There it was placed in a new coffin or bier, also of birch bark, and immediately after in a deep grave which they had made in the ground. Into this all his relatives and friends threw bows, arrows, snow-shoes, spears, robes of Moose, Otter and Beaver, stockings, moccasins, and everything that was needful for him in hunting and clothing himself. All the friends of the deceased made him each his present of the best and finest that they had. They competed as to who would make the most beautiful gift. At a time when they were not yet disabused of their errors, I have seen them give to the dead man guns, axes, iron arrowheads and kettles, for they held all these to be much more convenient for their use than would have been their kettles of wood, their axes of stone, and their knives of bone for their use in the other world.
>
> " There have been dead men in my time who have taken away more than two thousand pounds of peltries ... All the burials of the women, boys, girls and children were made in the same fashion, but the weeping did not last so long. They never omitted to place with each one that which was fitting for his use, nor to bury it with him ..."

Father LeClercq writing at almost the same time, but whose knowledge of the Micmacs was based on the Gaspé and the Miramichi and Restigouche region of New Brunswick, also describes burial customs. His version makes no mention of temporary platform disposition of the body as does Denys. He states only, in regard to temporary burials, that when an Indian dies during the winter at a place remote from the common burial place, the body was wrapped in bark painted red and black and left in a log shelter until

fetched by the chief and young men in the spring when it was given a proper burial. He states that normally after death the body is carried to the nation's general burial-place and then

> "It is placed in the grave and covered with bark and the finest skins. It is adorned also with branches of fir and springs of cedar, and finally they add thereto everything which the deceased had been accustomed to use. If it was a man, they added his bow, arrow, spear, club, gun, powder, lead, porringer, kettle, snowshoes, etc.; if it was a woman, her collar for use in dragging the sled, or in carrying wood, her axe, knife, blanket, necklaces of wampum, and of beads, and her tools used for ornamenting and painting the clothes, as well as the needles for sewing the canoes and for lacing the snowshoes. The grave is then filled with earth..."

He adds that the Acadian Indians never cremate their dead.

The making of gifts to the deceased for inclusion in the tomb is also described by both Champlain and Lescarbot. Diereville alone mentions gifts of corn placed in a dead Indian's grave. Presumably this would be a food offering.

Wallis has recently given an account of a Micmac tradition in the Pictou district. He says:

> "I was told at Pictou that it was formerly the custom to leave the body on an elevated platform until the bones were exposed. They were then buried. The platform was made of small horizontal sticks, supported by four upright poles."

Clearly on a comparison of the excavated finds with the literary accounts, we have in Pictou secondary burials as described by Denys and confirmed by local oral tradition. It would seem that only fragmentary skeletal remains had survived for reburial from the period when the body was placed on the platform as a result of action of the elements, marauding animals, and the like. The burial custom

differed from that of the New Brunswick North Shore where excavated burials of the same period all contained skeletons from flexed inhumation burials; these latter graves evidently correspond with LeClercq's account based on Gaspesian Micmac customs. One notable respect in which Denys differs from excavated evidence is the presence of several bodies in one pit.

The use made of copper kettles to keep earthen fill from the bodies and certain grave gifts as found in both Pictou burials, possibly explains the motive for not "killing" or destroying them in such a way as to render unfit for further use. Father Biard writing in 1616 at a time when the copper-kettle burial complex would presumably hardly have begun, states that:

> "When the body is placed (in the grave), as it does not come up even with the ground on account of the depth of the grave, they arch the grave over with sticks, so that the earth will not fall back into it, and thus they cover up the tomb."

Might it be that this protective covering over the body has been replaced by the much more durable and effective copper kettles?

Twigs found in Burial Pit No. 1 obviously were placed deliberately on the grave floor. While the preceding quotation mentions "sticks," LeClercq specifically mentions that the body "is adorned also with branches of fir and sprigs of cedar." Wallis was told at Pictou that in Micmac burials some bands of twisted yellow birch twigs were wrapped around the legs, the waist and the chest, while leaves from any variety of tree were placed under and over the body in the grave.

Use of red and black, the mourning colours among Micmacs, is mentioned widely. Skins and bark were both painted red in Burial Pit No. 1, and possibly the bark was daubed with black in the same grave. A large pouch of vermillion was found in Burial No. 2, and a few lumps of red ochre at other points among the grave goods. Denys makes no mention of mourning colours. Champlain says that a stake with the upper end painted red was set in the ground

over Indian graves; he probably wrote of the Port Royal district. He also saw the body of a dead Micmac warrior being wrapped in a red coverlet before burial. LeClercq says that for temporary disposition of a body during the winter that "those of his wigwam enwrap him with much care in barks painted red and black." According to both LeClercq and Champlain, the face was painted black as a sign of mourning, but Wallis was told at Burnt Church that it was painted red. Placing of red ochre in protohistoric grave in New England was widely practiced.

Extensive use of birch bark and skins in Micmac burials is described by several 17th Century writers. Denys tells of the use of birch bark in temporary platform burials, and as a fresh covering for reburial when skins were added to be used in "clothing himself;" the latter he says totalled "two thousand pounds of peltries" at times. LeClercq saw the body placed in the grave "with bark and the finest skins" and tells how in the temporary disposition of the body previously mentioned, bark was enwrapped around with much care. Champlain mentions wrapping the body in skin before burial. Wallis found a tradition in 1912 of wrapping the body in a white birch bark sheet to preserve it; this was practiced at Burnt Church. In Pictou he was told of a birch bark covering or a "kuwenuitc Rwedelaan" sewn together with spruce roots around the body "as bark encircles a tree."

Lighting of a fire over graves as part of the burial ceremony in the Acadian area is not mentioned, although there are references to burning the deceased's goods, and to ceremonial feasts or tabagie.

Both Denys and LeClercq say and Champlain implies that gifts to the deceased are appropriate to his sex. Skeletal material recovered in the Pictou excavations is very fragmentary and certain identification of the sex is possible in only one instance. A reasonable inference would be that Burial Pit No. 1 contained a male body since spear points, a bow, swords, axes and other tools were placed in it. Hunting equipment is probably the most significant in making this assumption. However beads and wampum are referred to as used by women and baskets are normally associated with that sex. On the other hand, bones of both sexes may be in Burial Pit No. 2. Skull No. 1 is certainly male, but the grave contains leather and

rush thongs, some of which may be women's tump lines. There are also numerous baskets and strings of beads. Could this be a family burial of a man, his wife or wives, and his child? There are references to burials of wives with husbands in the region of the Atlantic provinces at an earlier date, but apparently there is no contemporary description of a family multiple burial.

An examination of the literary works is also helpful in arriving at some approximation for the burial date. The two graves must be almost contemporary from the similar general character of the buried grave goods. The writer has assumed that European grave goods in such quantities as found in both pits was only probable with the advent of established traders operating from local Acadian bases as opposed to the 16th Century's sporadic or occasion trading such as was carried on in conjunction with fishing trips to the Grand Banks. In such a case the graves would not antedate the opening of the 17th Century. This dating might be advanced if the above supposition is incorrect. Certainly Acadia early received the full impact of the European fur trader. The presence of a wooden bow and the absence of fire arms is significant in determining a terminal date for the burials. Muskets rapidly replaced the bow after the European advent and once the French made them articles of trade. Acculturation progressed to a point where Denys implies that firearms were in universal use on the Canadian east coast by the third quarter of the century for by that time the natives used the musket

> "more than all other weapons, in their hunting in spring, summer, and autumn, both for animals and birds. With an arrow they killed only one Wild Goose, but with the shot of a gun they kill five or six of them. With an arrow it was necessary to approach an animal closely; with the gun they kill the animal from a distance with a bullet or two."

However note that Thomas Pichon writing about the Micmacs of Cape Breton Island as late as 1750 mentions that they still had bows, arrows and stone hatchets which are produced at the time of declaration of war although such a use may be merely a retention of an

obsolete article for ceremonial purposes. The large quantity of grave goods at Pictou is such as belonged to great ceremonial burials described by Denys and which he says were no longer being held in 1672. With spear points, caulkers, axes and other objects closely paralleling material excavated on the site of Fort La Tour in Saint John (1630-1645) and Fort Ste Marie in Huronia, Ontario (1639-1649), the whole complex would seem to date from the mid 17th Century. Further research on bead types and other excavated articles will be necessary before such a date can be confirmed completely.

GIFTS TO THE DEAD IN THE PICTOU BURIALS

This concluding section will re-list in greater detail than in the preceding the individual articles found in the two burial pits. Quite possibly the French trade items were supplied from Deny's trading posts, while the articles of native Micmac craftsmanship were no doubt of local manufacture.

French Trade Goods

Kettles: Copper kettles in the form of large open cauldrons with iron handles and iron reinforcing rims around the rim, were much the most spectacular items in the two graves. Nine came from Pit No. 1 and thirteen from Pit No. 2. They are of more than passing significance in Micmac life, for they were used on all ceremonial occasions and considered as having a spirit of their own. It was common practice to bury such kettles with the dead. Denys makes some interesting comments on such use; in great detail he describes French attempts to deter the Indians from wasteful burial of pelts and trade goods. The French opened a grave to prove to the Indians that any belief of such things being useful to the dead in the after world was mere folly. One gift found on opening the grave was a copper kettle which when struck no longer had a ringing sound. The native attributed this to the spirit of the kettle going to the other world for, the Indian said:

> " ... with respect to the kettle ... they (the deceased) have need of it, since it is among us a utensil of new introduction, and with which the other world cannot (yet) be furnished. Do

you not indeed see, said he, rapping again upon the kettle, that it has no longer any sound, and that it no longer says a word, because its spirit has abandoned it to go to be of use in the other world to the dead man to whom we have given it? " It was indeed difficult to keep from laughing, but much more difficult to disabuse him. For being shown another which was worn out from use, and being made to hear that it spoke no word more than the other, - "ha", said he, "that is because it is dead, and its soul has gone to the land where the souls of kettles are accustomed to go." ... They have abandoned all their own utensils, whether because of the trouble they had as well as to make as to use them, or because of the facility of obtaining from us, in exchange for skins, which cost them almost nothing, the things which seemed to them invaluable, not so much from their novelty as for the convenience they derived therefrom. Above all the kettle has always seemed to them, and seems still, the most valuable article they can obtain from us. This was rather pleasingly exemplified by an Indian whom the late Monsieur de Razilly sent from Acadia to Paris; for by passing by the Rue Aubry-bouche, were there were then many copper smiths, he asked of his interpreter if they were not relatives of the King, and if this was not the trade of the grandest Seigniors of the kingdom. This little digression must not make me forget to say here, before finishing this chapter on funerals, that to express a thing such as it is when it can be no longer of use, they say

that it is dead. For example, when their canoe is broken, they say that it is dead, and thus with all other things out of service."

Eight copper kettles have rim diameters of approximately 27", one is 24", one 18", one 15" and one 4". Two specimens not crushed have depths of 14-1/2" and 13". All are provided with iron loops for handle attachment, but the handles themselves are of three distinct types. In a single specimen, the handles project like a bar for 6" from the outer rim and terminate in knobs. This provided a convenient hand hold by which two men could lift the kettle when full, or for its support on solid blocks over the fire. Two specimens have somewhat shorter projecting bars without terminal knobs. Handles of all other specimens terminate in a simple loop. One oval kettle measures 9" x 11" at the rim. Similar specimens to all except the oval type have been found in New Brunswick graves and on Huron sites in Ontario pre-dating 1649.

Axes: Grave Pit No. 1 yielded five and Grave Pit No. 2 eleven French trade axes of conventional 17th Century types. All are so badly corroded that no maker's mark could be located. The specimens range in length from 6-1/2" to 9". Two in the first pit retain portions of wooden handles, apparently straight sticks.

Miscellaneous Iron Objects, Grave Pit No. 1: Grave Pit No. 1 provided in 1955 a wide variety of articles. While described and illustrated in a previous report, the list is repeated to give completeness to the inventory. Iron objects in the grave were as follows:

225 double bladed spear points;
91 double pointed awls, of which 16 had wooden end tips;
19 so-called "spoons" or "caulkers";
1 spear or arrow tip, double barbed small flat point;
5 curved fish hooks with barbed tips;
1 wide chisel or wedge;
1 wide iron blade set in a wooden handle;
4 knives, slightly curved, of a kitchen type, rivetted wooden handles;

2 knives, very similar but shorter without rivetted handles;
1 heavy single edged sword blade;
5 single edged sword, 4 with leather scabbords;
1 single edged sword with elaborately decorated grip;
1 heavy double edged sword with double wedial groove on blade.

Miscellaneous Iron Objects, Grave Pit No. 2: In general the 1956 finds were characterized by a much less prolific number of iron articles, there being no spear points, awls or swords. However five small adzes or choppers were of very considerable interest (Fig. 7e). In each case, a flat iron blade with a tang projecting from the side was set into a curved handle of very hard wood and in some and probably all cases held in place with thong lashings. A heavy chisel was found with a length of 15", blade width 1-1/2", and shaft diameter 3/4". One iron spoon or caulker had been deliberately bent, apparently to be used as a scraper. One arrow point, a small knife, and several much corroded pieces of iron of indeterminate use completed the list of iron objects from this grave pit.

Glass Trade Beads: Glass trade beads were found in both grave pits. During 1955 a single spherical dark blue type represented by 112 specimens and of 1/16" diameter, was found. On the other hand there were several types in Grave Pit No. 2. Very dark blue ovoid beads of about 3/8" length were most plentiful; they were strung on a two-ply and very fibrous thread, fragments of which still remained. A second string of beads were of a translucent ice green colour, spherical in shape, and of a slightly smaller diameter. Most of these beads had already crumbled to a greenish powder when found or, if they still retained their shape, turned at once to dust when touched. A suggestion has been advanced that originally these may have been of red glass and undergone a colour change as a result of chemical action; an analysis of the powder might be desirable. Several ovoid beads were of about one-half the size of the larger blue ones; they were of a dark purple fabric and decorated either with lengthwise or diagonal opaque white stripes. The final type in Grave Pit No. 2 were minute dark purple ovoid beads of less than 1/16" diameter.

European Textiles: Grave Pit No. 2 yielded remains of at least two and possibly three twill-woven woollen blankets with a thread count of 18 or 19 to the inch. The fragments are now stained a rich brown but with dark lines of parallel stripes of patterning still visible. The original colours can not now be ascertained but the stripes were possibly red, a favourite colour with the Indians. Grave Pit No. 1 had fragments of twill wooven cloth with a thread count of 50 to the inch. It appears to have been originally a brownish colour (or red oxidized?). One fragment, 7-3/4" wide, has three hemmed edges and resembles the end of a sash or loin cloth. Is this some type of grave clothing? Father Biard refers to clothing the body before burial and Wallis, without quoting his source, describes the occasional wrapping of a body with a long sash.

Ceramics: A single pottery beaker of pale reddish fabric, green glaze on the interior and upper part of the exterior, was placed under a kettle in Grave Pit No. 1. It may have held a food offering.

Vermillion: A leather pouch containing what is evidently trade vermillion lay near skeletal remains in Grave Pit No. 2. It shows a purple hue in places, evidently the result of adulteration. The pouch is almost certainly of native manufacture.

Native Articles:

Woven Baskets and Mats: Many woven fragments employing bulrushes and grass fibres came from both burials. Some were undoubtedly parts of baskets, others possibly were mats of a type described by Father Biard as used for shedding summer rain from the houses. A basic twine weave technique was used in production of all specimens in which two weft threads were carried across simultaneously in such a way that they are twined around each warp thread. A soft basket of hemispherical form with diameter 6", depth 3", and made from coarse sedge grass, came from Grave Pit No. 2 (Fig. 7c). The specimen was sufficiently complete to allow of a complete analysis of its construction. The two first stems of fibrous grass went from rim to rim right across the bottom of the basket; they thus formed four warp threads or spines of the basket. To these stems six additional

warp threads or stems were bound at the bottom so that the first circle of weft twining at the bottom of the basket was carried around ten warp threads or spines. As further circles of weft twining encircled the basket, more warp threads were added by binding the lower end of each in the same loop as a warp thread which already existed, but on the next round of weft twining, it was bound separately. The proper flare to the sides was thus obtained. A total of thirteen rows of weft threads completed the basket but with the last two rows on the rim being very close together to give a firm finish. Portions of two other baskets with a similar weaving technique but differing in material came from the same burial pit; they are made from a two-ply twisted twine made by the Indians from fine grass. One of these baskets was lined with a very fine pelt, possibly that of a squirrel.

Fragments of woven bulrush mats or baskets came from both pits. Two variants of a twining technique were used. In one type, the warp threads lay parallel to each other with two weft strands twined around them as in the case of the previously described basket. A decorative border was introduced into one by crossing over pairs resulting in a row of holes in what was otherwise a tightly woven surface (Fig. 7b). In the other variant, warp threads were bound in alternating pairs so that the warp was forced into a diamond pattern.

Sewn Bulrush Mats: Bulrush mats of two types were recovered. In Grave Pit No. 1, the bulrushes were sewn together at six inch intervals with a two ply twisted thread, the sewing going right through the thin part of the leaf blade. With the leaves threaded tightly on the twine, the resultant mat was the thickness of the width of the blade which was sufficient to have considerable cushioning qualities. However in Grave Pit No. 2 mats were made in which thread was sewn through from side to side the width of the bulrush blade (Fig. 7a); the resulting sheet is only the thickness of the thin part of the blade. Several of these thin sheets were then lightly sewn together to give a mat of some thickness. Such mats must have been used on the floors or on couches since they would be impractical for shedding rain.

Thongs or Tump Lines: Several types of thongs come from Grave No. 2; either they were used to tie up bundles of pelts or as tump lines. One group are made of plaited heavy bulrushes; the ends were bound with a two-ply twisted cord to prevent ravelling. A second group are simply flat leather thongs about one-half inch wide. A third group are leather thongs, cut slightly wider, and then rolled into a tubular form.

Bark Dish: A remarkably well preserved birch bark dish measuring 3" x 8" and 3-1/2" high was found in Grave Pit No. 2 (Fig. 7d). A rectangular sheet of bark, 19" x 15" and at least ten layers thick, was folded to give the two sides and bottom. The ends were then folded in without cutting and held in place by stitching with what appears to be root strands.

Burial Pouch: A flat birch bark pouch with overall measurements of 12" x 33" containing child skeletal fragments, came from Grave Pit No. 2. A large piece of bark was folded over twice with edges overlapping; the resultant flattened pouch has a total width of 12". The bottom of the pouch was closed by twice splitting the bark and folding in the two outer sections to give a V-shaped bottom (Fig. 7f). A birch bark collar was next sewn onto the upper edge of the pouch with thin leather thongs. This end of the pouch was left open.

Miscellaneous Native Material: Grave Pit No. 1 yielded a portion of a wooden bow, several pieces of wampum, and some leather fragments, possibly parts of moccasins. Grave Pit No. 2 contained several rolls of birch bark, two pieces of wood that may have been portions of boxes or bowls, and fragments of what appears to have been a woven rush basket. A cluster of small feathers was possibly part of an ornament.

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ILLUSTRATIONS

Fig. 1: Plan of Burial Pit No. 1 excavated in 1955.

Fig. 2: Plan of Burial Pit No. 2 excavated in 1956.

Fig. 3: Kettle from Burial Pit No. 1 showing slashes by an axe before burial.

Fig. 4: View of Grave Pit No. 2 during excavation with Kettles Nos. 1 and 2 and top of the main mass of grave goods visible.

Fig. 5: Skull fragments 1 left exposed on lifting of Kettle No. 1 in Grave Pit No. 1.

Fig. 6: Profile of the centre walls of the north east quarter of Grave Pit No. 2 during excavation, showing layers of ash in upper portions of the pit as indicated by black arrows. The top of Kettle No. 1 is visible.

Fig. 7: Line drawing of some of the artifacts recovered in Grave Pit No. 2.

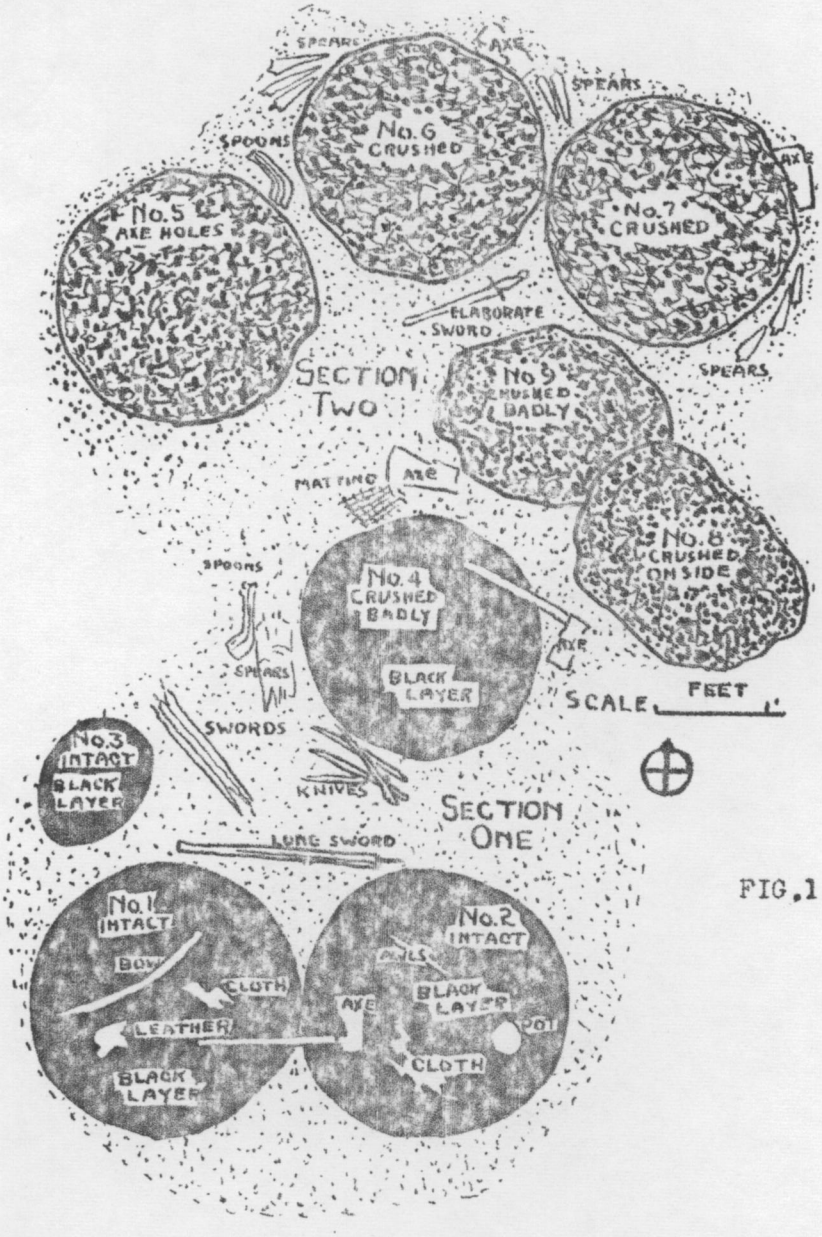

SPEARS
AXE
SPEARS
SPOONS
No. 6 CRUSHED
No. 5 AXE HOLES
No. 7 CRUSHED
AXE
ELABORATE SWORD
SECTION TWO
No. 9 CRUSHED BADLY
SPEARS
MATTING
AXE
No. 8 CRUSHED ON SIDE
SPOONS
No. 4 CRUSHED BADLY
BLACK LAYER
AXE
SPEARS
SCALE FEET
SWORDS
No. 3 INTACT
BLACK LAYER
KNIVES
SECTION ONE
LONG SWORD
No. 1 INTACT
BOW
CLOTH
LEATHER
BLACK LAYER
No. 2 INTACT
AXE
BLACK LAYER
POT
CLOTH

FIG. 1

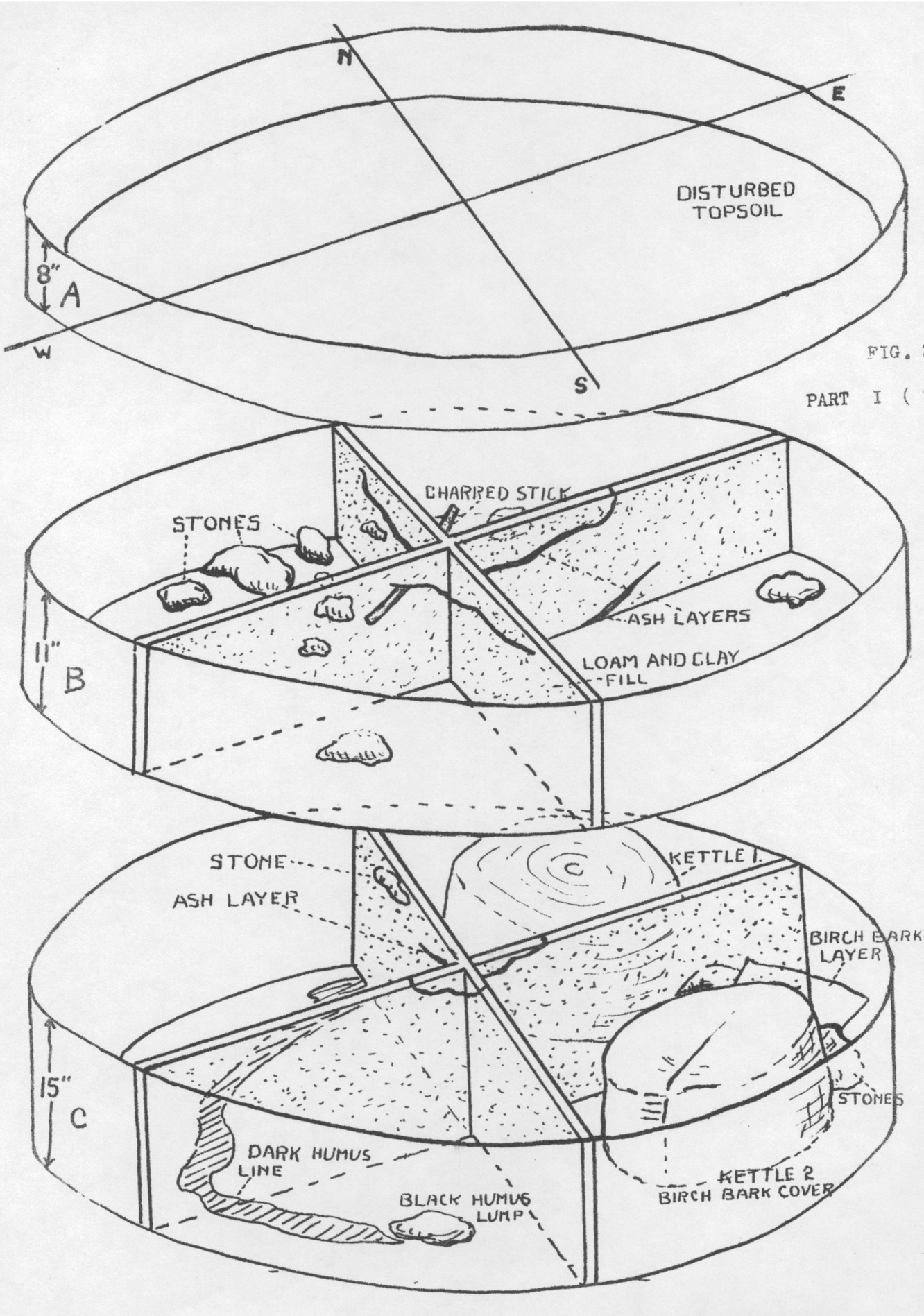


FIG. 2

PART I (Top

FIG. 2

PART II (Bottom)

