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

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N. 5 - 1957

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NOTES ON THE MALECITE
OF
WOODSTOCK, NEW BRUNSWICK

by

Nicholas N. Smith

Editor's Preface

The Malecite of New Brunswick, whose prehistoric territory included largely the drainage basin of the St. John River and the adjoining part of the State of Maine, are one of the migratory tribes of the Eastern Woodlands peoples. Though neighbours of the larger Micmac population, they were politically independent of this group. They did, however, with several other Algonkian tribes, join the rather loose Wabenaki Confederacy that included the Micmac, Abenaki, Penobscot, and Passamaquoddy, who supported the French against the New England settlers and the League of the Iroquois. The Malecite apparently lived in mortal terror of the Mohawk. Today, scattered on their reserves in New Brunswick and Quebec, they number about 800, approximately the same as in pre-European times, but now bearing a strong infusion of white blood. The following paper, by Nicholas N. Smith, describes some aspects of the life of these reservation Indians.

Mr. Smith's informant, Peter L. Paul, a Malecite in his early fifties, has for the past thirty years been interested in the history of his people. For twenty-five years he worked with Adney, until the latter's death in 1950. Since then he has collaborated with Mr. Smith, who values his assistance in obtaining information from the old people. Mr. Smith claims that Peter Paul speaks the Malecite language better than any of the other Indians, whose speech he is always correcting.

Peter Paul is the great-great-great-grandson of Noel Paul, the founder of Woodstock village. The Pauls intermarried somewhat with the

Polchies, and as far as can be ascertained Peter's ancestry is as follows:

John Paul (?) (from Saguenay; possibly informant's great-great-great-great-grandfather).

Noel Paul (founder of Woodstock; the great-great-great-grandfather of informant).

Peter Polchies (informant's maternal great-grandfather, who married into Paul family).

Noel Polchies (informant's maternal grandfather).

William Paul (informant's father, who married daughter of Noel Polchies).

Peter L. Paul (informant).

Except for a few additions to the bibliography and rearrangement of the material, this paper has been little altered from the original manuscript.

Katherine H. Capes,
Canadian Museum of Human History.

INTRODUCTION

The St. John River is an old river. There have been Indians living along the shore of the Walustook or "best river" for hundreds of years. At present there is a village about three miles below the centre of Woodstock. There has not always been a village here; a hundred years ago trees grew from the river's edge to beyond the present-day railroad tracks. On either side of the site a fresh water spring flowed into the river. One of these brooks now drains a farmer's field where every year the plough turns up fire-stones, arrowheads, and other signs of former Indian camp sites. There are indications that about two hundred years ago this spot was a bay in the river, which would have made it an ideal camping ground.

A hundred years ago there was one wigwam on the site, inhabited by an Indian of such bad reputation for his drunken orgies and loose living that he had been put out of the Church. At this time an Indian named Noel Paul, who had always passed up and down the St. John River to and from his hunting area in Maine, decided to settle on this beautiful spot with his bride, Susan, from the Saguenay River area, of Quebec. She had been born about 1820 and may possibly have been from one of the Wabanaki families that fled to Canada from Maine and New Hampshire during the French and Indian wars. From this union, which produced nine children, mostly girls who stayed close to home on marriage, sprang the nucleus of the present village. Indians from other Malecite villages at Kingsclear, Fredericton, and Tobique married into the group. As the number of wigwams increased and also the influx of white settlers into the area, the Government purchased the land for a reservation. Several unwanted white children left at the Reserve were brought up by the Indians as their own. A few of the young people have married into neighbouring tribes: Micmac, Passamaquoddy, Penobscot, and Iroquois.

In the early days the appearance of the people was rugged and unkempt. Constantly on the trail in all weathers, eating or not eating according to whether they had food, their features

were weathered and sharp cut. Frequently the men went without a haircut for several months. Feet often went uncovered and became very tough. The villagers of today can recall when some of the older people went barefoot even when snow was on the ground; their feet were so calloused they did not even feel it when they picked up tobacco-tax tacks.

ECONOMY

The first Indians at Woodstock were self-supporting hunters, living off caribou, moose, and beaver, now almost extinct in New Brunswick, and other forest animals.

Caribou was probably the most important animal of the economy. When abundant the meat was smoked, boned, and stored away for the winter. The smoking process was a method of dehydration which left the meat shrunken and very light in weight. When it was cooked it was generally thrown into a pot of water to make a stew. The exceptionally strong hide, which did not stretch when it became wet, was considered the only material suitable for the snow-shoe mesh.

Hunting was considered man's work though there were exceptions. In going after the caribou or "Muk-aw-lip" (translated by Adney as "in a group goes feeding") the hunters would sneak up when the animals were feeding on the moss, which was abundant in the open places. As the caribou does not see well but depends on its sense of smell, the hunter, using the wind to advantage, would slowly creep up, crouched behind a snowshoe as a blind. The Woodstock Reserve having been formed after the era of the bow and arrow, the gun made it a simple matter to kill the caribou. But as the caribou became scarcer in this century the Indians lost the art of hunting them. On one occasion a hunter thought if he scared a caribou out onto a frozen pond it would not be able to keep its footing; to his surprise the animal ran like a race horse over the slippery surface, leaving a shower of small particles of ice behind as his sharp hooves dug into the ice.

The moose was another animal on which the Indian depended a great deal. Smoked or dried moose meat with maple sugar spread over the meat was a real treat. The tripe was wrapped around a stove and pieces cut off by anyone hungry. After a successful hunt the night was often spent in tanning the hide. A big fire would be started to keep the grease warm. The grease would be rubbed in until it penetrated the hide, making the finished product a soft pliable leather. Sometimes smoke from the fire darkened the colour of the skin. In Later times the tanning was done inside the homes. The hide was stretched and hung from the ceiling near the stove. Moose hides made excellent moccasins, the toes of which were cut out and finished, while the heels were not touched. The unfinished shoes were tied in large bunches and taken to the stores where they were sold for sixty cents a pair. The heels were sewn after the customer had chosen a pair so that the moccasin would be tailor-made. The older hunters made moosehide canoes but this art has been forgotten by the present dwellers at Woodstock.

When beaver were hunted, the hunter first scouted the animals' house to find out how many were in the colony. The Indian was a first class conversationist. He knew his life depended upon what wild life he left for the coming year. After he had calculated the number of beaver he made a hole in the dam. In a short time, when a beaver was sure to appear to see what had happened, the hunter stuck a spear into him. When the inhabitants of the house did not find the water rising, another beaver would go out to investigate; the hunter would spear it too and continue this procedure, but making sure that he left two or three beavers in the colony. The man had to be careful to get the beaver the first time; if one escaped him no more beaver would come out for some time. A beaver's fatty tail was considered a great delicacy.

Muskrats have always been one of the favourite dishes of the Indians. The animals would be cleaned, skinned, and the scent or musk sacs removed and also the front claws, as these claws might be tainted with the musk where he had scratched himself. The cleaned flesh would be

thrown into a stew pot, making a dark, rich meat. Even the tail is good if fried on top of the stove, not in a pan. Fur dealers bring quantities of these animals to the reservations to be skinned by the Indians, who receive the meat for their labour.

An animal which the Indians still eat occasionally is the porcupine. The best way to prepare one is to throw it on the fire whole; in about half a minute the quills are burned down to the black part which can be easily scraped off with a stick. After the animal is cleaned it is stewed or roasted. Porcupine are not good at mating time, nor are they killed while their young are being weaned. The beautiful work formerly done with porcupine quills has been forgotten and the author found no one at the reserve interested in reviving the art.

Deer, bear, rabbits, and raccoon have also been the diet of the Woodstock group. They lost their appetite for raccoon, however, a few years ago when they saw some feeding on horse meat which was rotting in a field. Previously the hunters would look for a tree where the creatures were hibernating for the winter. When they found one they took a long pole -- a young dead tree -- and attached a piece of birch bark to the top; this they lighted and put in the hole. Soon the raccoons would rapidly leave their nest. It was easy to shoot them or hit them over the head as they descended the tree. Rabbits are not on the menu during the summer because it is their mating season, and at that time of the year they are, even to this day, considered unclean.

Fish was another main staple of diet. Though nowadays it would be impossible to rely upon the river as a chief source of food, formerly all the local fish were eaten; even the chub was enjoyed in the early spring when the river waters were still cold.

In June, when the apple trees were blossoming, the bass began to run. Then the Indians would go out to an island and camp. When they saw the river crowded with bass breaking water, the fishermen would paddle to within throwing distance of a fish and send off a

harpoon. A log, which was attached to the harpoon line, was then thrown overboard. When the log stopped bobbing around, the men knew that the fish was tired and that they could paddle over and haul it in without any difficulty. Since 1911 this type of fishing has been prohibited. After the first bass of the season had been caught, all the men would go back to the island and wait while the women prepared a big feast; the bass was usually boiled with salt pork and potatoes. The successful Indians were always willing to share with the whole village.

The method used for harpooning bass was also used for sturgeon, except that a heavier log was used for this great fish. It required a good canoeist to control his craft against the threshings of the wounded creature. The top part of the head and back were tough and looked like a log floating in the water, while the underside of the fish was much softer and the meat could easily be cut from it. The old men who remember this denizen of the river say that it had seven types of meat.

Salmon fishing, another great sport, was often done at night. Two men would go out in a canoe; the bowman had a long-handled fish spear and birch bark torch, while the sternman had the paddle. The man in the bow helped the paddler by poling. When they arrived at a likely fishing hole, the bowman lit his torch and sought a salmon in the surrounding waters. At the first glint of his prey his poised spear was thrust at the quarry. The successful fisherman turned around toward the stern and took the fish off the spear by catching the fish between the two cross pieces of the canoe, and, as he pulled the spear up, the fish fell to the bottom of the canoe. Then he was ready to spear the next fish. This type of fishing is also prohibited by law now.

The gaspereaux were smoked in large quantities by the Indians of the last generation. They knocked the bottom out of an old barrel and placed it around a smudge fire after a draft had been put at the bottom. Green wood stringers were laid across the top. The gaspereaux were split to the tail and hung over the stringers

and a burlap bag put over them.

White fish were smoked or salted.

Eels were commonly consumed by the Indians until the day when a man, who had been drowned several months previously, was fished up with his legs and arms moving. Eels were inside.

Fish were usually eaten in the summer months. Most fish was stewed in the same manner as meat. Smelt and trout are still fired whole, without cutting the heads and tails off. The heads of these fish are considered great delicacies.

Among birds eaten, the partridge was probably the most choice. A big fire was made and when there was a heap of red ashes the bird was buried in them. After it had been roasted it was cleaned. Partridge stew is still a popular dish. Other birds eaten at the reserve include kingfishes which are taken from the nest and stewed. Pheasant is a recent addition in the area, but some of the people have not acquired a taste for them. Duck are eaten, but not if muskrat are to be had. Although flocks of Canadian geese are seen, they are not on the menu of the present dwellers at Woodstock.

Although they had to hunt animals for a living, the Indians also found time to capture a young animal and tame it to raise as a pet. They sometimes brought home a young animal whose mother they had killed or out of sympathy brought home an animal found with a broken leg or other such ailment.

Muskrats are quite popular as they can be tamed very easily if taken into captivity quite young. When a storm is coming up, a muskrat will gather together a mass of paper or chips into a ball-like nest to crawl under. Squirrels are also favourite pets.

Crows make special pets. One young Malecite had a pet crow a few years ago, but had to get rid of it because his mother complained that it was always hiding her pipe and his father objected to his chewing tobacco being

constantly missing. The summer of 1955 there were two crows on the reserve. The boy mentioned above captured one to entertain his crippled sister. Some other children found a crow with a broken leg, which they doctored with a splint, and took care of him. This crow was in full command of his position. He could walk undisturbed amongst the dogs and cats and, though he chased these quadrupeds, he never got chased himself. When he was hungry he would go to some door and call for food; on being handed toast and scraps, he would quiet down. Some boys get a crow every year. The boy above mentioned was well known for his animal imitations, some of which the author has recorded.

Following their old tradition of a hunting and gathering economy, the early Indians at Woodstock utilized a number of indigenous plants.

Their basic medical cure was the calamus root, or blue flag. Today this root can be bought at the drugstore, but the Indians prefer to pick their own because the pharmacists peel off the dirty outer bark, which the Indians consider more beneficial than the inner layer. This root always used to be kept steeping in the wigwams to prevent disease. People usually carried a small piece in their pockets and, when travelling or selling their baskets, they put pieces in their mouths. In this way they came through the plague around 1910. Fir balsam was good for curing colds. Today the health service of the Indian Department, which provides a visiting nurse weekly to the Reserves, has done much to end the gathering and steeping of herbs, which is ridiculed by the younger people.

Several varieties of fern, called fiddleheads by the Indians, are used as a spring tonic, especially for children. Selling fiddleheads, which many white people have also added to their diet, has become a good business for Indians. It is customary for a group to go in canoes to pick them on the islands in the St. John, where they are found in abundance during the spring and summer. In the evening the group returns with several hundred pounds of fiddleheads, which are cleaned by shaking out the furled ends and washing them.

Wild onions are often used to add flavour to a stew. The artichoke or wild potato, the bulb of the dog-tooth violet, and wild turnips were popular wild vegetables not used much now.

The red roots of the rock break are often munched on by the Indians when they are out in the woods. The roots are bitter but are said to contain much nourishment.

Wild rice, unknown to the early dwellers at Woodstock, has been recently introduced as a conservation measure to provide food for ducks. A generation ago the root of the yellow pond lily, called rice by the Indians, was eaten.

Wild berries commonly eaten are the high-bush cranberry, the low-growing varieties of cranberries, sand plums, wintergreen berries, teaberries, blackberries, strawberries, and blueberries.

Maize is known to have been cultivated from early times. (Speck 1946, p. 358). The Indians still make the corn soup which John Giles mentioned in his account of his captivity at Meductic from 1689-1698 (Drake, p. 98-99). The corn is dried in the sun and stored for use. At one time, the Indians made barrels from birch bark to store the corn. Sometimes it was stored in a hole in the ground sheathed with birch bark. When corn soup is prepared, the dried kernels are put in a large kettle with kidney beans -- the original Indian bean -- salt pork, hard wood ashes, and water. This mixture is boiled for several hours. The wood lye puffs up the dried corn until it is several times its natural size. In olden times the lye would stick to the corn and it would have to be washed before being eaten. Now many of the younger people put the ashes in a bag which eliminates the necessity of washing the corn before serving. Usually enough is made so that friends and relatives can have some.

A bread frequently made was baked over night in hot ashes in a hole in the ground. In the morning a thick crusted loaf would be withdrawn. The half inch thick crust was good for the children's teeth, but in recent times the

older people's teeth have not been good enough to bite into the crust.

Another choice bread is made of flour, baking powder, water, and salt, baked in a pan spread with a quarter-inch layer of grease. As the dough cooks it absorbs the grease. The bread is especially good for camping out and can be reheated for a later meal.

In the early days at Woodstock, birch bark was a natural resource of prime importance. Canoes, wigwams and utensils were commonly made from it and it was also put to several other uses.

Although there is now not a single birch bark canoe on the Reserve at one time many were made there. The canoe maker had a special set of tools. Edward Tappen Adney gives the best description of canoe building by this group. (Adney, Harper's Young People, Supplement, July 29, 1890, pp. 673-5). The Malecite craft was quite different from the Micmac, as the latter was designed for the open ocean while the Malecite used theirs on the rivers and lakes. A Malecite canoe, which will carry four persons, weighs less than a hundred pounds and draws but a few inches of water. On the shallow rivers it is used only partly loaded, and then it draws not over three or four inches.

A skilled canoeist, with a light pole of nine feet in length, can take such a craft up the swiftest of rivers, surmounting rapids and even low falls, guiding it with the greatest nicety over rocks and with exactness into the deepest places. When the water is too shallow to even float the canoe, the Indian covers its bottom with "shoes" or splints of cedar, and then drags it unharmed over the wet stones. At the portage path he turns it upside down over his head, allowing the middle bar, on which it exactly balances, to rest across his shoulders.

Spruce bark and moose hide canoes were also made. The Indians today, however, use canvas-covered canoes.

The many other uses of birch bark have also gone out of fashion. Thirty years ago one

could still find bark wigwams along the St. John. At one time, in the fall, the birch-bark moose call became a necessary item of the hunter's equipment. Since there is now no season on moose it is difficult to find anyone who can make use of the horn. Today, however, some of the older men, who cannot imitate the muskrat because of poor teeth, use a simple muskrat call made from a split piece of willow with a birch bark reed in between.

The pliable bark of the birch could in practically no time at all be fashioned into a ladle or cup. Baskets or boxes of many sizes and shapes were fashioned. Some were made crudely at a moment's notice in the woods; others were works of art.

When caught out in the rain the Indian took a large piece of birch bark, cut a hole in it for his head, and put it over his shoulders. In wet weather in the woods the bark could be relied on to start a fire.

The bark was also useful for writing messages, especially on the trail. Adney found such a note in the winter of 1896 written by Mitchel Bear at the Serpentine headwaters. It read: "nia misel N't'li nadji abitibe ibi siklukmok nit nisok elssinotit Nitetch eioltiek." In 1934 it was translated by Noel Moulton as follows: "I Mitchel go Easter Sunday Mamozekel Lake, where there are two moose lying. There we stay." (Adney's Papers). In earlier times a picture writing was used.

Once when a party was descending the Eel River, its attention was attracted to a large drawing of two Indians, with their heels uppermost and their canoes capsized, executed in durable black ink upon a broad piece of cedar secured to a post. The warning was immediately understood and a landing effected before the whole party was plunged over a cataract. (Gessner, p. 112).

Now most of the Indians write a beautiful hand. The younger generation, however, is not encouraged by the school authorities to keep up their own language.

Another use for birch bark was a medicine for worming dogs. The bark was charred and covered with grease to make it tempting.

The Indians frequently make a rope from cedar bark when they find themselves in need of twine while in the woods.

The birch bark disease has done much to change the ways of the Indians. If he should come across a tree in the woods the Indian makes a mental note of it for future reference. It would be impossible to find sufficient birch bark for a canoe at the present time.

Present day economy of the village is dependent upon government relief cheques. This method, which helps those people with little initiative but denies monetary aid to those who attempt to increase their income by working on their own, has an effect opposite to that desired.

Once an Indian shows that he is financially able to buy a car or truck he becomes ineligible to receive this monetary assistance. Since most of the jobs which Indians can get are only seasonal, a man who buys a truck for seasonal work would be certain to nearly starve to death during the slack time of the year. The Indian, therefore, will invariably buy the cheapest vehicle possible and keep it running just during the season.

Many of the Indians pick potatoes. It seems to get into their blood because at harvest time almost all of the Malecite drop what they are doing, even if it is a steady job, and join the group going to the potato farms in New Brunswick and Maine. Some go to cook for the workers. There is competition amongst the pickers as to who can pick the greatest number of barrels a day. After earning several hundred dollars many will return to the reserve with the same ragged clothing with which they left and next to no money in their pockets. Others, however, will have saved some money.

Basket making is another large source of income, and frequently the noise of the pounding of ash wood can be heard on the reserve. The

black ash is used because of its excellent characteristics for this use. Although the baskets made in former days contained no nails, they were much more durable than present day baskets. Today very few fancy baskets are made at Woodstock; the villagers leave these and the fish baskets to be made by the Indians further down the coast. Baskets for potatoes are made in the great quantity for the market of the large potato farmers of Aroostook County, Maine. Purchasers can also be found for laundry baskets. Before the Second World War the Canadian Government was investigating the possibilities of constructing a basket factory on the Reserve but the war interrupted these plans. It is doubtful, however, that the factory system would work because of the Indians' being unaccustomed to the discipline of a full time job and their penchant for disappearing until their pay cheques are spent.

The author's collaborator, Peter L. Paul, has worked up a business hooping potato barrels. He uses many of the young people to help cut the ash hoops and to nail them to the barrels. During a good potato season, when he requires the additional help of children, few of the youngsters will fore-go the Saturday night movie. The business is seasonal and profit depends upon the condition of the crop. It is difficult to build up such a business because Canadian law prohibits reservation Indians from borrowing money.

Many of the men guide and some men repair canoes for a living. In season, trapping is another occupation. Muskrat and beaver collected by fur dealers are taken to the Reserve for the Indians to skin and stretch. Some Indians cut pulp wood and Christmas trees. Skilled in handiwork, some of the men carve axe handles and many women do fancy needlework.

It is more difficult for the Indians to obtain jobs in Canada than it is in the United States. Many of the girls try to obtain employment as clerks in the local stores but they cannot compete against the better educated local girls. They have, however, better luck in Connecticut, Massachusetts, and even in New York

and farther afield. They are apt, though, to give up these jobs in the Fall and return home to go to the potato fields.

Regarding education, the improvident nature of the Indian is detrimental to schooling. The Roman Catholic Church runs a mission school on the Reserve for grades one to eight, and some of the bright students go to other missions schools on graduation. For many of the children, however, the elementary school is the end of their formal education. It is almost impossible for the parents to send the children to the high school in Woodstock because, the school allotment not being payable until the end of the month, the initial output for books, etc., is beyond their means. Nor is transportation provided to the school, which is a good three miles from the Reserve. Besides these difficulties, there is the added factor that generally there would not be enough food in the homes for an early breakfast, since most Indians do not think about this meal until it is time to prepare it, and the children would have to wait for the stores in the village to open to get bread, which would make them late for school.

Contrary to previous custom many of the men do jobs about the house formerly considered only for women, though it is not always condoned by the older generation. One day in 1929, when Peter Paul was hanging some clothes out on the line on a cold winter day to help his wife who was due to give birth, one of the older men came up to him and told him he was lowering himself by doing women's work. Some homes still carry out the custom that the men must eat first and the women not sit down until the men have finished.

Most Indian woman try to keep their homes spotless and sweep up several times a day. Some women, however, take the attitude that what is the use of trying to keep out the mud and dirt that is constantly and unavoidably brought in.

DR. POLCHIES

Dr. Peter Polchies was a well-known figure to many New Brunswickers. According to Malecite custom he was a "born physician," for the Malecite believe that the seventh consecutive son was automatically a doctor. Many early writers tell of Malecite tabus which kept the families small and consequently the number of "born doctors" low. Although the author could find only three cases which Dr. Polchies cured, he is still referred to as Doctor.

But Dr. Polchies' skill as an artist and craftsman is more widespread than his skill as a doctor. He carved the wooden molds for the cement beaver which can be seen at the Woodstock railway station. Many local people own paddles he made and decorated, and one Woodstock household boasts of his carved panels in their dining room. His carving was not restricted to wood; he was the last of this group of Indians to carve in stone. Several museums have some of his stone pipe bowls. He made stone replicas of animals. Sometimes he used moose antlers as his medium, and one of the last things he did was a likeness of himself in antler. His object was to use his skill to obtain money for liquor.

Another of his accomplishments was mounting birds and animals. Every year during the moose season he was given a large number of antlers to mount, but if he had enough money for drinks he didn't care to do the work and consequently many antlers were not mounted.

He was an excellent figure skater. Once when he was skating in Woodstock a car with a New York licence plate stopped; an elderly lady got out, went up to him and asked, "Didn't I see you skating in New York Central Park in ...?" "Yes," he replied. There had been a lapse of twelve years since the woman had seen him perform, but she still remembered his remarkable ability on the ice.

BELIEFS

None of the Woodstock Indians can remember a time when a mother carried her baby on her back. But the first Indian women at Woodstock probably did so because they believed that the baby kept in the cradleboard with its legs stretched out would have stronger legs when it came time for walking. It was also a convenient way for a mother to look after her baby. When she was working she could hang the baby, which was diapered with sphagnum moss, on a nearby branch and keep an eye on it. The last cradleboard the Woodstock Indians made was for Frank G. Speck, fashioned the way they thought he would like it; it is now in the University of Pennsylvania Museum.

The Malecite tell their children that Indian babies come from Chuk^{w}-qwulss-o-en-ka-dik, or land of the frogs, and that the new resident is brought by a woman called Squeow-ta-mos, or Swamp Woman. (For further notes on Beliefs and Customs, refer to page 36.)

MORTUARY CUSTOMS

Among these people, who are very religious, there have been many burial customs. In former times they buried most of the deceased's belongings with him. This custom prevailed to some extent to the last generation, many of whom wanted their Indian prayer books buried with them. As soon as a person died a gun was fired; but the author could find no one who knew the reason for this. Since there are few Indians at Woodstock who still know the Indian prayers, the last few years the old people have asked someone from another reserve to come and say the prayers in Indian. But at present few Indians know enough of their language to desire to have the burial service used by the early missionaries. It is more convenient to go to the Woodstock Church and have the regular burial mass which everyone understands.

To this day whenever someone dies a person calls a loud and drawn-out "Ee-mee-awn-a." Then everyone dresses up and goes to the deceased's house and says the beads. The wakes are popular, one reason probably being because there is always plenty of food served.

The Indians have many beliefs about death and stories about what occurs when one dies. Peter Paul gave the following account of the death of his grandfather (Noel Polchies) in 1927.

The people had expected Noel to die for about two weeks before he did. They had come for the funeral. One night Dr. Peter Polchies took his boys home from the wake (they held the wake each night while they were expecting him to die) to light the fire as it was fall-weather. He told the boys to get to bed and then he retired for a smoke. Pretty soon a scratching or pawing was heard at the door. One boy was asleep; the other, Alexander, lay awake. The object outside then broke into a noise half crying, half talking. Doc answered in the same kind of voice. This seemed to last for a minute or two. Then Doc got up and went to awaken both boys, saying that they must go right over to Noel's. A few minutes after they arrived Noel died.

SOCIAL LIFE

Although the people are still itinerant workers, very few now spend much time going up and down river hunting and trapping. Many of the middle-aged group, however, remember trips they went on as children. They usually camped inland during the winter and went toward the salt water in spring. Often they met others while they were travelling. This meeting and camping with others was a great part of their social life. Evenings were spent in story telling; the person who ate the head of the muskrat, which was frequently served, was customarily the story-teller for the evening.

A story relating to the trail is told by Peter Paul about his grandfather when on his yearly trip down river. One day he caught a beautiful trout. A young couple was camping near at hand and the girl saw the fine fish. She wanted it very much but not knowing his grandfather was bashful about asking for it. The woman was pregnant at that time. The next year his grandfather met the young couple camping in the same place, and he noticed a new member of the family present. On the baby's back was the likeness of a trout. Now that they were

acquainted with each other he mentioned something about it, and the whole story came out.