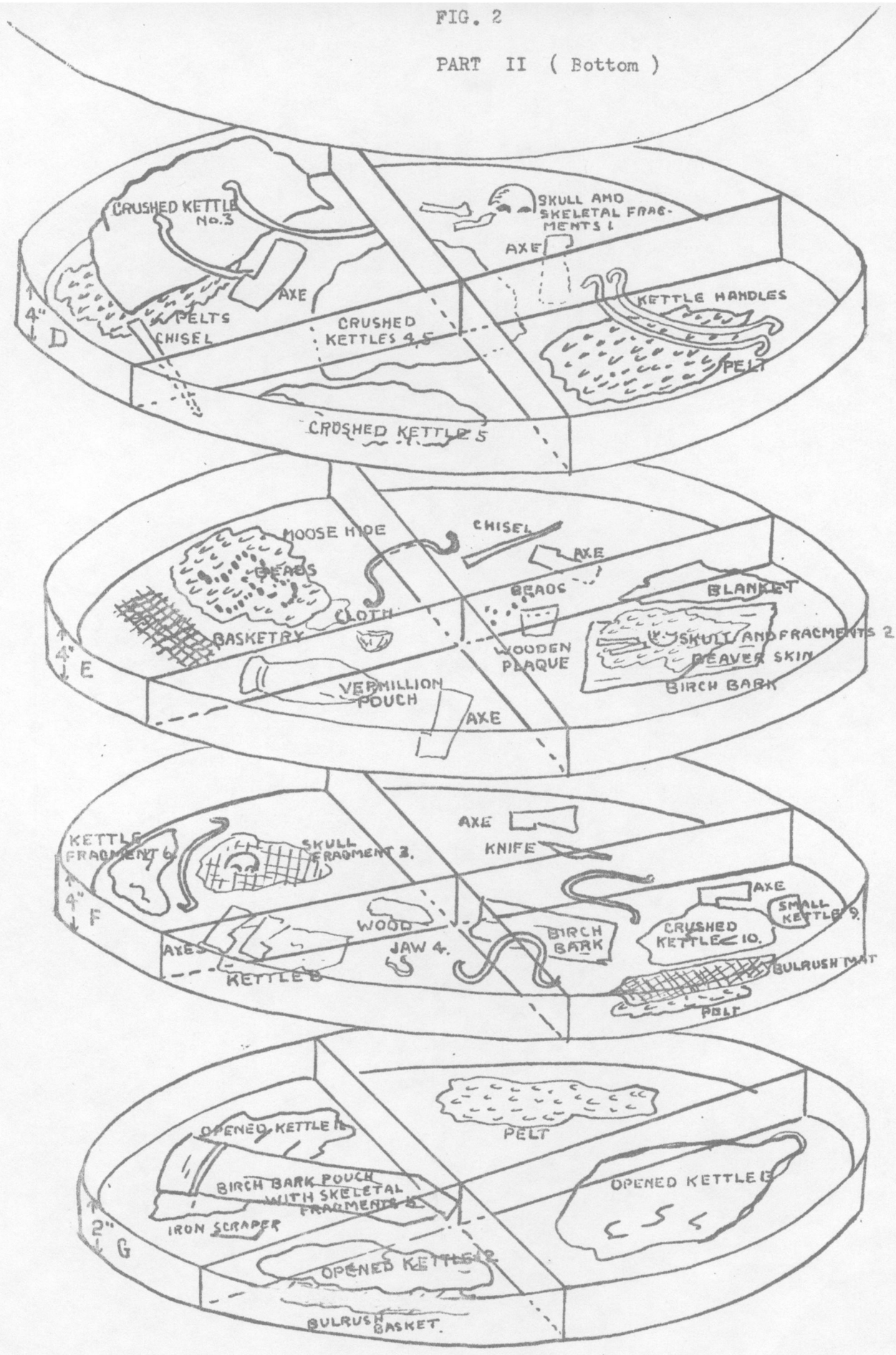


FIG. 3

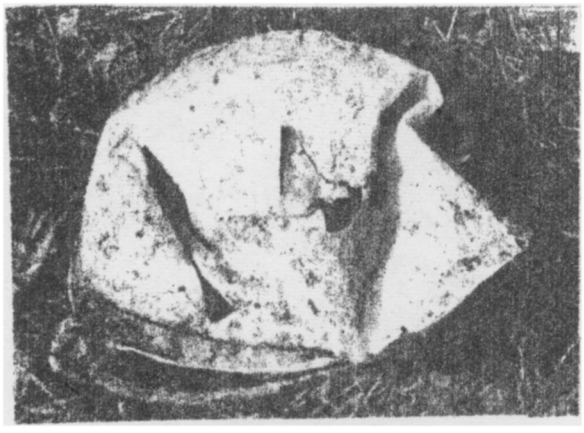


FIG. 4

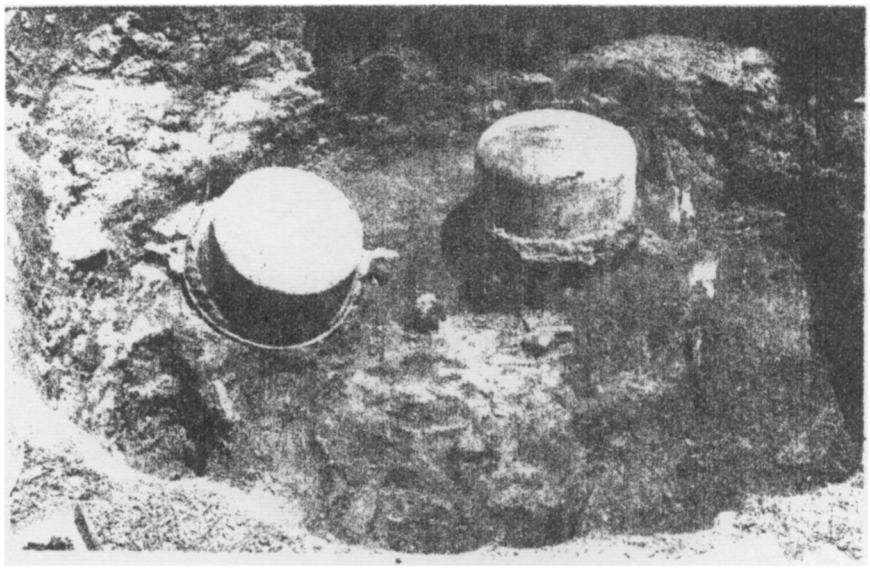


FIG. 5

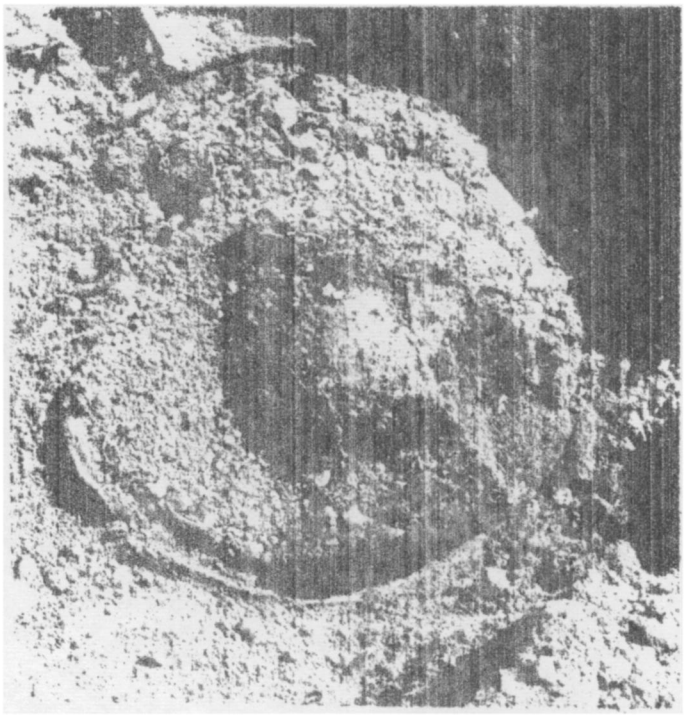
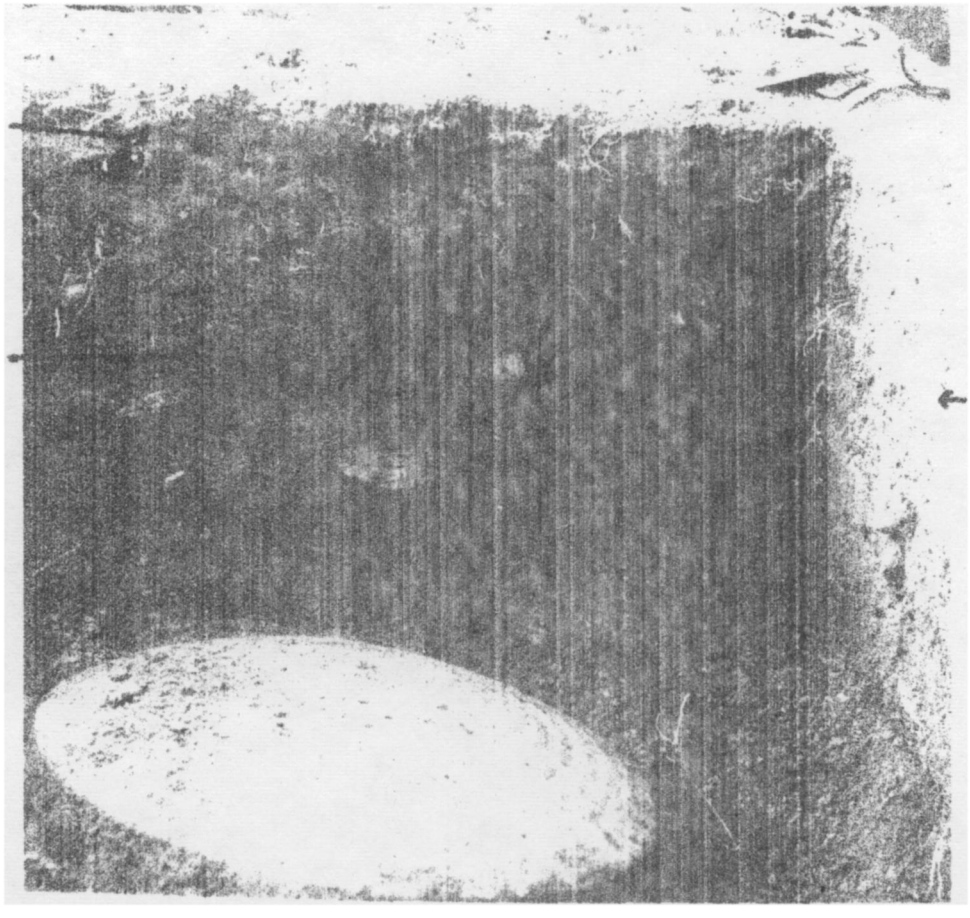


FIG. 6



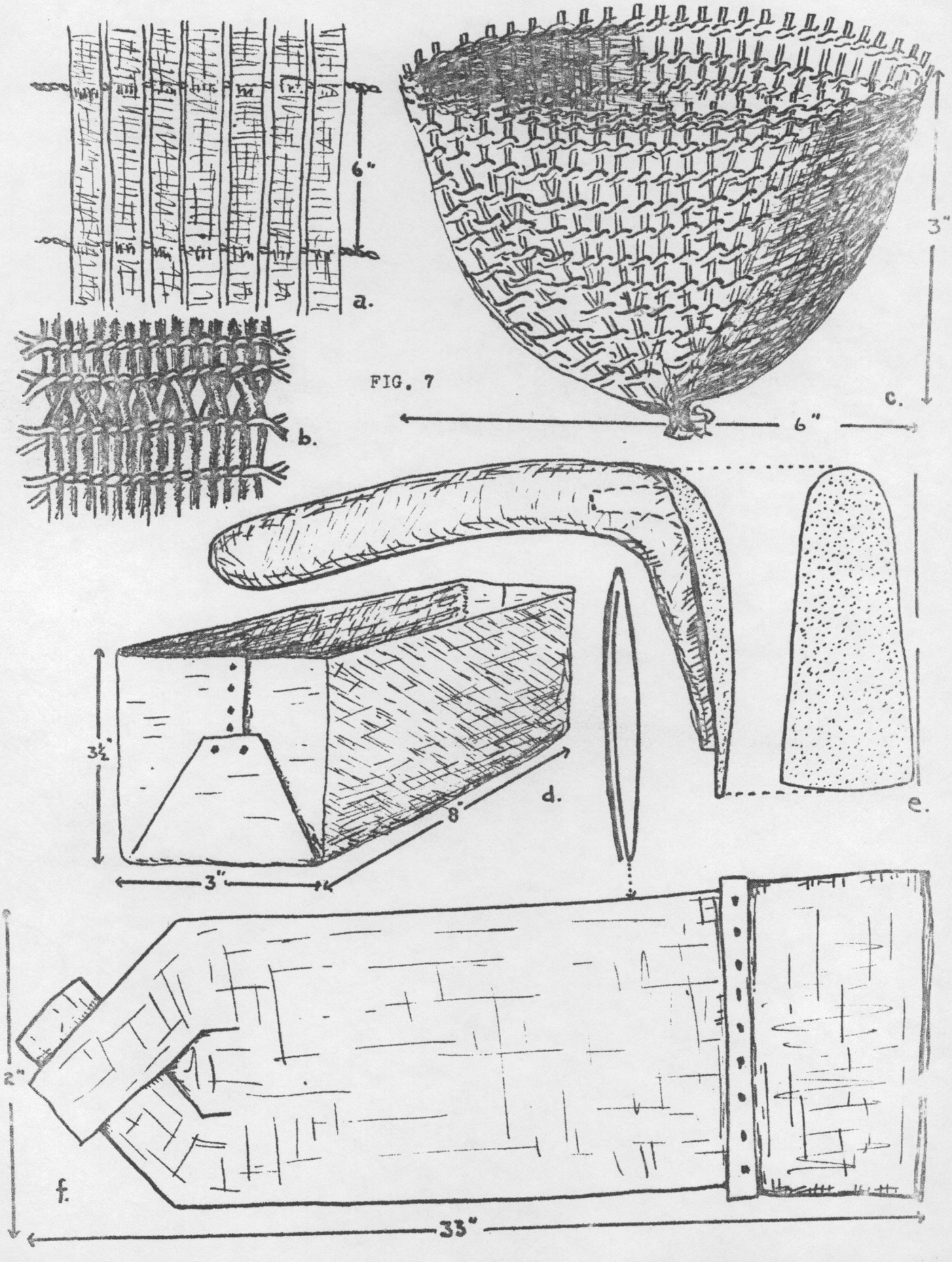


FIG. 7

BIO-BIBLIOGRAPHY OF DIAMOND JENNESS

by

Asen Balikci

Diamond Jenness was born in Wellington, New Zealand, in 1886. He was educated in Wellington Boys' High School and graduated in 1908 from Victoria University College in that city with first class honours in classics. Later he attended Balliol College, Oxford, where he took a B.A. degree with honours (Lit. Hum.) a diploma in Anthropology in 1911 and a Master's degree in 1916.

Dr. Jenness conducted, in 1911, an anthropological expedition for the University of Oxford amongst the Northern d'Entrecasteaux of New Guinea, where he collected much material on Papuan ethnology.

In 1913, he took part in the Southern Party, Canadian Arctic Expedition, conducted by V. Stefansson and for three years, until 1916, studied closely the ways and customs of the Western and Coronation Bay Eskimos who until that time had had only limited contacts with the Whites. His contributions as regards our knowledge of the Copper Eskimos have been of primary importance. Back in Ottawa after a short period devoted to classifying the collected materials, Jenness joined the 58th Battery, C.E.F., of World War I as a gunner. Following the Armistice, he returned to Ottawa and joined the National Museum staff as an ethnologist. In April 1919, he married Frances Eileen Bleakney, a native of Ottawa.

During the period between the two wars, Jenness was busy with the preparation and publication of a very large number of scientific works, interrupting his office work from time to time to undertake new field investigations. In 1921, he carried out a survey of the Sarcee Indians of Alberta on their reserve near Calgary. In 1923-24, he visited the Sekani Indians of Northern British Columbia, the Carriers of Fort Hagwilgate and the Stony Creek reserve. In 1926, Jenness was appointed chief of the Anthropological Section of the National Museum of Canada. The same year, he undertook an archaeological expedition at Cape Prince of Wales and Little

Diomede Island (Bering Strait); he made an archaeological survey of Newfoundland the following year. During the summer of 1929, he studied the Ojibways of Parry Island in Georgian Bay and the same year was appointed official Canadian delegate to the 4th Pacific Science Congress, Java. The University of New Zealand conferred on him the honorary degree of Doctor of Letters in 1933, in recognition of his contributions in the field of anthropology. Shortly after, he was appointed chairman of the Anthropological Section of the 5th Pacific Science Congress held in Vancouver in 1933. His interest in the various Indian cultures of British Columbia had not diminished, as shown by the investigation he made among the Coast Salish on Vancouver Island in 1935. Two years later, he took part in the International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences held in Copenhagen in 1938, as Canada's official delegate.

At the outbreak of the last war, Dr. Jenness left the Museum to work with the Dependents' Allowance Board. Then he was successsively RCAF Deputy Director of Intelligence, from 1940 to 1943; Chief of the Inter-Service Topographical Section, Department of National Defence, from 1943 to 1946; and the following year, Director of Research, Geographical Bureau, Department of National Defence.

Although he retired in 1947, Dr. Jenness has continued his anthropological activities. During the autumn of 1948, he gave a series of courses at the British Columbia University. The following years, he made extended trips to Europe where he had undertaken various anthropological surveys including an investigation on land use on the island of Cyprus. Dr. Jenness is a member of the following organizations: The Royal Society of Canada, The Canadian Geographical Society, The American Association for Advancement of Science (Vice-President in 1938), The Society for American Archaeology, The American Ethnological Society, The Arctic Institute of North America, The American Anthropological Association (President in 1938), The Royal Danish Geographical Society (Honorary Fellow), The Royal Society of New Zealand (Honorary member).

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THE POOLE FIELD LETTERS

Editor's note

Poole Field was for many decades a trader, trapper and prospector in the Yukon and Northwest Territories. He aided the Geological Survey of Canada and the National Museum on several occasions. Not the least of his contributions are a series of communications on the ethnology of the Athabascan-speaking peoples between the Yukon and Mackenzie Rivers. These data were as the form of personal letters to a member of the Geological Survey of Canada. The Museum possesses typescript copies of these letters. The earliest, dated 1913, is presented only in this issue. Editing has been held to the minimum necessary for comprehensibility. Editor's insertions are bracketed by slashes.

J. H. MacNeish

Ross River,
Feb. 8th, 1913.

The following is some material on customs and history of the Indians now living and hunting in the country lying between the upper Liard and Mackenzie waters and the Yukon.

/It was/ gathered during some ten years spent travelling with and trading and trapping with said Indians. The original Indians claiming the country of the Upper Pelly and its tributaries have completely disappeared with the exception of one old woman now on the Pelly /who/ is all that is left of a once large tribe.

The main causes for this is quarreling amongst themselves for one cause or another, generally started by two men fighting and one killing the other, when the relations and friends would take the quarrel up and kill the first man or some of his relatives to get even and so they would keep the quarrel going until one party were all dead or so weakened that for a time they were satisfied to stop. Secondly, by strange tribes making raids on them and killing the men and taking their women away with them if the raiders proved the strongest.

So things went until about the year 1886 as near as I can find out. All the Indians then living on the upper Pelly made a trip to the head of Ross River and Head of South Fork of McMillan, where they met in with a tribe of Indians coming from the Mackenzie waters. They only met a few of the men the first day and made friends and arrangements to meet the whole tribe the next day. The old woman now here and her husband decided to move back down the Ross that night as they did not trust the Mackenzie /Indians/ and were afraid of them, but all the rest decided to stop and meet the strangers.

Next day about sunrise, the old women said, they heard shooting at the camp they had left which kept up all day at intervals (the Indians at that time had muzzle loading rifles), which made them believe they were shooting at each other instead of just saluting each other which was the custom when two strange tribes met. So they came on down the river to the mouth where they stayed that winter waiting for some of the Pelly's to return. Three of their

dogs returned but none of the Indians which made them pretty sure that there had been trouble of some kind to have kept them all from returning. So they went up the Pelly and over to the Liard, where they met in with a tribe of Indians called the Center Indians with whom they were friends and had met before and told them what had happened and joined the tribe. Some time after some of the Center Indians made a trip to Ft. Liard, and heard there that some of the Pellys were still alive and were living with the Indians called the Mountain Indians and then trading at Ft. Norman on the Mackenzie. The Mountain Indians claim the most of the Pellys died off and the few that are still alive and living with them were too young at the time to remember what happened, but by what evidence I can gather, I believe the most of the grown people were killed. However, this ended the Pellys as a tribe.

The Center Indians from that time on gradually moved into the Pelly country and claimed it as theirs, also claiming a right to the country they had left at the head waters of the Liard.

Occasionally they were joined by other Indians from the Yukon and Teslin Lake, who married women from the Center Indians, also some of the Indians from Ft. Liard. They then called themselves the Pelly Indians doing their trading at Ft. Liard /sic, or?/ Liard Post, sometimes making a trip to the Yukon. Until later years there has been a trading post established on the Pelly which has induced Indians to come in from all directions and trade on the Pelly. Such is a rough sketch of what has happened in the past as near as you can find out from any Indians alive today on the Pelly.

The present Indians now here may be divided into three parts. The Center Indians who claim the country from the Liard post on the Liard and its tributaries to the Lappy /Lapie/ river, a tributary of the Pelly on the one side, and to Mt. Sheldon on Ross River to the mouth of the Ross on the other may be called the Pelly Indians.

The Indians claiming the country from Sheldon Lake to the head of Ross River, the Macmillan from the mouth of the north fork to its head, the head of Hyland south and north Nahannie Rivers, and all of the Gravel may be called the Mountain Indians.

The country west of Lappy and Ross River is claimed by Indians originally from the Yukon and may be called the Little Salmon Indians.

The country is owned by the women. Any man from a foreign tribe taking a wife is supposed to hunt in the country his wife belongs to. This holds good in all three tribes.

Among the Pellys and Little Salmons, the custom was that if any man wanted a wife he made her a present of some kind. If he was satisfactory as a son-in-law to the girl's parents, the present was kept, if not, it was returned. If the present was kept, he had to keep on giving to the girl and her parents of game and skins, also helping his intended father-in-law in hunting until the old people were satisfied with him as a son-in-law when he got the girl which was generally celebrated by a feast. After this you were not supposed to speak to your father or mother-in-law, or them to you. If you wished to tell them anything you must do so through a third party. The old people did the same. At the present day this law is very seldom kept up except in a few cases, but was very strict at one time.

There is no limit to the number of wives as long as you can support them, but of late years public opinion seems to be against this and now there are very few with more than one wife.

Divorce can be had by either party for most any reason. If a man kills another or any person, there is no excuse. He must either be killed himself, or one of his relatives, or pay the price to be set by the relatives of the dead person. A life for a life, or pay, seems to be the only satisfactory settlement regardless of who was in the wrong.

Amongst the Pellys and Little Salmons the belief in witches and casting of spells was very strong up to a few years ago when the contact with White people and the fear of the police has practically put a stop to any serious crimes. The medicine men were the very leaders of this. They were supposed to have the power to detect a witch. /Then he or she was/ overpowered and tied up hands and feet, then hung up by the heels to a tree. Then the doctor would make medicine over them and sing and dance, asking them if things looked different in any way. If the supposed witch said "No" he was left hanging there till he did.

Then he was taken and killed.

Only in cases when the person who was supposed to be a witch had very powerful relations and they gave the doctor presents to doctor over him did anyone get off from being killed. However, although I don't believe any of the Indians would go to this extreme now, still some of the older people have very strong beliefs on the subject yet.

The medicine man has the power of a kind of second sight either in dreams or when he or she, whoever the doctor is, starts singing they are supposed to go into a trance and when they recover they will be able to foretell the future, also cure the sick, and so forth, which gives them considerable influence with the tribe. They have tales of enormous animals such as the mammoth, and spiders as large as a full-sized grizzly bear and long worms that are supposed to be alive today and nobody can save them from these animals but their doctors. Some of the Indians will tell you they have seen these animals. I believe that the faith they put in their doctors and a warped imagination will account for all of their stories of seeing strange animals and their tracks.

Also there are the little men of the Mountain that are supposed to be about four feet high at the most and have fine living places in the heart of the mountains and are exceptionally strong and wise who come out occasionally and capture their women for wives, in some cases making the father of the girl they have taken a medicine man in return for the girl.

When a girl first comes to the age of puberty she was made to go away about a quarter of a mile from the main camp and camp alone in a skin tent. She was allowed to cook nothing. Food was sent by a female from her father's camp and no male was allowed to see her or pass close where she was stopping /for/ if he did it was supposed to bring him bad luck either by sickness or /in his/ hunting. She wore a mask over her face which she wore whenever she came out of her tent. If the Indians moved camp she came last and camped behind them whenever she camped. If it was in the winter one or two of the other females travelled with her and they had to put a green bough across every track that crossed their trail when the track came on the trail and where it went off. No matter what the track was they had to shut it off before

the girl could pass. Sometimes when the Indians crossed a lake or prairies when small game was plentiful, this was quite a job. This lasted for about two weeks when she would come back to her father's camp.

After this, whenever she had her monthlies, whether she was married or not, she had to camp alone for at least four days, but did not have to wear a mask or put boughs across any tracks she might cross in travelling.

The Pellys and Little Salmons believe that very nearly all sickness comes from the otter and mink and if anybody kills one, they or some of their near relatives will get sick and die. If any should happen to kill an otter or mink and skin it, he generally will use some old knife and throw the knife away when he is finished. He believes by doing this he guards against getting sick as the sickness is in the knife. Also if you touch or kill a frog your limbs will lose their strength, and you will get poor. Your flesh will gradually waste away till you die.

Years ago they lived in open camps sheltered on three sides by throwing up logs and brush and had a fire in front using a skin covering of caribou skins for a roof. After the winter set in, it was the custom in the morning before they made a fire to cut a hole in the ice where the water would come about to the shoulders. All the men and youths that held any claim to being strong and being able to withstand hardships jumped in the water, each being armed with small bundles of willows. When they had stayed in the water as long as able, they climbed on the ice and beat each other with the willows. The man who could stay in the water the longest and also /endure/ the hardest whipping with the willows and ask for more was proclaimed the strongest man in the tribe.

Their principal food is meat and fish. Years ago when some of the oldest men alive today were young men, they claim there were no moose in this part of the country, but caribou were very plentiful. They used bows and arrows to hunt with, spears, snares, dead falls also. They would make long fences when the caribou and sheep came below timberline, sometimes packing poles to make their fences with up on top of the mountains. They would leave spaces big enough for a caribou or sheep to go through in their fences and

set snares in them. Whenever a herd was sighted they would try to surround them and drive them through their fences. They would make snowshoe string out of the skins, blankets, and clothing of all kinds.

When the moose appeared they did practically the same thing with them. As a rule they would set their snares on the mooses' runway where they came to a lake to feed or /to/ a lick for salt. They still set snares for these animals among the Mountain men, and I have seen caught in snares moose, sheep, black-bear, wolves and wolverines. They use the twisted sinew or raw twisted caribou skin for their snares and tie one end to a loose green stick so that the animal caught can drag it around, the size of the stick varying according to the strength of the animal the snare is set for.

As the moose increased the caribou decreased until up to a few years ago, when they seem to be increasing again. But I believe up to date there is no decrease in the moose.

Beaver the Indian kills every way, with nets in winter, spearing and shooting them, dragging them out of their holes with their hands and killing them with a club. This last may demand a fuller explanation. The beaver up here very seldom occupy their house till the ice freezes. They generally have holes in the bank with the mouth of the hole under water which they come up and live in during the summer months, also some times in the winter. The Indian, late in the fall just before freeze-up, finds these holes, starting from the entrance. He makes a hole on top of the bank big enough to get his arm in. He then takes a stick with a slight bow in it and feels up the hole with it, very gently. As a rule the beaver will be right at the end of his hole when you touch him with the stick. If you are careful he will stay perfectly still if his tail is towards you. You can feel it, as it feels just the same as rubbing a stick across a rough file. Then if he is near enough, put your hand in and catch him gently by the root of the tail or just above the first joint of his hind leg so as to get a good grip. Do this very easy till you have a firm grip, then jerk him out as quick as you are able, till he is half out of the hole when you pound him on the back with a club or the head of an axe till he stops struggling, when you bring him all out and finish him. Their holes are so narrow that it is practically impossible for them

to turn and bite you in doing this. If he should be facing you in the hole, poke him gently on the nose. He will either turn round or bolt out. If he comes out, you have to be quick to spear him when he enters the water or before he gets into another hole.

The Indians claim that they can tell what kind of winter it is going to be by the way the beaver build their houses and the amount of food they put up for the winter. According to how cold the winter will be, the amount of food and the place chosen for a house /vary/, being made higher out of the water in case of the water freezing to the bottom and overflowing. I believe there is a good deal of truth in this, but have not been able to collect enough evidence as yet to be sure.

I believe there is more trouble caused now and in the past over beaver than any other one thing. Each Indian has his beaver country where he can go at any time and get his dinner, as the beaver, if not disturbed, will stay for years in one place or close in that neighborhood. He arrives at his beaver country to find some one has been before him and not only taken his dinner but also his money in the shape of the beaver skin, and if he catches the man that did it as a rule there is trouble of some kind. This is how a lot of the trouble between different tribes is started, also amongst the tribe itself.

The Indian generally tries to get into a good game country about the end of August when all game is fat, to put up a cache of dried meat for the winter months. If in the mountains the women catch groundhogs and gophers they dry them for the winter. Often /by/ the end of October the nutting /sic, rutting/ season is over and most of the male animals in the big game line are poor.

They use the caribou and calf moose for snowshoe string and in making their toboggans also for clothing tanned with the hair on, sometimes worn with the hair inside of the garment, sometimes with the hair out. Some of the more stylish use beaver for coats and hats and mitts, also in trimming garments. They use rabbit skins cut in strips and knitted for blankets, also the skins of squirrel and ground hog. At the present-day, they are copying the white man more and using his clothing which is not as warm as their own

in winter. They use the dog entirely as beast of burden, pack him in the summer and /with/ a sleigh or toboggan in the winter. They have stick traps and snares for most all the animals there are in here. Their tools originally were made out of wood, bone, or stone, but they use the white man's traps and tools as a rule almost altogether now.

They are continually on the move, only stopping a few days in one place and cover a large tract of country in a year. Their food supply is taken from such a large country that it leaves plenty to breed from, so although an Indian kills a lot of game in a year he does a country very little harm.

Also this travelling is pretty hard work, so if anybody falls sick, he either has to get well in a hurry or die, as the Indians cannot stay very long in one place for want of food, and their nursing is of the poorest, so it is a case of get well quick or die. Tuberculosis seems to be the strongest of all diseases amongst them. A few years ago they were dying off fast but it seems to have killed all the sickly ones and left the strongest and healthy ones, as they are now on the increase and very little sickness amongst them of any kind. There is a great similarity in the language spoken by the Indians living on the Liard and on the Mackenzie from Fort Providence to Ft. Good Hope, and from Selkirk to Lake Tagish on the Yukon and the Pelly. Many of their words are exactly alike and many being so similar that to anyone speaking our language fluently it is easy to understand what is meant. Their main sources of amusement are gambling, dancing, singing and telling stories.

They have a God who is supposed to be an Indian and lives in one of the stars who made everything on the earth. The animals were the first and the smartest of all the animals and the wisest were the wolves and the ravens, the next was the wolverine. All the animals could talk and understand each other and can yet. The wolves and ravens intermarried and their children were Indians. They called the wolverine their brother-in-law and were very friendly with him.

The wolves and the ravens held a meeting and made a law that they would not marry any other animal, but a wolf was to marry a raven and a raven a wolf. The children would take their name from their mother, and their mother would own the country. Sisters and

brothers after they became of age should not speak or play with each other. When a wolf died the other wolves would make a big feast for the ravens to eat and would give the ravens presents but would eat nothing themselves. When a raven died he was to do the same for the wolves and so the world was started.

These laws are followed to the present day amongst all the Indians on the Yukon, Pelly, Teslin Lake, and Upper Liard, but the Mountain Indians do not. But all the Indians living on water running into the Yukon and the Upper Liard, the first thing they will ask you when you meet is what tribe /moiety/ you belong to, the wolves or the ravens. If you belong to the same tribe as them, they will call you brother or father according to age, and are supposed to treat you as such, and although you may be no relation, if you belong to the same tribe you can't marry, but if it should happen that you belong to the opposite family, even if you should be close blood relatives, marriage is all right.

When an Indian dies his relatives dress him up in as good clothes as possible, also furnish him with a gun, if they have one, and a blanket. The men were supposed to follow him to the grave. On the way their chief or head man was supposed to walk ahead and call to their God that one of his children was coming to him, occasionally firing the gun belonging to the dead man. When they arrived at the grave and had lowered the body into it, they fired two more shots, then loaded the gun again and left it at full cock and placed it on top of the coffin pointing west. Then the head man spoke to the dead person calling him first by name two or three times, then telling him, "You are leaving us now to go to our great Father. According to the life you have led here below, whether good or bad, /that/ is the reception he will give you. You see the trail ahead of you leading from here to his camp in the star that we on earth are not permitted to see. You must follow this trail, neither turning to the right or to the left on small hunting trails, but keep to the well beaten one. We will put food in the fire every time we cook for you to eat on the way. Be brave and fear nothing that our Father may be proud of the people you came from." /The head man calls/ "culah, culah" twice, meaning "finish." They then fill in the grave and return to camp, where the relatives make a feast for the opposite party from the deceased, whether Wolf or Raven, in honor of the dead and throw

food into the fire for him to eat.

When the dead person arrives at the Star, if he is a good Indian he is met by the God, who gives him a hearty welcome and leads him to where the other Indians are stopping that have died before him, who also give him a hearty welcome and make a big feast for him. When they are through eating they dance and sing and gamble and have a general good time. If the dead Indian should not have been a good Indian on earth, the God is liable to turn him into a bear or a moose or any kind of animal and send him back to earth, and leave him there until such time as he thinks he has punished him enough, when he will take him back and he will be received with the same honor as a good Indian.

The dead person's goods, if he has any, are packed up by the head of the family. That of it that is of any value is cached; the rest is either thrown into the river or burned after a year or two. The valuable stuff is then divided amongst the relatives of the dead person, or in case he was rich part of it would be given to the ravens if the dead person happened to be a wolf or vice versa.

The Mountain men used to have trouble a long time ago with the Eskimo Indian, somewhere near Bear lake. Every time they would meet there would be a fight. The story goes that at one time the leader of the Mountain men became very strong in their fights and was a great hunter, also the main leader of the Eskimo Indians was the same. They had often tried to meet each other in fights, each claiming to be the better man, and would hunt close to each other's boundary line to show they were not afraid. (This is supposed to have happened before they had any rifles.) One day they met each other while out hunting and were very polite. The chief of the Eskimo invited the Mountain chief to hunt white bear with him (this was in the winter), believing that if the Mountain chief did he would either get killed by the bear or /the Eskimo/ would get a chance when his back was turned to kill him. However, the Mountain chief was willing, so they went down to a place where the water was open and a good fishing place where they were almost sure to find bear. They found one fishing from the edge of the ice. He seemed to be a young one about three years old. The Eskimo said he would kill this bear alone if the Mountain man would sit down where he was and watch. So he did. The way they hunted bear then was to get

as near as possible without being detected, so that they could either kill him unawares or make the bear stand and fight. If the bear saw them he would probably run away. When the Eskimo got within five or six yards of the bear, he left his bow and spear and just used his knife and him and the bear went at it. They had quite a fight on the ice, and finally grappled each other and fell in the water which separated them and each made shore again. Then the Eskimo killed the bear without getting hurt himself with the exception of a slight scratch on his shoulder. He was then joined by the Mountain man who complimented him on his hunting. On looking down the river they saw another bear much larger than the first coming towards them, also busy fishing. The Eskimo told the Mountain man "Now I have killed a bear alone, now you kill one." The Mountain man started off and made much closer to the bear than the Eskimo did without the bear seeing him, also leaving his bow and spear and just using his knife. When the bear saw him, he came for him and when within striking distance, he stood up on his hind legs. But the Mountain man dodged the blow by side stepping and drove his knife into the bear just back of the short ribs above the kidneys, where there is a soft joint in the back bone. He struck this joint and when the bear landed on its front feet it broke its back. Then he was easily killed.

This rather scared the Eskimo from attacking the Mountain man, so when they came to where they separated to go to their different camps, the Eskimo said "Let us sit down and talk. I wish to tell you, he said, that when we first met it was my intention to kill you if I could catch you unawares, but since you killed that bear so easily I was a little scared about tackling you. Now, we have been at war together, your tribe and mine, for a long time. Sometimes your tribe gets the best of it, sometimes mine. Now since we have met, what do you think of us making friends and partners. I promise that I will never do you any harm from this date, and if I hear of any harm coming to you I will try to prevent it, if you get killed I will try to kill the man who did it, will look after you in sickness or when out of luck, divide half I have with you. We will be more than brothers to each other. If you should die I will be a husband to your wife and a father to your children, the same as my own. Will you agree to do the same by me?" The Mountain chief said he would, so they exchanged bows and spears and knives and clothing right there.