Dances were great social activities and everyone was expected to participate. Most of the dances were for groups which circled around, using various steps similar to square dances. Some did special dances to fit particular occasions. It was a custom for visitors from other tribes and reserves to entertain with a display of their steps. The dance leader would sing as well as shake the rattle or beat the drum. The music had a definite rhythm which worked upon the emotions of the people. The dance played an important part in propagandizing the ceremony before a battle.

The following is a description by Baird (1890, p. 108) of a dance put on in Fredericton about seventy-five years ago by the Indians from all the villages along the St. John River:

> "In the evening all the available space around the platform was crowded with spectators to witness the Indian dance! The tall trees and bushes which completely surrounded the platform held numerous lamps, reflecting their light upon the band of swarthy warriors which now occupied its centre. Dressed in full costume with embroidered belts, each bearing a knife, and surrounding their chief, at a given signal the dance commenced. Facing inward, with a low gutteral sound, they moved in a circle around their chief, keeping time with the motion of his hand, in which was held a powder-horn, carved and decorated, containing shot. Gradually their movements and utterances became quicker and louder, until they began to appear like very demons.
>
> A panic in the crowd seemed imminent, when Joe (Sebatis) coming to me, said, 'William better stop! young Indian getin clasy! (crazy)..."

The last time a dance exhibition of this type took place at Woodstock was about 1920.

Nearly all the songs and dances have been forgotten. In 1953 it was with interest that some members of the Reserve listened to recordings that Speck had made from 1910 to 1915 and to some recordings the author had made in 1952 among other groups of Malecite. About 1900 the fiddle was accepted by the Indians and many became accomplished fiddlers. In its day the Charleston was popular and some Malecite still refer to it. Today the young people are excellent dancers of the popular steps.

Dancing was always part of wedding festivities. After the church ceremony the couple would come back to the village for their own marriage ritual, followed by feasting and dancing. Usually a whole ox would be roasted out of doors. (The ox was brought into the country by Europeans.) Dancing would begin after the feast and last all night. The musical instruments used were a drum and a cow's horn filled with shot. The author believes the rattle evolved from turtle shells, to birch bark, to cow's horn, and finally to bottles with broken crockery. (Vieth, 1913, p. 285.)

Other occasions for festivities arose out of trading. When the peddler arrived at Woodstock the Malecite danced, sang songs and traded their wares. They made up songs about peddlers. Indians love to exchange goods, and until about 1940, at Woodstock, they had a Trader's Dance. One Indian would dress up, blacken his face, or wear a bear, dog, or deer head mask as a disguise. Taking an article he wanted to trade, he would go to the home of another and make a noise at the door to attract attention. (Indians by custom don't knock, but walk right in.) When one of the occupants came to the door, the trader would hold the door so that it could not be opened immediately. The trader did this to prepare those inside to be an attentive audience. Then he opened the door and began a dance and sang a song that described his article. Often the name of the article was not mentioned and the entertainment was partly to guess what the article was and partly to guess who was the guest. (See also Speck, 1940, pp. 297-299.)

At one of these dances the trader had a butter-tray chisel, the quality of which he demonstrated by using it to hollow out a tray from

a floor board; this was taken in fun. The occupant in turn got an auger and made his way to the other's house. In the course of his song and dance he bored a hole into the other man's floor, which was also taken in fun.

Occasionally more than one trader appeared at a house. The actual words of the song, Adney was told, made no sense; the performance was done just for a good time. This sort of entertainment usually took place in the winter.

Election of a chief was further cause for celebration. Such a celebration, however, never took place at Woodstock because, by Canadian law, a reservation has to have sixty members before it can have a chief of his own. Woodstock Reserve was not deemed large enough to have a chief until 1916, when William Polchies was elected. Since they were so late in acquiring sufficient members, no large installation ceremony took place, and most of the celebrating consisted in drinking beer provided by the new chief. In early times, when an election was held by a tribe, members of neighbouring tribes were invited to attend and cast a vote to represent their tribes. At the first election held at Woodstock, Solomon Brooks, the chief of Fredericton Reserve, came. Since that time, no visitor has come to cast a vote.

Until about 1850 treaties were renewed at grand celebrations at Montreal. At these festivals many social activities were performed; young people were married and there was much dancing. During one of these treaty-renewal ceremonies the rejoicing dances were performed each night for a month. When they were finished the earth had sunk due to the continued circling of the dancers.

Story has it that at one of these dances a homely man saw a girl with whom he immediately fell in love. She took one look at his plain features and would have nothing to do with him. He went out and painted himself and then came back and danced. She noticed him and took a

liking to him, but he would not dance with her for some time. Later they married and came to Woodstock Reserve. One day, many years later, he took down a medicine bag out of which he drew a bundle. Then he called his wife, saying, "That your medicine!" She looked at him and he turned as homely as he had been fifty years before. They parted and never lived together again.

In early times the Indians did not visit one another very often. It was such an unusual thing to have visitors that they liked to keep them as long as possible. They developed interesting detaining ruses. If children had come along they were often hidden so that the visitors would have to remain until they were found. Even today they may hide a shoe or some other article of clothing, or a child's toy to keep the visitors from leaving.

CHRISTIAN FESTIVALS

The early missionaries made a deep impression on the Indians at Woodstock and, as a result, they adopted many of the Christian festivals.

Christmas, known as Ni-pa-yum-mi-awn-ki-zos (translated as "prayer at night noon"), became a special time for those who had been given the names of Newell or Mali (Noel or Mary). On Christmas Eve people would gather together and a leader would be selected from the group to carry a cross as they proceeded to houses where people with those names lived. During these visits they would sing songs of good luck for the coming year, carols and hymns, and finally a special song to honour those with either of the names. Later everybody went to the mission church to enjoy the colourful service of midnight mass, and when it was over they gathered together in the church hall for a great feast that lasted till daybreak.

Though it is no longer celebrated, the last day before Lent was a celebration day for

some time. It was called Kin-jamess-we-mok because they elected a king and queen to rule at the big party. Amongst the generous spread of food were many small cakes, two of which contained a bean. The man and woman who got these cakes became the king and queen.

Most of the young people looked forward to St. John's Day, Skwut-besk-ha-so, (June 24th). According to Peter Paul, it was on that day that they were allowed to go swimming for the first time in the year. He translates the name as meaning "when the fields are in blossom" rather than "fire is shot at," which is the translation given by Rasles (Eckstorm, p. 39).

St. Anne is the Indians' patron saint and St. Anne's Day, Se-dun-ween, (July 26th), was looked forward to by the Indians more than the other Christian festivals. When the village of Meductic was still inhabited all the Malecite along the St. John River would gather there for this festival; now they go to Tobique. Malecite who reside in Maine also like to come for this gathering, which used to last a week but which now lasts a week-end at the longest. The usual feasting and dancing was customary. Young people were often united in marriage at this time; the Christian ceremony would be followed by Indian marriage festivities.

Other Christian festivals of importance to the Woodstock Malecite are Palm Sunday, called Stakw-nok-kel-en-note ("fir being held in the hand)" and Easter, called Aw-pi-chi-pek ("return of the leaves)."

GAMES

The Malecite children at Woodstock had many amusements. One of their occupations to while away the winter hours was to peel the dry birch bark into very thin sheets which they would fold up and then put in their mouths and bite several times. The resulting teeth imprints on the unfolded bark made varied and interesting designs. Occasionally one may still find a child doing this.

The girls made dolls from pine branches. They broke the branch off six or eight inches from

the end, which had a full cluster of needles. The needles were cut off evenly so that the cluster would stand up. After making several of these dolls the child would place them on a split cedar log or a piece of birch bark which she would then beat in time to a tune she sang. At each vibration of their dance floor the figures would move, sometimes to the right, sometimes to the left, sometimes suddenly interlocking as if two figures were dancing together; as suddenly, they would break apart and go their own ways. The words of the girl's song described what the pine needle figures were doing. A dance that the Penobscot women sometimes did was a take-off on the dance of these figures, but it was not known to have ever been performed at Woodstock.

The boys made slings and would have contests as to who could send a stone farthest across the river. The author heard an account of an Indian from Kingsclear who, in the early part of this century, killed a deer with such a weapon.

The adolescents played a game similar to the well-known shoulder blade and pelvic bone devination device of hunters. (Speck, 1928, pp. 171-172). Using the pelvic bone of a muskrat, a young man would try to find out if he would get a date with a certain girl. Holding the bone above his head he would try to penetrate the orifice of the pelvic socket with the index finger of his other hand. If his aim was correct, then he would be sure to get his date. If not, he would try again with respect to another girl.

The bowl game, probably the most renowned Malecite game, is now almost entirely forgotten. The author was told that there was one set remaining at the Woodstock village. Once, when visiting Kingsclear village with Peter Paul, the author was taught to play by the chief, Arthur Polchies. The chief boasted that his set was an exact copy of a set that was at least two hundred years old, collected by Speck, and now in the University of Pennsylvania Museum. There are three different kinds of counters: hatchet, crooked piece, and paddle piece. There are also three pairs of flattened round dice, usually carved from moose bone, each pair differently designed. The object of the game was to toss the dice up in a bowl and

catch them, trying, by a flick of the wrist, to make all the dice land the same side up. Each pair was scored differently. (For a full description of the game see Speck, 1940, pp. 173-176, and Wallis and Wallis, 1955, pp. 195-200.)

Adney describes a children's trading game, which he recorded among the Passamaquoddy and the Malecite at Fredericton, but which was apparently unknown on the Woodstock Reserve. It was called nol-mah-mah and was played at Christmas, when the children would dress up in odd bits of clothing and go from house to house trading the bits. He also records a game in which a grasshopper was caught and held between the index finger and thumb. The index finger of the other hand was held to it while the child said, "Kul-dum-ik-hin-pon-e-hul." (Give me a chew; I let him go.) This game corresponds to one played by white children who say, "Spit, spit tobacco juice, and then I'll let you go!"

In a type of tag game, played by the older children, the person who was "it" was called "Go-getch," after an ugly feminine forest creature. In this game they would form a long line and run and snap the whip.

In another tag game played indoors, the boy who was "it" closed his eyes and counted fifty while the rest scampered to hiding places. When the boy finished counting he looked in a mirror for a sign of those who had hidden, who often betrayed themselves by the shadow they cast.

Baseball is very popular now and every year a number of the Malecite boys are on the Woodstock Town Team, which has a high rating in its league.

A type of entertainment which seemed to be popular during the early part of the twentieth century was the breaking of wind so that it would sound as if someone were talking. At the present time most families stress that this should not be done, but the author was told of old Indians living today who were expert at this sort of entertainment and performed in public halls at dances. One Indian suggested that the reason for such behaviour might

be that a person who was chronically bothered with gas might do this as an entertaining means of solving his problem.

STORY TELLING

Story telling was always a great pastime. A good story teller was very popular, especially with the young folk, but even the older people would stay up all night listening to accounts of the old times. These tales were not necessarily about the Woodstock Reserve in particular but generally were about Malecite. Two stories were told the author by Peter Paul.

"Rock Moving"

A man and his wife were in a wagon coming from the road leading out of the Kingsclear Reserve. Suddenly the wagon gave a terrific lurch as it hit a rock. The man said he would take the rock out sometime when he was walking. Sometime later he and his wife were walking along the road and she reminded him about the rock. He said he would take the rock out but that she would have to walk ahead and not turn around to look. The rock was big and embedded deeply. He worked and worked over it. She became tired waiting and looked back. She saw what appeared to be a terrible creature; the legs were deep down in the ground and the face was horrible to look at. She could not believe that it was her husband. She became scared and hid. When he had finished, he walked up the road looking for her but could not find her; he wondered why she had hidden.

"The Man Who Swallowed a Turtle's Heart"

A turtle's heart never dies. If you take one from a turtle it will still beat. Anybody who swallows one will live forever. A person who swallows the heart will also have Medtoulin. A person who wants to swallow a turtle's heart must do it while it is contracted; if it expands in his throat it will stick there and choke him to death.

An old fellow swallowed one. We would look out and see him suddenly appear across the river, on an island or bar. It was as if he could walk on the water or fly through the air because

we couldn't see a boat.

He lived to be a very, very old man when one day he seemed to be dying. All the people were called for the death ceremony, but he didn't die -- just remained the same. People thought that he had finally died and then he would breathe again. Pretty soon his eyeballs dried up. It was thought best to bury him so he was buried that day. He is probably still breathing.

Stories concerning the dealings of the Malecite with other nations were told. One of Susan's tales was of treachery to the Indians by the English. In the early days of English power the Indians had to go to Montreal twice a year to get supplies provided for in the treaties. When Susan was living in Quebec Province, large groups of Indians would paddle together to make the trip to Montreal. On one such occasion a group of twelve canoes was making the voyage; out of those only one returned. After the Indians had received the provisions from the agent, who was a half breed, they were given a great deal of liquor. Everyone in the group became drunk except a young bride who hid her drunken husband in the bushes and feigned sleep with him. Soon she saw many soldiers coming and she slipped off quietly with her husband. The soldiers clubbed all the sleeping, drunken Indians; all were killed except the young bride and her husband. The young people started right back to the main village. On their way they met another party going to Montreal for their goods who, on being informed of the incident, turned back with them. Arriving at the village, they told all the people what had happened. Thereupon a large group went to Montreal and asked for the agent; they were told he was out riding. On finding out the direction, the Indians hid in the woods on both sides of the road. Soon the agent came along with two soldiers. The hidden men sprang out and grabbed the horses. They held down the agent and skinned his chest. Others cut a large pole and pointed it at both ends. The agent's body was salted and then placed on one of the pointed ends of the pole while the other end was set in the ground. The soldiers were told that the body must be left until the crows ate it, and if anybody touched it he would get the same treatment. The body was left there. The agent was

treated with such cruelty because he was a half-breed.

Stories about how the Malecite out-foxed the Mohawk are still popular. Until quite recently the Malecite would show fear at the mere mention of the word "Mohawk." The most popular story of skirmishes with the Mohawk is about a young Malecite maid who had been captured by the invading raiders. She was kept as a guide to lead the Mohawk to the main Malecite village. One day toward evening, when the Mohawk were rafting down the St. John River with the girl as guide, the men were beginning to fall asleep when she began to hear the sound of water going over Grand Falls; but she did not stir. When the roar finally alerted the enemy it was too late! They all went over the falls. None survived. (For other versions of the same story see Baird, p. 116 and Mechling, p. 107.)

Another incident took place at Muniac where there is a sharp bend in the river. When three Malecite in a canoe rounded the bend they sighted a large band of Mohawk encamped. The three men continued paddling around the bend. When out of sight they landed and portaged back overland above the bend, and then proceeded to paddle around the bend again in front of the Mohawk camp. They continuously repeated this performance for three days. Finally the Mohawk became frightened by what they thought was a large band of Malecite and took flight. (For a more complete account of this event see "Maliseet Legends," Journal of American Folk-Lore, vol. 8, 1895, pp. 201-203.)

One evening when a Malecite man came home from his hunting he found that his wife had been taken prisoner by the Mohawk. He started off in search of her, accompanied by the husband of a young woman who had also been captured. Soon they discovered a large party of the enemy. But instead of Mohawk voices they heard the sounds of owls, crows, and other birds; this was the work of the animal spirit helper, Po-he-gan. The two men hid themselves in the woods at the edge of the camp, trying to catch the eye of the older woman; they were afraid that if the younger woman noticed them she would give them away in her excitement. They were successful, and the older woman found an excuse to leave the campsite. The men told her of their plan to free them and asked her what the Mohawk did first every night;

she replied that they dried their footgear. The men said they would come into camp that night. In the evening the two women danced their customary war dance that required that they dance around the Mohawks sitting in a semi-circle, culminating in each hitting an end man over the head, by which they eliminated two men each night. After dark the women's husbands crept in and took places at each end of the semi-circle; the women feigned hitting them on the head. When the women had lain down and everyone, except the Malecite, had fallen asleep, each of the two men cut the throat of the man next to him, rolled the body over himself, took the place of the body, and cut the next throat. They did this right down the line until they came to the middle two. These they woke, cut off their ears, and showed them what had been done by two Malecite. Then they said, "Go back and tell the Mohawk what we have done!"

Shortly after the American Revolution an Anglican minister, hoping to convert the Indians along the St. John River, had gathered a group together at the site which is now the Woodstock Reserve. The Minister had ordered the Bibles from England printed in the Indian language. When he distributed the Bibles the Malecite found to their horror that they were printed in Mohawk. Quickly the Indians dispersed down river! The Malecite word for Mohawk means "he eats you."

Kuloskap stories are still repeated. The most well-known today concern physical features of the land such as "Kuloskap's Snowshoes," two islands near the Kingsclear Indian village, and the breaking of the monstruous dam made by the gigantic beavers whose structure crossed Cape Blomidon and the Annapolis Valley. (Mechling, 1914, pp. 1-50).

MALECITE SPIRITS

Ka-tuk^{w}-ss

The Malecite have many stories about spirits. One concerns the spirit of the drunkard who was living on the site of the village when Noel Paul decided to settle there. Noel often heard the immoral man from his wigwam in the woods.

When the drunkard died, the priest would not bury him in the churchyard; instead he was buried close to his house. After his death, he became known among the Malecite as Ka-tuk^{w}-ss, or ghost. Whenever there was a storm, Ka-tuk^{w}-ss could be heard laughing. Whenever someone was about to die, the ghost's mournful laugh preceded the event. Peter L. Paul said of this phenomena:

"I did not believe in this until one night when I was visiting Peter Polchies. He had to go out. When he came back he said he had heard Ka-tuk^{w}-ss. I went to the door and listened and heard the low mournful laugh, almost like a duck being choked to death. The older man said someone was going to die. The next morning Molly Paul, my great aunt died."

Peter Paul mentioned two other similar occasions but said he had not heard the noise since the old man's skeleton was dug up seven years ago, when foundations were being made for a house. His teen age children, however, claimed that the noise had been heard since that time.

Es-que-dé-wit

Es-que-dé-wit, fiery one, has the task of announcing death to hunters who are far from their loved ones. Peter Paul gave the following account of an experience he had had.

"Once when I was in the woods with a friend, I saw it (the fiery ball.) It was in the evening and we were cleaning up after supper and had a kerosene lamp lit. Suddenly a light from outside illuminated the whole inside of the cabin. It was like a ball of fire travelling through the woods very rapidly. My companion said, 'We must pack and go home at once.' We did, and the next day we got home. He found his baby brother had died the night before." (Further discussion in the author's "Wabanaki Premonition Spirits.")

Kee-zeg-a-bee-zet

Kee-zeg-a-bee-zet, meaning "one with a covering," is white and usually travels close to the ground in a horizontal position. If near enough one can hear a noise similar to a paper bag being blown along the ground. One day an old man from the Tobique Reserve, who was walking along the road out of the town of Woodstock on his way to visit Woodstock Reserve, suddenly saw, at the place where the railroad tracks cross the road, one of these spirits about four feet off the ground. He recognized it as his mother-in-law. When he reached the village, news had been received by telephone that she had died.

Gee-bel-low^{k}

This spirit, whose name means "Scary Voice," has nearly been forgotten. He would travel at a great height, too high to be seen well. If an Indian wanted to ask this spirit a favour he would let out a whoop and the spirit would come down. If the reason wasn't considered good enough the spirit might kill him. Gee-bel-low^{k} had very long legs; so long his crotch was almost at his neck.

Keou-lu-moosis-uk

Keoul-lu-moosis-uk are tiny creatures that live near the river and make objects from sand and clay washed down by the river. These forms, found near the river, forecast the future. Rings are often picked up. Once a woman picked up a little clay cannon; a few days later a war started. Another time a woman found a little clay coffin; a day or two later a man died.

One day an Indian became very curious as to how these objects were made and he decided to go down to the shore to watch for the little people. The next morning, when he had not returned, his wife became worried and sent several men out to look for him. They found him stretched out on the river bank covered with clay and stuck right down

to the ground; his eyes were covered, his ears plugged, and only two little holes left for him to breathe through. This incident scared the Indians from trying again to watch the little people.

Several years ago, when a young fellow brought some clay pieces home one night, his grandfather became very angry but would not tell the boy the story of the unfortunate man for fear of being laughed at; but he did tell him not to go down to the place on the river bank any more at night. Since the young fellow was successful in selling the articles in town, a year or two later he went looking for clay objects again. This time he did not let his grandfather know where he had been but took the pieces straight to the whiteman who had bought them before, and from him learnt the story. (Clay concretions are unearthed by the action of rushing water on the river bank.)

Mi-kum-wes-uk

These are another type of little folk, said by the Passamaquoddy to have been red, and about whose deeds at Peter Dana's Point the author heard accounts. The Malecite at Woodstock, however, remember only that such small people existed.

Wilwilmeq^{w}

Wilwilmeq^{w} are giant snails, though some people now say that they are crocodiles or alligators. In 1954 one old man from Tobique said he was not going to the Fourth of July carnival at Houlto, Maine, because Wilwilmeq^{w} would be there. Wilwilmeq^{w} can give a person great magical powers if he can scrape the velvet from their horns. They were usually seen swimming in a river or lake with just their antlers and heads showing. Sometimes they were seen crawling along the ground. One morning Peter Paul's grandmother came in from the shed, saying that she had seen a Wilwilmeq^{w} swimming down the river.

One story is that in the old days, when the Indians first received guns, an old hunter lost his gun when he suddenly went through the ice. He got ashore but felt very downhearted at the loss of his most prized possession. At the village, an old magician of much power, seeing him so downcast, asked the trouble. The hunter told him what had happened and said he would do anything to get the gun back.

'Anything?' asked the Magician.

'Yes', was the reply.

'If you go down to the spot where you fell in you will find it,' the Magician told him.

The hunter happily went back. When he reached the river bank he saw a Wilwilmeqʷ's head sticking through the hole in the ice. Resting on its horns was the gun. The hunter turned around in fear and rushed back to the village. When he arrived the magician saw him and asked if he had the gun.

'No,' was the reply.

'I thought you would do anything for the gun,' the Magician retorted.

Nehes

Peter Paul could remember the mention of a water spirit, called Nehes, who was supposed to do good to the Indians. The Passamaquoddy believed in Appodumken and Lumpeguin, the Penobscot in Nu-dum-ken-a-wet, but the author does not know if Nehes was related to these other water sprites.

The Power of Po-he-gan

Po-he-gan, or animal spirit helper, affected the lives of the Malecite. There are still a few creatures that have this power to help the Indians. A person who has the power can work

through the spirit of an animal. A Po-he-gan can tell a persecuted person who is working against him, and that person can retaliate by using the Po-he-gan.

If something happens to the animal that is the Po-he-gan the same thing will happen to the person who receives magic from that animal. One woman now at the Woodstock Reserve tells about going to a neighbour's home, when she was a young girl at the Malecite Reserve in Fredericton, to help with the redecorating. While she was scrubbing one of the walls she spotted a spider walking across it; in making a grab for the spider she missed it but injured its leg. The owner of the house immediately cried out, 'My leg, my leg!' The others could see that she was in great pain and could not move her leg. The girl grabbed some milk and bread, the closest things handy, and rubbed the aching leg with it. In a few minutes, the woman was all right again.

The Power of Medtoulin

Any Indian who is a very powerful magician is said to have Medtoulin, which is the power of foretelling the future. In the old days, an Indian could not become a medicine man or chief unless he had this power.

One woman told the author that one morning, when she was picking potatoes in the rain, she put her hand up saying that the rain was going to stop, and it did stop before breakfast was over. She also said that one afternoon a sudden sharp shower came up when she was in the town of Woodstock with another woman from the Reserve. She started to go out into the rain but her companion wanted to stay under cover. She then put her hands over head and said that the rain would stop; it let up almost immediately. She first began to think that she had this power of Medtoulin when she was working and living away from the Reserve on a large farm. One day the farm owner's dog bit her youngster and he told her not to let the child go near the dog again. She asked what he was going to do about the dog and when he replied, "Nothing," she became angry and wished him bad luck. About a week later, when he

went to a sawmill to get some lumber, his hand was cut off. Upon hearing of the accident, she became quite upset. She went to the priest and confessed that she had a power which she had used in a cruel way and told the priest of her desire to get rid of the spell. She returned to the priest each week for a month and he prayed with her; but she still seems to have this power which she actually cannot control.

Mrs. Peter Paul told of another incident that happened at Fredericton. "Old Jeffrey was an ugly old man, so ugly that we were all scared of him when we were children. He used to like to scare us. He had Medtoulin. His wife used to step out on him. He found out and he didn't like it. One night she was going out and he said that she wasn't. She had her mind set on going out just the same. He put his coat across the door. She was not able to get by that coat."

A man might have a Medtoulin working against him but he might not know who it was. A more powerful Medtoulin can fight and overcome it; such a case that occurred at Fredericton was told by Peter Paul.

"Jim Paul had a feeling of a feather in his throat. He was all choked up. He knew there was a Medtoulin working against him but didn't know who it was. One day a Micmac woman came by. She heard about him and went to see him. She told him that if he locked his door by sticking a knife in front of it through the casing, the Medtoulin would cut himself when he came. "Then the Medtoulin will come to see you and you will find out who it is," she added. That night Jim Paul did as she suggested. The next day a man cut himself while working. He went to Jim Paul for a cure. Jim told him he would not give him a cure until he agreed not to bother him anymore.

Some Medtoulins received specific signs that were interpreted to forecast certain future events. If Peter Paul's grandmother's upper lip twitched, this sign was a warning that someone was going to get drunk; if her toe itched, someone would arrive for a visit; if her little toe became numb, she could be certain that someone had died. When she was dying she knocked on the wall

three times in rapid succession. At that time she was on the Reserve at Woodstock; nevertheless a grand-daughter who was walking upstairs to her apartment in St. John heard the knocking, and a son, who was in a sanitarium about three miles away from the grand-daughter, also heard it.

The easiest way to fight Medtoulin is by boiling seven needles. Any kind of needle can be used. The author was first told of this method by a Tobique Malecite who had married a Penobscot and was living on the Penobscot Reserve at Old Town, Maine. One day an Indian from Woodstock village, who was reading the author's notes, was quite surprised to come upon this information which he verified as a belief of his own people.