"Now we will call this partnership Sa-Anzie for when our young men hear of it they will want to follow our example so we must make it a law if anyone makes a Sa-Anzie and does not live up to his agreement he will have to pay for it." "Now, the Eskimo said, "to prove your faith come home with me, and stop in my camp tonight and I will return and spend a night with you in yours and our wives will be partners the same as we are." So the Mountain man did, much to the surprise of the other Eskimos. However, this started the Sa-Anzie Brotherhood on the Mackenzie and very nearly every man after that when they met a strange tribe made a Sa-Anzie of one of the strangers and it was strictly lived up to and is to the present day. The Mountain men all have Sa-Anzies with the Pellys as a safeguard against treachery and to help in case of sickness and /in/ several cases where the man has died. Although so far they have not taken the widow to wife still the Sa-Anzie gives her presents and food and looks after the children.

The women are supposed to have ten or eleven children and until they do have this amount they are not considered old. Amongst the three tribes the men and women invariably eat together. The Mountain women do practically all the cooking, but amongst the Pellys and Little Salmons, it is about equally divided.

The Mountain women have very little to say in the management of affairs. The Pelly and Little Salmons are about even with the men, in some cases the women being the boss entirely. In regards to camp work it depends entirely what season of the year it is. If in fur season, it keeps the men busy hunting and trapping and the women do practically all of the camp work. In the summer months they help each other.

Since they have come in contact with the Whites they look further ahead and some are saving a little money each year instead of spending all their fur and getting credit besides.

They have lots of old legends of the country being flooded, also of being covered with ice, another of the country being covered with ashes, and the trouble the people had at that time to live. The first may have originated with the White man; they met years ago. The last might have been from some volcanic ash that years ago undoubtedly existed some place in the country, as there is volcanic ash in the banks of the

river from Ross River on down.

They have other old stories which I can write you later about, if they should be of any interest to you. I will be able to get you a collection of curios illustrating their life and habits. I will ship them to you when the steamer arrives here in July. I am rather handicapped in this as I am not sure just what value you would care to pay for some articles. I am using my own judgment about some but I should like you to advise me what to do, if possible. I am getting a model moose-skin canoe, instead of a full-sized one, say about four or five feet long, also a child's fur blanket instead of a large one. Then in clothing some of them have beaver coats well worked in beads and trimmed with otter. One sold here to a White man for $70. I could get one like it as the coat is really worth it, but it is a big price to pay without advice. I could get the same coat made out of caribou fur and without beadwork for probably seven or eight dollars.

Yours sincerely,

(Sgd) Poole Field.

RELATIVISME CULTUREL ET JUGEMENTS DE VALEUR*

par

Marcel Rioux

Le relativisme culturel qui est devenu depuis quelques années une théorie en vogue chez plusieurs anthropologistes américains peut s'énoncer à peu près comme suit: d'après Herskovits qui s'est fait le champion de cette théorie, il faut distinguer entre les concepts d'absolu et d'universel culturels; on trouve, il est vrai, dans toutes les sociétés des types d'institutions universelles comme la famille et les systèmes de moralité, mais le contenu de ces traits universels est conditionné par l'expérience historico-culturelle d'une société donnée et peut être traité comme une fonction du système culturel global; il n'y a pas d'absolus, au sens de standards fixes qui n'admettent pas de variations; il n'y a que des universels abstraits et formels dont le contenu varie historiquement, c'est-à-dire varie en fonction des expériences de chaque société et du changement culturel auquel elle est soumise. Comme le dit Herskovits, "les jugements sont fondés sur l'expérience et l'expérience est interprétée par chaque individu en fonction de sa propre enculturation." (9) En bref, chaque culture doit être jugée en elle-même parce que ce sont ses prémisses qui déterminent la façon dont les individus qui en font partie appréhendent leur milieu physique et social. La conclusion que les relativistes tirent de leurs analyses empiriques des sociétés c'est que tout ensemble de coutumes et d'institutions envisagé comme façon de vivre est aussi valable qu'un autre. Comme l'a montré Hartung, (8) il y a dans le raisonnement des relativistes une sorte de non-sequitur. Si on mettait leur thèse en syllogisme on arriverait à ceci:

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Chaque culture diffère de toutes les autres,

Or il n'y a pas de critère interculturel qui nous permettent d'évaluer ces différences,

Par conséquent, tout ensemble de coutumes est aussi bon qu'un autre.

Hartung montre que la conclusion ne découle pas des prémisses car la seule conclusion qu'on peut valablement tirer des prémisses, du fait de la variation culturelle, c'est qu'un style de vie particulier n'est pas nécessaire pour que l'homme continue à vivre; la conclusion fondée sur l'observation, à savoir que la moralité est d'origine culturelle ne doit pas servir de tremplin à la conclusion que toute moralité est aussi valable l'une que l'autre. Darryl Forde va plus loin dans sa condamnation du relativisme culturel: "La position de certains ethnologues est devenue, en conséquence, celle du relativisme culturel. Ils confondaient, en effet, des jugements de valeur subjectifs avec les critères de la différentiation socio-culturelle. Ils en sont arrivés au point où des problèmes ethniques et politiques comme celui de savoir si les peuples occidentaux ont le droit de dominer et de déplacer les peuples primitifs ou d'influencer leur vie de façon quelconque, sont confondus avec le problème de savoir dans quelle mesure des structures sociales et culturelles données constituent sur la base de critères extrinsèques appropriés, des formes plus complexes, plus productives et plus viables que d'autres." (4)

Nous voudrions montrer dans cet essai comment certains anthropologistes en sont arrivés à formuler la théorie du relativisme culturel, la très grande part de vérité qu'elle contient et enfin, montrer que certains tenants du relativisme culturel prononcent des jugements de valeur sur les cultures qu'ils étudient.

A la question, les anthropologistes doivent-ils évaluer les cultures qu'ils étudient, certains, comme M. Ishida, professeur d'anthropologie culturelle à l'Université de Tokyo répondent: les anthropologistes n'ont pas à se demander ce que l'homme doit être: il leur suffit d'essayer de savoir ce qu'il est. Il semble bien que cette opinion soit sans appel. L'anthropologie n'est-elle pas, en effet, une science, c'est-à-dire une discipline qui, par définition, doit observer, comprendre, expliquer et prévoir les phénomènes dont elle s'occupe? Qu'y-a-t-il, en effet, de commun à toutes

les sciences? C'est d'être un système de concepts logiquement reliés, induits de l'expérience et de l'observation et d'où découlent des prévisions qu'on peut vérifier ou infirmer à l'aide d'autres expériences et d'autres observations. Il n'est jamais question de valeurs en science.

Et pourtant, depuis que les sciences dites sociales sont nées, on a toujours observé un certain flottement dans les opinions sur ce sujet. Les grands fondateurs de la sociologie, Comte, Spencer et Durkheim n'ont-ils pas voulu d'abord savoir pour ensuite prescrire? A notre époque n'attend-on pas justement de l'économiste que non seulement il dise aux gouvernants ce qui est mais encore ce qu'il faut faire. La question n'est peut-être pas aussi simple qu'elle apparaît de prime abord. Pour ne s'en tenir qu'à une seule science sociale, l'anthropologie, on peut voir que cette question comporte de multiples aspects et que, tout en voulant rester homme de science et en ne voulant pas usurper le rôle des morales traditionnelles, l'anthropologiste rencontre constamment sur son chemin le problème des valeurs. La notion de valeur pose à l'anthropologiste trois questions distinctes. Doit-il étudier les valeurs des sociétés qu'il observe? Doit-il classifier, comparer et apprécier ces valeurs? Et finalement, comment les valeurs personnelles de l'anthropologiste influencent-elles sa démarche? Comment ces problèmes ont été résolus par les praticiens des sciences sociales, plus particulièrement ceux de l'époque moderne? Nous ne nous intéresserons ici qu'à l'une de ces questions: doit-on et peut-on évaluer les cultures?

Au XVIIIe siècle, au siècle des lumières, les philosophes sociaux croyaient au développement progressif de l'humanité. La connaissance de l'histoire et des civilisations passées les conduisait au XVIIIe siècle qui éclipsait tous les autres et qui marquait une nouvelle étape vers l'apogée de la race humaine. Emprisonné pour crimes politiques, Condorcet n'en écrivit pas moins dans sa cellule une "Esquisse d'un tableau historique du progrès de l'esprit humain." A la veille de la Révolution française, les Encyclopédistes croient au progrès indéfini de l'humanité. A Rousseau qui va à contre-courant de son siècle, les Allemands répondent par la théorie de la "Kultur" qu'ils opposent au concept de nature, stable et fixe; pour eux l'homme, par sa "Kultur" est toujours en voie de constant enrichissement. Comme le dit Bidney, pour les philosophes du XVIIIe siècle, l'objectif ultime de la

science de l'homme était d'en arriver à formuler une doctrine normative, morale et culturelle de l'homme, fondée sur des généralisations inductives concernant sa nature; cette science devait aussi prescrire les conditions idéales pour que l'humanité connaisse le bonheur et la vertu.

Au siècle suivant, deux facteurs vinrent modifier l'oeuvre des philosophes sociaux et changer leur perspective: la découverte de nombreuses pièces archéologiques et la publication des oeuvres de Darwin. Alors que les philosophes sociaux ne se préoccupaient guère des origines de l'humanité ni de la chronologie exacte de son développement, les découvertes archéologiques mirent ces questions à l'ordre du jour; au lieu de dates hypothétiques et d'origines incertaines, il devenait possible de tabler sur des faits irréfutables. La doctrine de l'évolution, proposée par Darwin, gagna ceux qui étudiaient les sociétés humaines. On entrevit alors qu'il serait possible de faire pour l'homme ce que Darwin avait fait pour le monde animal. On conçut donc le projet de découvrir les lois psychologiques qui expliquent l'histoire culturelle de l'humanité. Les premiers ethnologues et archéologues commencèrent d'étudier les vestiges des civilisations disparues et les peuples archaïques dans le but de formuler les lois de l'évolution de l'humanité, du développement comparé de ses arts, de ses systèmes sociaux, de ses coutumes et de ses religions. Darwin et Comte étaient leurs mentors. C'est la raison qui mesurait les progrès accomplis. Aux trois états d'évolution de Comte, théologie, métaphysique et science, l'ethnologue Frazer répondait par les trois stades: magie, religion et science. Les évolutionnistes du XIXe siècle postulaient l'unité psychique de l'humanité; placé dans un milieu physique, sensiblement le même partout, l'homme a connu un développement uniforme, graduel et progressif. Par uniforme on entendait que l'évolution de toutes les cultures est sensiblement la même partout et connaît des stades analogues et identiques; le développement était graduel, c'est-à-dire qu'il procédait par d'infimes modifications; enfin l'évolution conduisait à des formes culturelles de plus en plus élevées. Tel était en gros l'évolutionnisme des ethnologues de la fin du XIXe siècle.

Cette théorie fut vivement prise à partie au début de notre siècle par des anthropologistes qui devaient dominer la scène pendant toute la première partie du XXe siècle. Boas et son école américaine n'eurent

pas de mal à prouver que le développement des cultures n'est ni uniforme, ni graduel, ni progressif dans tous ses aspects; pour infirmer les théories évolutionnistes, on commença d'étudier la culture contemporaine des peuples archaïques. L'anthropologie changeait d'orientation. Au lieu d'être une discipline qui s'attache à ériger des mesures de progrès culturel valables pour toute l'humanité, elle devenait l'étude minutieuse de sociétés particulières. Sous l'influence de Durkheim, Radcliffe-Brown et Malinowski chaque société en vint à être considérée comme un tout fonctionnel, plus ou moins intégré. Ce nouvel objectif s'adaptait très bien au climat scientifique de l'époque qui ne prisait que les faits et les mensurations. L'anthropologie prit place aux Etats-Unis, en Angleterre parmi les sciences naturelles; les anthropologistes étaient considérés comme "tough-minded;" ils devenaient collègues des physiciens et des mathématiciens. Les mots d'évolution, de progrès, et de valeur furent bannis de leur vocabulaire. "Les faits sociaux sont des choses" devenait leur devise. Déjà, en 1907, le sociologue Sumner, déclarait: "les moeurs sont bonnes ou mauvaises selon qu'elles sont adaptées ou non aux conditions de vie et aux intérêts d'une époque et d'une société données." Petit à petit, les anthropologistes en vinrent à formuler la doctrine connue aujourd'hui sous le nom de relativisme culturel et que nous avons brièvement exposée au début de cet article.

On notera qu'en science comme en art, en anthropologie comme en physique, les différentes théories et les différentes écoles obéissent à ce qu'on a appelé un mouvement de pendule; dans chacune, il y a une part de réaction contre celle qui l'a précédée. C'est ainsi, par exemple, qu'au début du siècle, Boas et ses disciples ont violemment combattu l'évolutionnisme et qu'ils ont voulu étudier minutieusement des sociétés particulières pour ensuite induire des éléments qui seraient communs à toutes. L'école fonctionnaliste, qui jusqu'à un certain point procède de Boas, est allée plus loin et a voulu étudier les sociétés d'une façon dynamique, en élaborant une théorie adéquate pour expliquer le fonctionnement d'un tout socio-culturel. C'est ici qu'on peut parler d'une espèce de tournant et de la différentiation graduelle entre ethnologie et anthropologie culturelle. Avec Radcliffe-Brown et Malinowski, en Angleterre, une nouvelle école, celle du fonctionnalisme, s'est développée, qui avec les années, est devenue, en s'adjoignant d'autres points de vue complémentaires, l'anthropologie sociale et culturelle

moderne. Radcliffe-Brown fait cette distinction entre les deux points de vue: "la comparaison de phénomènes particuliers de la vie sociale peut se faire de points de vue très différents qui correspondent à la distinction qu'on fait communément en Angleterre maintenant entre l'ethnologie et l'anthropologie sociale. L'existence d'institutions, de coutumes ou de croyances semblables dans deux ou plusieurs sociétés peut, dans certaines circonstances, être interprétée par l'ethnologie comme l'effet d'un contact historique. Ce qu'on recherche est une espèce de reconstitution de l'histoire d'une société, d'un peuple ou d'une région. En sociologie comparative le but de la comparaison est différent; on a pour but d'explorer la variété des formes de la vie sociale pour y trouver une base pour l'étude théorique des phénomènes sociaux." (13) L'essence du fonctionnalisme est que tous les phénomènes sociaux sont d'abord envisagés en termes de leurs interrelations à l'intérieur d'un contexte donné. On voit donc que les écoles qui se sont succédées ont apporté un point de vue nouveau et que si, d'une part, les principes de l'une marquaient une avance sur la précédente, aucune d'elles, d'autre part, n'incluait l'étude de tous les phénomènes ou de tous les aspects de ces phénomènes. Les évolutionnistes du type de Condorcet cherchaient à établir l'évolution des sociétés et à formuler une doctrine normative de la culture; ils cherchaient, en somme, quelle était la meilleure culture. Les évolutionnistes qui les ont suivis ne se préoccupent guère de la doctrine normative mais cherchent à établir empiriquement les stades de l'évolution humaine. Avec Boas, plus de doctrine normative ni de schème d'évolution: il s'agit de connaître par le menu des sociétés contemporaines, de décrire leur histoire, sans trop se préoccuper de théorie culturelle et sociale. Avec les fonctionnalistes, on laisse de côté le point de vue historique; il s'agit de connaître comment une unité culturelle contemporaine fonctionne et de mettre au point une théorie qui explique ce fonctionnement. Il est évident que du point de vue scientifique, le dernier point de vue, s'il est plus restreint quant aux nombres de phénomènes considérés, est plus satisfaisant car il passe de l'observation et de la description des phénomènes à leur explication. Depuis Condorcet et les philosophes sociaux, les problèmes d'évaluation des cultures ne font plus partie des buts de l'ethnologie et de l'anthropologie. Il semble bien, cependant, que même si les anthropologistes ont systématiquement banni de leur vocabulaire les notions de valeur, d'autres concepts en sont venus à prendre la place des jugements de valeur; c'est ainsi

qu'à notre avis les concepts d'intégration, de culture "authentique" et "fausse" de Sapir, de culture "riche" et "maigre" de Redfield, et celui de "santé mentale" de Hallowell peuvent être considérés comme des jugements de valeur déguisés.

Pour bien comprendre le climat de pensée chez les anthropologistes américains, il faut d'abord, semble-t-il, examiner le climat général de pensée en Occident. Lovejoy, un spécialiste de l'histoire des idées et de la sociologie de la connaissance n'a pas eu de peine à démontrer que ce climat est saturé du rationalisme et du romantisme du XVIIIe siècle; du rationalisme, nous tenons nos idées libérales de tolérance, de libéralisme; du romantisme, nous avons gardé l'idée qu'il faut garder jalousement nos différences et nos idiosyncrasies. Bidney écrit: "Rétrospectivement, il apparaît que les anthropologistes américains ont continué de refléter l'attitude de leur démocratie. En libéraux et démocrates, ils ont magnifié les tendances de leur culture tout en professant avoir trouvé la raison de leur plus grande tolérance dans l'étude comparative des cultures primitives. Ils ont pris pour acquis la valeur des différences culturelles et leur compatibilité mutuelle." (2) Il faut bien noter aussi que les anthropologistes américains vivant dans une société où les préjugés ethniques contre les Nègres et les Juifs sont encore très vivaces se sont tout naturellement rangés dans la catégorie des libéraux démocrates qui combattent ces préjugés. Allport écrit: "Le fait qu'il existe une corrélation positive entre radicalisme et libéralisme d'une part et tolérance ethnique, d'autre part, donne beaucoup de poids au raisonnement des bigots (vraisemblablement des conservateurs en politique) qui déclarent que ce sont des radicaux qui croient à l'égalité des droits." (1) C'est d'ailleurs aux anthropologistes que les intellectuels libéraux s'adressent pour se munir d'arguments et de preuves contre la discrimination ethnique et raciale. Occupés pendant longtemps à combattre les fausses théories racistes, les anthropologistes auraient eu mauvaise grâce à afficher une théorie de supériorité culturelle après avoir victorieusement réfuté la thèse de la supériorité raciste.

Quoi qu'il en soit de la genèse des affirmations égalitaires et de la théorie du relativisme culturel que la plupart des anthropologistes américains professent, on peut se demander si la notion d'intégration telle qu'énoncée par Durkheim, développée par Malinowski et enrichie par les apports de nombreux

anthropologistes contemporains ne mène pas d'une part au relativisme culturel et si, d'autre part, elle n'est pas teintée elle-même de jugement préférentiel. Ce concept d'intégration suppose que chaque culture doit être jugée en elle-même, dans sa propre optique, il faut tout de suite noter que c'est en même temps l'une des conclusions du relativisme culturel. La notion d'intégration est avant tout fonctionnelle; quand on parle d'intégration, on ne met pas l'accent sur le contenu d'une culture, mais plutôt sur l'harmonie, sur l'agencement et le fonctionnement d'un ensemble de traits, de complexes et de schèmes culturels; quand on parle d'intégration culturelle, qu'il s'agisse d'harmonie et de compatibilité des modèles entre eux, des modèles et des schèmes réels de comportement, des personnalités et de la culture globale, il s'agit toujours d'adaptation; l'intégration est relationnelle. Il y a intégration quand les éléments d'un tout s'emboîtent bien les uns dans les autres et que le tout fonctionne sans heurt. Si, comme l'a bien vu Radcliffe-Brown, la fonction primordiale de tout trait culturel est d'assurer la continuité du système dont il fait partie, il est bien évident que l'on jugera un trait culturel non pas quant à son contenu mais quant aux relations qu'il entretient avec les autres traits culturels. (Les fonctionnalistes ont réagi en cela contre les premiers comparatistes qui détachaient de leur contexte socio-culturel les divers éléments pour les comparer entre eux.) Fonction et intégration sont deux concepts qui s'appellent l'un et l'autre et il en va ainsi en psychologie comme en anthropologie. Comme le dit Girod: "Le principe fondamental du gestaltisme lewinien est donc exactement le même sur le plan sociologique et sur le plan psychologique: dans un ensemble dynamique -- un ensemble dont les éléments sont interdépendants -- tout changement survenant dans une partie affecte l'ensemble et tout changement survenant dans l'ensemble affecte chaque partie." (5) Le concept d'intégration, d'autre part, se rapporte essentiellement à la fonction des éléments d'une culture donnée; Linton, par exemple, dit: "... l'adaptation mutuelle des éléments culturels s'appelle intégration. On peut distinguer l'aspect dynamique et statique de l'intégration. Par processus d'intégration, nous entendons le développement progressif d'une adaptation de plus plus en plus parfaite entre les divers éléments que comprend la culture totale; par degré d'intégration, nous nous demandons simplement dans quelle mesure cette adaptation est réalisée à un moment donné, mesure jusqu'où ces diverses adaptations se sont faites." (11) Une unité culturelle est donc jugée d'après le degré

d'intégration qu'elle présente; le concept d'intégration n'implique, d'autre part, aucune idée d'évolution. "... le concept de niveaux d'intégration ne présuppose aucune séquence évolutive dit Julian H. Steward. En biologie, le concept que les échelons de vie plus élémentaires ont des principes d'organisation différents de ceux des échelons supérieurs n'est en aucune façon lié à l'évolution de formes particulières de vie, comles oiseaux, les mammifères ou les reptiles. C'est ainsi que le même concept appliqué à la culture n'est en rien lié aux séquences de développement de types culturels particuliers. L'évolution culturelle de Morgan, de Tylor et d'autres est une taxonimie de développement fondée sur des caractères concrets de la culture. Le concept de niveaux d'intégration socioculturelle, au contraire, est un outil méthodologique pour analyser des cultures dont le degré de complexité varie..." (15)

On peut donc déduire de ces quelques citations qu'une culture est jugée non pas par ses éléments concrets, par son contenu, mais d'un point de vue dynamique, c'est-à-dire par le degré d'harmonie et de compatibilité que présente l'agencement des traits d'une unité culturelle. De plus, les anthropologistes, ayant étudié des sociétés dites primitives dont la culture est homogène et par conséquent plus facilement intégrée que celle dont les éléments culturels sont hétérogènes, ont eu tendance à prononcer des jugements de valeur sur ces cultures-là et sur les éléments qui perturbent cette intégration. Or, comme la plupart de ces unités culturelles, hautement homogènes et intégrées -- unités tribales pour la plupart -- viennent en contact avec la civilisation occidentale qui apporte des éléments dont l'emprunt désorganise ces cultures, les anthropologistes ont eu tendance à déprécier la culture occidentale et à évaluer hautement les cultures plus simples, mieux intégrées. Les notions de stabilité, d'adaptation, d'intégration ont eu tendance à devenir des termes d'évaluation pour l'anthropologiste qui, en principe, n'admet pas de jugements de valeur dans sa discipline. Lorsque Radcliffe-Brown parle d'intégration sociale, il prend pour acquis, dit-il que "la fonction de la culture envisagée comme un tout est d'unir les individus dans une structure sociale plus ou moins stable, c'est-à-dire dans des systèmes stables de groupes qui déterminent et règlent les relations de ces individus entre eux, qui leur procurent une adaptation externe à leur milieu physique ainsi qu'une adaptation interne entre les individus et les groupes, de sorte

ou'une vie sociale ordonnée devient possible..." (12) Même à l'intérieur d'un point de vue comparatif comme celui de Radcliffe-Brown -- n'appelle-t-il pas l'anthropologie sociale, sociologie comparative? -- ce ne sont jamais les caractères concrets des unités culturelles qui sont comparés mais leur structure sociale.

Cette comparaison donne lieu à des jugements qui ressemblent en tous points aux jugements de valeur; on n'évalue point le contenu concret des cultures mais leur fonctionnement. Sapir, par exemple, divise les cultures en cultures authentiques et en cultures fausses (spurious). N'est-ce point là un jugement de valeur au sujet de l'intégration de la société? "La culture authentique (genuine), dit Sapir, n'est pas nécessairement avancée ou retardataire; elle est, par inhérence, harmonieuse, bien balancée, satisfaisante. Elle est l'expression d'une attitude à la fois riche et variée mais, unifiée et logique, c'est une attitude vis-à-vis la vie, une attitude qui voit la signification de chaque élément de la civilisation par rapport à tous les autres. Idéalement, c'est une culture où tout a une résonnance spirituelle, dans laquelle il n'y a pas de partie importante de son fonctionnement qui entraîne la sensation de frustration, d'effort antipathique ou mal dirigé." (14) On peut dire qu'en gros la théorie de Sapir met l'accent sur une espèce d'intégration subjective en profondeur; les mots d'attitude, de signification, de résonnance spirituelle, de sensation, de frustration et d'effort montrent bien qu'une culture est dite authentique, d'après Sapir, si les individus qui la vivent s'y sentent à l'aise.

Redfield semble bien lui aussi porter certains jugements de valeur sur les sociétés qu'il étudie. C'est l'opinion d'Oscar Lewis: "Finalement, sous la dichotomie folk-urbain telle qu'employée par Redfield, se dissimule un système de jugements de valeur qui renferme la vieille notion de Rousseau: les peuples primitifs sont de nobles sauvages; comme corollaire, c'est la civilisation qui a amené la chute de l'homme." (10) Redfield parle de cultures "rich" et de cultures "thin" à peu près dans le même sens que Sapir.

Hallowell a récemment discuté d'une méthode pour évaluer les cultures dont le concept principal est celui de "santé mentale, qui se rapproche de ce que le psychologue Mower appelle, comportement "intégratif" et "non-intégratif;" il suggère deux lignes principales de recherches: (1) l'étude des systèmes de valeurs de

de différentes sociétés du point de vue de l'intégration et du fonctionnement de la personnalité globale à la lumière de ce que nous savons de l'hygiène mentale; (2) l'étude plus approfondie des aspects psychologiques de l'acculturation, particulièrement, des effets qui affectent la structure de la personnalité et les systèmes de valeur. (6) Encore ici, il s'agit d'intégration subjective. L'auteur, rapportant une étude d'acculturation qu'il a faite des Indiens Ojibwa écrit en conclusion: "... je pense que c'est absolument mauvais que plus de la moitié d'un groupe d'individus montrent des signes patents de désorganisation psychologique ..." (6) Encore une fois les éléments culturels concrets ne sont pas jugés en eux-mêmes mais par rapport aux individus.

Parmi les représentants français du relativisme culturel, il faut mentionner, un chercheur brillant, Claude Lévi-Strauss, l'un des meilleurs de sa génération. Dans la brochure qu'il a récemment publiée à l'UNESCO, "Race et Histoire," la théorie du relativisme culturel est poussée à ses limites extrêmes. Si, d'une part, Lévi-Strauss, a tout à fait raison de s'élever contre l'ethnocentrisme européen et occidental et de montrer que chaque culture actualise certaines potentialités de l'homme, il n'en reste pas moins que tout au long de sa brochure on décèle certains jugements de valeur et une curieuse contradiction. On se souvient de la série de brochures que l'UNESCO a publié sur le racisme après la dernière guerre. La conclusion générale qui se dégage de ces travaux est celle-ci: les races sont égales en droit sinon en fait et si certains groupes semblent retardataires par rapport à d'autres, ce n'est pas à leur équipement biologique que ce retard est imputable mais à leur culture; ces peuples auraient été défavorisés au cours de leur histoire et n'auraient pas eu la chance de se développer aussi rapidement que d'autres; mis dans les mêmes conditions historiques et idéologiques, ils auraient connu les mêmes développements que ceux qui nous paraissent plus avancés; c'est donc admettre qu'il y a des différences non pas entre les races mais entre les cultures. Lévi-Strauss l'admet aussi: "La question de la supériorité des cultures n'a pas de sens; cette supériorité en tout cas ne prouve rien; d'ailleurs, là où elle existe, elle vient du hasard ou de l'emprunt." (9a) C'est tout ce que nous soutenons ici. Nous ne voulons nullement déprécié, par exemple, nos ancêtres du néolithique et nous reconnaissons pleinement la portée de leur révolution. Mais la culture est cumulative ou elle ne l'est pas. Reconnaître

les apports, les créations de certaines cultures tout en soutenant que d'autres leur sont supérieures c'est faire état justement de la transmissibilité de la culture, c'est faire état des circonstances historiques, de la diffusion, du hasard. Il est probable que l'Homme de Chancelade et de Grimaldi étaient aussi bien équipés biologiquement que le Cro-magnon et qui, si la postérité et la culture de chacun sont aussi différentes, c'est à cause de facteurs extrinsèques aux individus.

Lévi-Strauss qui se garde, en principe, des jugements de valeurs ne se fait pas faute d'en prononcer quand il s'agit de cultures dites primitives; il justifie ainsi la définition de cet Américain qui disait: "an anthropologist is a person who respects every culture-pattern but his own." "Rien n'est plus frappant, dit-il, que ces repentirs qui conduisent de l'apogée du lavalloisien à la médiocrité moustérienne, des splendeurs aurignacienne et solutrienne à la rudesse du magdolénien, puis aux contrastes extrêmes offerts par la diversité du mésolithique." (9a) Malgré certaines divergences dans l'appréciation de ces cultures, un non-relativiste pourrait souscrire à ces jugements mais on a l'impression que Lévi-Strauss exagère nettement quand il déclare: "il ne serait nullement exagéré de saluer en eux (les Australiens aborigènes) non seulement les fondateurs de toute sociologie générale, mais encore les véritables introducteurs de la mesure dans les sciences sociales."(9a)

Plusieurs auteurs contemporains considèrent que le relativisme culturel conduit à une espèce de cul-de-sac, à un ethnocentrisme de série, comme le dit Bidney, et ils essaient d'en sortir. En combattant l'ethnocentrisme national, les anthropologistes tombent dans l'ethnocentrisme de série qui, selon Bidney, qualifie l'attitude de ceux qui envisagent chaque culture dans l'optique qui lui est particulière. S'il est de bonne méthode, d'une part, d'étudier les cultures en les analysant dans leur propre optique, ne faudrait-il pas d'autre part, pour les évaluer, trouver un système de notation objectif. Aussi longtemps que l'anthropologie en reste au stade descriptif, le pluralisme et le relativisme culturels peuvent suffire. Mais, selon Bidney, "... il est grand temps pour l'anthropologie de mûrir et pour les anthropologistes de montrer le respect qu'ils ont de la raison et de la science en coopérant avec les autres sciences pour chercher les normes pratiques, progressives et raisonnables qui seraient dignes d'être universellement reconnues à l'avenir." (3) Firth, un anthropologiste anglais, rendant compte

des discussions qui ont suivi ces remarques écrit: "Dirigés par Redfield, les participants ont élargi et élucidé les propositions de Bidney, plutôt qu'ils ne s'y sont opposés."

Le sociologue Hart, rendant compte du livre posthume de Marcel Mauss, "Anthropologie et Sociologie," écrit: "la seule façon de sortir de l'impasse du relativisme culturel où Boas a conduit les anthropologistes américains, c'est de se servir de quelque nouveau système de notation néo-évolutionniste où les différents systèmes sociaux ne sont pas envisagés comme des unités séparées qui illustrent la diversité culturelle mais comme des solutions locales à des problèmes et à des besoins sociaux universels ... les Français partent de l'axiome que les sociétés humaines sont fondamentalement semblables à travers le monde -- un axiome qui permet la comparaison et la science -- alors que les Américains se servent de l'axiome contraire: les cultures humaines sont incroyablement variées; ce qui conduit à l'esotisme, à l'anecdote et au particularisme sans fin." (7)

Un des concepts fondamentaux dont la définition joue un rôle important dans le problème qui nous occupe, c'est celui de nature humaine. Y a-t-il une nature humaine universelle et si oui, quelle est-elle? Les évolutionnistes du type Frazer rapportaient une grande partie de leurs observations à la nature humaine; comme explication des faits sociaux, la nature humaine servait de passe-partout. A partir de Boas, au début du siècle, la notion de nature humaine a disparu; on s'est aperçu qu'on ne l'avait pas définie. Lévi-Strauss écrit: "tout ce qui est universel chez l'homme relève de l'ordre de la nature et se caractérise par la spontanéité; tout ce qui est astreint à une norme appartient à la culture et présente les attributs du relatif et du particulier." (9a) La nature qu'il faut présupposer, ce n'est pas une nature déjà faite et que la culture modifierait en exerçant du dehors sur elle une causalité mais bien plutôt un ensemble de possibilités qui ne s'actualisent qu'au contact du socio-culturel. Chaque culture, comme l'a montré Sapir, inhibe certaines possibilités au détriment d'autres et fait varier les modalités de cette actualisation de la nature.