FURTHER BELIEFS AND CUSTOMS

Other beliefs of these people include the following:

1. If the leaves are turned up so that one can see the underside, it is either going to rain or the rain is all over. (It is an observed fact that bad weather winds, which are usually from the opposite direction to the prevailing winds, turn the leaves in an upward position.)

2. If you have a haircut on the first day of May, you will have a healthy head of hair.

3. Mullein leaves steeped and rubbed on the hair are beneficial for the hair.

4. To cure a dog which has worms chew alder bark and spit it into the dog's mouth after it has had its milk.

5. The spit-like liquid in which the grasshoppers' eggs are enclosed was thought to be ghost's spit.

6. Puff balls were thought to be the result of a ghost's fart.

7. Girls must not jump over a boy's legs when he is lying on the floor or ground because it might injure the sexual organs.

8. If the feathers on a partridge's legs hang down low, it will be a long winter. (The man who believed in the foregoing said that he did not believe in the sign that a hornet's nest close to the ground meant an open winter, as told him by a white man from Woodstock.)

9. If one shoots a snowy owl, he will have bad luck.

10. If one washes in warm water, he will have wrinkles.

11. If a person washes in the same water as another, he will have a fight with that person.

12. If a person shakes hands with another at parting, he will not see that person for a long time.

13. When you comb your hair throw your loose hair into the stove rather than outside because, if a snake gets it, the snake will build his house with it and drive you crazy.

14. If a person buttons up his shirt or jacket wrong he is jealous of someone.

15. If the ice is high in the rivers in the fall but no ice is along the edge of the river, there will be no winter to speak of.

16. If a single person steps on a cat's tail he will not get married for a year.

17. On Good Friday morning all brooks have holy water and healing power.

The Malecite living at the Woodstock Reserve today are very different from their ancestors who settled there. Though most of them realize that the old way of life is no longer practical, many of them do not wish the old culture to be entirely forgotten, and take pride in retaining much of their ancient lore and customs.

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ART AND SCIENCE IN ANTHROPOLOGY*

by

Wilson D. Wallis

This paper calls attention to certain objectives of anthropologists and, if there is a difference, of anthropology. I think there is a difference.

We occasionally hear that anthropology is what anthropologists do, as chemistry is what chemists do; and so on. But if we accept that version, we will have some justification for defining anthropology as consisting of imbibing cocktails, conversing about a variety of current affairs, and wielding knife and fork. I think we should limit the meaning of chemistry to what one does while engaged in chemistry; and define an anthropologist as one who pursues anthropology; that is to say, identify the pursuit and the pursuer by the subject-matter, and not conversely. Anthropology would not become chemistry, or chemistry become anthropology, if tomorrow all of today's anthropologists took to the laboratory and the retort, and all of today's chemists devoted their attention to preliterates.

The word "art" used in the present context refers to a portrayal or a creation which yields satisfaction in itself, irrespective an any purpose except such as flows from that prime fact. If "a thing of beauty is a joy forever" -- a proposition difficult to demonstrate in finite time -- response to it will not wear it down, as happens to physical objects and to most intellectual concepts. Whether forever or for the occasion only, that which by this arbitrary definition is art needs no further justification. We like it because it is as it is.

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* Read at a Supper-Conference for Anthropologists, Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research, November 16, 1956.

Its physical manifestations fall within the framework of science. If, for instance, the art object is Rodin's Thinker, we can give the chemical contents, the weight to a fraction of an ounce, and an anthropometric description of it. A scientific description, however, does not add up to art.

It may have other uses; for example, if one wants a suitable decoration for the fireplace mantle; or something that will crack a nut.

"Science" has been defined in various ways.

For some the original meaning of "knowledge" suffices as a minimum requirement. Most believe there must at least be classification. Many demand further abstraction; and some include as a prerequisite the possibility of prediction. All, I think, agree that knowledge of an item of science implies knowledge of another and comparable item. To know one thing a scientist must know at least two things. Art does not have this limitation. One can have esthetic appreciation of a work of art without first finding a companion piece.

Almost everywhere man has decorative art. Beatrice Blackwood's Kukukuku, of interior New Guinea, and Allan Holmberg's Siriono, of the Bolivian highlands, are the only exceptions that I can call to mind. Concurrent with decorative art is, apparently, an almost universal absence of appreciation of the beauty which nature so abundantly supplies. I could discover in present day Manitoba Dakota and in Micmac of the Maritime Provinces no expression, or indication, of appreciation of the beauty of any phase of nature.

I doubt that any Northeast Woodland Indian uttered or felt a sentiment comparable to that expressed by Mark Twain, who said, in a letter to a friend: "I have seen a New England autumn; and I have seen, I think, the most gorgeous sight on earth." Yet these peoples appreciate the artistic accomplishment of tribesmen. Navaho express appreciation of nature's beauty; and a few primitive folk respond to the beauty of certain kinds of flowers and feathers. These instances

appear to be exceptional. If absence of evidence is evidence of absence, almost the world over those who admire native art are blind to, or indifferent to, nature's beauty. Early Western art is no exception. Possibly much that the Greeks painted has not survived; hence absence of landscape in their surviving art does not imply that they did not revel in it, in a medium that has not come down to us. Their literature makes scant reference, if any, to nature's panorama, other than to identify a characteristic of it, as in Homer's polypheboian sea. Renaissance and early post-Renaissance art is almost completely devoid of representation of nature's beauty. When, finally, a landscape art develops, its home is not a region of the bold and startling outlines of an Alpine terrain, or that of a jagged Mediterranean coastline, but a northern flat land of softer hues and smoother contours.

Until the nineteenth century no traveler who passed through Alpine regions mentions their beauty. They record, as perhaps we can understand, only the hardships and hazards of the journey. Not a word about the beauty of the scenery.

Appreciation of beauty, it appears, has been largely conditioned by the human element in the creation of it. Human beings, it seems, have admired not beauty as such, but artistic accomplishment; not nature's contribution, but man's contribution to man.

A science differs from another in, essentially: objective, characteristics of selected phenomena, and method deemed useful or appropriate in procedure. Economics, for example, deals mainly with abstractions concerned with certain phases of human life and behavior. Political science is, in no derogatory sense, two-faced: it deals with forms, structure, and functions of government, and also with ends, means, and effects on persons and groups. It has concern for Joe Smith, citizen, and his rights and duties as a person. History records and interprets past events, leaving the reader to glean a lesson, if any lesson there be. A few historians search for laws underlying events. Perhaps they should be labeled philosophers of history, rather than primarily historians. Sociology deals with everything and everybody and their remote relatives.

Anthropology, at first, sought to discover laws of development, with little attention to peoples as such. Peoples were of interest only in so far as their supposed traits confirmed a theory. Later came investigations of peoples, investigations seemingly or professedly divorced from any preconception: ethnography for its own sake. Simultaneously there were efforts to bring tribes and tribal life within a scheme, or schemes, if only classificatory ones.

Present day anthropology is manysided. Two objectives, differing in degree and in kind, are: description of a people and their way of life; and abstractions in which persons as such do not intrude: for example, a grammar, an institution, a custom, a concept. We abstract from the human scene, then deal these abstractions. It may be presumed that none of us is antiscientific; or if we are so much out of fashion, wish to be considered such. We hunt for generalizations and if we find one, proudly proclaim it; a frequent sequel being that what we adopted in haste we, or others, subsequently repent of at leisure. Bit if we are scientists, we do not give up the search merely because we have made wrong inferences. A generalization is a short-hand account of many phenomena, an economical substitute for an account of each item. In the package there is no other particularity or peculiarity of the phenomena. The more general the generalization, the less extensive its information about the total character of the phenomena. If we start with the Joe Smiths and put them into the larger categories of American, man, animal, we proceed from more specific attributes to fewer ones. If more scientific means more inclusive generalization and a higher degree of abstraction, then to the extent that anthropology becomes scientific it leaves man out. He is too complex for these short-hand accounts. Anthropometric description, for example, is in terms of numbers referring to units of magnitude and to proportions between these units. The medium is arithmetic and geometry. Description of an institution need not, and generally does not, refer to a human being, but to an attribute of a group. A description of the pattern of a dance is an abstraction, whether it refers to performances by an individual or to those of a group. Only on such terms can we have a science. One

need not argue its supreme desirability. To see only the trees is to run the risk of getting lost in the woods.

However, impressive science may be, life is larger than science. Science does not make life; life makes science; and for a purpose. Life and living exhibit purposes that do not lean on science, or they utilize it only as an auxiliary.

Perhaps some men live in order to obtain generalizations; and some search for generalizations in order to live, and to know, the better. Some study the individual, or men in group life, to obtain a generalization; some cherish a generalization because it helps them to understand man the individual and men in group life. An astronomer likes his generalizations, especially if they aid him in observing and understanding the nature and behavior of a star, a group of stars, and vast nebulae. Most physicians value knowledge of the principles of medicine, anatomy, and physiology, because such knowledge makes it possible for them to understand a patient and minister to his needs. An historian values methodology in so far as it helps him to detect the significant in these human areas which are his concern.

Men are interested in human beings and in human societies and civilizations as such. We read history, if for no other purpose, to learn what Egyptians, Greeks, Romans, were like. Even if we obtain from these accounts no information that helps us in daily life, and from them no satisfying generalization, still we want to know about these peoples. If we are interested in man as such -- and many persons share this interest -- we want to know about Eskimo, Australians, and others. Each tribe and people are, in their totality, unique; and from uniqueness one can derive no generalization except the conclusion that uniqueness is a characteristic of human beings and of human societies and cultures. Granted that from acquaintance with the unique we can derive no generalization, no law, make no prediction, do we then throw it overboard?

If we do so, we dismiss much that has held, and still holds, human interest. Cosmic history is, so far as we know, unique. Unless,

like the Stoics and in sympathy with the writer of Ecclesiastes, we adhere to a theory of small and of great cycles in which nothing happens that will not be repeated in exact detail, our solar system and our universe are unique; and so is everything on the grand scale that has happened or will happen to it or in it, worlds without end, or with an end that will be unique. Human history in its totality is unique.

Man is a unique specimen of the animal kingdom and that kingdom in its totality is unique. Every people which the anthropologist or the historian studies is unique; and so will be future aggregations, if any, of members of the human species. Nature, as we know, carries the principle to an extreme, producing billions of human beings, each a unique physical organism and personality, in a unique environment; in plant life, no two leaves alike; among inanimate things, no two grains of sand identical. It is largely because of this bewildering array of an all-pervading uniqueness that we crave generalization.

Leave out most elements of the uniqueness, and we can apportion man's physical traits, and traits of group life, to certain categories. On bus or train a conductor who collects fares, even if he has never heard of Jeremy Bentham, is content to count each passenger as one and only one rather than demand a just fare based on "avoir du poids" or cubic content; and even in these trying times takes no reckoning of whether the passenger is a Democrat, a Republican, rich man, beggar man, or thief. An ethnologist who investigates the distribution of totemism may be content to know that certain peoples have or do not have totems or they dwell in a between-content to know that certain peoples have, or do not have, totems, or dwell in a between-and-betwixt realm, as though to give brother ethnologists another excuse to renew fratridical strife.

When we make generalizations about data, we of necessity select one aspect and leave out of the reckoning every other attribute. We can classify many living beings as quadrupeds, or as bipeds, though men and birds, with or without a feather, flock together, elephants and mice trot side by each, and kangaroos anxiously ask where

they belong. Further down the scale of animal life amebas can be divided into the three classes: that which turns itself inside out before saying grace; that which instead turns itself outside in; and that which hesitates in mid-process to sing out a duet: "I-we must part." A researcher who is concerned with human affairs can substitute for each association of two traits the numeral one, and thereafter reckon with these numerals. He is then dealing with a mathematical dimension; the life, flesh, and blood of the data are not there. Even as regards physical matter, however, "the story of substance and movement is not the whole story of substance: for there is also quality." Quality is "that which is ultimately simple.(1)

Intellectual achievement and valid generalization only a mystic would deplore. The more the better; or perhaps we should qualify by wishing that the more could always mean the better. In anthropology there is room also for the kind of goal that the historian sets for himself, namely, an endeavor to bring to life a civilization, a period, or other phase of human accomplishment and experience. All peoples known to us have had keen and abiding interest in actual, and presumed actual, events. The Old Testament, to cite an instance, offers an account of precisely what happened; in terms of specific events and specific persons. Nowhere is it a social history with persons and particular events omitted; one must read between and above the lines to get the story of social transitions which, by implication, is there told.

It is reported that when a certain philosopher of our day was invited to witness a horse-race, he replied: "A philosopher already knows that one horse can run faster than another." Most persons know that some teams can play ball better than can certain others; but those who have a continuing concern with the fate of a leather-covered sphere batted and hurled hither and yon

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(1) James K. Feibleman, "Mathematics and its Applications in the Sciences," Philosophy of Science, 23: 215, 1956.

will want to know the details of its career on September 3, 1956, when Yankee City played Jonesville.

Regarding less important affairs than baseball, for example, a World War, or even a Presidential campaign, some are not satisfied with mere knowledge of how the contest eventuated, but want to know somewhat about events and the persons who seemingly were guiding them, or were overwhelmed by them.

Your citizen-philosopher, who is 99.9% of all full-fledged adults, will want to know not merely that some one was elected to be President of these United States; he will want to know who that person is, what manner of man and politician; the circumstances; the persons who clustered about him, and those who helped or harrassed his opponent, during the vocal battle of wits and vituperation. Any newspaper contains obituaries recounting the accomplishments or attributes of the deceased during his specified span of life. We do not let the dead bury the dead; we, the living, dispose of their remains with about the same measure of respect that we accorded them while they participated in social life. So it is among aboriginal Australians, as among Western Europeans, and almost any people on earth. Many a book is devoted to a description and narration of the career and the traits of an individual. Biographies are at least two millennia old; and they pour from our presses with increasing frequency. For a hundred years they have been written about certain American Indians; and nowadays anthropologists coax a deluded aborigine, or one as closely approximating that category as one can find, to pour out his life story, so that it can be recorded for the delectation of anthropologists, psychologists, psychiatrists, and other oddities. "What is man that we should be mindful of him?" is for most human beings not an inquiry, but a confession; with some, a profession.

However much we leave man out of anthropology, as in some pursuits is necessary, in order to understand him, past and present attitudes suggest that at moments we are mindful of him as a personality. Some generalizations we value because they help us to understand better man the

individual, and man in unique social, ethnic, and national, life.

I have contrasted so-called art with so-called science, appreciation of the particular and unique with appreciation of the general.

They are not separate and apart from one another.

It requires the resources of a science to give us an understanding of the particular and unique. Also, many derive esthetic satisfaction from contemplating the grandeur of a well-founded generalization, for example, the formula of the gravitational pull which permeates the universe; the revelation in the formula $E=mc^2$, which reveals the energy in mass, a grain of sand or a planet. Even so, there is for some a tragic lesson in the unique event when these formulas exploded into reality above Hiroshima.

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SOCIAL PROBLEMS OF THE OJIBWA INDIANS IN THE COLLINS AREA IN NORTHWESTERN ONTARIO

by

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I. INTRODUCTION

(a) The Problem - The Impact of European Civilization on the Ojibwa.

One of the major problems of modern history has been that of social, cultural, and economic disorganization resulting from the contact of Europeans of various nationalities with non-European societies of widely differing ways of life. This problem is of interest to sociologists, psychologists, anthropologists, and other social scientists, and is also a practical problem for politicians, missionaries, and administrators. The problem is particularly acute in a country such as Canada where the native population is now a small minority, reduced to a state of dependence on a larger immigrant society.

We are concerned here with a particular group of natives, of Ojibwa culture, living close to the main line of the Canadian National Railways, north-west of Lake Nipigon. The economic basis of this society has always been hunting and fishing, but this has now been rudely disturbed by contact with a commercial civilization. The society has been affected also by contact with new cultural standards.

The major problem for sociology can be expressed in terms of the changing patterns of expectations regarding social behaviour. Max Weber has pointed out that it is such patterns of expectations that form the basis of all systems of social relationships. He writes: "The social relationship thus consists entirely and exclusively in the existence of a probability that there will

be, in some meaningfully understandable sense, a course of social action." (1) In the case with which we are dealing, however, economic and cultural change has seriously affected these patterns of probability, and the social system based on them. Changes give rise to new values, and frustrate the attainment of the old. Accepted patterns of social action no longer bring the expected results.

(b) Hallowell's Studies of Acculturation.

Although there is an extensive anthropological literature on various aspects of Ojibwa culture, there is as yet comparatively little on the response of the Ojibwa society to the problem with which we are concerned. However, of some interest in this connection is the work of A.I. Hallowell (2) in studying the Saulteaux Ojibwa of Berens River, Manitoba. This group belongs to the same culture area as those in Northwestern Ontario, and their way of life is similar.

By careful observation of the rites and practices of the people, checked with records of early explorers, and by study of basic psychological patterns, both through observation and through psychological tests of personality, Hallowell has obtained a picture of the basic social, cultural, and personality patterns.

Aside from the Midewiwin, or medicine lodge, which was introduced in historical times, and had died out a number of years before Hallowell appeared on the scene, (3) these people have no religious societies. Religion is centred on the family hunting band, which is the major unit of social and economic organization. The prime value of the Saulteaux culture is "Pimad-i-ziwin," or the Good Life, involving longevity, and general well-being, as exemplified, for the man, primarily in his ability as a hunter. For this he needs the aid of the spirits who control the natural world of which he is a part. He seeks this aid in solitude, fasting and seeking dreams. Of especial importance is the dream of the boy after his puberty fast. The whole of Saulteaux life is oriented to living successfully as a part of, rather than gaining the mastery over, the natural environment. This involves not only skill in hunting, but, of fundamental importance, spiritual power

and skill in conjuring.

In an article on "The Role of Conjuring in Saulteaux Society" (4), Hallowell shows how the practice gives the Ojibwa a sense of security in relation to uncertain economic conditions. He particularly describes the shaking tent rite, in which the shaman converses with the spirits. This ceremony is very important. It provides entertainment, and emotional release. It is an opportunity for the whole band to gather together, and hence an aid to social solidarity. It is a means of social control, since it may be hindered by deviant behaviour among participants, and since the shaman is often able to find out secret sins. This latter aspect provides, not only a re-enforcement of the values of the community, but also an opportunity for confession and the release of guilt-feelings. Further, the ceremony provides, like the dream, empirical proof of the validity of native beliefs, since the people see the spirits shaking the tent. It is directly related to the economic life of the people, since it is normally undertaken to ensure successful hunting.

Hallowell finds that, with the break-down of the economic and social basis, this ceremony has largely disappeared. It is practised by the inland Indians, but not by those closer to civilization on Lake Winnipeg. The number of occurrences of the rite varies directly with the percentage of the men who take their families with them to the trap-line. In those communities where the men are leaving their families at the trading post, and hence modifying the old customs, religious practices are being modified.

However, on the level of personality, the change has not been noticeable. The Ojibwa personality, like the Ojibwa religion, reflects an atomistic, homogeneous society, which functions largely in terms of internal rather than external control. The personality structure is highly introverted. The individual bears full responsibility for obeying the social norms, and disobedience is punished by sickness. Psychological security is derived from dreams and relations with the supernatural. Fear of sorcery leads to

caution in interpersonal relations, a surface amiability hiding suspicion. This picture is substantiated by the accounts of explorers before acculturation began, and also by Rorschach tests.

In assessing the effects of acculturation on this situation, Hallowell distinguishes three levels:

Level 1: The Inland Berens River people, many of whom were not Christians, and had comparatively little of the European material culture, when first visited;

Level 2: The Lakeside Berens River People, Christians, who had adopted much of the European material cultural, but were still hunters who spoke little English;

Level 3: The Lac du Flambeau Band in Northern Wisconsin, who spoke English and had adopted, outwardly, all the forms of European culture.

The results of Rorschach tests for levels one and two were substantially the same. At level two considerable modification of old patterns had taken place. As we have seen, under the influence of economic and social change, old rites of fundamental importance, such as the shaking tent ceremony, had been abandoned. However, both the belief and personality systems remained intact. Hallowell concludes that social change, per se, does not necessarily lead to personality disorganization.

On the other hand, the Wisconsin group had no belief in the old religious system. A few still practised its rites, but even they showed little conviction of the validity of its beliefs. Rorschach tests showed the same basic personality type but a much poorer adjustment. There was a weakening of interior controls, and a failure of these to mature at advancing age levels.

Here, Hallowell concludes, we have basically the same atomistic, simple, undifferentiated society as was found in the northern groups. There is also the same basic psychological frame of reference. But the collapse of the old system

of religious belief has brought a weakening of interior controls. It has weakened the old values, and brought a condition of apathy that cannot be overcome. It has affected the socialization process, and brought a frustration of maturity. It has brought a loss of emotional outlets. As a result, the society is characterized by a refusal of men to work, drunkenness and overt manifestations of aggression, in juvenile delinquency, and violent brawls among those who are drunk.

The picture given is one of a society very dependent on internalized norms, operating through a particular type of personality structure, developed through family and other relationships, and supported by the pattern of economic life. Although adjustment to minor changes has been possible, the society, backing a well-developed institutional structure, has had no means of adapting itself to the more far-reaching changes in the areas of white settlement.

Hallowell does not attempt to show how the society has responded, or attempted to respond, to its challenge. Social, personal, and cultural systems appear to disintegrate under pressure, but no idea is given of the processes by which the Ojibwa tried, and failed, to come to terms with the new environment. The usefulness of Hallowell's study for our purposes is also limited by the fact that the circumstances, although in some respects similar, are far from being identical with that of the people of our area. This will be seen from what follows.

However, his work does underline some of the major problems faced by the type of society with which we are dealing. It suggests that a fruitful approach would be to examine the way in which external and internal controls function, in the aboriginal society, to build up and maintain acceptable patterns of behaviour. We shall then be able to find out how these patterns have been altered under changing conditions.

(c) The Settlement at Collins.

The Ojibwa along the Allan Water Subdivision of the C.N.R. transcontinental line tend to gather in small, isolated settlements, of which

Collins, a settlement of about eighty persons, has the largest Indian population. Although population varies from day to day, Collins' Indian population, according to my own estimate, numbers approximately sixty-five.

Of fourteen families in Collins when I was there (5), the heads of two were working as C.N.R. sectionmen, two were destitute widows, and the remaining ten families lived by trapping. The C.N.R. has also sectionmen stationed from four to ten miles apart along the line, and these accounted for ten Indians in the fifty-eight miles between Collins and Savant Lake (6). Finally, there are smaller groups of trappers at Allan Water Bridge and Savant Lake. At present, the railroad is the only alternative to trapping as a source of year-round employment.

From this it will be seen that the population still consists mainly of trappers. Most of these come from further back in the bush. The Department of Lands and Forests has thirty-two trappers registered as belonging to the Collins Trapline Area, of whom twenty-six are of the Fort Hope Band, three are White Sands, and three are of the Nipigon Band (7). This means that twenty-six of the thirty-two originate, or belong to families originating, at Fort Hope, near the Albany River. The extent to which "bush" patterns of life have been modified varies considerably, and we find two fairly distinct groups, the "bush" and the "line" Indians. The former spend very little time at the settlement, and usually have no houses, continuing to live in tents throughout the year. The latter have houses at the "line" (The C.N.R.) and spend much of their time there, sometimes leaving wife and children behind when they go into the bush to hunt.

It is our plan to begin with the "bush" Indians, as observed in the course of two summers at Fort Hope and two at Collins. This can be used to supplement whatever information we have gathered from government and church records, and personal reminiscences, of the earlier patterns of life. We shall then trace, with the aid of these last three sources, the recent history of the Fort Hope band, and the circumstances of the movement to the railroad line. This will lead to our major

observations, which concern the changes in social organization and value-systems found among the "line" Indians in recent years, and the attempts, both of the native society, and such outside organizations as the church and the Canadian government, to meet the new situation. This is primarily based on facts and impressions noted in the summer of 1955, but I am also indebted to Mr. G. Swartman, the local Indian agent, the trader at Collins, Mr. J. Patience, and others whose assistance has been invaluable. A special word of thanks is due to the staff of the Indian Affairs Branch, Department of Citizenship and Immigration, for their assistance in obtaining necessary information. Finally, I wish to express my appreciation to my bishop, the Rt. Rev. C.C. Robinson, for his permission to publish this study, and for his help in revision and correction.

II. THE OJIBWA SOCIETY AT FORT HOPE

(a) The society of the Ojibwa at Fort Hope cannot be considered, at any time, as a primitive society unaffected by alien influences. The Hudson's Bay Company did not begin trading on Lake Eabamet until the last quarter of the nineteenth century, two centuries after it arrived in the Bay. Thus, by the time the Fort Hope community came into existence, its members were well acquainted with the Company, and the native economy had become dependent on trade with the outside world. Many of the families were Cree from Fort Albany, on James Bay, who adopted the Ojibwa dialect of the Upper Albany, and became assimilated. The Albany was the major transportation route for the Company between James Bay and the interior, and most of the older people were, at this time, accustomed to the trip to Fort Albany. The area was thus one in which cultural diffusion and change had been going on over a considerable period of time. A. Skinner, an anthropologist who visited Fort Hope and other Albany River posts in 1909, reported: "The social organization of the Saulteaux, probably never very strong, has been greatly broken up during the past half century" (8). He went on to show how this was true in relation to clan organization, religious organization, and other phases of the community life.

Nevertheless, there were certain basic patterns in the bush society which had been preserved. Of these the most important is the family hunting band, which lives a migratory life in search of food. The Northern Saulteaux spends the winter on his trapline, and most of the summer at the fishing grounds. The family consisting of parents and children, and sometimes a grandparent, lives in a tent or a wigwam, sometimes in complete isolation, sometimes with two or three other related families. Formerly several different types of birch-bark wigwams were used, but Skinner reports that in 1909 birch-bark was being replaced by canvas, and in the period 1952-55 I saw no dwellings of birch-bark. There are some canvas wigwams, but these have largely given way to factory-made tents. The family in a circle around the open fire has been replaced by the family living in a tent with a wood stove in the corner. Nevertheless, the essential pattern of life, while more dependent on the outside world, remains the same.