Kroeber, dans sa dernière publication, (9b) énonce les grandes lignes d'un programme d'études qui auraient pour but de trouver ce qu'il y a sous le nom de nature humaine. Il s'agirait d'abord, d'explorer

systématiquement ce qu'il appelle le périmètre des cultures historiques, c'est-à-dire d'analyser les expressions extrêmes des cultures; le raisonnement de Kroeber est le suivant: la culture humaine globale, envisagée d'un point de vue historique et comparatif doit de toute évidence coincider avec la nature humaine d'où elle sort; et le périmètre de la culture étant par conséquent aussi le périmètre de la nature humaine, on pourrait partir de la rencontre de ces deux points pour s'interroger plus avant sur la nature humaine. Le périmètre de ces phénomènes culturels serait celui des potentialités de la nature humaine. Ensuite, on pourrait rechercher systématiquement chez les animaux des schèmes de comportement semblable ou qui laissent présager le comportement humain. Ainsi, on connaîtrait les deux côtés de la barrière pour juger résiduellement ce qu'est la nature humaine. Mais en attendant que cette enquête ait donné les résultats que nous souhaitons qu'elle donne, et de laquelle on pourrait partir pour trouver des valeurs qui seraient universelles parce qu'elles seraient nées de conditions universelles de la nature humaine, il serait bon, semble-t-il, d'exposer ses jugements de valeur plutôt que d'essayer de les cacher sous une objectivité trompeuse.

Il y aurait lieu d'examiner ici les critères de progrès proposés par Leslie White "énergie captée per capita par année," par Kroeber lui-même qui, en plus de celui proposé par White suggère l'abandon de la magie et de la superstition, par Northrop qui suggère qu'un "doit" ne pouvant jamais être déduit du "est" des phénomènes qui appartiennent au palier étudié, il faut changer d'ordre de phénomènes pour induire un "doit" d'un "est," qu'il faut remonter à la matière brute d'où les phénomènes sociaux-culturels tirent origine, la nature, pour s'interroger comment telle ou telle conceptualisation qu'on retrouve dans les différents systèmes culturels rendent compte des phénomènes qui servent de stimuli au système nerveux de l'homme.

Qu'il me soit permis de conclure sur l'idée de responsabilité; avec les moyens technologiques et économiques mis à la disposition des cultures, les responsabilités de chacune s'accroissent; si nous comprenons pourquoi un Sironio laisse mourir sa femme dans la jungle et si nous l'excusons souvent, nous ne pouvons excuser un banlieusard qui laisse mourir ses enfants de faim; on ne peut escompter voir apparaître la même norme morale dans les sociétés qui n'ont pas dépassé le stade de la survivance physique et dans celles où les conditions

technico-économiques sont très élevées. Une des raisons pour lesquelles les anthropologistes américains et canadiens sont si critiques envers leur propre société, c'est que, ayant en main tout ce qu'il faut pour promouvoir la culture humaine et plus particulièrement ses aspects intellectuels et artistiques, ces sociétés semblent s'enfoncer presque exclusivement sur la voie technique.

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NOTES ON THE ABORIGINES OF THE PROVINCE OF ONTARIO

by

Gontran Laviolette, O.M.I.

Foreward

This paper, the third of a series dealing with the aborigines of Canada, intends to describe the Indian tribes living in the Province of Ontario.

These Indian tribes are all under the jurisdiction of the Indian Affairs Branch of the Department of Citizenship and Immigration.

Ontario has the largest native population of any province in Canada: 37,255, according to the 1954 official Census, The Métis (mixed-bloods) of Canadian Indian origin who do not live on Indian reserves are not included in this study.

There are approximately 27,000 aborigines of Algonquian stock (Algonkins, Ojibwas and Crees), and about 10,000 of Iroquoian stock in Ontario. The Iroquois and about one half of the Algonquians live in southern Ontario, in densely settled areas, while the remainder are nomads, living in the sparsely settled forests of the northern part of the Province.

The Iroquoian Hurons (or Wyandots), Tobacco (or Pétuns or Tionontatis) and the Neutrals (Atiwandaronks), who lived in southwestern Ontario during the 16th and 17th centuries, have all disappeared; weakened by smallpox they were ruthlessly destroyed by the Iroquois Five-Nations.

Classification of the Indian Tribes

ALGONQUIAN STOCK

Algonkins of Golden Lake;

Ojibwe (Chippewa):

Ojibwes of Lake Superior,

Mississaugas of Manitoulin and Mississagi River,

Ottawas (or Traders) of Manitoulin and Georgian Bay,

Potawatomis of Walpole Island,

Munceys (or Munsees and Moravians -- Mohicans).

Crees (Swampy or Woodland Cree, also called Muskegons):

Barren Lands Cree of Hudson Bay,

Fort Albany Cree,

Monsoni (at Moose Factory).

IROQUOIAN STOCK

The Five-Nations (17th Century):

Mohawks (Man-Eaters),

Oneidas (Rock-Standing),

Onondagas (On-a-hill),

Cayugas (Locusts-taken),

Senecas (a variant of Oneida).

The Six-Nations (18th Century): the above, plus the

Tuscaroras (from North Carolina).

After the War of Independance (1775-1782) large numbers of Indians (Iroquois, Munsees and Potawatomis) moved into southern Ontario where reserves were granted to them by the Crown, as a reward for their loyalty to the British. Others bought lands from their own money when they came to Canada.

Trading Posts in Ontario

Under the French Regime in Canada, trading posts were established at the following points:

Fort Frontenac (Cataraqui): entrance of Lake Ontario, 1673;

Fort Niagara: head of Lake Ontario, 1679;

Fort Detroit: north of Detroit River, 1686;

Nepigon: north of Lake Nipigon, 1684;

Témiscamingue: on Lake Timiskaming, 1725;

Kaministiquia: north-east of Michipicoten, (closed in 1758);

Michipicoten: on north shore of Lake Superior, possibly around 1700;

Toronto: on north shore of Lake Ontario, 1749;

Sault-Sainte-Marie: between Lakes Superior and Huron, 1750;

Tabitibi: north of Témiscamingue, 1686;

Fort St-Pierre: on Rainy Lake (Lac-la-Pluie), 1717;

The Hudson's Bay Company had trading posts at:

Fort Severn: on south shore of Hudson Bay, 1676;

Moose Factory: on Moose River, James Bay, 1677;

Port Albany: on Albany River, James Bay, 1683;

Henly House: 150 miles up the Albany River, 1741.

Under the French Regime no purchase of land was ever made from the Indians, nor any formal Treaty for the cession of land ever entered into. Between 1763 and 1783 there was no attempt made to make terms with the natives as the lands were being taken up by the British, except for the purchase, made in 1764, of a strip of land along the western bank of the Niagara river; this purchase was confirmed by a treaty signed with the Mississaugas and Chippewas, May 9, 1781.

The British Government always recognized the title of the Indian tribes to the territory they occupied. The Indian title to the portion of Ontario that had not been acquired previously by the French was extinguished by a series of purchases, agreements and treaties, as follows:

Agreements, Treaties and Purchases 1783-1930 (1)

COLLINS purchase: May 22, 1785; in Matchedash Tp., Simcoe Co., on western shore of Lake Simcoe, from the Ojibwe.

CRAWFORD purchases: three separate parcels bought from:

1) The Iroquois (Point Baudet, on Lake St. Francis, to Gananoque river), Oct. 9, 1783;

2) The Mississaugas (mouth of Gananoque river to mouth of Trent river), Oct. 9, 1783;

3) The Mississaugas (Trent river to Toronto Purchase (Q.V. below) thence to Lakes Simcoe and Rice), Oct. 9, 1783. The two last purchases were confirmed Sept. 23, 1787.

TORONTO purchase: The draft Treaty of Sept. 23, 1787 was acknowledged as valid by the Missassaugas on Aug. 1, 1805, as including what is called "the Toronto Purchase," within the bounds of the first two Crawford purchases, by the CLAUS Treaty.

TREATY No. 1: May 19, 1790; cessions of lands in southwestern Ontario, by the Ottawas, Chippewas, Potawatomis and Hurons.

TREATY No. 3: Dec. 7, 1792; cession of lands in the Brantford district, from the Mississaugas for the Six-Nations coming into Canada from the United States (purchased in 1874). These lands were conveyed to the Six-Nations on Jan. 14, 1793. Parcels of land were further conveyed to the Six-Nations April 1, 1793 and August 21, 1797.

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1. The information concerning the Treaties of the Ontario Indians has been codified by J.L. Morris, in a booklet published by the Dept. of Lands and Forests of Ontario, in 1943; a large map shows the exact boundaries of each Treaty.

TREATY No. 5: May 22, 1798, with the Chippewas, to secure the harbour at Penetanguishene.

TREATY No. 6: Sept. 7, 1796, with the Chippewas; cession of lands on north shore of Thames river.

TREATY No. 7: Sept. 7, 1796, with the Chippewas; cessions of a tract of land on Chenail Ecarté river.

TREATY No. 11: June 30, 1798, with the Chippewas; cession of St. Joseph Island, in the strait between Lakes Huron and Superior.

TREATY No. 13A: August 2, 1805, with the Mississaugas; cession of a tract of land adjoining the "Toronto Purchase" to the west on the shore of Lake Ontario, reserving camping and fishing rights.

TREATY No. 14: Sept. 6, 1806, with the Mississaugas; conveyance to the Crown of the land described in Treaty No. 13A, without reference to camping and fishing rights.

TREATY No. 16: Nov. 18, 1815, with the Chippewas; cession of land between Lakes Simcoe and Huron.

TREATY No. 18: Oct. 17, 1818, with the Chippewas; cession of land south of Georgian Bay, between Lakes Simcoe and Huron.

TREATY No. 19: Oct. 28, 1818, with the Mississaugas; cession of the "Mississauga Tract" in southern Ontario, NW. of Toronto.

TREATY No. 20: Nov. 5, 1818, with the Chippewas: cession of land in the Peterborough district.

TREATY No. 21: March 9, 1819, with the Chippewas: cession of land on the river Thames, reserving 2 miles square near Moravian village.

TREATY No. 22 and No. 23: February 28, 1820, with the Mississaugas: cession of tracts of land formerly reserved by Treaty No. 13-A, on Credit River and Twelve and Sixteen Mile Creeks.

TREATY No. 24: July 20, 1820: provides annuities to the Mohawks of the Bay of Quinte, Mohawk Tnp., Hastings Co.

TREATY No. 25: July 8, 1822: confirms surrenders of March 9, 1819, by the Chippewas (Treaty No. 21).

TREATY No. 27: May 31, 1819: Provisional surrender by the Mississaugas of the lands between the Ottawa river (Ottawa to Pembroke) and the Crawford Purchases on the St. Lawrence River.

TREATY No. 27¼: Nov. 28, 1822: confirms May 31, 1819, surrender.

TREATY No. 27½: April 26, 1825, with the Chippewas: cession of a large tract of land between Lakes Ontario and Huron and River St. Clair, by the Chippewas, and reserving tracts of land along River St. Clair, River Au-Sable and at Kettle Point, Lake Huron, plus a yearly annuity of 1,100 pounds.

TREATY No. 29: July 10, 1827: Indenture confirming Treaty No. 27½.

TREATY No. 35: August 13, 1833, surrender of a tract of land called the "Huron Reserve," by the Wyandot tribe, on the Detroit River.

TREATIES No. 45 and 45½: August 9, 1836, at Manitowaning: surrender by the Ottawa and Chippewa of Manitoulin Islands and the Saukings (Saugeen) of Owen Sound of their territories and setting up the Manitoulin and other islands as reserves for the Ottawa and Chippewa, and Saugeen Island for the Saugeen tribe.

TREATY No. 57: June 1, 1847, with the Iroquois residing at St. Regis, cession of land between the St. Lawrence River and Plantagenet, (Glengarry County).

TREATY No. 60: September 7, 1850: ROBINSON-SUPERIOR TREATY. Surrender by the Ojibwe nation, living between the north shores of Lake Superior and the height of lands to the north (Hudson's Bay Co. Territory) for a 2,000 pound payment plus a 500 pound annuity, and setting up reserves at Kaministiquia (Fort-William), Michipicoten (Gros-Cap) and Gull River (on Lake Nipigon).

TREATY No. 61: Sept. 9, 1850: ROBINSON-HURON TREATY. Surrender by the Ojibwe nation inhabiting the eastern and northern shores of Lake Huron, from Batchewanaung Bay on Lake Superior to Penetanguishene on Lake Huron, to the height of lands in the north; setting up the reserves of: Magnetawan, Nihickshegeshing, Point Grondin, Shebawenaning,

Spanish River, Serpent River, Mississaga River, Dokis, Lake Nipissing, Wananabitibing, Thessalon River, Ogawaminang, Garden River, Batchewanung Bay, Wasaquising (Sandy Island), Naishcouteong River and Washanwenega Bay.

TREATY No. 72: October 13, 1854: surrender, by the Saugeen, of the Owen Sound district, of the Saugeen peninsula and reserving Saugeen, Chief's Point, Cape Crocker and Colpoy Bay reserves.

TREATY No. 82: February 9, 1857. Surrender, by the Chippewas, of Nawash of the Owen Sound (or Nawash) reserve, and extending the Cape Crocker reserve, plus the sum of 1,000 pounds, a sum to build a church, plus a ten pound annuity for each tribe member.

TREATY No. 94: October 6, 1862, with the Ottawa and Chippewa of Manitoulin Island, confirming possession by the Indians of lands reserved by Treaty Nos. 45 and 45½, Aug. 9, 1836.

TREATIES No. 131 and 132: October 3, 1873. (MANITOBA TREATY No. 3). Surrender by the Saulteaux tribe of the Ojibwe, at the Northwest Angle of Lake of the Woods, of lands between the United States boundary and the heights of land to the east, the north and the west, between Lakes Nipigon and Winnipeg and the Albany River (55,000 square miles), and setting aside the following reserves: Rainy River, Northwest Angle, Lac Seul, Kettle Falls, Fort Frances, Eagle Lake, Flower Lake, Whitefish Lake, Shoal Lake, Whitefish Bay, Buffalo Point and Lake of the Woods.

TREATY No. 149A: September 20-24, 1875. Surrender of lands in northwestern Ontario (Favourable Lake district), by the Saulteaux and Swampy Cree of the Berens River, Poplar River and Norway House districts in Manitoba.

TREATY No. 9: 1905-06. JAMES BAY TREATY. Surrender by the Ojibwe, Cree and other Indians living north of the limits of the Robinson-Superior and the Robinson-Huron Treaties an area of 90,000 square miles and reserving lands on the basis of one square mile for each family of five, plus annuities, payment of school teachers' salaries and provision of school buildings and equipment.

The James Bay Treaty was signed on:

July 12, 1905, at Osnaburg House,

July 19, 1905, at Fort Hope,

June 7, 1906, at Abitibi,

June 20, 1906, at Matachewan,

July 25, 1905, at Marten Falls, July 7, 1906, at Mattagami,

August 9, 1905, at Moose Factory, July 16, 1906, at Flying Post,

August 21, 1905, at the New Post, July 25, 1906, at New Brunswick House,

and, August 9, 1906, at Long Lac.

Adhesions to the James Bay Treaty were signed on:

July 5, 1929, at Trout Lake, July 25, 1930, at Fort Severn,

July 18, 1930, at Windigo Lake, July 28, 1930, at Winisk.

Pursuant to Treaty No. 9, reserves were set aside at the following points: Osnaburg, English River, Moose Factory, New Post, Abitibi, Matachewan, Mattagami, Flying Post, Chapleau, New Brunswick House, Longlac, Trout Lake, Sachigo Lake, Wunnumin Lake, Caribou Lake, Fort Severn (at the Beaverstone River), Winisk and Attawapiskat (at the junction of Little Ekwan and the main Ekwan Rivers).

TREATY No. 5 (Adhesion) of 1908, 1909 and 1910 include a narrow strip of land Northwest of the boundaries of Adhesions to Treaty No. 9, along the border between Manitoba and Ontario.

INDIAN LANDS ACT, Ontario 1924: "An Act for the settlement of certain questions between the Governments of Canada and Ontario respecting Indian Reserve lands." Assented to April 17, 1924. The Act provides for:

1) all Indian reserves in Ontario to be administered by the federal government; upon surrender of portions of these reserves, or of entire reserves under the direction of the government of Canada, these same lands shall be administered by the province of Ontario;

2) any lease, sale or other disposition of the lands reserved for Indians may include or may be limited to the minerals contained in or under these lands.

Thus between May 22, 1785 and July 1930, all the lands comprised within the present boundaries of the province of Ontario had been surrendered by the Indians, and a large number of reserves had been recently set aside for their

exclusive use. Extensive tracts of land have also been set aside for the Indians' exclusive use as hunting and trapping preserves, specially in northern Ontario.

Schedule of Maps:

1. MAP OF ONTARIO, showing major TREATY BOUNDARIES (Page 88).

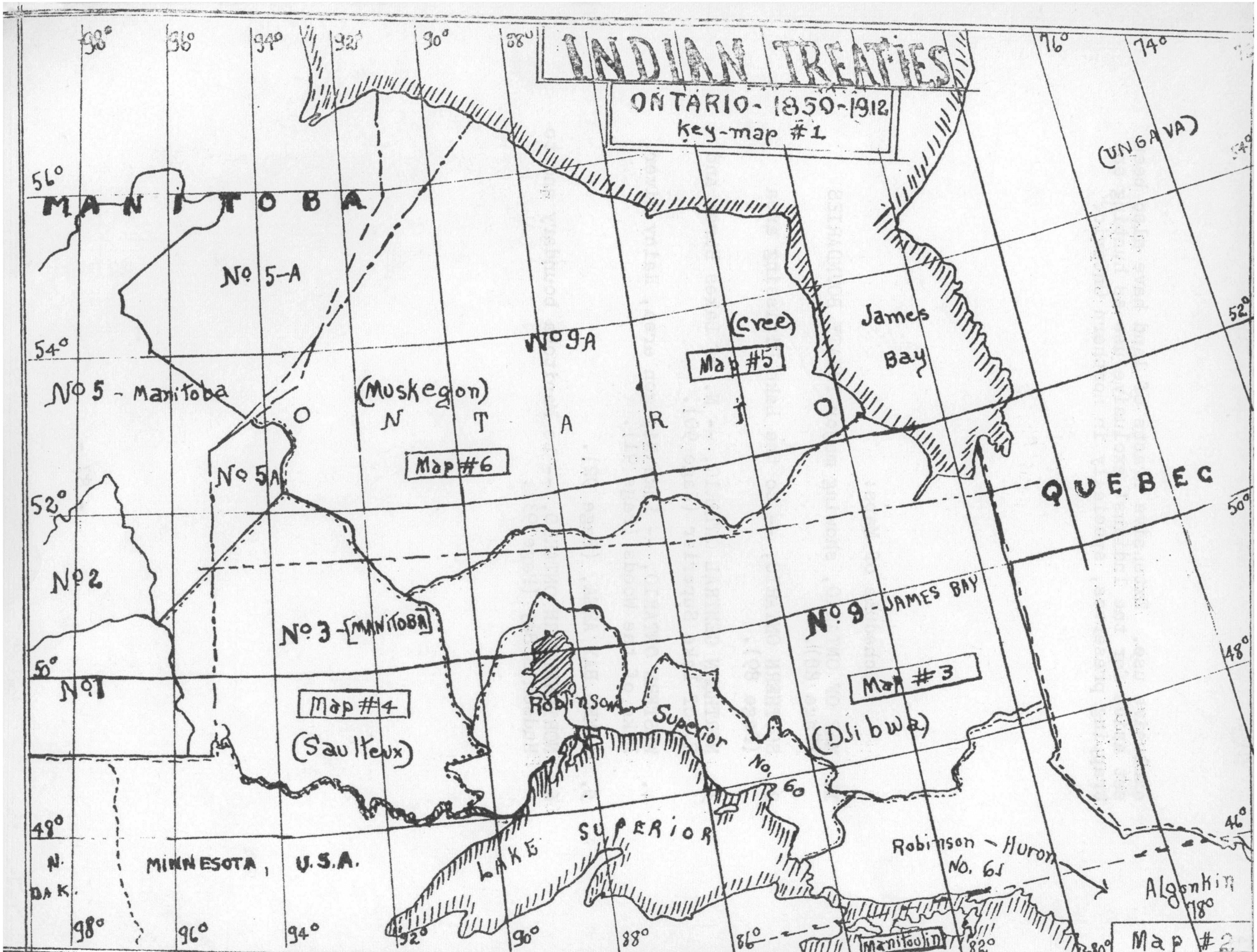
2. SOUTHERN ONTARIO, -- to the Lake Nipissing area (Page 89).

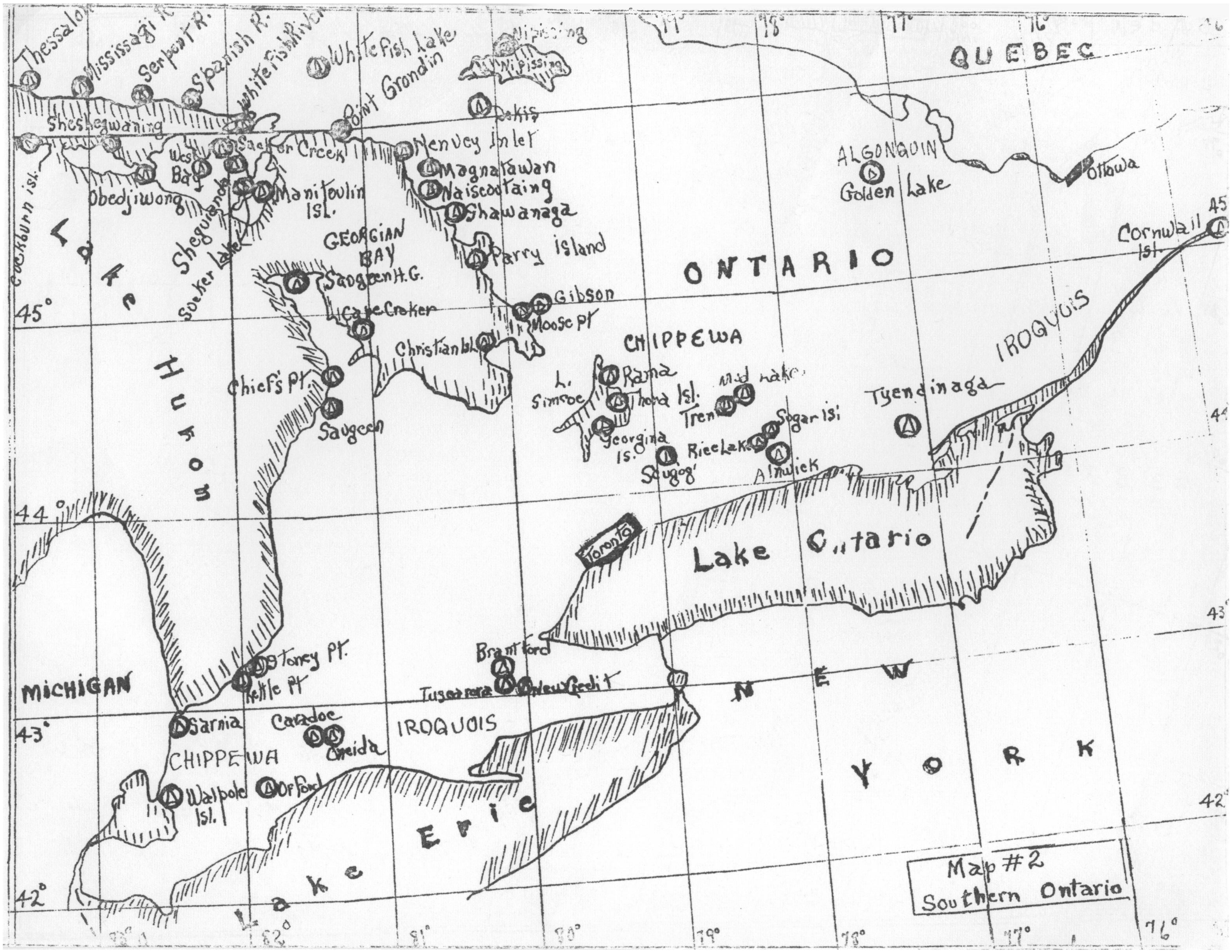
3. NORTHERN CENTRAL ONTARIO, -- N. of Lakes Huron and E. of Lake Superior (Page 90).

4. WESTERN ONTARIO, -- Lake Nipigon area, Rainy River, Lake of the Woods (Page 91).

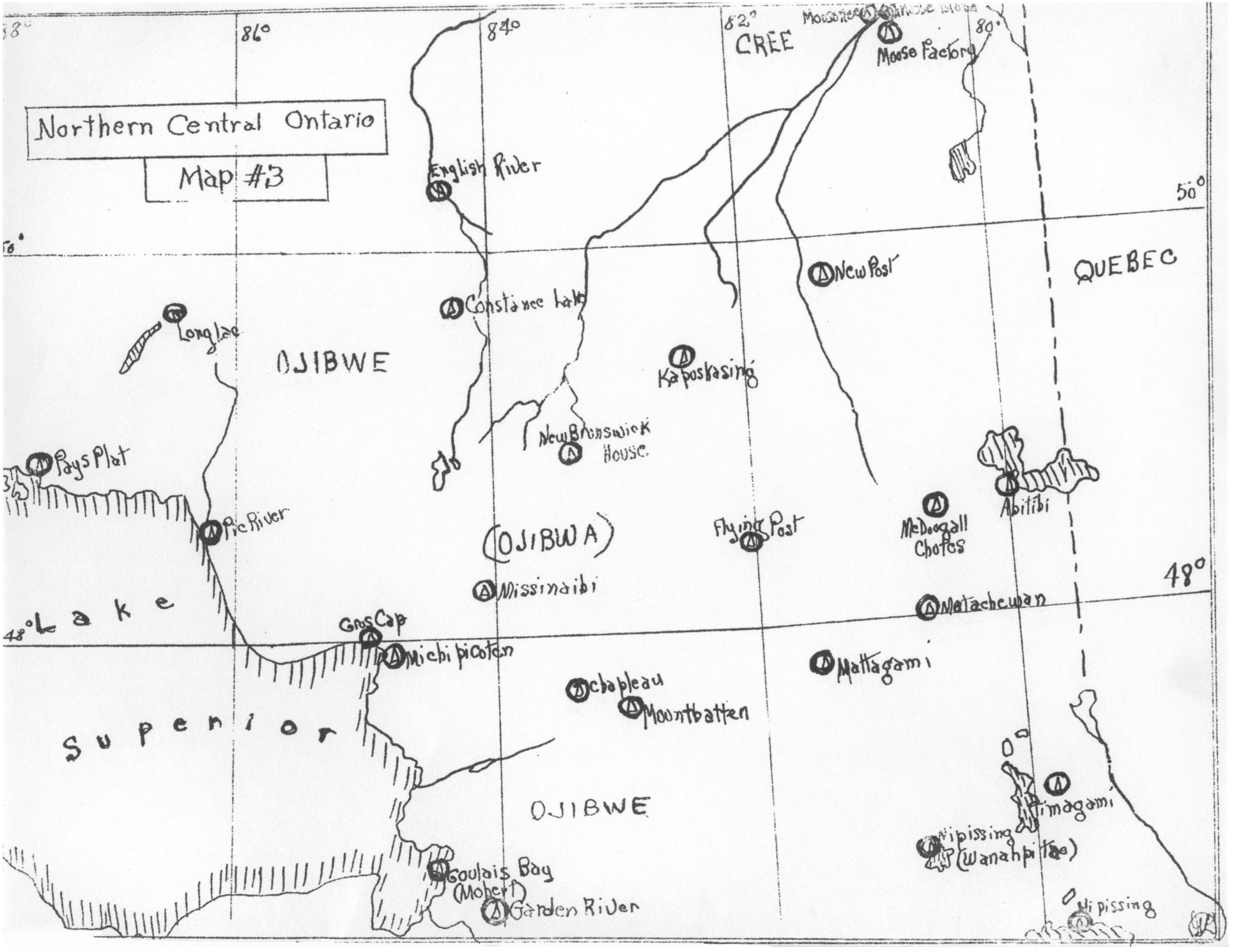
5. JAMES BAY AREA, (Page 92).

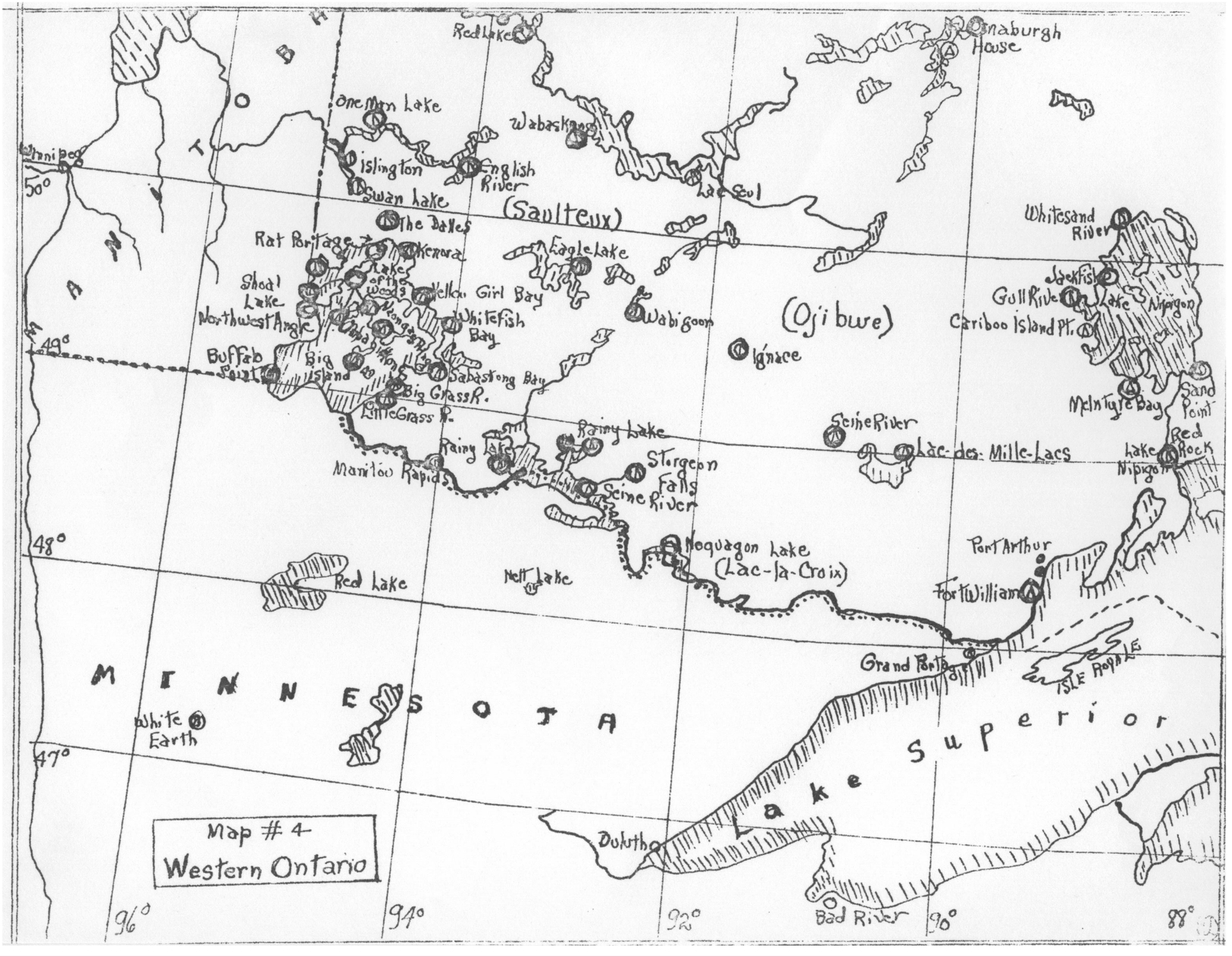
6. NORTHWESTERN ONTARIO, -- to Manitoba boundary and to Hudson's Bay (Page 93).

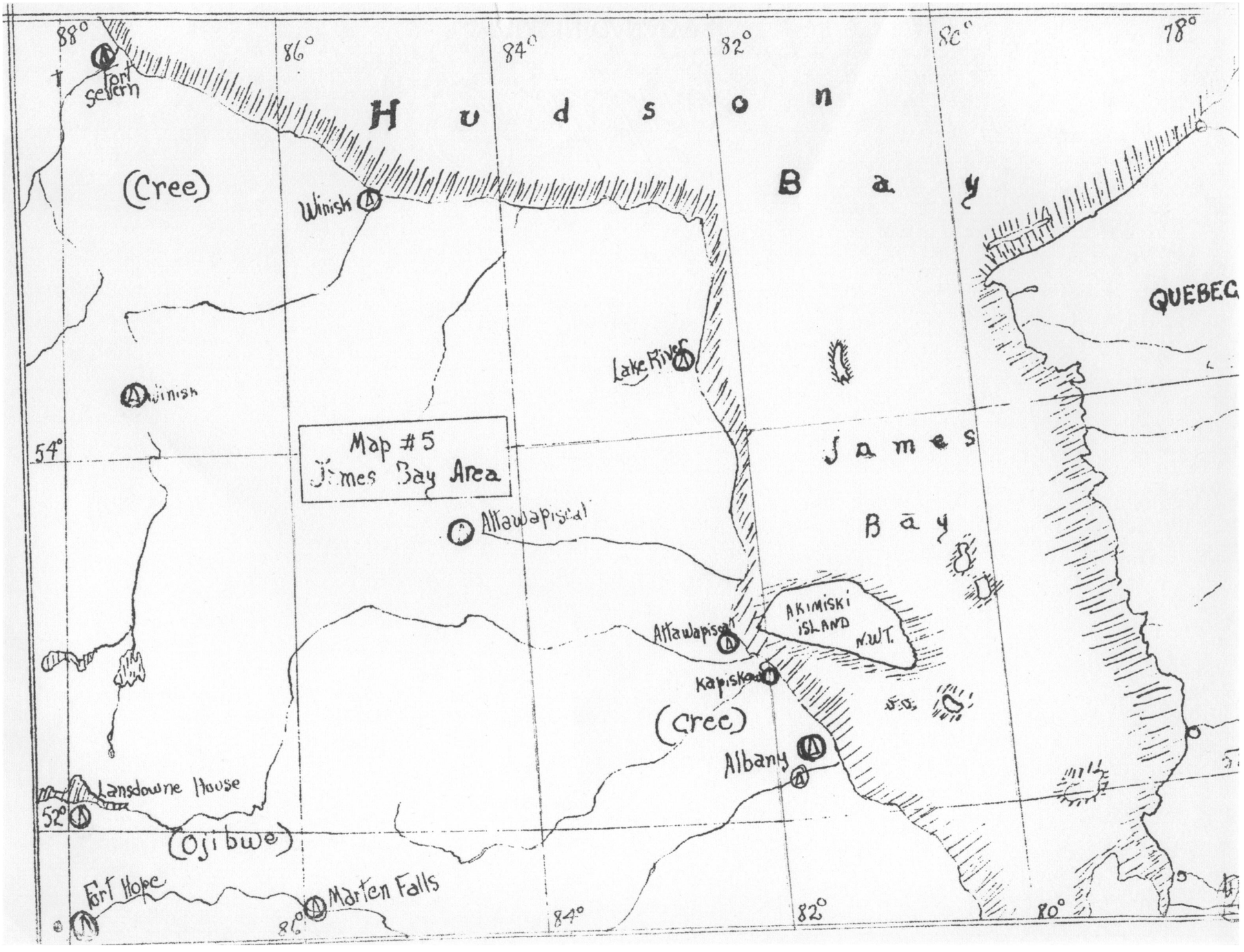

INDIAN TREATIES
ONTARIO - 1850 - 1912
key-map #1
(UNGAVA)
MANITOBA
No 5-A
No 5 - Manitoba
No 5A
No 2
No 1
No 3 - [MANITOBA]
Map #4
(Saulteux)
(Muskegon)
ONTARIO
Map #6
No 9-A
(Cree)
Map #5
James Bay
QUEBEC
No 9 - JAMES BAY
Map #3
(Ojibwa)
Robinson Superior
No. 60
LAKE SUPERIOR
Robinson - Huron
No. 61
Algonkin
Manitoulin
Map #2
MINNESOTA, U.S.A.
N. DAK.
56°
54°
52°
50°
48°
46°
98°
96°
94°
92°
90°
88°
86°
82°
80°
78°
76°
74°

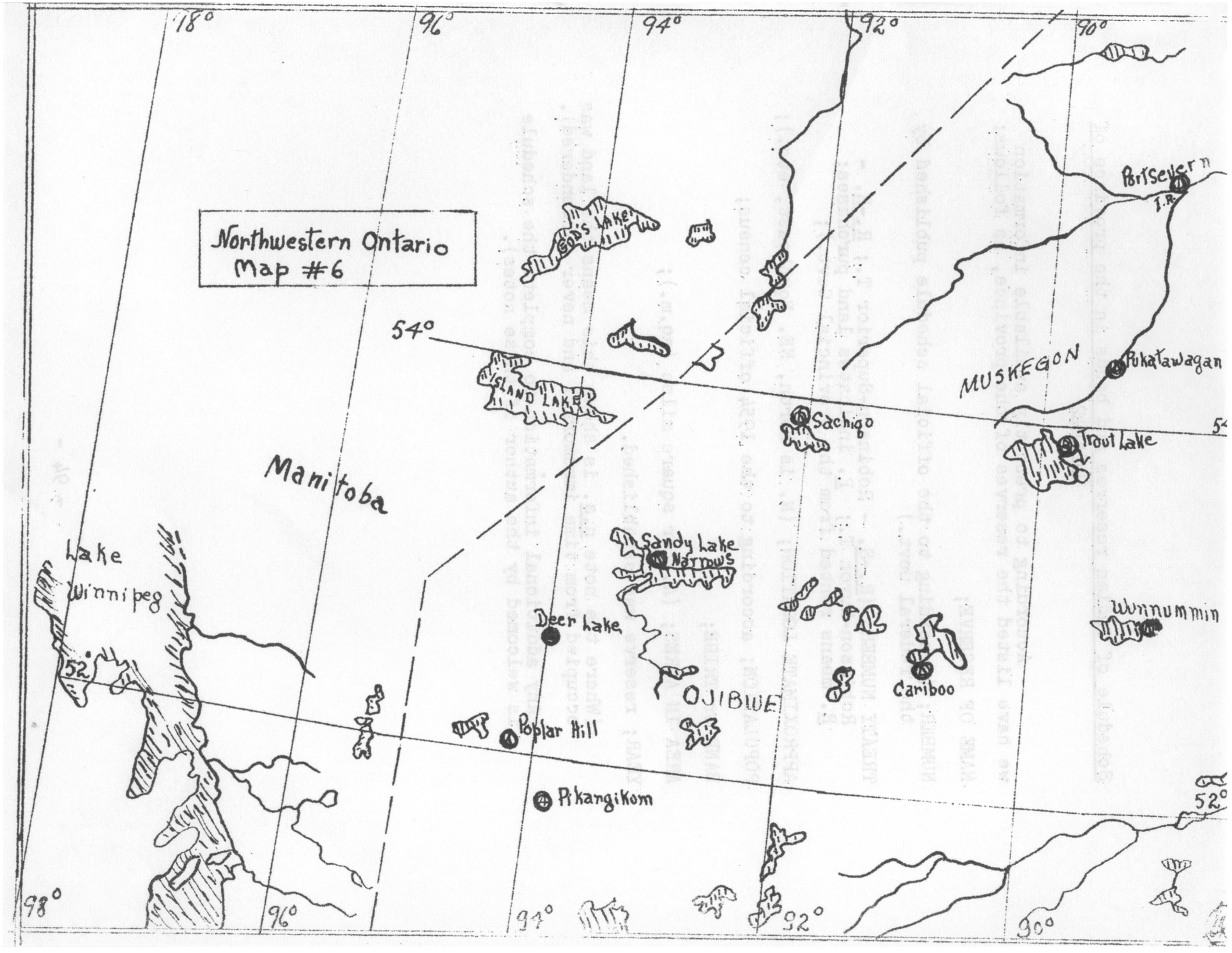


QUEBEC
ONTARIO
Thessalon
Mississagi R.
Serpent R.
Spanish R.
White Fish River
White Fish Lake
Point Grondin
Nipissing
Dokis
Sheshegwaning
Sucker Creek
Henvey Inlet
Magnatawan
Naiscootaing
Shawanaga
West Bay
Obedjiwong
Manitoulin Isl.
Cockburn Isl.
Sheguiandah
Sucker Lake
GEORGIAN BAY
Parry Island
Saugeen H.G.
Cape Croker
Gibson
Moose Pt
Christian Isl.
Chief's Pt.
Saugeen
Lake Huron
CHIPPEWA
Rama
L. Simcoe
Thora Isl.
Georgina Is.
Scugog
Mud Lake
Trent
Sugar Isl.
Rice Lake
Alnwick
ALGONQUIN
Golden Lake
Ottowa
Cornwall Isl.
IROQUOIS
Tyendinaga
Toronto
Lake Ontario
MICHIGAN
Stoney Pt.
Kettle Pt
Brantford
Tuscarora
New Credit
Sarnia
Caradoc
Oneida
IROQUOIS
CHIPPEWA
Walpole Isl.
Of Ford
Lake Erie
NEW YORK
Map #2
Southern Ontario


Northern Central Ontario
Map #3
86°
84°
82°
80°
50°
48°
CREE
Moose Factory
English River
Constance Lake
New Post
QUEBEC
Longlac
OJIBWE
Kapuskasing
New Brunswick House
Pays Plat
Pic River
(OJIBWA)
Flying Post
McDougall Chutes
Abitibi
Missinaibi
Matachewan
Lake
Gros Cap
Michipicoten
Chapleau
Mountbatten
Mattagami
Superior
OJIBWE
Timagami
Nipissing (Wanahpitae)
Goulais Bay (Mobert)
Garden River
Nipissing


Red Lake
Osnaburgh House
One Man Lake
Wabaskang
Islington
English River
Winnipeg
50°
Swan Lake
(Saulteux)
Lac Seul
The Dalles
Whitesand River
Rat Portage
Kenora
Eagle Lake
Lake of the Woods
Shoal Lake
Yellow Girl Bay
Jackfish
Gull River
Lake Nipigon
Northwest Angle
Whitefish Bay
Wabigoon
(Ojibwe)
Cariboo Island Pt.
49°
Buffalo Point
Big Island
Sabaskong Bay
Ignace
Big Grass R.
Little Grass R.
McIntyre Bay
Sand Point
Seine River
Rainy lake
Lac-des-Mille-Lacs
Red Rock
Lake Nipigon
Rainy Lake
Manitou Rapids
Sturgeon Falls
Seine River
48°
Nequagon Lake
(Lac-la-Croix)
Port Arthur
Red Lake
Nett Lake
Fort William
Grand Portage
Isle Royale
MINNESOTA
White Earth
Lake Superior
47°
Duluth
Bad River
Map # 4
Western Ontario
96°
94°
92°
90°
88°


88°
86°
84°
82°
80°
78°
Fort Severn
Hudson Bay
(Cree)
Winisk
Winisk
Lake River
QUEBEC
Map #5
James Bay Area
54°
James Bay
Attawapiskat
AKIMISKI ISLAND N.W.T.
Attawapiskat
Kapiskau
(Cree)
Albany
Lansdowne House
52°
(Ojibwe)
Fort Hope
Marten Falls
82°
84°
82°
80°


Northwestern Ontario
Map #6
18°
96°
94°
92°
90°
54°
52°
98°
96°
94°
92°
90°
GOD'S LAKE
ISLAND LAKE
Sachigo
MUSKEGON
Pukatawagan
Portsevern
I.R.
Trout Lake
Manitoba
Lake
Winnipeg
Sandy Lake
Narrows
Deer Lake
OJIBWE
Cariboo
Winnumnin
Poplar Hill
Pikangikom

Schedule of Indian reserves and bands in the province of Ontario

According to presently available information we have listed the reserves of the province, as follows:

NAME OF RESERVE;

NUMBER; (according to the official schedule published by the federal Govt.)

TREATY NUMBER; (R.-S. - Robinson-Superior T.; R.-H. - Robinson-Huron T.; P. indicates land purchases; R. means rented from the provincial Govt.);

APPROXIMATE LOCATION; (N. is North, NE. Northeast, etc.);

POPULATION; according to the 1954 official census;

BAND or TRIBE;

AREA IN ACRES; (A.) or square miles (sq.m.);

YEAR; reserve was established.

(Where the note n.s. is shown this means the land was occupied from time immemorial and never surrendered).

(Any additional information to complete the schedule is welcomed by the author of these notes).

SCHEDULE OF INDIAN RESERVES IN THE PROVINCE OF ONTARIO (1)

ABITIBI, No. 70 (T.9), S. Lake Abitibi, 59 Ojibwe, 19,200 A., 1908.

AGENCY (SABASKASING), 30 (3), Sabaskasing Bay, 43 Ojibwe, 640 A., 1915.

ALNWICK, 37 (P.), N. of Cobourg, 232 Mississ., 3,256 A., 1836.

ATTAWAPISKAT, - (9), Ekwan R., N. Ont., 726 Cree, 104 s.m., --.

BIG GRASS RIVER, 35G, (3), L. of the Woods, --Ojibwe, 8,960 A., 1915.

BIG ISLAND, 31D,E,F, (3), L. of the Woods, 112 Ojibwe, 3,710 A., 1915.

and 37, L. of the Woods, --, 1,946 A., 1915.

CAPE CROKER, 27, -, Saugeen Peninsula, 603 Ojibwe, 15,586 A., 1854.

CARADOC, 42, -, SW. of London, 660 Ojibwe, 10,800 A., 1819.
153 Munsee,

CARIBOO ISL. PT., 56 -, on Lake Nipigon, --, 135 A., 1884.

CARIBOU LAKE, - (9), near Atikun, NW. Ont., 240 Cree, 35 s.m., --.

CHAPLEAU, 61 (P.), S. of Chapleau, 9 Ojibwe, 220 A., 1905.

74 (9), Adjacent to 61, 160 A., 1907.

75 (9), S. of Chapleau L., 49 Cree (M.F.), 267 A., 1907.

CHIEF'S POINT, 28 -, Saugeen Peninsula, 506 Ojibwe, 1,280 A., 1854.

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1. The Ontario Provincial Legislature confirmed by Act No. 102 the setting aside of most of the reserves in the Fort Frances and Kenora areas.

CHRISTIAN ISLANDS, 30 -, SE. Georgian Bay, 386 Ojibwe,
(C., Hope & Beckwith)
13,264 A., 1856.

COCKBURN ISLAND, 19 -, Manitoulin Island, 47 Ojibwe, 864 A.,
1862.

CORNWALL ISLAND, 59, -, near Cornwall, 717 Mohawk, 2,050 A.,
(n.s.).

DOKIS, 9, R-H, SW. Lake Nipissing, 207 Ojibwe, 30,300 A.,
1850.

EAGLE LAKE, 27, (3) D. of Kenora, 80 Ojibwe, 8,882 A., 1915.

ENGLISH RIVER, 66, (9), N. of Constance L., on English R.,
(CONSTANCE LAKE) (N. of Mammamattawa)
312 Ojibwe, 7,680 A., 1907.

ENGLISH RIVER, 21, (3), N. of Kenora, 253 Ojibwe, 10,244 A.,
(GRASSY NARROWS)
1915.

FLYING POST, 73, (9), W. of Timmins, 47 Ojibwe, 14,720 A.,
1907.

FORT ALBANY, 67, (9), W. coast James Bay, 722 Cree,
89,600 A., --.

FORT HOPE, 64, (9), N. shore L. Eabamet, 827 Ojibwe,
64,000 A., --.

FORT SEVERN, - (9A), M. Beaverstone R., 147 Cree, 15 sq.m.,
--.

FORT WILLIAM, 52, R-S., M. Kaministiquia R., 248 Ojibwe,
14,066 A., 1850.

FRENCH RIVER, 13, R-H., Ogawaning, Parry Sound, -Ojibwe,
6285 A., 1850.

GARDEN RIVER, 14, R-H., Near Sault-Ste-Marie, 438 Ojibwe,
28,510 A., 1850.

GEORGINA ISLAND, 33, -, In Lake Simcoe, 169 Ojibwe, 3578 A.,
N.S.
(THORAH, SNAKE, FOX and other islands)

GIBSON, 31, -(P.), Muskoka District, 230 Ojibwe & Iroquois, (or WATHA)
14,795 A., 1881.

GLEBE FARM, 40B, (P.), in Brantford, Six-Nations, 181 A.

GOLDEN LAKE, 39, -(P.), S. of Pembroke, Algonquins, 1,560 A., 1870.

GOULAIS BAY, 15A, -R-H., N.W. of Sault-Ste-Marie, 331 Ojibwe, (BATCHAWANA)
1,595 A., 1852.

GROS CAP, 49, R-S., W. Michipiciten R., L. Sup., --, 8,960 A., 1850.

GULL RIVER, 5, R-S., W. shore Lake Nipigon, 232 Ojibwe, 9,825 A., 1850.

HENVEY INLET, 2, R-H., on Georgian Bay, P.S., 105 Ojibwe, 23,810 A., 1850.

ISLANDS IN TRENT WATERS, 36A, -, Peterborough & Victoria Counties, -- Mississagas, 246 A., 1893.

ISLINGTON, 29, (3), WhiteDog R., Kenora distr., 339 Ojibwe, 20,954 A., 1915.

JACKFISH, 57, -, W. shore Lake Nipigon, --, 362 A., 1885.

KAPUSKASING, 83, (9), near City of Kapuskasing, --, 44 A., 1924.

KENORA, 38B, (3), Matheson's Bay, L. of Woods, --, 5,289 A., 1915.

KETTLE POINT, 44, -, Lambton Co., sh. L. Huron, 473 Ojibwe, (total with Stony Pt. infra), 2,224 A., 1827.

LAC DES MILLE LACS, 22A1, (3), Thunder Bay District, 79 Ojibwe, 3,750 A., 1915.

LAC SEUL, 28, (3), Lac Seul, Kenora district, 607 Ojibwe, 49,000 A., 1915.

LAKE OF THE WOODS, 31B-C-G-H, (3), 34, 35E-J, and 37B, Lake of the Woods, S. of Kenora, --Ojibwe, --, 1915.

LAKE OF THE WOODS ISLANDS, 37, (3), Lake of the Woods, S.of (WINDIGO, WINDFALL and CYCLONE) Kenora, --Ojibwe, --, 1915.

LITTLE GRASSY RIVER, 35E, (3), Lake of the Woods, Rainy River District, -- Ojibwe, 2,880 A., 1915.

LONG LAKE, 7, (9), N. end of Long Lac, Bd 58: 379 Ojibwe, Bd 77: 211 Ojibwe, 17,280 A., 1907.

MAGNETAWAN, 1, R-H., on Magnetawan R., Parry Sound, 42 Ojibwe, 11,694 A., 1850 & 1907.

MANITOULIN ISLAND, --, --, Eastern Peninsula Manitoulin Island, 1,910 Ojibwe, 105,300 A., N.S.

MANITOU RAPIDS, 11, (3), Rainey River District, W. of Fort Frances, No. 1: 47 Ojibwe, No. 2: 55 Ojibwe, 5,674 A., 1915.

MARTEN FALLS, 65, (9), N. Albany R., E. of H.B.C. Post, 175 Ojibwe, 19,200 A., 1912.

MATACHEWAN, 72, (9), Turtle Lake, Timiscaming, 113 Ojibwe, 10,276 A., 1907.

MATTAGAMI, 71, (9), Mattagami, district of Sudbury, 108 Ojibwe, 12,800 A., 1907.

MICHIPICOTEN, 48, -, Michipicoten R., L. Superior, 48 Ojibwe, 178 A., 1885.

MISSINAIBI, 62, -, Dog Lake, near Missanaibi, Algoma, 53 Cree, 216 A., 1905.

MISSISSAGI RIVER, 8, R-H., N. shore Lake Huron, 194 Ojibwe, 4,310 A., --.

MOBERT, 82, -(P.), White Lake, Thunder Bay D., --Ojibwe, 35 A., 1925.

MOOSE FACTORY, 68, (9), East sh. Moose River, J.B., 570 Cree, 42,240 A., 1907.

MOOSE FACTORY, -, (9), on Moose Island, --Cree, --, 1956.

MOOSE POINT, 79, (P.), S. Muskoka R., Georgian Bay, 85 Ojibwe, 619 A., 1917.

MOUNTBATTEN, -, -, SE. of Chapleau, --, --, --.

MUD LAKE, 35, -, Mud Lake, near Peterborough, 453 Mississagas, 1,664xA., 1898-1900.

McDOUGALL CHUTES, 78, (9), Matheson, Timiscaming, --, 18 A., 1908.

McINTYRE BAY, 54, -, S. Lake Nipigon, 92 Ojibwe, 585 A., 1885.

NAISCOUTAING, 17A-B, R-H., Parry Sound District, --, (A) 2,634 A., 1850. (B) 178 A., 1877.

NAONGASHING, 65A, (3), SW. Presqu'Ile Peninsula, Lake of the Woods, 274 Ojibwe (Assabaska), 2,650 A., 1917.

NEQUAGON LAKE, 25D, Lac-la-Croix, Rainy Lake D., 101 Ojibwe, 15,355 A., 1918.

NEW BRUNSWICK HOUSE, 76, (9), NE. Missinaibi Lake, --, 17,280 A., 1907.

NEW CREDIT, 40A, -, SE. of Brantford, pts. of Tuscarora and Oneida reserves, 408 Mississaga, 6,000 A., 1903.

NEW POST, 69, (9), 8 M.S. of New Post, Abitibi R., 28 Ojibwe, 5,120 A., 1907.

NIPISSING, 10, R-H., N. shore Lake Nipissing, 409 Ojibwe, 6,237 A., 1850.

NORTHWEST ANGLE, 34C, (3), N. of Northwest A. River, Bd 33: 84 Ojibwe; & 37B, D. of Kenora, Bd 37: 69 Ojibwe, 3,299 A., 1915.

OBABIKONG, 35B, (3), SW. Presqu'Ile Penins., Kenora D., --, 1,760 A., 1915.

OBIDGEWONG, 21, -, Manitoulin Island, --, 732 A., 1836.

ONEIDA, 41, -, (P.), SW. of London, adjacent to Caradoc reserve, 1,307 Oneidas, 5,271 A., 1840.

ONE MAN LAKE, 29, (3), On English River, D. of Patricia, --, 668 A., 1915.

ORFORD, 47, -, New Fairfield on Thames River, 338 (Moravian, Mohican, Munsee, & Delaware), 3,028 A., 1793.

OSNABURG, 63A, (9), S. Lake St. Joseph, 544 Ojibwe, 12,800 A., 1907.

PARRY ISLAND, 16, R-H., E.Sh. Georgian Bay, 234 Ojibwe, 18,481 A., 1851.

PAYS PLAT, 51, -, N. Shore Lake Superior, Thunder Bay D., 35 Ojibwe, 605 A., 1855.

PIC RIVER, 50, -, Mouth Pic R., Thunder Bay D., 403 Ojibwe, 800 A., 1885.

PIKANGIKUM, 14, (5), N. Shore Berens R., at Pikangikum Lake, 387 Ojibwe, 2,240 A., --.

POINT GRONDIN, 3, R-H., N. Shore Lake Huron, 25 Ojibwe, 10,100 A., 1850.

RAINY LAKE, 16A-D, (3), 16A: Rainy Lake N. Ft. Frances, 15 Ojibwe, 152 A., 1915.

(COUCHICHING), 16D: W. of Stangecoming Bay, --, 11,200 A., 1915.

RAINY LAKE; 17-A-B, 18B-C, [2] 17A; Northwest Bay, --, 3,711 A., 1915.

(NIACATCHEWININ), (3)

17B: Clear Water Lake, --, 2,439 A., 1915.
18B: District of Rainy R., 4,553 A., 1915.
18C: N. Stangecoming Bay, 3,681 A., 1915.

(86 Ojibwe (Niacatchewinin Bd)
(15 Stangecoming Bd (18C)

also:

Hungry Hall Bd 1: 12 Ojibwe
Hungry Hall Bd 2: 9 Ojibwe
Long Sault Bd 1: 5 Ojibwe
Long Sault Bd 2: 31 Ojibwe

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2. The Fort Frances Agency reserves: Agency Pither's Ltd., Little Forks, Long Sault No. 1 and 2, The Bishop (Hungry Hall No. 1), Paskonkin (Hungry Hall No. 2), have been surrendered in 1915, to the Ontario provincial government.

RAINY LAKE, 26A-B-C, (3), A: Red Gut Bay, Rainy Lake, --, 4,815 A., 1915.

(NICICKOUSEMENECANING): B: Porter Inlet, Rainy Lake, --, 2,640 A., 1915.

C: Sand Island R., 43 Ojibwe, 2,737 A., 1915.

RAMA, 32, -, (P.), NE. Bay Lake Simcoe, 370 Ojibwe, 2,253 A., 1843.

RAT PORTAGE, 38A (3), White Partridge Bay, Lk. of the Woods, 191 Ojibwe, 8,000 A., 1915.

RED ROCK, 53, -, On Nipigon R., Booth Tnp., 224 Ojibwe, 468 A., 1885.

RICE LAKE, 36, -, N. Shore Rice Lake, Peterborough, 84 Mississagas, 1,860 A., 1834.

SABASKONG BAY, 35C-D-F-H, N. & S. Sabaskong Bay, S. of Crow Lake & 32C, Lake of the Woods, 274 Ojibwe,

1,920 A., in 35C
1,280 A., in 35D
1,280 A., in 35F
640 A., in 35H
1,280 A., in 32C

SACHIGO LAKE, -, (9A), Northern Ontario pt. of Trout Lake Bd (q.v.), --, 14 sq. miles.

SAND POINT, 80, (Rented), On Lake Nipigon, 74 Ojibwe, 236 A., --.

SAND LAKE NARROWS, -, (9A), Northern Ontario Deer Lake, 683 Ojibwe, 17 sq. miles.

SARNIA, 45, -, S. city of Sarnia, 438 Ojibwe, 6,148 A., 1827.

SAUGEEN, 29, -, SW. Saugeen Peninsula, 506 Ojibwe, 9,020 A., 1836.

SAUGEEN HUNTING GROUNDS, 60, N. pt. Saugeen Penins., --, 3,800 A., 1896.

SCUGOG, 34, -(P.), Island on Lake Scugog, 55 Mississagas, 800 A., 1843.

SEINE RIVER, 22A2, (3), Bet. Seine & Firestell Rivers, 211 Ojibwe, 8,776 A., 1915.

SEINE RIVER, 23A, (3), Wild Potato Lake, Seine R., --, 4,345 A., 1915.

SEINE RIVER, 23B, (3), Mouth Seine River, --, 2,234 A., 1915.

SERPENT RIVER, 7, R-H., E. mouth Mississagi R., Lake Huron, 261 Ojibwe, 26,702 A., 1850.

SHAWANAGA, 17, R-H., Parry Sound District, 105 Ojibwe, 8,373 A., 1850.

SHEGUIANDAH, 24, R-H., Manitoulin Island, 78 Ojibwe, 5,106 A., 1862.

SHESHEGWANING, 20, -, Manitoulin Island, 140 Ojibwe, 5,000 A., 1862.

SHOAL LAKE, 31J, S. of Shoal Lake (Kenora D.), 1,280 A., 1915

34B-1, S. of Shoal Lake, 640 A., 1915.

34B-2, Snowshoe Bay & Island, 426 A., 1915.

37A, West of Shoal Lake 215 A., 1915.

39, West of Shoal Lake (Man. & Ont.), 874 A., 1915.

39A, West of Shoal Lake (Man. & Ont.), 7,850 A., 1915.

40, (INDIAN BAY), Shoal Lake, (M&O) 1,033 A., 1915.

SPANISH RIVER, 5, R-H., Mouth Spanish R., Lake Huron, 450 Ojibwe, 28,000 A., 1850.

STONY POINT, 43, -, S.Shore Lake Huron, -Ojibwe (See Kettle Pt), 2,224 A., 1827.

STURGEON FALLS, 23, (3), Seine River District, -Ojibwe, 6,236 A., 1915.

SUCKER CREEK, 23, Manitoulin Island, 109 Ojibwe, 1,665 A., 1862.

SUCKER LAKE, 25, Manitoulin Island, 12 Ojibwe, 599 A., 1862.

SUGAR ISLAND, 37A, -(P.), In Rice Lake, 232 Mississagas, 100 A., 1899.

SWAN LAKE, 29, (3), District of Kenora, -Ojibwe, 3,277 A., 1915.

THE DALLES, 38C, Winnipeg River, N. of Kenora, 76 Ojibwe, 8,064 A., 1915.

THESSALON, 12, R-H., N. Shore Lake Huron, 72 Ojibwe, 2,307 A., 1850.

THORAH ISLAND, 3, In Lake Simcoe, Ojibwe of Georg. Isl., 4 A., Unc.

TROUT LAKE, (9A), In northern Ontario, 1,175 Ojibwe, 85 sq. m., --.

TUSCARORA, 40, -, SE. of Brantford, 6,385 Iroquois, 38,765 A.,

(SIX-NATIONS)

1784.

TYENDINAGA, 38, -, Bay of Quinte, W. of Kingston, 1,730 Mohawks, 17,604 A., 1793.

WABASKANG, 21, (3), Wabaskang Lake, Kenora D., 64 Ojibwe, 8,042 A., 1915.

WABIGOON LAKE, 27, (3), Wabigoon L., D. of Kenora, 103 Ojibwe, 12,872 A., 1915.

WAHANAPITAE, 11, R-H., At L. Wahnapitae, Sudbury D., 30 Ojibwe, 2,560 A., 1850.

WALPOLE ISLAND, 46, -, Head of Lake St. Clair, 1,041 Ojibwe and Potawatomies, 40,480 A., 1831.

WEST BAY, 22, -, Manitoulin Island, 528 Ojibwe, 8,399 A., 1862.

WINISK, (9A), Junct. Winisk & Asheweig Rivers, N.O., 143 Cree, 17 Sq. miles.

WHITEFISH BAY, 33A, (3), S. Lobstick Bay, L. of the Woods, 223 Ojibwe, 4,865 A., 1915.

WHITEFISH LAKE, 6, R-H., N. Collins Inlet, L. Huron, --, 47,755 A., 1850.

WHITEFISH RIVER, 4, R-H., Mouth Whitefish R., N. Shore L. Huron, 192 Ojibwe, 10,600 A., 1850.

WHITESAND RIVER, 81, R-H., N. Whitesand R., NW. sh. l. Nipigon, 182 Ojibwe, 276 A., 1919.

WUNNUMIN LAKE, (9A), -, Northern Ont. for Trout Lake Band, --, 27 Sq. miles.

YELLOW GIRL BAY, 32B, (3), Lake of the Woods, -Ojibwe, (Whitefish Bay Band), 4,454 A., 1915.

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THE SOCIAL ORGANIZATION OF THE MONTAGNAIS-NASKAPI

by

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Introduction

The first purpose of this paper is a presentation of the traditional social organization of the Montagnais-Naskapi to show the present state of anthropological knowledge. It is also an indication of lost opportunities since it is doubtful now whether enough data will ever be gathered to notably increase this knowledge. The present rapid changes in Northern Quebec seem to have closed the last possibilities of studying their traditional culture, and no amount of field-work will now reveal what used to be. The second aim of this paper, and also the subject of the conclusion, is to assess from the available data the role the social organization and culture has played during the transition to the present stage of virtual disappearance.