In looking at the physical aspects of this situation, one is impressed by two things. One is the complete lack of privacy. Sleeping crowded together, night after night, with no ground space left over, the family is encouraged, by the mere fact of physical proximity, to develop a strong identification of the individual with the group. This is further strengthened by the second notable fact, which is the isolation of the family, or small group of families, from contact with others. The result is a society in which family ties and controls are very important, while the direct part played by the wider social organization in the life of the individual is less than in most societies.

Life is precarious for the bush Indian. He is completely dependent on the food he can gather in the area in which he lives. As the supply of animals fluctuates, and there is little possibility, under primitive conditions, of saving for times of scarcity, starvation is always a serious threat. Living under these conditions, the child very quickly becomes aware of the seriousness of the family's economic life and problems. From the time of birth, the child is very much a part of the economic and social life of family and community. Children are carried in their tikinagans, or

cradle-boards, on their mothers' backs into church and other public gatherings. As soon as he is able to walk, the youngster is taught to take his part in the struggle for existence. One thing that impresses any observer of an Ojibwa family moving camp, is that everyone always has a part. The small children may have only one or two kettles, but they are never idle under these circumstances. This way of doing things extends into all phases of life, including recreation. Almost daily I saw at Fort Hope football games in which all played together, with ages ranging from five to fifty, and including both men and women.

The result is that the Ojibwa child matures very quickly, and very early learns to shoulder serious economic responsibility. He becomes part of a co-operative family unit, and learns to identify himself with the family and its problems. He is thus very much influenced by family opinion, and very dependent on the family economically and socially. This means that there is less need for formal discipline in the family. Social pressure and that of the environment are the major disciplinary force. The way in which parental discipline works is illustrated by an incident in July, 1952. The children in the school, who at that time all belonged to a group of related families who had pitched tents together, decided to stay at home. The parents were unable to coax them, until one of the mothers took her little girl and sat with her, while the teacher helped her to read from a book. After this the question was discussed by parents, children, and teacher, and the children came back to school. While somewhat frustrating in a modern schoolroom, this method of discipline works very well in primitive circumstances. Indian children are well-behaved, and the older ones mature and responsible. Close identification of the self with the family and its situation has produced a high degree of internalization values.

The low frequency of social interaction outside the family group may be related to the lack of institutional sanctions imposed upon it from outside. This is seen in relation to sexual morality. The community approves of relative premarital chastity, and some disgrace is attached

to becoming pregnant while unmarried. However, complete virginity is rare among girls of marriageable age, and the conditions of life make it next to impossible to hide the fact that a boy and a girl are engaged in sexual relations together. (I have met with a number of cases of unmarried mothers. Always there is a certain amount of feeling of disgrace, an attempt to find the father and to force him to look after the children, and some pressure on him to marry the girl.) But girls who have been left with children seem to have had no difficulty in finding husbands. (Some of the most respected women, both at Fort Hope and near the line - women honoured for high moral character and fidelity to their husbands - have children given them by other men before they were married.) This impression was confirmed by Mr. Swartman, the Indian agent, who told me that in twenty years' experience among the Indians, he had never seen any problem of illegitimacy or of ostracism of the unmarried mother (9).

The marriage relationship begins with sexual relations, supposedly secret, but actually with the knowledge and tacit approval of the community. This is followed by the boy's coming to the girl's home, first to sleep through the night with the girl, and then to live with her and her parents for a period of generally more than one month. Finally, he takes her away with him. At one time there seems to have been a requirement that the young man give the girl's father a gift (10), but the above pattern, from the cases of which I knew, seems to be generally followed.

The relationship becomes more difficult to terminate as it progresses, but even after marriage infidelity, while not meeting with social approval, does not seem to lead to severe sanctions. Infidelity tends to be accepted as part of the normal process of life. It is impossible to say definitely how the infidelity of Ojibwa husbands and wives compares with that among other peoples, but the conditions of life make it far more easily known.

It is, however, significant that the Ojibwa family retains a remarkable stability. I have no first-hand knowledge of a bush-Indian family being broken by the separation of husband

and wife. The older women gradually attain a reputation for loyalty and devotion, as they become identified with their husbands in the life of the bush. This is accelerated by the fact that the family is safe from possibly disruptive influences for the greater part of the year, while it is in isolation. Both at Fort Hope and on the line there were several men reported to be fiercely jealous of their wives, refusing to allow them to leave home alone. Such tactics, however, could not succeed apart from the conditions of life, which lead to strong family identification, supported by deep emotional ties.

(b) The Band.

Social organization outside of the family centres around the short period in the spring when the band is assembled together. At this time band members participate in recreational activities, and in religious ceremonies. The band council meets, and irons out such questions as trap-line boundaries. As a result, the Ojibwa maintains some feelings of solidarity with a group larger than his own family. The Ojibwa belongs to a clan, which extends far beyond his own band. Skinner writing in 1912 reports that, while formerly the clans were exogamic, they are no longer so at the time of writing, and "have no importance whatever" (11). This statement appears to be exaggerated, since Skinner also reports natives observing ritual taboos against eating certain parts of the totem animal, and even at Collins in 1955 I found some of the older people who observed these rules. However, there is no evidence that the clan is of any considerable significance now either in the social organization of the band or in the self-image of its members.

Of decisive importance in promoting social solidarity are the recreational activities of the spring. During this period nightly dances are held in the council house, usually lasting until early in the morning. Parents bring their children, and leave their babies in tikinagans at the side of the dance floor. Skinner was told of earlier religious and magical dances, but these had disappeared under missionary influence and been replaced by a dance following the pattern of the English square dance. However, the dance appears

to retain much of its old significance as a means of promoting the identification of the individual with the group.

This is suggested by several things. One is the importance people attach to the dance. In 1953 the Indian department doctor and I both suggested that, for health reasons, the children should be left at home. The response was almost tearful on the part of some of the parents, who declared that the Indians always had danced, and we could not stop them. It is also obvious to any observer that the dance produces a great release of pent-up emotions, and an emotional involvement. The Ojibwa is an individualist, highly introverted, undemonstrative, and reserved in dealing with those outside his own intimate circle. In the dance, however, laughter, tears, and other signs indicate a partial breakdown of this reserve.

Another community activity which I observed almost daily at Fort Hope was the game of football. This resembles English soccer, but the rules are far less rigid. There is no limit to the number of players on either side, and the losing team often keeps adding players to make up its disadvantage. Everyone joins in the football game, although participation in this, as in the dance, declines with old age.

Associated with these activities is the political organization of the band. The band council, consisting of all the men of the band, meets and decides such questions as trap-line boundaries, and other matters affecting the band as a whole. The chief and councillors are chosen by the men of the band - formerly through discussion and unanimous consent, but now as a result of a formal election held in the presence of the Indian agent. Fort Hope band is listed as being under "tribal custom," under which chiefs and councillors are elected for an indefinite period (12). This may mean they hold office for life, or the members of the band may prevail upon the Indian agent to hold a new election any year, when he is present and the band is gathered together (13). I have observed two band meetings, but did not find that the formal political organization played any very vital part in the life of the tribe. It has occasionally some disciplinary

value, and meetings give participants an opportunity to air grievances. But since both leaders and members spend most of their life up to one hundred miles apart, and in no contact with each other, the importance of the former is necessarily limited. This observation is confirmed by the Indian Affairs Branch, which keeps no record of the activities of band meetings for this area.

(c) Religion.

There is also a striking lack of formal religious organization. Skinner found a number of the older people who had belonged to the Midewiwin, or medicine lodge, but this had disappeared, and its rites were no longer practised. The tent-shaking ceremony seems to have remained until much more recently, but there are now no public religious ceremonies except for those of the Christian church. However, the focal point of Ojibwa religion, as of the Ojibwa social life in general, is, as we have said, the family and the trap-line. On this level the old ritual is still very much in evidence. Charms are seen tied to the cradle-boards of the babies, or worn by younger children as protection from evil spirits. The practice of hanging up skulls of animals with offerings to their spirits, is still in evidence, as I have been told by both white and native residents of Fort Hope. Many of the more important rituals, such as the puberty fast, are no longer in evidence, possibly as a result of missionary effort, but the basic emphasis on the acquiring of spiritual power remains. The emphasis of missionaries on personal communion with Christ as a source of power tends to fit in with this.

This fact is illustrated by a conversation I had with an Ojibwa at Fort Hope in August, 1952. He told me the people understood best sermons on the need for looking after their souls, but did not understand other things the missionaries said. He spoke of a tract he had seen, which ridiculed the man who, when given a beautiful jewel, looks after the box, but loses the jewel. "The Indians do not understand everything the missionaries say. But this we understand. There is the box (i.e. the body) and the soul is inside." The natives regard each man as having a soul, or spirit (erchak) within him, and everything from skill and luck in

hunting, to magical power, depends on the strength or weakness of the "erchak." This is seen in the religious leadership of the community, which is, as we saw was the case with the political chieftainship, basically charismatic. The man with the greatest skill in religious matters is recognized as a leader, and people come to him for assistance in hunting, or in times of sickness. The "Indian doctor," as he has now come to be called, has command of a number of herbs and charms, and is still frequently sought after.

(d) The Work of the Missionaries.

The Christian church seems to have made good use of this native spiritual leadership. Andrew Pappa, who was catechist for a number of years at Fort Hope, and whose position has never really been filled since his death, was widely known and respected as a medicine man. John Yesno, who holds the leading position in the church today, belongs to a family known for its spiritual power. The same thing is true of the religious leaders among those who have moved to Collins. The leadership of the church remains basically charismatic in the eyes of the natives. The catechist holds his position because he is "more educated" than the others. On one occasion I was criticized for allowing the catechist to preach instead of preaching myself. The complaint was, not that the missionary should preach, but that it should be "the one who has been to college." (The attitude to education is interesting, and will be discussed later, but it appears to be connected with spiritual power, rather than with the idea of training for a position.)

Missionary work at Fort Hope, in the earlier years, seems to have been very successful. The Bishop of Moosonee reported to the M.S.C.C. that the last convert had been baptized on June 29th, 1907 (14). This completed a process which had begun elsewhere long before the Indians moved to Fort Hope. Most of the people were, in fact, Christians before they settled here.

This, however, is in no way remarkable, but is the situation with most of the native peoples of Canada. What is significant is the central place of the church in community organization, and

the place it holds in the eyes of the people. The people gather once a day, and twice on Sunday, for services in the spring, and take to the trap-lines prayer and hymn books in their own language, in a special syllabic writing prepared by the missionaries. Hymn-singing, prayer, and reading of the Bible, are a regular part of family life "in the bush." The church was thus able, through its teaching and through its community worship, to assist in the social re-organization of the band. Its success was partly due to the fact, which has been mentioned, that the missionaries' teaching was re-interpreted in native thought-forms. We have seen how the emphasis is on the individual soul, rather than on the organization of the church. The re-interpretation was seen also in the lack of interest in doctrine. John Horden, first bishop of Moosonee, and many of the other Anglican missionaries, were Anglican evangelicals, who strongly emphasized the doctrine of the atonement. Yet this is largely ignored by the natives. Horden's Cree Hymn Book contains such eighteenth-or nineteenth-century revival hymns as "Rock of Ages," and "Tell me the old, old story," but, in two summers at Fort Hope, the native catechist did not once choose to sing a hymn of this type. Favourites were "What a friend we have in Jesus!" and "Abide with me." Stories are told of the intensity of the religious experience of some of the older people, who are said to spend three or four hours at a time motionless on their knees.

Several factors may be related to the successful adaptation of Christianity to the native culture. One is the isolation of Fort Hope. Bishop Holmes reports that he could not visit in 1905. "Fort Hope is a distance of 400 miles up the Albany River, and a most difficult place of access, either from the Bay or from the C.P.R. side." (15) In 1906 he arrived, only to find the Indians returned to their hunting grounds (16). In 1907, he arrived on June 29th, and reports: "Here again we were disappointed to find not more than half the Indians in from their hunting grounds" (17). In more recent years, this situation has changed through easier communication, but isolation still provides a check on centralization. The result has been a faith worked out by missionaries and people and answering to the people's problems.

Of great assistance in this was the character of the more important missionaries. The pioneer missionary, the Rev. E. Richards, was, like many of his parishioners, a Cree from James Bay. The Bishop's report to the M.S.C.C. in 1910 states: "Mr. Richards is one of the native clergy taught by the late Bishop Horden, and is a splendid missionary" (18). The Rev. John Macdonald, the best remembered missionary, was not a native, but was thoroughly familiar with the country and its people. Although autocratic in many ways, he made good use of native catechists, and native assistance. I have heard several people tell me proudly of the work they did when John Macdonald was there.

Missionary progress was aided also by the native world-view, with its lack of a coherent theology. This made it possible to adopt Christian beliefs, while not discarding the beliefs and rituals connected with life on the trapline.

Moreover, Christian missionaries answered to a need arising from the situation. The Hudson's Bay Company had brought commercial civilization, and the partial breakdown of the old isolation. This was accentuated by the larger bank communities which now congregated around the trading posts. As a result, the old basis of the religious life of the people was undermined. The missionaries did much to assist the adjustment to the new situation. Christian teaching, with regard both to belief and to conduct, gave meaning to life under changed circumstances. The churches at each post became the centre of the bank life. In many ways the missionaries were able to help the people to meet changes which the Ojibwa could not have understood.

(e) The Mission School.