I

The Montagnais-Naskapi live in Northern Quebec, in the area formed by the Atlantic Ocean, the Hudson Bay, and the Gulf of the St. Lawrence. With the exception of the widely scattered camping-grounds of the interior, the new mining locations, and the few inhabited places on the coast, Northern Quebec is largely deserted, unchartered country. The interior is formed by a succession of low folds and wide valleys covered by fir forests, or open permafrost tundra. The whole is criss-crossed by a labyrinth of lakes and a network of rivers. Administratively, the Montagnais-Naskapi live in the two Provinces of Quebec and Labrador-Newfoundland.

The Montagnais-Naskapi were in their present location when the French colonized Canada in the early 17th century. These early reports suggest that they were organized as nomadic bands living exclusively by hunting and fishing. Contacts with the French are reported to have begun a number of important changes. The use of

firearms, and the intensive slaughter of animals, led to the disappearance of certain animals upon which these bands depended. The fur-trade, and the supplies brought in by the traders, only partially compensated for the decreasing game. The situation became worse as white trappers -- mostly French Canadians -- encroached on the Indians' best hunting grounds. Leacock (1954) has suggested that it was the gradual disappearance of game as well as the encroachments of other trappers which created the concept of property rights over hunting territories. Forced out upon the less advantageous ones, the Indians had to exert greater efforts which yielded ever diminishing returns. Diseases brought in by the Europeans decimated their ranks and their number was further reduced by epidemics. They are reported to have reached their lowest number at the beginning of the 20th century, but have been increasing since. All reports agree to state that this increase is practically entirely limited to the bands in reserves, and especially those which have intermarried with the French Canadians, and who have more or less left their previous hunting life for more settled occupations in the relatively better climate of the southern part of the area.

There is no complete survey of the Montagnais-Naskapi. Most of the information about them is given in monographic studies whose data was obtained from a relatively small number of informants. This is unfortunate as some considerable differences are reported to exist between the various bands living within this extensive territory. While the language used throughout the area, and some of the customs, are basically similar, local variations exist which have led to the making of a differentiation between Montagnais (French: Men of the Mountains) and Naskapi (Algonkian: the true men). It is, however, difficult to discover who are the Montagnais, and who are the Naskapi, as these terms are used by different authors to indicate the same bands. Tanner (1947), for instance, list only three such bands as being Naskapi. Speck (1934), on the contrary, uses the name to cover all Indians living in the whole of the area. To overcome some of these difficulties they will be referred to in this paper as Montagnais-Naskapi. This usage also eliminates the misleading inference about two distinct groups. As there are no overall political organization, or other forms of centralization, the present usage merely refers to a geographical and cultural area, and the various bands within it are to be classified according to their differences from each other.

Major Characteristics and Social Units

The band is the largest unit of social organization. However, these bands do not have the same social structure. It has become generally accepted that two extreme types of traditional social organization existed among the Montagnais-Naskapi, and bands are classified according to their position between these two extreme types. The two extreme types are themselves associated with modes of life characteristic of either the forest or the tundra. The tundra type is derived from the huntung of the wandering herds of caribou. It is nomadic and communal. In its most extreme form all the elementary families remain together, and the band hunts in common under the leadership of a chief. The forest type is more limited in the wanderings of its hunting parties, and in its more extreme form approaches settled life in a permanent camp. The elementary family is the hunting unit, and the band is often without a recognized chief. Speck and Eisely (1942, 29) stress that the main factors determining these two types are simply the types of game in the two areas. However, as there are fluctuations both in the location of the game and the amount of game to be found in each area, major variations in social organization have been reported for the same band. Furthermore, as certain bands live in territories where their hunting program changes with the seasons of the year, these two extreme types of social organization will exist at different periods of the year for the same band. The whole band will break up into elementary families to hunt in a family hunting ground. Later, these families will come together under a chief to hunt together as a single group after the caribou herds.

Variations in the number of bands reported in existence range from 26 (Speck 1935) to 17 (Fried 1956). It is not possible to say whether 9 bands actually disappeared during the period. Reports show that each band varies both in numbers and in the size of the hunting ground. Another type of differentiation between them, which shows more clearly their cultural variation, is the distinction they themselves make between "big hunters" and "little hunters." The "big hunters" live in the remote interior, and most of them are reported to have retained some of the traditional culture. Their contacts with Canadians, either missionaries, Indian Agents, or the members of the Hudson Bay Company posts, are limited to the short period they spend at one of the posts to sell their furs and buy supplies for the next hunting trip. The "little hunters" are those who have become more and more sedentary, and have taken over much of the French Canadian

way of life. They are themselves considered to be like French Canadians by the "big hunters." Their occupations range from small scale trapping and hunting, to working in the various industries located near them, or acting as guides for sportsmen in hunting and fishing trips. They have given up living in tents, and have built wooden houses of the Canadian type. The traditional organization is reported to have completely broken down among them, and to all intents and purposes they are without knowledge of either their traditional language or customs. It would be wrong to suppose that the "big hunters" represent a type of social organization which is basically what existed before the contact with Europeans. The fur trade, the mass conversion of the Montagnais-Naskapi to Christianity, mean that no element of their pre-contact way of life has remained untouched. Since the 18th century, for instance, the history of most of these bands has been closely linked with that of the posts set up by the Hudson Bay Company. Originally these trading posts were established near the summer gathering places of the bands. In a number of instances these posts were later moved to places more suitable from the Company's point of view, and these in turn became the gathering places of the bands. Not all the bands had trading posts located permanently in their territory, so that they had to trade at another band's summer camping-ground. Other bands had more than one post established within their traditional territory. Changes in the location of a trading post, or its closing down, caused major changes in the lives of the Montagnais-Naskapi, and gradually their pattern of life was transformed to suit the distribution of trading posts within the whole area.

Contacts with Canadians and others has meant that most anthropological studies, as they were made in the 20th century, report simply the end product of change. For instance early travellers reported the presence of polygamy, and the importance of the extended kinship system. These were practically unknown as customs by the 19th century.

The Bands

A description of the Montagnais-Naskapi bands must be qualified for the generality of its social organization or culture as either limited to itself or valid for a number of bands. Furthermore, the data on a number of bands is too scanty to allow for more than an acknowledgement of its existence. Taking into account all these qualifications, it seems that the minimal description is as follows. A band occupies a clearly defined area which was recognized by the members of that band, as well as of other

bands, as their "territory." Within each area the band had one or more meeting-places, usually occupied in summer, when all the members of a band came together. It was there that the Hudson Bay Company set up its posts, and the missionaries their Churches. It is also there that marriages are celebrated, trading carried out and gossip exchanged. Nowadays some of these summer camping-grounds are usually part of a reserve and wooden houses have been built by the Indian Bureau. The bands have come to be known by the name of their most important camping-ground. Should an individual Montagnais-Naskapi change his summer camping-ground to that of another band from the one he was born in, he may finally lose his membership in his original band, and acquire various rights with his new band. These rights, however, depend on the type of social organization which exists within that specific band, the presence or lack of a chief, the type of territory and of hunting rights within that territory. An idea of these differences can best be obtained by listing some of the characteristics which have been reported for each band.

1. White Whale River Band. This band was reported by Speck (1923, 454), as hunting as a single group. Its social organization was otherwise unknown, and in 1924 it was reported as composed of 57 persons. Fried (1957) reports 181 Cree speakers at Great Whale River and does not list the White Whale River band.

2. Ungava Band. They are reported to have formed a very large band previous to the 1892-3 famine. Turner (1894), who has made the only report on this band, writes that they were polygamous previous to his arrival, but when he visited them each elementary family consisted of a monogamous couple and their children living in a single tent. These elementary families came together between April and June to hunt the caribou. They then scattered until September or October to hunt for smaller animals. Fried (1956) listed 191 Naskapi speakers in the area of Chimo.

3. Barren Ground Band. Speck (1931, 561) reports that this band has been shrinking rapidly in numbers since the influenza epidemic of 1918 and the disappearance of the caribou in their territory. He also reports that they were headed by a chief and used to hunt as a group. Tanner (1947, vol. 2, 635) who visited them in 1939 reports that they have moved to the coast. Not listed by Fried (1956).

4. Big River band. Speck (1931, 566) reports that no further information exists on this band beyond the fact that it is composed of a few elementary families. Fried (1956) lists 684 Cree speakers at Fort George and no Montagnais-Naskapi.

5. Petisikapau Band. Speck and Eiseley report the disappearance of this band as a unit, and think its members may have joined the Moisie band. Not reported on by Fried (1956).

6. Davis Inlet Band. Speck (1931) reports that during 1927-28 it was composed of about five elementary families. These are said to have originated from the marriage of an Eskimo and a Scotch-Cree half-breed. Tanner (1947, Vol. 2, 671) reports the presence of 107 persons. Fried (1956) reports 117 Naskapi speakers in the area.

7. East Main Band. Speck (1931) reports that very little is known of this band beyond the fact that in 1890 it was composed of three families hunting as a group. He listed them as being 251 in 1924. Fried (1956) lists 195 Cree speakers in the area.

8. Nichikun Band. Speck and Eiseley (1924, 232-3) report that this band disappeared as a unit after the closing in 1918 of the Hudson Bay Company's post. Members of this band were met by Speck in 1915 and 1925 after they had joined other bands. Not reported on by Fried (1956).

9. Kaniapiskau Band. Speck (1931, 590-1) reports that only the name of this band was known by him. Later Speck and Eiseley (1942, 227) reported that a very close connection exists between this band and the St. Marguerite band. They added that there were few reasons for separating them were it not for the practice of using different names for the rather vague boundary which separates them. Fried (1956) has no mention of them.

10. Michikamau Band. Speck and Eiseley (1942-46) report that this group is the most integrated of the bands of the interior, and that they had been hardly influenced by intermarriage with French Canadians. They have a chief and hunt as a single group, only breaking up between October and November to hunt for certain fur animals. Tanner (1947, Vol. 2, 684) counted 18 families or a total of 150 persons when he met them in 1939. Fried (1956) does not report on them.

11. North West River Band. The members of this band are reported by Speck (1931, 592) to be nomadic caribou hunters, but he gives no further indication of their social organization beyond the fact that they numbered 304 persons in 1924. Tanner (1947, vol. 2) reports that this group numbered 35 to 40 families living in separate tents and that each had its own hunting ground. Fried (1956) reports 135 Montagnais speakers.

12. Rupert House Band. Speck (1931, 586) reports that they formed a large band of 262 persons. Fried (1956) reports 535 Cree speakers in the area.

13. Mistassini Band. Speck (1931, 587) reports that they numbered 159 persons in 1924. Lips (1947a, 398) reports that they had increased to 281 by 1929. This band has been strongly influenced by French Canadian culture through the high number of mixed marriages. The elementary families in the southern part of the area are said to have their own hunting ground. Speck (1931) reports that the families in the northern part hunt as a group. Lips (1947a, 399) states that they have elected no chief since 1928. Fried (1956) reports 654 Naskapi speakers in the area.

14. Bersimis Band. This is a very large band under the authority of a chief. Speck (1931, 598) reported that they numbered 565 persons in 1924. Fried (1956) reports that 805 Montagnais speakers are located there.

15. St. Marguerite Band. The whole of this band's territory is reported by Speck and Eiseley (1942, 227) to be divided into ten family hunting grounds. They have no chief, and some of the members have become completely assimilated by French Canadians. Not reported by Fried (1956).

16. Moisie Band. Speck (1931), 592) reports that this band comprised ten families, and had been without a chief since 1915. Both types of tundra and forest social organizations have been reported for this band. They are also said to have taken over a great many traits of French Canadian culture and most of their young men were said to prefer employment in settled occupations rather than hunting. Not reported by Fried (1956).

17. Mingan Band. This band was reported by Speck (1931, 586) to be without a chief, and to number 152 persons. Fried (1956) reports 156 Montagnais speakers living in tents and hunting.

18. Nastashkwan Band. Speck (1931, 587) reports that they were without a chief and hunted in groups composed of affiliated families for part of the year, and then broke up into elementary families. Fried (1956) reports 136 Montagnais speakers hunting and fishing in the area.

19. Musquato Band. No further information is available beyond the report by Speck that it was composed of 20 families in 1924. Fried (1956) does not list it.

20. St. Augustin Band. Speck (1931) reports that it was composed of 15 families or 34 persons hunting in groups. They are reported to have intermarried with Eskimos. Fried (1956) lists 77 Montagnais speakers in the area.

21. Lake St. John Band. Lips (1947a, 398) reports it as having 670 members in 1929. They are reported to have practically all intermarried with French Canadians. While they have a chief he possesses little authority. The whole area is subdivided into family hunting-grounds and each family hunts as a unit. A large number have settled down to sedentary occupations and even to part-time farming. Fried (1956) lists 1113 Montagnais at Pointe Bleu.

22. Chicoutimi Band. Speck (1931, 588) reports them to be under the authority of the Lake St. John chief, and to have been incorporated into that band. Not listed by Fried (1956).

23. Escoumains Band. They are reported to have disintegrated as a separate unit. Speck (1931, 589) reports that they have no political unity and no chief, and that four of the families have been assimilated with the French Canadians. Fried (1956) reports 75 Montagnais in permanent buildings in a reserve.

24. Godbout Band. Speck (1931, 589) reports that this band was disappearing. Not reported by Fried (1956).

25. Shelter Bay Band. Speck and Eiseley (1942, 232) report that three families formed this band in 1925. They are said to be of recent formation as a band. Fried (1956) does not mention them.

26. Tadoussac Band. Speck (1931, 589) reports that only one family remained in 1915, and that they had joined after that another band. Not reported by Fried (1956).

As can be seen from the above summary there are extensive variations, and sometimes conflicting evidence. It is doubtful if the band names used by the various authors correspond to the reality in all instances. The latest survey, that of the Seminar on the Aboriginal population of Quebec (Fried 1956), seems to be the most accurate, but even then, it reports Cree speakers where previous authors have reported the existence of Montagnais-Naskapi groups.

II

The Kinship System

Because of the variations between bands, and the lack of detailed information about some of them, the description which follows must be taken to be limited to the southern bands which have provided most of the available data. This is unfortunate since it is the southern bands which have been longest under the influence of French Canadian culture, while the northern groups, who are said to have remained more traditional, have not been studied as thoroughly.

The traditional kinship system was patrilineal and patrilocal with certain matrilocal variations. However, no larger kinship unit than the extended family has ever been reported. The band is a political unit, not an exogamous clan. It is difficult to know whether this has always been so, or is a recent development. The terms "my people," my "relatives" and my "band" are said to be synonymous, but no example of exogamous rule has been reported for the band. Another problem of the extension of kinship is the presence of cross-cousin marriage. The same term is used for both father-in-law and mother's brother; for mother-in-law and father's sister; for both daughter-in-law and cross-niece; for both siblings-in-law of opposite sex and cross-cousin of opposite sex (Flannery, 1938; Hallowell, 1932; Speck, 1918). The same term is also used for cross-cousin of opposite sex and lover. For parallel-cousins the same term is used as for siblings. Few specific instances of cross-cousin marriages have, however, been reported (Flannery, 1938, 30). The available information stresses that cross-cousin marriage does not extend to second cousins. Furthermore, Flannery (1938, 32) reports that the custom is now dying out. Similarly, polygamy, which was reported to have been in existence as late as 1840 (Lips, 1947a, 419), has disappeared. Lips (1947a, 417) also reports that definite rules about

exogamy or engogamy were not known by his informants. Speck (1930, 421) maintains, however, that certain preference rules are to be found in the Mistassini band. Marriage is said by all informants to be done according to the rites of the Catholic Church, or, in a few instances, according to those of the Protestant church available in the area. Because of the practically complete acceptance of Christian religious marriage, reports stress that it is not possible to know the previous forms of marriage.

Joking relationships have been reported between certain categories of men and women standing in a classificatory position of cross-cousins. Strong (1929, 283) reports that among the Barren Ground band male cross-cousins are supposed to exchange obscene language, accompanied by horse-play aimed at exposing each other's genitals. They have, moreover, the privilege of sexual relations with each other's sisters and cousins. A formal request is reported to be necessary for this privilege which implies the exchange of sisters on the permission of the father of these girls. Among women this custom is said to be limited to joking, although they also go through the same form of verbally asking for each other's brothers. Such exchanges that do take place are said to be of sisters, not of wives. In other bands this practice is reported by Strong to be unknown (1929, 283). Hallowell (1932, 175) has suggested that it is probable that cousin marriage was practiced more widely than now. The kinship terminology does suggest that preferential marriage of cross-cousins was widespread, but with its decline, new terminological terms have now appeared, copied from the French Canadians.

Lips (1947a, 418) reports that nowadays, for the Lake St. John and Mistassini bands, the initiative for bringing about a marriage rests with the young people concerned. If a girl wants to marry a certain young man, she informs her mother, who will then pay a visit to the mother of the young man. Normally, however, it is the young man who takes the first step by offering a gift to the girl. If the gift is accepted it is a sign that the girl will marry him, if not, she returns it. The usual age of marriage is between 16 and 20 for a girl, and somewhat older for a boy. The parents have no right to force their children into a marriage, and sometimes an elopment is said to force the parents to accept a marriage they disapprove of.

Lips also reports that it is not customary in these two bands to give a dowry to the future bride, and the bride has no obligation to prepare anything for a

future married life. Even if her parents are comparatively wealthy, the only property she is reported to bring with her are a few personal clothes. It is the bridegroom's task to take care of the new household's needs, and he has to provide everything, with the help of his father. This usually consists of a tent, a gun and ammunition, and enough food to last through the first winter season, a canoe, traps, clothes and all the necessary household utensils. Shortly before the marriage the bridegroom puts up his own tent near that of his father, and makes ready for the spouse.

The wedding itself is attended by the whole of the band if it takes place during the summer camping period, or by those living not too far from the hunting-grounds of the families concerned. If a missionary church exists at the camping-ground and a priest is present, the couple will have a Christian religious wedding. Otherwise, the manager of the nearest Hudson Bay Company post may officiate. In a few instances it is reported that the chief of the band, where he exists, will declare the couple married. Later these two types of civil marriage will be sanctioned by the missionary priest when he visits the summer camping-ground of the band.

Every married couple, and elementary family, is reported to live within its own tent, although it is also reported that it happens that a tent will be shared. As a rule a son will remain with his father after the marriage, and his wife joins him. If there is a family hunting-ground the son will continue to hunt either with his father, or on a particular area of the family hunting-ground assigned to him by his father. Sometimes his father-in-law will assist him with his hunting, and may even ask him to come and hunt on his own hunting-ground. This is not, however, said to be a rule, but depends on personal circumstances. If a man marries a widow who has inherited a family hunting-ground, he will leave his father and hunt on his wife's hunting-ground.

Lips also reports (1947a, 422) that within each elementary family the father is the head of the household, and his authority is recognized by all its members. He is served first at meals, and he receives the best pieces of meat. He ranks first above his wife in all social relations with other members of the band. Among the children authority is by seniority. The oldest son or the oldest daughter assigns tasks to the other children. However, another writer (Burgesse, 1944, 9) has pointed out that among the Lake St. John band there is no indication that

the subordination of women is anything more than theoretical. In practice women are men's equal in every way, especially in those activities which have developed under the influence of contact with French Canadians.

Lips (1947a, 423) reports that a married woman may own property of her own. During the absence of her husband she may lend his property to others, but she may not sell it. She inherits her husband's possessions if their oldest son is not yet of age. Should she die the oldest son inherits, provided that he is able to take care of the rest of the family, since it is his duty to take care of his younger siblings. If the eldest son is too young, the eldest daughter administers the family's property until he comes of age.

Divorce can be obtained by either side, by a simple separation. Lips (1947a, 434) says, however, that divorce or separation is very rare, as relations will always try to keep the couple together. Reasons for separation are adultery, infidelity, and disobedience. If a husband leaves his wife he ceases to support her and she is forced to return to her parents, or to go to friends who are willing to help her. In case of divorce, children may go with either parent. If a husband neglects his wife, and does not provide her with the necessities of life, or ill-treats her, her relatives may take it upon themselves to intervene. A wife may also ask the chief of the band to intervene. This seldom happens since it is held that the affairs of an elementary family are no concern of the chief. A chief may, however, punish a man for ill-treating his wife.

After the birth of a child the afterbirth is buried in the hunting-ground, and the relatives and friends are invited to a celebration. If it can possibly be managed the guestsare feasted on beaver meat, the most highly prized meat. Good luck charms are also suspended from the cradle.

The mother nurses the child for about a year. The child itself will be named according to certain events connected with the child's first days of life. It is reported by Burgesse (1934, 44) that names are no indication of a family surname, or that these names were given at birth. Naming not only changes at every generation, but takes no cognizance of consanguinity in the second degree. Nicknames may also be adopted and used later on as family names. Burgesse (1943, 48) also reports that the surname is considered merely a 'trading' name, and nothing more.

Already at a very tender age the young boys are instructed by their fathers, or the old men of the band, to become good hunters. They learn the various hunting practices, and in addition they are taught the various customs of the band. For the girls the emphasis is upon feminine skills. They are taught the art of snow-shoe lacing, the manufacture of mocassins, birch-bark baskets and rabbit-skin blankets, and the techniques of needle-work and other handicrafts reserved for the feminine sex.

Adulthood is determined by the first menstruation for the girls, and the killing of the first bear for the boys. In those areas where bear-killings are rare, matrimonial state and adulthood are equivalent. Full adulthood is only recognized on the birth of the first child. Lips (1957, 413) reports that while there is no ceremonial celebration of the killing of a first bear, the boy is thenceforth treated as a man. Outward evidence of this is the fact that he may now open a separate account with the Hudson Bay Company, and hands in his furs separately from those of his father. Under the Indian Act, the completion of the twenty-first year is the obtaining of legal capacity.

Previously, at death, men and women were placed upon a platform high up in the trees, and their graves adorned with the heads and bones of the animals they either hunted or were skillful at preparing as food or as skin to sell. Nowadays, the body is buried following the rites of the Christian Church, and the practice has developed of wearing black as a sign of mourning. At the death of a father all his possessions passed to his eldest son. If there is no son, the widow inherits. If she dies her married daughters will inherit. If there are no children, her brothers will inherit, or her nearest male relatives. If she has no brother the property will return to her husband's family. If the family dies out, the hunting-ground, as the major item of property, will revert to the band, and the chief will distribute it among the other members of the band. Very distant relatives of the extinct family have no claims upon the hunting-ground.

Political Organization

As already mentioned, there is no overall political organization of either the Montagnais or the Naskapi as separate units. The band is the largest social group within which a form of political organization can be said to exist. Even then the political organization of each band is at its best extremely loose. In some bands, while a consciousness of the existence of the band as a social unit can be said

to exist, there is no political organization as such. There is no chief or no council of heads of families. While a large number of bands do have chiefs, only a small number have a council of elders.

Another characteristic of the political organization of the Montagnais-Naskapi is that it is based on a territorial location, not on kinship grouping. Each territory of a band is defined well enough for its boundaries to be known by its members and the members of neighboring bands. While it is considered permissable to cross the territory of a foreign band without being attacked, settling within the territory, or using the camping grounds of the band implies coming under the form of political organization which exists within that territory. However, even this must not be pressed too far. Montagnais-Naskapi bands have always maintained the friendliest of relationships with each other, and have never fought each other in any wars. Considerable infringements of territorial boundaries are thus allowed without any action being taken. Furthermore, these infringements are considered an individual act, not that of the band of which the individual is a member. Only continued residence, or continuous infringement of a band's territory will be judged as warranting the application of the rules of a band on a member of another band. Similarly, infringement of a family's hunting-ground by members of the same band must be extensive and repeated before the members of that family will take retaliatory action, which, even then, will not lead to any physical attack on the culprit.

The apex of the political organization in each band, in the instances where this organization exists, is the chief. Since the passing of the Indian Act of 1927, chiefs are elected for a term of three years in any band consisting of at least 30 members. Similarly, the councillors of a band are elected and may be in the proportion of two for every two hundred Indians.

Not all the bands have followed these instructions. Lips (1947a, 399) reports that the Mistassini band has elected no new chief since 1928, despite repeated demands by the Indian Agent that they do so. The election of a chief usually takes place while the band is assembled at its summer camping-ground. All male members of the band who are at least twenty-one years of age can take part in the election. Traditionally, however, chieftainship is hereditary, passing from father to eldest son, or if the father was without a son, to his next brother. Only when the incumbent was without a legal heir was a chief then

selected by election. Even now there is a tendency towards electing chiefs who have the traditional claim for such a position. However, if public opinion does not credit the son, or the brother, of the deceased chief with the necessary qualities, the norm of hereditary succession will be broken, and a new chief appointed who has no kinship ties to the previous chief.

Lips (1947a, 401) stresses that his various informants insisted that a person had to be of high ethical standard and conscious of his responsibilities towards his fellow-tribesmen, before he would be elected. Above all else he would be expected to be a good hunter. If a chief failed in this respect (perhaps on account of his advancing years), he would no longer be looked upon as a chief, and would consequently lose his influence over the band.

The importance of the chief within the band varied according to the social structure of the band. In those bands which hunt as a single hunting-band, the chief is reported to possess great influence in the decision of where and how to hunt, and in the settlement of disputes between members of the bands. In those bands where family hunting units are found, the chief only becomes important during the periods when the band comes together. As a mark of his rank the chief wears a certain headdress trimmed with feathers, and a specially decorated coat, which is now often the gift of the Hudson Bay Company when a new chief is elected. He wears these insignia of his office only on public occasions, and his donning of the feather crown is usually the signal for the band members to assemble for some sort of official action.

The main duties of a chief seem to consist in maintaining the peace between the members of the band, and between them and members of other bands. He also represents the interests of the band members when dealing with the Hudson Bay Company, or with the Indian Agent. As the peace-maker in the incidents between members of the band, the chief tries to prevent crimes being committed, and he acts as a conciliator in disputes. However, he cannot act in the affairs of each family without being requested to do so by a member of that family. Tanner (1947, vol. 2, 688) reports that his main duties consist in settling disputes over hunting rights between band members. In those bands which act as a single hunting group, it is he who makes the final decision of where the band shall hunt.

This type of political leadership has been said by Lips (1947a, 403-404) to result from the individualistic-

critical attitude of men who for long periods of the year are left to their own devices in their hunts or their travelling. Lips stresses that his informant told him that they were only willing to acknowledge the chief as their representative as long as he serves, or is able to serve, them. Although they do not actually remove a chief from his position to elect a successor, the office holder loses his influence. It has also been said by Lips (1947a, 404) that it is public opinion which not only controls the powers of the chief, but also all communal acts in those bands that are without chiefs. Should public opinion cease to support a chief his orders are no longer carried out, and he finds himself boycotted. Similarly, any communal act against an individual takes place if that action is supported by the majority of the members of the band. It is this possibility of being able to influence public opinion which is the source of political power. For instance, if a chief, or any other person of political status, has the additional advantage of being a shaman, his influence is considerably increased. It may also happen that an outstanding shaman may also become a political leader. Lips (1947a, 486) reports such an instance for the chief of the Lake St. John band, who was the son of an influential shaman. He stressed that this chief was himself a shaman before he was elected as a chief.

Economic Organization

The economic organization of the Montagnais-Naskapi was that of subarctic hunters. Agriculture was unknown. They hunted the moose or the caribou herds, or trapped smaller animals for their furs, like the beaver, otter, mink, or marten, whose skins were sold to the Hudson Bay Company or other merchants. This hunting was normally done within the territorial boundary of the band, and most of these territories were large enough to more than accommodate the members of each band when the game was plentiful. Each territory may have been further subdivided into family hunting-grounds in those areas where the caribou or moose herds did not roam. However, in all instances, the family was the hunting unit. Families may join together either in the common hunt of the whole band, or as groups of families who are joined by definite kinship ties. Families have thus become linked with specific areas, even when the whole band may hunt as a single group. This is due to the fact that in times of shortage, especially when the herds of caribou are small, the band will have to separate into smaller groups so as to hunt the smaller animals scattered in the whole of the territory of the band. Growing out of this peculiar relationship between

hunter and certain areas, and certain totemistic conceptions held by the Montagnais-Naskapi about their relationships with the animals they hunt, a complex system of controlling factors was created. Lips (1947b, 3) reports that his informants told him that they believed that the animals they hunted were the real owners of the hunting-grounds, and that the hunters were the servants of the spirit chiefs of the game animals. They thus had to follow certain rituals before, during, and after the hunts in order to safeguard their own livelihood. A person who hunted over some other person's territory, and thus did not observe the special relationship which had been created in that area between the spirit of the animals and the 'rightful' hunter in the area, would suffer some sort of punishment.

Beside hunting and trapping, fishing and the gathering of plants and wild berries also played some role in the economy of the Montagnais-Naskapi. However, traditionally hunting remained their chief occupation, and meat the main source of diet. With the advent of the Hudson Bay Company their hunting economy had been further specialized. Their trading of furs in exchange for other goods had resulted in their total dependence upon European goods for their necessities. This specialization could have been expected to have led to an increase in their standard of living. However, the use of firearms, of steel traps and other more efficient devices to catch animals, has contributed to a decrease in the game. Lips (1947b, 9) reports that it still happens that entire families are wiped out by starvation, and reports of Indian hunters dying of hunger run through the annual reports of the Hudson Bay Company posts like a black thread. The Hudson Bay Company has, however, helped the Indians by opening new sources of revenue to them. With the exception of one interior post which has a railway connection, and those posts of the Company situated on the coast, all posts situated in the interior are supplied with the help of Indian labour who carry the goods needed for the fur trade.

Since the coming of the Hudson Bay Company the Indians have gradually ceased to make most of their household utensils. Even their birch-bark canoe, or their skin or birch-bark tents, have been replaced by wooden canoes or canvas tents. These are, in most instances, sold already made, and only a few families buy either the wood or the canvas to make a canoe or a tent. Some families have also taken to the building of wooden houses during their summer camping period, or as permanent homes for those who have settled in one place. Similarly, the traditional clothing

which consisted of rabbit-skin coats and caribou-hide leggings, both for males and females, and the skin mocassins, have been replaced by European clothes. The traditional Indian clothes are reported by Lips (1947b, 39) to be now rarely worn.

However, this specialization of the Montagnais-Naskapi as hunters obtaining their necessities from the exchange of furs for European goods, has not changed the fact that the individual family has remained the main production unit. No larger production unit has been created, and guilds, associations, and so on, are still nonexistent. However, it is reported that a number of individuals have become specialists in certain activities beside that of being hunters. One is sought after because he is an expert canoe builder, another because his birch-bark articles are better and stronger, one woman because her needle and beadwork are preferred. The Mistassini band is well-known among other Montagnais-Naskapi for their outstanding leather work, which is exchanged with other bands. The surplus of these home made articles is also sold to the Hudson Bay Company who sell them to tourists as Indian arts and crafts.

There are thus only two main divisions of labour, that between the sexes, and that between old and young. Generally each family performs the same type of economic activity, and the family of the chief is not set apart from the others. It is the task of the father and of his sons to keep the family supplied with meat. When the hunter has killed an animal it is his responsibility to bring it home. This is done either bringing the animal home on his shoulders, or, if too big, by cutting up the animal into pieces, some of which are then buried in the snow and brought home at a later date. Fishing, on the contrary, is carried out mainly by women and children. Meat and fish are preserved for later consumption by drying and smoking. Since the bringing of flour into the area by the Hudson Bay Company, the Montagnais-Naskapi make a kind of bread. Previous to this it is reported that they had no bread, since no bulb, tuber, or suitable root exists in the whole region.

Between members of a band, and between bands, barter and exchange take place, but these are usually for minor goods and are only subsidiary to the main economic activity. The making of gifts is also reported. Lips (1947a, 439) reports that a gift does not have to be reciprocated with a specific counter gift, and does not create a claim. With the act of donation the gift becomes the property of the donee. Should the donor, however,

be in need later on, Lips reports that it is usual for half of its value to be returned. The gift itself is not returned. Some form of working for another hunter has been reported by Burgesse (1945, 18). A prosperous hunter among the Lake St. John band may take under his protection one or more, less skillful, or less fortunate, fellow hunters. These he outfits at his expense for the hunting season. An Indian who is thus 'protected' becomes subject to his benefactor. All the furs caught belong to his benefactor, who then pays him fixed sums of money as wages. The present units of money among them are now dollars and cents. Both Lips (1947b) and Burgesse (1945) report that formerly accounting was done in units of furs.

Social Control and Law Enforcement

The loosely knit political organization of the Montagnais-Naskapi, and their economic organization based on the family unit as the production unit in an exchange economy of furs against European goods, have not favoured the development of a strong system of social control. Furthermore, in those areas in which the Montagnais-Naskapi have come under the influence of Canadian culture, the importance of the traditional system of social control has been further weakened. The influence of the missionaries, and the presence of the Hudson Bay Company post managers, have created new foci of authority within each band. Finally the Indian Agents, as the representatives of the Canadian Government, possess extensive powers of an executive, legislative and judicial capacity in each of the areas to which they are appointed. Individual Indians often prefer to summon the person with whom they are in a dispute in front of the Indian Agent, rather than use the traditional method of enforcing the customary law of the band through an appeal to the chief or to the public opinion of the band. Where there is no Indian Agent, the managers of the various Hudson Bay Company posts become often arbritrators in disputes involving the Montagnais-Naskapi who trade at the post. Individual managers may acquire more influence over an area than any traditional chief. Finally, the missionaries, in their role as judges of ethical behaviour and of religious leaders often also acquire influence equivalent to that of law enforcement.

Lips (1947a, 475) reports a reluctance on the part of the members of the Lake St. John band to go to their chief for help. He also states that they more frequently prefer to deal with the person with whom they are in conflict on a self-help basis, or turn to the shaman for help. Burgesse (1945, 18), however, reports that members of this band

summoned each other before the Indian Agent for theft. There are, however, instances of disputes which are still dealt with by the chief, or by the chief and council. These are mostly crimes involving the majority of the band members. In such instances a court is called together. It is composed of the chief and the oldest and most respected heads of families. It assembles in exceptional cases and only during the summer camping period. It usually sits in the chief's tent, and the chief heads the court wearing his feather crown. The chief opens the court by giving a detailed summary of the case. It is then followed by the questioning of witnesses. No oath is used, although under the influence of Christianity some form of swearing has appeared in some bands. If guilt is acknowledged, and in most instances it is reported that the accused does so, the chief pronounces the sentence on a simple majority vote of the elders. The execution of the sentence is carried out by the elders themselves.

The legal concepts upon which the findings are based are simple in their formulation. Lips (1947a, 427) reports that such abstract terms as 'property', 'possession,' 'ownership', and so on, are not known in Montagnais-Naskapi. To circumscribe these nouns, the verb ' to own ' is used in various forms. The strict legal sense of ownership is thus reported to be very limited. Ownership of a hunting-ground, for instance, is manifested by the privilege to hunt or trap in that tract of land. Such hunting-grounds cannot be sold outright, nor may any hunting privileges thereon be sold. It would seem, however, that whenever such privileges to hunt are given to persons not members of the 'owning' family, they then cannot be revoked. Burgesse (1945, 10) mentions that the receiver of the privilege may then claim the area as his own hunting-ground, and hand it on to his heir. The original 'owner' cannot claim its return. Neither can the 'owner' of a hunting ground cut down the trees in order to sell the timber. He can use the wood of cut trees for his own use, but not deal in it commercially.

Hunting rights over land can be acquired either through being born in a family which already possesses a hunting-ground, or through the recognition by the members of the band that someone has acquired special hunting rights over a given area. Exclusiveness of hunting rights tends to lapse on continued non-use, but some form of rights is said to be existent even after long periods of non-usage. After his acceptance into the membership of a band a stranger may acquire hunting-rights over some

non-occupied area within the territory of the band by frecuently hunting in it, or a family may be asked to share its own hunting-ground with the stranger. The lack of precise legal concepts is directly reflected by the lack of interest in enforcing rights. Resentment against trespass is reported by Speck (1927, 389) not to be especially strong. The attitude of the 'owner' is generally mild in such matters. However, he reports that before hunting on the territory belonging to another, permission to do so is generally asked. Should this courtesy be overlooked, no punishment is inflicted. The attitude of a trespasser when taken in the act by an 'owner' is said by Speck to be expressed by the declaration, "I suppose I have no right to be here." With this confession and its implied apology, the trespasser is reported to be allowed to take away the animal he has caught, and to be allowed to hunt for food in a given part of the hunting-ground designated by the 'owner'. If quarrels should arise over the actual 'ownership' of land rights, public opinion is often the deciding factor in the attribution of land, rather than priority of right. It is reported by Lips (1947a, 431), however, that legal concepts derived from European law are beginning to appear among the Montagnais-Naskapi. Strict claims of ownership are now advanced, based upon non-traditional practices. These European-derived concepts are, however, still in the minority. The traditional attitude towards law enforcement is reported by Speck (1947a, 432) to be the prevailing one.

This traditional method is itself a measure of the reluctance of the Montagnais-Naskapi to take steps against each other. For instance, against the repeated trespassing of another Montagnais-Naskapi, redress is obtained by either directly reminding him of the fact that he is trespassing, or by finally asking the chief to intervene. This is done either by the chief contacting directly the offender and reminding him that he is committing a wrong, or by the chief referring the matter to the chief of the band of which the offender is a member. If the public opinion of this latter band is against the offender, it will act against him by expelling him from their hunting-ground. The expelled person rarely finds shelter with other bands, and is finally driven to leave the area altogether.

Similarly, redress against a murder or manslaughter or even an accidental killing, is first of all thought to be in the hands of the aggrieved family, especially of his sons, brothers, or grandsons. Revenge for a killing is thought to be essential, but the murderer himself, not one of his kin, must be the victim of the

retaliation. Sometimes if kinsmen are unable to avenge themselves, the other members of the band will take some action against the murderer. Lips (1947a, 470) reports that in one instance, fellow band-members shot a murderer in the leg, but when the murderer rejoined the band the following summer at the camping-ground, they left him in peace.

Theft, robbery, or arson, were traditionally said not to be punished by any physical action. The thief or robber was simply obliged to return the goods. In the case of arson, restitution was to be made by the person who had caused the damage. Settlement was between the parties concerned. If the offender persisted in his actions, or compensation was not given, the offended person tried to mobilize the public opinion of the band in his favour. The band may then expell the offender. Similarly, rape was not held to be an offense to be punished by any action on the part of the chief, and adultery was not held to be subject to a claim of damages. A husband may leave his wife on the birth of an illegitimate child, but this is considered a personal matter, not the concern of the other members of the band. Incest will give rise to disapproval which results in the expulsion of the offenders from the band, but no other direct action will be taken against offenders.

The following kinds of punishment are reported by Lips (1947a, 471) to have been carried out in the old days: execution by shooting or drowning for murders. Fines and mutilations are said by him not to have been practices. Even today a chief may order an offender to be tied to a tree, but this is considered more in the light of a moral sanction than as a punishment as such.

The spirit of respect for life and property which various authors have reported for the Montagnais-Naskapi is, however, changing. Burgesse (1945, 10) remarks that a spirit of lawlessness is beginning to prevail in some sections, especially among the half-breeds, who do not pretend to have any respect for either Montagnais-Naskapi or Canadian laws.

Religious Organization

Speck in his book on Naskapi religion (1935) describes the various beliefs and rituals of the traditional religion from evidence based partly on historical records, and partly on information he collected himself up to his 1932 field-trip. His informants were mostly from the

Lake St. John and Michikamau bands. Burgesse who was with the Lake St. John band in 1940 reports that in matters of religious education the Christian religion is formally taught by parents to their children. He also reports that he saw such articles of the traditional religious ceremonials as rattles, drums, divination games, etc., used by the younger children as toys (1944, 15). It seems that the influence of Christianity in matters of religious beliefs has been so widespread as to question how far are traditional beliefs held or ceremonials practiced. Moreover, it has been reported that it is difficult to present these traditional beliefs as many of the Montagnais-Naskapi do not admit to any knowledge of them.

What has been reported about the traditional beliefs presents them as without any formal religious organization, and without the customary medicine societies common to North American Indians. They seem to have been without a priesthood and without any clearly formulated creed. They possessed, however, semi-religious dances and games which were acted during the summer camping period when all the members of the band were gathered together.

The traditional religious beliefs are said by Speck to have been centered around three categories of religious concepts. First, that of 'Manitou', the unknown spirit-force which can also be called the supreme power of the universe, or the natural law by which all things are ruled. Second, the concept of 'Mantoci', or the practices or rites which permit a man to come into contact with the world of the spirit. These practices resolve themselves into shamanism, the use of 'spirit control', or divination. Lastly, there is 'Minototah', the concept of proper behaviour, which guide social usages and customs in general.

These three different concepts are not clearly separated. The concept of 'Manitou', for instance, has become identified with a High God Spirit, and also with the Christian God. There has also been some discussion as to whether any concept of a High God existed before the coming of the missionaries. Speck (1935, 36) thinks there is a missionary origin for it, and for the concept of an evil spirit now found among the Montagnais-Naskapi.

It is when the second category of traditional beliefs are examined, that of 'Mantoci', that the practices and beliefs which still influence the behaviour of the Montagnais-Naskapi are to be located. This because the concept of 'Mantoci' is still closely allied to the hunting life of many of them. The concept of 'Mantoci' is closely

allied to that of 'Mistapeo', or the 'great soul' of a man. This soul is the force that provides guidance through life, and is also the means of overcoming the spirit of others and especially of game animals which are to be hunted. This 'great man' or soul, reveals itself in dreams. Those who respond to their dreams by giving them serious attention, by thinking about them, by trying to interpret their meanings, can obtain closer contact with their soul. The next obligation is for the individual to follow the instructions given to him in these dreams, or to carve them in artistic representations. The inner-life of the Montagnais-Naskapi is thus dominated by the process of self-study of dream cultivation, as it has been called by Speck (1935, 44). The cessation of dream revelation as to where to hunt for game, how to proceed in the hunt, would result in the loss of a farseeing guide, equivalent to the individual's providence, and would mean failure in hunting and being doomed to starvation. This also acts as a reinforcement to the observance of the customs of the band, since it is believed that as the 'great man' becomes more and more willing, and more active in the interest of his material body, he requires that the individual tells no lies or practices no deception upon others. In particular he is pleased with generosity, kindness, and help to others.

This belief in the 'great man' is also reported to have given rise to widespread reports of cannibalism among the Montagnais-Naskapi. Speck (1935, 45) states that there is no more recent evidence for this than reports of events during the famine years between 1899 and 1913. The first instance of cannibalism on report is given by Champlain when on the 25 May 1615 he watched six Iroquois captives being tortured, and parts of their bodies being eaten. Speck links these reports of cannibalism with the fact that the Montagnais-Naskapi believe that a spirit can acquire human form, and in that form kill and eat other human beings. Death through starvation, to which whole families occasionally succumb in their winter haunts, is often still attributed to this spirit.

One of the most important influence of the concept of 'Mantoci' on the life of the Montagnais-Naskapi, is related to their belief that animals have a spiritual existence similar to that of men. This belief has given rise to a number of magico-religious practices which are linked with every phase of hunting. For instance, the killing of animals entails a responsibility on the part of the hunter. Since the spirit of the animals may revenge itself, and later, harm the hunter, these spirits must be propitiated. Failure to do so may mean the disappearance of game, or

constant ill-luck for the hunter, resulting in famine, starvation, illness, sickness and death. All these are attributed to either the hunter's ignorance of the proper magico-rituals needed to appease these animal spirits, or the willful disregard of them. The former is regarded as simple ignorance which can be corrected through the help of the shaman, the latter isregarded as a sin. This belief has thus given rise to a complex relationship which must be observed between the hunter's 'great soul' and the spirit of the animals he hunts. The relationship is adjusted through the medium of dreams, which are accepted as the dictates of the hunter's 'great man', and which makes the hunter feel that he is fulfilling the destiny of the animals. The hunter, therefore, feels that he is in constant debt to the animals for the sacrifice of their lives on his behalf. This sacrifice must therefore be acknowledged by observing the proper behaviour both towards the spirit of the animals through the observance of the dictates of the 'great soul', and towards the body of the animal itself.

The caribou and the bear, for instance, are the animals highest in this scale of relationship between animals and men. The bear is subject to important and complicated ceremonials which are directed at appeasing their spirits. Both the disposal of bear and caribou remains after the kill is the subject of a complicated procedure. Beside various instructions as to the disposal of the flesh, the skin, the fur, and the bones, special dances are held in their honor. With the beaver, for instance, the bones must be thrown back into the river so that the spirit of the beaver can be reincarnated into another beaver. There are also numerous food taboos, which may be distinguished as food taboos for the whole band, sex groups, and individuals, and even food taboos for the dogs of the band. The members of the St. John band, for instance, are reported not to eat any kind of salt water fish (Lips, 1947a, 421). They touch deer meat only in an emergency, and their feeling against the meat of domesticated animals is very strong. An example of food taboos for sex groups is the prohibition to women to eat certain parts of animals, especially the meat next to the leg-bone. The reason for this taboo is the belief that after the eating of this meat the women will not be able to walk normally. Children also observe certain food taboos. Only the hunter himself, and nobody else, is entitled to eat the heart of a bear.

The knowledge of the proper magico-ritual practices to be observed is often acquired through the dictates of the 'great man'. Otherwise the individual will use the

services of a shaman, or will try some divination to discover what actions he should take. The shaman is the person who through his own mastery over his 'great soul' has reached a high degree of communication with the spirit world. This is usually done by the shaman obtaining communication with the spirit by going through the shaking-tent ritual. The shaking-tent is a narrow tent of small diameter. When within it the shaman goes through a series of physical and vocal rituals until he feels he has obtained communication. The procedure of submitting a request to the shaman is regulated by certain traditional procedures. The shaking-tent seems to be a key point in the shamnistic practices, and is often linked with scalpumancy, or bone reading, by which the hunting of animals is controlled.

Finally, it has been observed by Burgesse that among the Lake St. John band, traditional religious beliefs have absolutely no effect on the moral behaviour. He stresses that what remains of the pre-Christian code is strictly reserved to the field of hunting (1944, 16). However, he also points out that there is a feeling among them that in order to obtain success as a hunter, a high moral code should also be followed. It seems that in this field at least the Christian and the traditional religions have merged. Rousseau (1947, 1952, 1953) has recently stated that a religious dichotomy exists as hunters leave their summer camping grounds where they practice christianity, and return to their hunting-grounds where the traditional practices are most important.

Conclusion

This study, notwithstanding the lack of data, has shown the segmented character of the traditional Montagnais-Naskapi social organization. Furthermore, it has also shown that it had no strong cultural foci by which they could have identified themselves as a distinct culture. They lacked cultural heroes, or the tradition of great leaders. Their lives as hunters, either in small bands or as scattered family groups, in the vast spaces of Northern Quebec, prevented the existence of any cohesiveness arising out of propinquity. The distances were too great for any formal recognition of bands as far apart as those on the Hudson Bay or on the Atlantic shores.

The initial contacts with European caused little disturbances. There were no wars and only a partial friction over hunting territories. On the contrary their traditional hunting economy was exceptionally suited to the needs of

the fur-trade. The Montagnais-Naskapi became the field-operators of the fur-traders and later of the Hudson Bay Company. As such they developed an economic dependency which could only be ended by the disappearance of the game, a drop in the demand for furs, the development of new occupations, or migration to other areas. While some of these factors did become operative during the 300 years of European contact, these operated as very gradual influences rather than as critical crisis. The very gradualness of the changes reinforced the thoroughness of the transformation. The strongest cultural break was the mass conversion to Christianity and the high number of inter-marriages with French Canadians. Contrary to the situation of other North American Indian groups, the Montagnais-Naskapi did not experience any deep crisis situation due to war, or large scale discrimination. On the contrary, many of them were treated as equal, or near-equals by the French Canadians. They thus did not go through any period by which the European culture could be identified as an enemy culture. They had no messianic cult or revivalist movement, or any other forms of protest organization against the dominant culture. Only part of their traditional way of life was retained in a syncretism which was continued as long as hunting was their dominant activity. As hunting decreased in importance in certain bands, even the influence of these traditions disappeared. It seems that in many instances their very identity as Indian groups has been retained because of the formation of reserve areas, or because hunting and fishing remained the dominant mode of economic subsistence.

The present situation in Northern Quebec is one in which the slow gradual assimilation of the Montagnais-Naskapi by the gradual disappearance of their activity as hunters is now being challenged. The growth of important mining and industrial centres, with its new type of cultural emphasis, is creating problems previously unknown. It may accelerate assimilation, or it may create a re-identification of themselves as Indians. What is now needed is research, not of the traditional culture and social organization, but of the impact of the new developments in Northern Quebec on people who while they can be treated like other Canadians, may feel it is better for them to remain Indians.

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PROJET D'UN NUMERO SPECIAL

Nous profitons de la publication de l'article suivant: Les Canadiens de descendance indienne du R.P. André Renaud, O.M.I., pour annoncer la préparation d'un numéro spécial d'Anthropologica qui portera exclusivement sur les problèmes que posent l'intégration, l'évangélisation et l'administration des populations indiennes et esquimaudes du Canada.

Nous croyons, en effet, qu'en plus des questions purement ethnographiques et anthropologiques, une revue comme la nôtre se doit de s'intéresser aux problèmes concrets auxquels ont à faire face les personnes engagées dans l'action sociale, religieuse et politique. C'est pourquoi, après la formation d'un comité "ad hoc", nous nous efforcerons de recueillir des articles qui traiteront des multiples aspects de ces problèmes et de les publier dans une livraison spéciale d'Anthropologica qui, nous l'espérons, paraîtra au printemps de 1958.

Marcel Rioux, Directeur,
Centre de Recherches d'Anthropologie Amérindienne.

SPECIAL ISSUE OF ANTHROPOLOGICA

We take advantage of the publication of the following article "Les Canadiens de descendance indienne" by Father André Renaud, O.M.I., to announce that we will publish a special issue of Anthropologica bearing exclusively on problems arising from the integration, christianization and administration of our Indian and Eskimo populations.

We believe that a periodical such as this one ought to be interested in the concrete problems which confront individuals engaged in social, religious and political work among these minorities. A special committee will endeavour to collect articles relating to these various fields. We hope to be in a position to publish these in our Spring issue of 1958.

Marcel Rioux, Director,
Research Centre for Amerindian Anthropology.

LES CANADIENS DE DESCENDANCE INDIENNE[1]

par

André Renaud, O.M.I.

La plupart des êtres humains revendiquant, avec fierté, cela va sans dire, le titre ou l'appellation de Canadiens sont de descendance européenne. A l'origine, ce titre signifiait simplement un endroit de résidence. On était Canadien parce qu'on résidait sur un territoire communément appelé le Canada. C'était une autre façon de dire que tous les Français n'habitaient pas la France ni tous les Anglais, l'Angleterre ou la Nouvelle-Angleterre.

Avec l'adaptation inévitable des moeurs et coutumes apportées d'Europe, - l'évolution des institutions économiques, sociales et politiques, l'association des groupements d'origine française et britannique, l'intégration de millions d'immigrants européens, - la pénétration de tout le territoire national, - l'exploitation des ressources naturelles, - l'industrialisation, et les relations avec les autres pays, en particulier les États-Unis, le titre de Canadien en vint à signifier non plus seulement un endroit d'origine mais une manière d'être. Que l'on hésite encore en certains milieux à définir avec précision en quoi consiste cette manière d'être, que l'on trouve plus facile encore de dire que nous ne sommes ni français ni anglais ni américains, cela n'a que peu d'importance. Les êtres humains habitant le territoire canadien ont acquis des manières de travailler, de se loger, de s'habiller, de se protéger contre la maladie, le froid, de se récréer, de s'organiser politiquement, de prendre soin de leurs indigents, d'éduquer leurs enfants, et surtout de penser et de juger, qui leur sont particulières. Le tout compose la culture propre aux Canadiens, au sens défini par les anthropologues, et non par la Commission Royale Massey.

Cette notion anthropologique de la culture, trop souvent négligée ou ignorée dans nos études traditionnelles, apparaît de plus en plus comme indispensable à quiconque veut véritablement comprendre la réalité concrète de l'être

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1 (Texte d'une conférence donnée le 24 février 1957 à la Société des Conférences de l'Université d'Ottawa.)

humain vivant dans la société de ses semblables. C'est elle, qui explique le mieux les frictions entre individus et groupements d'origine différentes. On nous pardonnera donc de nous y arrêter quelque peu.

La culture, au sens anthropologique du mot, est cet ensemble de manières d'agir, et de réagir, de penser et de juger, qui est le fruit de l'adaptation constante de l'activité d'une collectivité humaine donnée, aux circonstances géographiques et sociales de son milieu particulier, pour la satisfaction des besoins physiques, psychologiques et spirituels de ses membres. Elle est, on pourrait dire, l'actuation par adaptation progressive au milieu géo-social, des puissances générales d'agir qui sont caractéristiques de l'être humain. En ce sens, il est absolument inconcevable qu'une collectivité donnée puisse persévérer longtemps dans le même milieu particulier sans élaborer une culture propre. De même, il est impossible qu'un être humain grandisse et atteigne sa maturité sans être modelé, ou du moins profondément influencé, par la culture propre au milieu familial et social dans lequel il grandit. L'être humain conçu d'une façon abstraite par le philosophe et le juriste voire même par le médecin, le psychologue et l'éducateur, n'existe pas en réalité, à moins que Dieu lui-même veuille le créer de toute pièce à l'âge adulte.

La culture étant l'accumulation progressive et constante des tentatives réussies d'adaptation de l'agir humain à un milieu géo-social donné, ses formules et manifestations particulières sont donc préférées par la société qui les élaborent, comme étant efficaces à la satisfaction des besoins de l'être humain. Il est presque inévitable en conséquence que les membres de chaque société croient leur façon de penser, de voir, de juger, c'est-à-dire leur culture, supérieure à toute autre et lui attribuent une valeur pour ainsi dire universelle. D'où la surprise de chacun de nous en grandissant de constater, par la lecture, l'image ou la réalité, que les voisins d'en face, les gens d'une autre ville, ceux d'une autre région, ou d'un autre pays, n'agissent pas comme nous. De là à prendre en pitié ces étrangers et à les croire inférieurs culturellement, il n'y a qu'un pas que la majorité, hélas! des êtres humains franchissent avec très grande facilité. Où l'on voit que la pression vers la conformité et la standardisation ne sont pas exclusivement le fruit de la production industrielle en série, quoi qu'en aient pensé les membres de la Commission Gordon.

Il existe donc, du moins dans ce sens anthropologique, une culture canadienne. Comme toute culture, elle comporte nécessairement une variété de modalités, et une variabilité de degré, de moins ou plus au sein de la même modalité. C'est pourquoi certains modes d'agir, de se comporter, de penser, ou de s'exprimer, sont acceptés ou rejettés, en paroles ou en actions, par l'opinion publique locale, régionale ou nationale comme étant, ou n'étant pas "Canadiens". Le titre de "Canadien" a donc depuis longtemps déjà une signification non plus simplement géographique mais vraiment socio-culturelle, peut-être encore indéfinissable, mais certainement très consciente dans l'esprit de la majorité des individus et des groupements qui s'en réclament.

A cette deuxième signification est venue s'en attacher une troisième tout récemment. Il s'agit du titre légal de citoyen canadien tel que défini par un acte du parlement en 1948. Au point de vue anthropologique, ce titre résume un ensemble de prérogatives, de droits, de privilèges et de responsabilités, attribués par convention purement humaine, donc d'une certaine façon, artificielle, à une quinzaine de millions ou plus d'êtres humains par un organisme social appelé gouvernement du Canada, et cet organisme est reconnu par les individus et sociétés occupant d'autres régions du globe comme étant en société la partie septentrionale de l'Amérique du Nord.

Aux yeux des étrangers encore plus que de nous-mêmes, ces trois significations géographique, culturelle et juridique comportent, pour l'homme ou la femme qui peut s'en réclamer, de nombreux avantages que nous ne saurons jamais trop apprécier. Ces avantages sont d'ordre économique, social, intellectuel, artistique et religieux. Sans doute, ne sont-ils pas supérieurs en tout et chacun à ceux dont jouissent nos frères les humains dans d'autres pays. Il n'en reste pas moins que l'ensemble des circonstances socio-économiques et autres dont nous jouissons au Canada fait l'envie de presque les deux tiers de la population du globe.

Chacun des êtres humains habitant le territoire canadien ne jouit pas nécessairement de tous ces avantages au même degré. Le fait de résider au Canada, sans plus, facilite habituellement l'accès à un standard de vie reconnu comme étant supérieur à tout autre sauf à celui des Etats-Unis. L'accès aux avantages socio-politiques et, indirectement d'ordre économique, auquel donne droit le titre légal de Canadien est ouvert à tous les non-Canadiens venus résider au Canada et qui acceptent de se soumettrent aux prescriptions de la loi sur la citoyenneté.

Est-ce que, dans la pratique et en réalité, tous les êtres humains habitant notre territoire national, à l'exclusion évidemment des quelques milliers d'émigrants arrivés au cours des derniers mois, jouissent de tous les avantages d'ordre divers mentionnés plus haut? Du moins, en ont-ils l'accès au même degré? Il ne s'agit pas évidemment des individus complètement dénués de ressources intellectuelles qui ne sont personnellement pas en mesure de tirer profit de ces avantages. A tout prendre, le sort de ces individus est assez souvent un avantage en lui-même puisque de nombreux organismes fédéraux, provinciaux, municipaux et volontaires se dévouent à leur service. La question se pose surtout en termes de groupe. Y a-t-il des individus qui, du fait de leur appartenance à un groupe déterminé au sein de la nation canadienne sont pratiquement, sinon juridiquement, privés, en partie substantielle du moins, des bienfaits que procure éventuellement la résidence continue sur le territoire canadien?

Une réponse adéquate à cette question est peut-être impossible même aux spécialistes de la division de la citoyenneté au gouvernement fédéral. D'une façon générale cependant, personne ne peut nier qu'en de nombreux endroits, pour ne pas dire à peu près partout, l'un ou l'autre des Canadiens de résidence et de citoyenneté se voit refuser certaines opportunités économiques, sociales, politiques ou même académiques parce que, aux yeux de la majorité des résidents de la communauté dans laquelle il évolue, il n'est pas suffisamment canadien selon la seconde signification décrite plus haut, c'est-à-dire au sens culturel du titre. Il a un accent étranger, des manières de faire encore trop européennes ou asiatiques. Quelquefois même il sera exclus à cause de ses traits raciaux. Cependant cette discrimination varie d'un endroit à l'autre selon la signification culturelle donnée localement au titre de Canadien.

Il existe cependant une classe d'êtres humains habitant notre territoire national qui, dans son ensemble et d'une manière générale, mérite d'être qualifiée anthropologiquement ou sociologiquement de sous-privilégiée. Ce sont ceux dont nous voulons parler aujourd'hui sous le titre de Canadiens de descendance indienne. C'est à dessein que nous avons choisi ce titre, pour bien déterminer l'angle de vision de la présente étude. C'est à cette fin aussi que nous avons oeuvré si longuement les trois significations du mot Canadien. Nous espérons par là situer dans sa véritable lumière notre problème indigène national, déjà si complexe en lui-même et trop souvent embrouillé par des préoccupations politiques, confessionnelles ou administratives.

Nos ancêtres, comme vous le savez, ne furent pas les premiers humains à pénétrer le territoire canadien. Bien avant eux, des milliers d'années plus tôt, d'autres humains, cousins très rapprochés sinon frères de nos propres ancêtres de ce temps-là, envahirent, par petits groupes, notre continent américain par la voie de l'Alaska. Ils n'appartenaient pas tous au même stock racial ou linguistique, et ils ne s'avancèrent pas tous au cours de la même époque, pas plus d'ailleurs que nos propres ancêtres lorsque ceux-ci pénétrèrent en Europe à partir du berceau de notre commune humanité.

D'où venaient ces petits groupements humains? S'étaient-ils détachés de communautés et de races déjà bien déterminées, quel baggage d'inventions, de techniques de tout genre et d'expressions artistiques ou sociales apportèrent-ils successivement avec eux sur le sol d'Amérique, nous ne le saurons peut-être jamais avec exactitude. Ce que nous découvrons de plus en plus, grâce aux recherches scientifiques de ces dernières années, c'est que durant des milliers d'années, des collectivités humaines essentiellement semblables à celles de nos propres ancêtres expérimentèrent en Amérique, comme ceux-ci en Europe, avec différents modes de vie économique, sociale et politique, dans le contexte géographique de notre pays. Comme en Europe, durant des siècles, ce fut l'impitoyable lutte contre la nature. Seuls survécurent les groupements équipés de techniques appropriées, apportées de leur pays d'origine, ou inventées sur place par adaptation, puis diffusées de la même façon que les découvertes en Europe. Les collectivités plus faibles, physiquement ou culturellement, disparurent par extinction, ou par assimilation avec les collectivités plus fortes.

Au moment de l'arrivée des premiers immigrants européens, quelques deux cent à trois cent mille descendants de ces premiers venus habitaient notre territoire national. Que valaient-ils en tant qu'hommes et en tant que collectivités? A quel degré de développement personnel et socio-culturel avaient-ils atteint après ces milliers d'années d'adaptation communautaire au continent américain? Il faut se poser ces questions non pas du point de vue étroit d'Européens américanisés que nous sommes, mais de celui de l'anthropologue observant avec objectivité sympathique comment les hommes, tourmentés par les mêmes besoins et munis des mêmes puissances d'action, se sont entraidés mutuellement de différentes façons pour satisfaire ces besoins et actualiser ces puissances, dans les différents milieux et au cours des différentes époques. Allons plus loin. Posons-nous ces questions en chrétiens, c'est-à-dire en

disciples de celui qui n'a pas fait de distinction de race ou de culture en donnant sa vie pour sauver les hommes que son Père avait créés.

A peu près toute la gamme ou, du moins, tous les genres d'inventions dont notre propre civilisation occidentale s'attribue le crédit, émergèrent, à un point ou l'autre, à une époque donnée, sur le continent américain. Seules les circonstances géo-physiques du continent lui-même suffisent à expliquer pourquoi la diffusion et les répercussions de ces découvertes ne furent pas aussi générales ni aussi rapides qu'en Europe ou en Orient. Que l'on songe par exemple à la distribution géographique des masses continentales, montagnes, plateaux, rivières et côtes, ainsi qu'à l'absence d'animaux susceptibles de domestication tels le cheval et le boeuf. Il ne faut donc pas être surpris si, dans leur ensemble, les aborigènes du territoire canadien ont paru primitifs aux yeux des premiers visiteurs européens. Séparés des grands centres de civilisation américaine par des milliers de kilomètres et des dizaines de tribus intermédiaires, leurs techniques de productions, de logement, de vêtements et d'alimentation, rappelèrent aux explorateurs le genre de vie que leurs propres ancêtres avaient vécu quelques centaines d'années plus tôt dans les forêts de la Gaule ou de la Germanie. Du coup toute la culture indigène fut jugée primitive et arriérée.

Une parenthèse, en passant, sur l'origine de l'expression "sauvage" pour désigner les Indiens. Nos ancêtres, les Français d'il y a trois cents ans, n'étaient pas trop familiers avec les bienfaits de l'eau courante et des rayons de soleil. Fabriquants ingénieux de soieries et de dentelles, ils attachaient une grande importance aux vêtements. Leur religiosité s'avançait à grands pas vers le jansénisme. Aussi furent-ils scandalisés de voir ces gaillards, bronzés par le soleil, circuler presque nus durant les mois d'été et se jeter fréquemment dans les rivières pour prendre leurs ébats. Ils n'eurent qu'un mot pour qualifier ces gens qui leur étaient manifestement supérieurs en vigueur et en agileté: les sauvages! Quel serait leur embarras s'ils revenaient sur les bords du Saint-Laurent l'été prochain? Ils y verraient leurs propres descendants acharnés à se faire bronzer au soleil, se promener presque nus sur les plages et fuir leur propre civilisation pour vivre sous la tente, se rafraîchir dans les rivières et les lacs. A l'inverse ils observeraient ça et là les descendants des premiers Indiens habillés des pieds à la tête même en plein coeur d'été et se faisant supplier par les infirmières et autres travailleurs sociaux de prendre leur bain au moins une fois par semaine. Qui donc traitraient-ils de sauvages?

Le premier chapitre de la plupart de nos manuels d'Histoire du Canada décrit habituellement avec assez de détails les modes de faire et les instruments utilisés par les aborigènes pour le contrôle du milieu géo-physique et la satisfaction de leurs besoins. On nous laisse sous l'impression que cette infériorité technologique était la conséquence d'une infériorité psychologique. Comme il n'est nullement fait mention des autres éléments culturels des collectivités indiennes, nous acceptons, sans l'examiner d'une façon critique, le jugement de valeur porté par nos aïeux sur les cultures indigènes, à savoir qu'elles étaient primitives et arriérées en tout point.

Pourtant, de l'avis même des premiers explorateurs, l'Indien d'alors était loin d'être inférieur au blanc dans tous les domaines. Au point de vue physique, sa constitution et sa santé étaient excellentes, on peut même se demander si, dans l'ensemble, les aborigènes du Canada, n'étaient pas supérieurs sur ce point à leurs cousins d'Europe. Dans une économie de chasse et de pêche avec des moyens élémentaires, la proportion des constitutions faibles atteignant l'âge adulte est nécessairement moins grande que dans les collectivités agricoles, de même le nombre des vieillards et des accidentés est-il nécessairement moins élevé. La lutte pour la vie n'est facile que pour des individus forts et en santé.

Au point de vue social, l'éparpillement des tribus en petites bandes exigé par l'économie de chasse, de pêche ou de cueillette de fruits sauvages, ne justifiait pas une organisation politique très complexe. De là à conclure immédiatement au rachitisme social dans tous les domaines c'est pécher contre les généralisations les mieux établies de l'anthropologie contemporaine.

Les communautés indiennes avaient les caractéristiques propres à toute société permanente à intérêts communs constants. Elles étaient consciemment autonomes, responsables de leur propre destin et chérissaient aussi fièrement cette indépendance et cette liberté d'action communautaires que les cités de la Grèce antique. Au sein de chaque groupement les relations sociales entre individus et familles étaient modelées dans des cadres de conventions très détaillées, souvent beaucoup plus complexes et plus rigides que dans nos sociétés à technologie avancée. Ces conventions, même si elles n'étaient pas écrites, n'en étaient pas moins connues de tous, par initiation méthodique, maintenues et adaptées par la conscience communautaire. Elles guidaient l'Indien dans son activité sociale, lui inspiraient confiance et sécurité. En dehors de ces conventions,

il était absolument libre de se conduire comme il l'entendait. C'était l'équivalent du "freedom under the law" dont se prévalent les peuples à tradition britannique.

Dans les situations nouvelles et imprévues, le groupe entier décidait de la ligne de conduite à suivre, dans un climat démocratique beaucoup plus accentué que celui de nos sociétés modernes où le face-à-face des petits groupements est presque complètement disparu.

Même s'ils n'avaient pas de loi écrite ni de constitution politique, nos prédécesseurs sur le sol canadien n'en étaient donc pas moins soumis à un régime communautaire développant l'aspect social de leur personnalité à un point pour le moins équivalent, sinon supérieur, à celui des colons européens pris individuellement. L'esprit de coopération, le respect de la personne humaine, le courage et la générosité, l'honnêteté et le sens de l'honneur, toutes ces valeurs et combien d'autres étaient présentes à un haut degré dans la conscience individuelle et communautaire.

Pénétrons plus avant dans cette personnalité indienne. Dans toute société, certaines valeurs ou développements personnels sont jugées supérieurs à d'autres. Les individus qui les incarnent jouissent d'un plus grand prestige. Tous les jeunes de la génération montante sont encouragés consciemment ou non, à imiter ces personnages. Dans notre société contemporaine, il faudrait être sourd ou aveugle pour ne pas constater comment les bénéfices sociaux et économiques sont attribués au succès en affaires, sur l'écran, les ondes ou les tréteaux. Pensez par exemple à un Rockefeller ou à Elvis Presley. Dans la société indienne, le prestige était octroyé aux qualités de coeur et d'esprit et non à la cupidité ou à l'exhibitionisme.

Les activités économiques et sociales, traditionnelles avaient engendrées chez l'Indien, entre autres traits caractéristiques, une maîtrise de lui-même que lui ont toujours admirée les premiers missionnaires. On lui enseignait dès son bas âge à contrôler non seulement tous ses muscles mais toutes ses émotions. C'est ce culte de la maîtrise de soi-même qui incitait certains groupes à éprouver l'impassibilité de leurs plus vaillants adversaires pour se donner une leçon de courage. Si l'adversaire subissait toutes les tortures sans broncher, et sans rendre l'âme, il était jugé digne d'être admis dans la tribu à titre de chef ou de fils du chef. S'il succombait sans se plaindre, on admirait sa force d'âme et on se partageait son coeur pour hériter de sa vaillance. On enterrait sa dépouille avec respect.

Ce n'était donc pas originairement par haine ou par cruauté que l'on soumettaient les prisonniers à la torture. En a-t-il toujours été ainsi dans notre propre civilisation occidentale? A remarquer incidemment au sujet de la guerre, qu'avant l'arrivée des colons européens, les groupements indiens en général ne se guerroyaient pas entre eux d'une façon systématique. Les escarmouches entre les tribus éparpillées avaient surtout pour but de fournir une occasion aux jeunes de faire preuve de courage, d'audace et surtout de ruse. Tuer un étranger sans provocation n'était pas un fait d'arme mais une maladresse puisque le groupement éprouvé avait droit de se venger.

Enfin, au point de vue pensée philosophique, à l'encontre de la population de nos grandes villes, les communautés indigènes du Canada, si variées qu'elles aient été dans leurs langues et leurs coutumes, dans leur manière de vie et leurs organisations sociales, étaient toutes trop près de la nature et trop longtemps immobilisées par l'attente du gibier ou des changements de saisons pour négliger la réflexion, voire même la contemplation. Aussi avaient-elles développé au cours des siècles non seulement une explication du monde, visible et invisible, mais surtout une sagesse et une philosophie de la vie dont les connaisseurs ne se lassent pas d'admirer la perspicacité.

Voila brièvement, traçé d'une façon malheureusement trop sommaire et sans nuances, où en étaient les descendants des premiers représentants de la race humaine sur notre territoire national, au moment de notre entrée en scène. Comme capital humain, si on peut parler ainsi, c'était là une richesse infiniment supérieure à toutes les ressources naturelles du pays sur lequel nos ancêtres européens étendirent une main accapareuse. Comment en avons-nous disposé? Quels ont été les conséquences de l'invasion européenne sur les populations indigènes? Les nouveaux arrivants ont-ils su s'associer avec elles pour continuer ensemble la geste des humains sur le sol canadien? Où sont aujourd'hui les descendants des races indiennes, les héritiers de la plus longue expérience humaine sur notre territoire national? Voilà maintenant la question à laquelle nous allons essayer de répondre, toujours dans la perspective désintéressée de l'anthropologue et dans la charité fraternelle du chrétien.

Cette fois-ci, nos manuels d'histoire du Canada sont presque entièrement défectueux. Nous avons souligné plus haut certaines omissions très importantes au premier chapitre. Le dernier chapitre manque complètement, en effet, si, pour justifier leur titre, nos manuels retraçaient

l'histoire de la race humaine sur le territoire canadien, ils devraient pour le moins mentionner ce qu'il est advenu des populations aborigènes. On ne peut tout de même pas s'attendre à ce que les deux cents quelques mille Indiens soient disparus complètement sans laisser aucune trace.

Il est vrai qu'à un moment donné, justement celui de l'apparition de nos premiers manuels d'histoire, sous les contrecoups physiques, économiques, psychologiques et culturels de l'invasion européenne, la population indigène a semblé s'acheminer lentement mais sûrement vers l'extinction complète. A la fin du siècle dernier, la population totale des communautés strictement indiennes n'atteignait pas le cent mille.

Il est vrai aussi que dans la mentalité de plusieurs, les Indiens, comme groupements ethniques différents du groupe majoritaire, devraient disparaître, comme on espère en certains milieux, que toute minorité culturelle finira par le faire dans l'anonymat de la nouvelle nation canadienne. Mais les Indiens ne sont pas simplement une minorité comme les autres. Ils étaient ici les premiers. Ce ne sont pas eux qui ont choisi d'être minoritaires sur leur territoire natal. C'est nous qui les y avons forcés. A ce compte, la Russie aurait tout à fait raison de forcer les Hongrois à s'intégrer dans l'économie et la culture soviétiques.

En fait, les Indiens ne sont pas disparus, ni biologiquement ni culturellement. Ils ont énormément souffert, et dans leur santé physique et dans leur personnalité sociales. Mais ils ont tenu le coup.

Les premiers contacts avec la civilisation européenne et ses représentants furent mêlés de joie et de tristesse. De joie d'abord, parce que les Indiens des régions maritimes de l'Est et des bords du Saint-Laurent ne furent pas long à se rendre compte de la supériorité technologique des nouveaux venus aux visages pâles. Ils furent très heureux d'échanger leurs fourrures et leurs connaissances géographiques pour les armes à feux, les haches et les couteaux d'acier des blancs. A remarquer qu'au début, et durant plusieurs années, il y eut comme ça échanges de part et d'autres même du côté technologique. Les Indiens partagèrent généreusement, comme ils le faisaient entre eux, tout ce que les européens voulurent bien apprendre de leurs connaissances et de leurs techniques: produits comestibles nouveaux comme la pomme de terre, le maïs, le tabac, les herbes médicinales: moyens de transport comme le canot,

la raquette, la toboggan, et plus tard les chiens, et les moyens de se protéger contre le froid, de construire des abris en vitesse, et que sais-je encore, en réalité, tout ce qui pouvait aider les nouveaux venus à prendre possession du pays. En retour, ils reçurent sans doute la foi chrétienne mais non pas sans de nombreux exemples de défections et de déviations à la loi supposée souveraine et immuable du Christ. Ils reçurent surtout, dans l'ensemble, tout ce qui pouvait, les aider, non pas directement à améliorer leur sort ou à accélérer leur développement communautaire, mais à enrichir le trésor des aventuriers européens ou les coffres de la mère-patrie. Et cela, sans égard aux répercussions psychologiques et aux déséquilibres socio-économiques que pareilles innovations technologiques et autres pouvaient avoir. Que les Indiens se mettent à s'entre-tuer systématiquement, cela n'avait peu d'importance aux yeux des envahisseurs européens. Pourvu que le nombre des fourrures aille toujours en augmentant. Après tout, ces gens n'étaient-ils pas des barbares? Pourquoi s'inquiéter de leur survivance?

Et c'est ainsi qu'à la joie d'accepter les présents des nouveaux venus succéda presque immédiatement la tristesse et le deuil. Le deuil en effet, parce que dès les premiers contacts entre les représentants des deux races, au début du XVIe siècle, il y eut un échange de virus mortels. Médecins et anthropologues ont découvert en effet que tout groupement isolé dans un milieu géographique quelconque, en vient, par le procédé usuel de sélection génétique, à développer une tolérance contre la variété de virus la plus fréquente de ce milieu. La plupart des noirs d'Afrique semblent immunisés contre la malaria maligne qui s'attaque à tant de coloniaux européens. Ceux-ci par ailleurs sont moins sujets à la tierce bénigne. Cette tolérance, on le sait, vient de la présence, dans l'organisme immunisé, du virus en question, contrôlée par réaction biotique. Les européens apportèrent donc la petite vérole contre laquelle ils étaient sensiblement immunisés. En échange, les Indiens leur communiquèrent gracieusement la syphilis! Les dommages causés par cet échange furent considérables des deux côtés de l'Atlantique, comme en témoigne l'histoire. Mais les répercussions démographiques furent moins désastreuses en Europe qu'en Amérique où les populations étaient sensiblement moins nombreuses, moins capable, de se reconstituer et moins équipées de connaissances et de services médicaux appropriés.

A ces deuils causés graduellement d'un bout à l'autre du Canada, vinrent s'en ajouter d'autres, fruits des guerres provoquées par la traite des fourrures, et,

dans les Prairies, par l'apparition des chevaux. Le cheval en effet n'existait pas en Amérique avant l'arrivée des premiers Espagnols. Il se multiplia rapidement à l'état sauvage dans les plaines du Far-West. Les Indiens du Sud y virent tout de suite un atout précieux pour la chasse aux bisons. Ce fut le point de départ d'une série ininterrompue de raids d'une tribu à l'autre, afin de posséder des chevaux. Du coup les relations entre les tribus s'envenimèrent à mort; le cheval contribuait justement autant à la guerre qu'à la chasse. Ajouter à cela les désordres provoqués par la rivalité entre les marchands de fourrure, les ravages causés partout par l'alcool, et l'extermination lente mais sûre des animaux sauvages, en particulier du bison, et l'on s'expliquera plus facilement la docilité avec laquelle les groupements indiens acceptèrent à tour d'abord de renoncer à leurs droits de premiers occupants, puis de confier l'administration de leurs affaires et, au fond, de leur destinée communautaire, aux envahisseurs,

Car, après un certain temps, l'Indien se rendit compte que l'attitude du blanc envers lui avait changé. L'échange culturel et l'association presque d'égal à égal des premières années avaient disparu. Le blanc croyait en savoir assez long maintenant et être en nombre suffisant pour se dispenser de l'Indien, sauf pour "trapper" les fourrures dans les régions trop abondament boisées ou autrement impropres à l'agriculture et même là, le blanc finira par pénétrer pour réclamer d'abord la forêt puis le sous-sol et ses richesses insoupçonnées. De nouveaux colons ne cessaient d'arriver qui réclamaient avec impatience les terres sur lesquelles chassaient les Indiens et qui n'avaient pas connu l'association fraternelle et le respect quasi mutuel des premières années. Ces blancs étaient prêts à exploiter l'Indien, à le dépouiller de ses droits ou à le supprimer impitoyablement, fait à l'instar de la République du sud où se répétait "a good Indian is a dead Indian." Les Indiens reculèrent à l'Ouest ou au Nord tant qu'ils purent. Mais à la fin, décimés par les maladies, les guerres, et la faim, ils invoquèrent la protection de la mère des blancs, la grande souveraine d'Outre-Atlantique. Ils se reconstituèrent tant bien que mal en nouvelles communautés et, ceux que l'avancement des colons menaçaient plus immédiatement de représailles et d'abus signèrent des traités.

A partir de ce moment-là, la séparation entre premiers occupants et nouveaux venus fut érigée en système juridique autant que réalité sociale. Les européens s'installèrent partout, développant la nation dont nous sommes membres sans plus de participation active de la part des Indiens. Ceux-ci se retirèrent sur leurs réserves se sentant

de moins en moins utiles, de moins en moins compris, de moins en moins appréciés et respectés, même comme êtres humains. Finie la liberté d'action d'autrefois, l'autonomie et l'indépendance des groupes, la satisfaction de pourvoir soi-même à ses propres besoins et à ceux des siens, les longs palabres autour des feux de camp où, dans la grande tradition des anciens l'on résolvait d'une façon démocratique et avec autorité finale les problèmes de la survivance communautaire et de l'adaptation aux situations nouvelles.

Les blancs prirent successivement tout: et les droits sur l'ensemble des territoires et l'administration des terres et autres biens réservés aux Indiens. Ce qui mit le comble à l'humiliation, permit une plus complète déchéance et, éventuellement, produisit l'impasse dans laquelle se trouve actuellement notre population de descendance indigène, ce fut l'indifférence grandissante de ces nouveaux arrivants et de leurs descendants au sort des communautés cantonnées sur les réserves ou errant encore dans les forêts et les régions inhospitalières du nord des provinces. Comme si, une fois les traités signés, et voté l'Acte de l'Amérique Britannique du Nord réservant au gouvernement fédéral l'administration des Affaires Indiennes, le nouveau peuple ainsi constitué s'était complètement acquitté de ses obligations envers l'Indien dépossédé! Comme si l'administration honnête mais imprévoyante des biens des Indiens par des comptables, d'anciens fermiers ou marchands de fourrures, des militaires ou des policiers à leur retraite, et un système d'éducation établi avec une lenteur interminable, improvisant sans cesse ou copiant servilement celui des provinces, sans articulation ni avec le passé ni avec l'avenir réel des enfants, pouvaient automatiquement supprimer l'héritage culturel transmis par les parents et enter la personnalité individuelle et sociale des enfants sur le tronc de la culture européenne!

Aujourd'hui, la population de descendance indienne est probablement égale en nombre à celle d'avant l'arrivée des blancs. On en ignore le chiffre exact pour la simple raison que seuls sont reconnus officiellement comme Indiens ceux qui ont maintenu leur affiliation légale à l'une ou l'autre des communautés dont les biens-fonds sont administrés par le gouvernement fédéral ou qui vivent encore à la manière indigène d'autrefois sur les terres de la Couronne. Cette portion officielle des Canadiens de descendance indienne se chiffrait en 1954 à cent cinquante-et-un mille. Elle augmente régulièrement de deux mille par année.

Mais il y a, en plus, plusieurs milliers d'individus qui sont, culturellement comme biologiquement, de descendance indienne. Nous associons à dessein les mots "culturellement et biologiquement" pour exclure les nombreux Canadiens ayant du sang indien dans les veines mais qui n'ont pas hérité de la mentalité indienne ou, du moins, chez qui cette mentalité est dominée par la tournure d'esprit d'origine européenne.

Sont biologiquement et culturellement de descendance indienne ceux chez qui, nonobstant la présence au foyer de nombreux facteurs culturels européens ou malgré une longue éducation scolaire "à la blanche", les traits caractéristiques essentiels de la culture indienne telle que décrite plus haut sont demeurés dominants. Ce sont les descendants des premiers métis, pour une bonne part, ou d'Indiens dissociés de leur groupement d'origine, soit au moment de la signature des traités, soit, depuis l'organisation de la Division des Affaires Indiennes, par affranchissement volontaire ou par alliance avec des personnes légalement non indiennes. La plupart d'entre eux vivent soit en communautés homogènes, à l'instar des communautés sur les réserves, soit en sous-groupements ethnico-culturels dans les agglomérations urbaines.

Tous, qu'ils soient, ou non, indiens au sens légal, qu'ils vivent ou non en communauté culturelle avec leurs semblables, ont hérité de leurs parents, à un degré plus ou moins grand, les éléments les plus intimes et les plus permanents de ce qui était autrefois la culture indienne. Evidemment, cette culture a été sensiblement modifiée surtout dans ses notes extérieures, par la pénétration européenne, phénomène que les anthropologues appellent "l'acculturation." Les techniques indigènes de production, d'habitation, de transport ... se sont graduellement rapprochées des nôtres jusqu'à s'y identifier sur plusieurs points en plusieurs endroits. Il y a longtemps que le chapeau mou et la casquette ont remplacé le casque à plumes, et les maisons de bois le wigwam! Mais les éléments psychologiques tels que le comportement social, les jugements de valeurs, la philosophie de la vie, de même que certains traits physiques distinctifs, ont persévéré. Même ici, il y a eu nécessairement des modifications, des décolorations, des réajustements collectifs, provoqués par l'attitude du blanc en général et le système d'administration sur les réserves, en particulier.

Mais malgré ses modifications, culturellement parlant, les descendants des premiers occupants de notre pays sont encore sensiblement différents de nous, les

derniers arrivés. Ces différences sont perpétuées d'abord inévitablement par l'influence des parents et du milieu immédiat sur les enfants en bas âge, puis, dans les communautés homogènes, par réaction contre l'assimilation, proposée constamment, sous une forme ou une autre, par les officiers du gouvernement, et enfin, chez tous, par la conscience même de ces différences culturelles.

Car, même après deux cents ans de contacts de tout genre avec la culture européenne, même après avoir franchi toutes les étapes de l'éducation scolaire "à la blanche," le Canadien de tradition culturelle indienne n'est pas encore convaincu que notre longue expérience collective en Europe et l'adaptation récente de cette expérience sur le territoire canadien, fournissent toutes les réponses aux problèmes de la vie humaine communautaire dans notre pays commun. A nous regarder agir et à nous écouter parler, il lui semble que le comportement social et la philosophie de la vie héritée de ses ancêtres sont encore pour le moins équivalents sinon supérieurs aux nôtres, puisqu'ils produisent en lui en équilibre psychologique, une maîtrise de soi et une paix intérieure dont semblent dépourvus la majorité des blancs. Y renoncer serait s'appauvrir spirituellement. Ce serait se dissocier des ancêtres dont l'histoire, celle qui n'est pas connue ou reconnue des blancs, n'est pas absolument sans gloire. Ce serait admettre que ces ancêtres avaient fait erreur sur toute la ligne pendant des milliers d'années. Quel est l'être humain assez vil pour condamner ainsi tous ses aïeux? A quelle communauté humaine pourra-t-il se rattacher avec fierté s'il se déracine ainsi? A quoi pourra-t-il rester fidèle s'il trahit ce qu'il y a de plus sacré dans chaque peuple?

Il existe donc, et il existera encore longtemps au Canada, n'en déplaise à quelques-uns des humains ayant droit plus que tout autre homme au titre de Canadien dans sa signification géographique première, et qui, de fait, ne sont pas canadiens selon le sens culturel que la majorité d'entre nous attachons maintenant à ce mot. Voilà pourquoi nous les appelons encore communément Indiens, qu'ils soient ou non officiellement reconnus comme tels par le gouvernement fédéral. En réalité, ils sont véritablement des Canadiens de descendance ou encore, si l'on préfère, de tradition culturelle indienne.

Ces Canadiens de résidence mais non de culture ont-ils, dans l'ensemble, la part qui leur revient dans les structures et l'activité économique, sociale et politique du Canada? Ont-ils effectivement et au même degré accès aux avantages si nombreux dont jouissent les humains

résidant sur ce territoire? Leur expérience dix fois millénaire de vie humaine communautaire en territoire canadien, c'est-à-dire leur culture, est-elle, dans ses aspects non-technologiques, connus, respectée et appréciée de leurs compatriotes? Sont-ils, dans la vie quotidienne, acceptés comme individu et comme groupe, sur le même pied et de la même façon que les individus et groupes d'origine culturelle différente? Leur concède-t-on de maintenir leur physionomie culturelle propre, tout en l'adaptant eux-mêmes de leur propre gré à la situation nouvelle? En résumé, les communautés aborigènes du point de départ, si riches en capital humain, individuel et social, ont-elles continué d'évoluer librement vers le progrès, en maintenant leur qualité première et en l'enrichissant des contributions apportés par les nouveaux venus?

La réponse à toutes ces questions que pourrait poser un anthropologue étranger, ou un missionnaire de passage, ou une commission royale non-préjugée, voire même et pourquoi pas, le Christ, Roi des nations, est malheureusement: NON!

Soit qu'ils appartiennent encore légalement à leur communauté d'origine, soit qu'ils aient simplement conservé au milieu de nous la partie la plus intime et la plus opérante de la culture traditionnelle ainsi que les traits physiques les plus évidents, les descendants des groupements aborigènes sont, dans la majorité des situations et dans plus d'un sens, des citoyens de seconde zone.

Au point de vue économique d'abord, à part quelques groupements plus favorisés dans le sud des provinces, en particulier du Québec, de l'Ontario et de l'Alberta, à part quelques centaines d'individus issus de ces mêmes groupements et ayant réussi à se tailler une place assez respectable dans l'anonymat de nos grandes villes, la plupart des Canadiens de descendance indienne jouissent d'un mode d'existence sensiblement inférieur à celui du reste de la population.

Chez les Indiens reconnus officiellement comme tels, c'est-à-dire sur les réserves, la moyenne des personnes habitant le même logis est de cinq et chaque logis possède à peine deux pièces, alors que pour la population générale, la moyenne est de quatre personnes pour cinq pièces. L'économie de chasse, pêche, piégeage et cueillette des fruits sauvages est presque entièrement disparue comme moyen de satisfaire aux besoins de la majorité. Malheureusement, les circonstances ou facteurs économiques, sociaux et politiques, n'ont trop souvent pas permis de transférer avec

succès les formes de production à un autre domaine ou dans un autre endroit. Même là où le transfert a pu s'opérer, l'accroissement de la population au cours des dernières années maintient trop souvent le niveau de vie à un point inférieur à celui du reste du pays. Des réserves entières vivent presque exclusivement des allocations familiales. De toute façon, malgré de sérieux efforts de la part du gouvernement et des Indiens, c'est trop souvent la pauvreté, voire même le dénuement, avec tout le complexe de réactions psychologiques qu'il provoque dans toute communauté humaine, où et quelle qu'elle soit.

Chez les Canadiens de descendance indienne vivant en communautés homogènes, en dehors des réserves et de la protection du gouvernement fédéral, c'est-à-dire chez les Métis et les affranchis, la situation d'ensemble n'est pas meilleure. En certains endroits, les conditions sont encore plus misérables que sur la plus dépourvue des réserves. Quant aux sous-groupements que l'on trouve au sein de nos cités ou à la frange de nos villes et villages, ils partagent, comme nous le verrons, l'existence lamentable des taudis.

Au point de vue politique, la majeure partie des Canadiens de descendance indienne, c'est-à-dire, ceux qui sont reconnus légalement comme Indiens par le gouvernement fédéral, ne jouissent pas des mêmes droits et prérogatives, ne partagent pas non plus les mêmes responsabilités que le reste des habitants du Canada. Bien que citoyens canadiens de naissance, ils ont un statut juridique différent, presque indéfinissable, tant qu'ils ne renoncent pas aux droits qui leur restent à titre de premiers occupants.

Au point de vue social, ces mêmes Canadiens ne sont pas maîtres chez eux. Leurs affaires sont administrées par une section du gouvernement fédéral portant justement le nom de Division des Affaires Indiennes. Ils sont sous la tutèle de cet organisme non pas en tant qu'êtres humains, mais en tant que propriétaires des Affaires que la division doit administrer. Ils ont à leur disposition différents services, offerts en partie gratuitement, au point de vue financier mais non sociologique, par cette Division ou par le Ministère fédéral de la Santé. Mais ils n'ont peu ou pas de contrôle sur l'orientation et l'administration de ces services. En plus, un bon nombre de leurs actes individuels et presque toutes les formes de leur activité communautaire doivent être sanctionnées par un ou plusieurs fonctionnaires, qui ne leur sont responsables ni quant à leur nomination ni quant à la majeure partie de leur administration.

Mais alors, demandera-t-on, pourquoi ces gens s'obstient-ils à demeurer sur les réserves? Pourquoi ne quittent-ils pas ces milieux socialement et économiquement sous-privilégiés pour se joindre à nous et partager les mêmes avantages, les mêmes privilèges?

Poser cette question et envisager cette solution, c'est oublier les notions élémentaires de la psychologie sociale en même temps qu'ignorer la situation socio-économique des autres Canadiens de descendance indienne, ceux dont les noms ne figurent pas sur les régistres du gouvernement fédéral et qui habitent nos villes et villages.

La plupart des êtres humains préfèrent demeurer dans leur groupement socio-culturel d'origine, à moins de penser retrouver dans les autres communautés, assez d'éléments culturels identiques pour être capable d'évoluer à leur aise, ou à moins d'être personnellement confiants de maîtriser suffisamment ces différences culturelles pour réussir à se faire accepter. L'Indien obéit aux mêmes lois.

Malgré le dénuement et la pauvreté, malgré la frustration de ne pas être maître de sa propre destinée, il se sent plus heureux sur sa réserve que parmi nous. La réserve est tout ce qui lui reste du patrimoine ancestral. Elle est de plus l'endroit de résidence de sa communauté d'origine. Enfin elle offre un minimum de sécurité économique, grâce aux traditions d'hospitalité et de partage commun héritées des anciens et grâce aussi, cela va sans dire, aux services du gouvernement fédéral dont est privé tout Indien résidant plus d'un an à l'extérieur.

En d'autres termes, les Canadiens de descendance indienne ne se sentent pas chez eux chez nous. Bien plus, ils leur arrivent souvent de constater non seulement que nous ne pensons pas comme eux, mais que nous leur reprochons de ne pas être comme nous, que nous les prenons pour des êtres inférieurs dépendant non pas d'eux-mêmes mais du gouvernement fédéral, que nous ne pouvons pas les accepter dans nos ateliers, nos bureaux, nos hôtels et maisons de pension, nos restaurants, nos foyers, au même titre que nos compatriotes d'origine européenne. Nous les dévisageons dans les endroits publics comme s'ils étaient des curiosités. Nous témoignons de la surprise et de l'étonnement chaque fois qu'ils manifestent une éducation scolaire ou une formation professionnelle comparable à la nôtre. Nous méprisons ou ridiculisons celui ou celle d'entre nous qui s'abaisse à épouser l'un d'eux.

Avouons-le notre opinion de l'Indien est très peu flatteuse à son endroit, très incommode lorsqu'il s'agit de nous associer avec lui. C'est un mélange de notions incomplètes ou fausses, accumulées au hasard, sans examen critique, puisées dans les manuels d'histoire biaisés, dans les romans d'aventure, les récits des premiers missionnaires, les films d'Hollywood, les programmes de télévision, les histoires de chasse, les légendes de nos grand-mères. Ajouter à cela l'impression que les fonctionnaires du fédéral et les missionnaires sont les seuls responsables du bien-être des Indiens, et il est facile de comprendre pourquoi notre façon d'agir est si peu charitable, si mal éclairée. Nous traitons les Canadiens de descendance indienne encore plus en étrangers que nous traitons les touristes et les immigrants. Et c'est malheureusement, la triste réalité, par notre faute, l'Indien est devenu un étranger dans son propre pays.

Cette incompréhension et ce manque de respect de notre part affectent très sensiblement l'Indien, même si, habituellement, il n'en laisse rien voir extérieurement. S'il le peut, il retournera chez les siens, désabusé par nos mauvaises grâces et convaincu que malgré le vernis de notre civilisation, nous sommes bien drôlement constitués. Sinon, il s'installera à la frange de nos villes et villages ou dans les taudis de nos cités, avec les autres parias et hors-la-loi de notre société qui eux le recevront comme un frère et partageront leur misère, et souvent leur immoralité, avec lui. C'est là qu'il retrouvera un bon nombre de Canadiens de descendance indienne comme lui, venus antérieurement des réserves, ou issus d'unions métisses et ayant échoué comme lui dans leur tentative d'intégration à la société des blancs.

Vous devinez à présent le quasi désespoir des missionnaires, sur les réserves, des éducateurs dans les écoles et de tous ceux qui, connaissant l'Indien sous son véritable jour, l'aiment sincèrement. Vous comprenez maintenant leurs préoccupations pour ainsi dire anthropologiques. Constatant d'une part la lenteur des communautés indigènes à se transformer en chrétientés autonomes, et, de l'autre, la déchéance presque complète de trop de leurs meilleurs chrétiens et de leurs gradués une fois rendus en ville, ils se sont demandés: "Qu'est-ce qui s'est passé?" C'est la substance de leurs réflexions que j'ai essayé, bien maladroitement il faut l'avouer, de vous résumer en ces quelques pages.

Blâmer exclusivement le système des réserves ou les agissements du gouvernement fédéral, ou rejeter la faute sur les Indiens eux-mêmes, c'est nous disculper trop

facilement. Comme dans le cas de la délinquence juvénile, ce sont les parents qu'il faut montrer du doigt et ce sont eux d'abord qui doivent s'amender. Or les parents, c'est nous, les Canadiens de descendance européenne. C'est nous qui, comme collectivité culturelle distincte, avons, dans notre ignorance, notre cupidité et notre orgueil, heurté si durement les Canadiens de descendance indienne. C'est notre impatience qui les a refoulés sur les réserves, c'est notre indifférence qui les y a laissé végéter, c'est notre complexe de supériorité qui les empêche d'en sortir ou qui, lorsqu'ils en sortent, les replongent de nouveau dans l'avilissement, la misère et l'abjection. Les législateurs et les fonctionnaires issus de nos rangs n'ont fait qu'interpréter nos volontés.

Le peuple canadien tout entier doit donc se ressaisir s'il veut mettre un terme à cette injuste situation. Il lui faut changer radicalement ses idées et ses sentiments à l'égard des Canadiens de descendance indienne, chercher par tous les moyens à les mieux connaître pour les mieux comprendre et les mieux apprécier. Ce n'est que dans un climat de compréhension et de sympathie franchement démocratique et véritablement chrétien que refleurira leur personnalité sociale d'antan. Si de la sorte, nous leur en donnons la chance, ils règleront eux-mêmes les problèmes de leur intégration économique, culturelle et juridique au sein de notre société canadienne. Et alors, nous découvrirons peut-être ce que les Canadiens de descendance indienne connaissent depuis longtemps, à savoir que de toutes les richesses et beautés dont nos ancêtres nous ont assuré la possession en s'emparant du Canada, les communautés humaines qui les y avaient précédés en constituaient et en constituent encore le trésor le plus noble et le plus précieux.

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Cum permissu Superiorum