One of the ways in which this was done was through education of the children. A day school was established at Fort Hope in 1912, and the Bishop's reports of the period speak of the need for a residential school. The natives' support for the latter plan is shown in the fact that many of them still speak with resentment of the fact that it was never carried into effect. The time available for teaching in the day-school was limited by the migratory habits of the people, but instruction, from what I was told by former pupils of the school, consisted

of religious knowledge, arithmetic, practical training in cooking, manual training, and sewing, and general teaching in the folkways and mores of our civilization. Every person who has told me of attending that school has spoken appreciatively of the benefits he has received from the knowledge he had gained there. This was true of those now employed on the railroad, and of those still living in the bush. The latter benefit from business skills acquired, and may also guide for tourists in summer. In this last occupation a knowledge of the white man's ideas of manners is very useful.

The Ojibwa emphasized adaptation to the environment and were, on the whole, anxious to learn the basic skills and rituals appropriate to the new environment. Even today, I have found "bush" children very co-operative. They work hard to learn to read English and to do arithmetic. Often they will take books home and read with their families. But often this amounts only to word-calling, with no real understanding of the meaning of what is being read. Untrained teachers have accentuated this ritualism (19). The alphabet has been taught to children with no knowledge of English, and they have been asked to memorize the spelling of English words which they did not perfectly understand.

Parents have great confidence in the ritual of sending children to school. An example of this is a girl who was sent to my school in August, 1953, who came thirty miles to go to school two days, after which she returned home. On the other hand, there is little understanding of the purposes and methods of modern education, or even of the necessity for regularity of attendance. We seldom had more than a third of our enrollment in attendance at school (20).

The school is a good example of the way in which missionary efforts to assist in the adaptation of the Ojibwa to social change was aided by the felt needs of the natives. It also illustrates the way in which the missionaries' ideas fitted into the native world-view, which in turn directed and limited their development.

(f) The Hudson's Bay Company.

Economically and politically the most important external organization affecting the Fort Hope community is the Hudson's Bay Company. The company post is the reason for the community's existence, and the company still maintains what amounts to a monopoly of trade in the area. Revillon Frères of Ottawa had a post here but were no match for the Bay. More recently a native, John Yesno, operated a business which he sold to the company. Thus the economic life of the people is now lived almost entirely with reference to the Hudson's Bay Company. The native traps furs to be sold to the company or exchanged for goods at the company store. But what he earns in one trapping season seldom lasts until the next. The bush way of life is not conducive to saving, and the Ojibwa has been accustomed to abundance in good times, and starvation in times of scarcity. As a result, it is usually necessary for food to be advanced on credit, to be paid out of the price of the furs.

The result of this is to put the Hudson's Bay manager in a position of control over many phases of the natives' lives. By extending or withholding credit, he can make it impossible for trappers to take their furs elsewhere. He can bring pressure upon them to trap or fish when they would prefer to be idle. He thus becomes the "Okima" (21) accustomed to giving orders and being obeyed.

The Canadian government today does most of its business at Fort Hope through the company, and thus increased the manager's prestige. He has control of the distribution of First Aid and medical supplies, and where hospitalization is needed, he makes arrangements by means of his radio. He is also the distributor of family allowances and a means of contact between the people and the Indian agent. To a great extent he manages the assignment of traplines, and receives complaints about trespassing and other matters.

Further, the company store provides, from time to time, employment for the men, in various types of manual labour, as for example, the moving of merchandise. It also provides an opportunity for members of the band to meet together, and engage in conversation.

(g) Relations with the Canadian Government.

The Fort Hope band were brought under the protection of the Canadian government by Treaty 9, signed in 1906. The proceedings are described in a covering letter sent with a copy of the treaty to the superintendent of Indian affairs. Impressions seem to have been favourable on both sides. The commissioners write: "It is considered worthy of record to remark on the vigorous and manly qualities displayed by these Indians throughout the negotiations" (22). Moonias, one of the native chiefs, expressed suspicion at the government's promises of what seemed to be payment for nothing. However, this was overcome by explanation of the nature of the land rights the government was seeking. Another misconception was that of Yesno, who expected great things of the government.

"Yesno" ... made an excited speech in which he told the Indians they were to receive cattle and implements, seed-grain and tools. Yesno had evidently travelled, and had gathered an erroneous and exaggerated idea of what the government was doing for Indians in other parts of the country, but, as the undersigned wished to guard carefully against any misconception or against making any promises which were not written in the treaty itself, it was explained that none of these issues were to be made, as the band could not hope to depend upon agriculture as a means of subsistence; that hunting and fishing, in which occupations they were not be interfered with, should for very many years prove lucrative sources of revenue (23).

Here we see a note of apprehension as to what the government intended to do, combined with anxiety caused by the natives' economic insecurity. To a great extent willingness to cooperate with the government was the result then, as it is today, of the hope of economic aid. However, such hopes were vague and misinformed, and certain to be disappointed.

The representatives of the government, on the other hand, looked to the preservation and protection of the native culture, and not to immediate and widespread economic changes. In later years, some attempt was made to encourage

agriculture, by instruction at the Sioux Lookout Residential School, and by free supplies to families of seed potatoes. However, the residential school, with its large-scale enterprise and elaborate farm machinery, was so far removed from the family hunting band that children sent to it learned little or nothing. The Sioux Lookout farm has now been closed, and none of the families at Fort Hope have made any sustained effort at gardening.

By the terms of Treaty 9 the natives ceded all land to the Dominion of Canada, but were allowed "to pursue their usual vocations of hunting, trapping, and fishing ... subject to such regulations as may from time to time be made by the government of the country acting under the authority of His Majesty, and saving and excepting such tracts as may be required or taken from time to time for settlement, mining, lumbering, trading or other purposes" (24). In return an eight dollar cash payment was made for every Indian, and provision was made as follows:

His Majesty also agrees that next year, and annually afterwards for ever, he will cause to be paid to the said Indians in cash, at suitable places and dates, of which the said Indians shall be duly notified, four dollars, the same, unless there be some exceptional reason, to be paid only to the heads of families for those belonging thereto (25).

In addition, land was set aside in a reserve, amounting to one square mile per family, and was not to be alienated from the natives, except by mutual consent of the band and of the Canadian government.

In more recent years government payments, and the natives' economic dependence on the government, have greatly increased. Families have been encouraged to build, at the government's expense, houses to replace their tents, reducing their exposure to the weather. Special rations are advanced to those who are destitute. Today Indians, like other members of the population, receive family allowance for their children. Finally, Indians are entitled to free hospitalization and medical care.

These payments have brought an increasing measure of control over the affairs of the natives. With medical aid has come the authority of the medical authorities, who have the power to enforce the hospitalization of persons infected with tuberculosis or other communicable disease. Family allowances, until 1955, were paid in groceries, and only certain foods or articles of clothing or other commodities were allowed. They thus became a means of controlling living habits. In recent years the threat of their withdrawal has been a means of enforcing school attendance.

Obedience to the law is enforced by the Indian agent, assisted by the Royal Canadian Mounted Police. The agent also presides at band meetings, supervises elections, and is responsible for calling elections of new officers.

The annual four-dollar-a-head treaty payment is normally made in June by the agent, who arrives with members of his staff, a doctor from the Indian hospital, and members of the R.C.M.P. This annual visit enables him to maintain contact with the natives, and also gives to the latter the only opportunity many of them have to receive medical attention.

From the point of view of the native society the annual treaty visits provide an important stimulus for social intercourse. The congregation of the people in the spring is generally known as "treaty time," and the place is crowded with people waiting for the arrival of the agent's party. The Anglican bishop usually makes his yearly visit at this time. He can now usually count on most of the people being present.

The social importance of "treaty time" is seen in the fact that people living far from Fort Hope, who have transferred their patronage to other posts, still make the journey. Treaty money and medical treatment could be received nearer their home, or treaty money could be received by cheque, but the desire to participate in the social life that surrounds "treaty time" still draws them back.

(h) Problems of Culture Contact and Acculturation.

There are also other agents of European civilization which seek to control the social life of the native. The Ontario Department of Lands and Forests has intervened with its laws for the protection of wild life, and Austin Airways and Superior Airways employ natives in commercial fishing. However, the major outside organizations with which the Ojibwa at Fort Hope must reckon are still the Canadian government, the church, and the Hudson's Bay Company. These three organizations work very closely together. We have already seen how the government works through the company. To some extent the same relationship exists between church and company. I have heard numerous complaints of missionaries consulting with the Bay manager rather than the catechist on church matters. When I was at Fort Hope the mission house, the church, and the Hudsons' Bay Company store and the manager's house were on one side of the lake, the Indian reserve on the other. The connection between church and government is more pronounced. Since the government now controls Indian education, the missionary is now a government agent, who teaches for, and is paid by the government. His authority as teacher is supported by the Indian agent, to whom he reports monthly. His appointment and movements are controlled jointly by church and government. The collaboration between the government and the church dates from the earliest activities of the government in the area, as is shown by the following excerpt from the original treaty party's report: "The afternoon of the 6th was spent in a visit to the Lac Seul reserve in an attempt to discourage the dances and medicine feasts which were being held on the reserve" (26). The government agents were taking an active part in encouraging religious change. The extension of political and ecclesiastical power went hand in hand.

We have now seen something of the society from which came most of the Ojibwa living along the Allan Water Subdivision. It was a society that had maintained itself, and to some extent had adapted satisfactorily to changing conditions. Despite the disintegrating effects of European civilization, and considerable changes in their way of life, the

Ojibwa society of Fort Hope remained intact. However, it is important to recognize in this society several sources of serious strain and tension, which were to be accentuated by later changes. One of these is to be found in the nature of the social control of behaviour in Ojibwa society. We have seen how this functioned largely through standards which were developed internally within the world-view of the individual actor through participation in the life of the family hunting band. While social pressure is important, formal social sanctions are weak, and are re-enforced by economic factors, and the physical environment. Strong institutional sanctions against infidelity or desertion are less necessary in an environment where, during the greater part of the year, these would lead to death by starvation or exposure.

However, the lack of highly institutionalized patterns of behaviour - where accepted and internalized role-expectations are strengthened by external sanctions - made the society vulnerable to change in the economic environment. The presence of the missionary school and of the Hudson's Bay store, and more permanent dwellings built with government aid have encouraged men to leave their wives and children at the post. The many conveniences of civilization - light-weight cooking utensils, canvas tents, steel-headed axes, and much else - make travel easier and quicker on the trap-line, and make it possible for a man to live alone in the bush. The result is that many of the native families remain near Fort Hope through the winter, while the men travel back and forth between their families and their trap-lines, and the old pattern of life is undermined.

We have already mentioned the work of traders and clergy in promoting the necessary adaptation to changed conditions. To some extent this consisted, as we saw, in the fitting of new ideas and knowledge into existing value-patterns. However, as the new values have become internalized, they have brought profound modifications in the native view of life. An example of a native who has been a "success" in terms of European values is John Yesno, the trader. In addition to achieving success in his trading, and later, in his tourist business, this man has become widely respected for his shrewd business dealing and hard work. He has

taught himself to read and write, and his physical care of his children approaches very closely to urban middle class standards. While such adjustments do not take place without arousing conflict in the native society, and inner tensions within the individual, they involve no explicit break with the past. Yesno continues to identify himself with his own people, and is respected by them.

However, the adoption of European values has, on the whole, been limited and superficial, as we saw in our brief discussion of the Ojibwa way of life. In general, the Hudson's Bay Company has had no interest in becoming part of the life of the people, and has maintained a rigid caste system. A post manager who marries a native loses all hope of advancement in the company. Managers are instructed not to allow natives inside the company house, except on business. While the church does seek to become a part of the native community, it, too, is handicapped by caste barriers. Natives are not prevented from entering the mission house, but the missionary is either a white man, or an Indian who has spent so much time away at school that he has become Europeanized. To this is added an implicit assumption among white men, of their own superiority. At Fort Hope the missionary lived, beside the company manager, on the opposite side of the lake from the reserve, and usually became his personal friend. This tends to be associated with the high conception of the value of education. The two, together, have become the justification for the church's authority. But an authority based on caste differences lessens the extent to which the native is able to identify himself with the organization of the church.

Another difficulty in the way of the missionaries has been their failure to come to terms with the native world-view. The missionary has the problem of reconciling loyalty to truth as he sees it, with respect for truth as seen by others. We have described the adjustment between native and Christian beliefs and practices, and have commented on its very considerable success. However, this adjustment is not recognized by anyone higher in the church organization than the native catechist. Missionaries have, intentionally or unintentionally, made use of native leadership and native concepts, but have never openly tolerated the continuance

of native beliefs and practices. Such practices as tying charms to cradle-boards, or around the necks of children, are readily visible. On the other hand, the rituals of the trap-line, which seek to propitiate the spirits of the animals, and to secure abundance of food-supply, are kept hidden, as are the activities of the "Indian doctor." During my two summers at Fort Hope, I learned nothing of these activities, except from white men, and from Ojibwa who made accusations against others. I was told that similar complaints had been made to Bishop Anderson, but nothing had been done about them.

The results of this situation is a barrier to frank and open communication of religious beliefs and concepts. A few illustrations will show the difficulties that are involved. On a superficial level are instances in which mutual understanding is relatively easy. For example, a native will never remain in a house that has been struck by lightning, or in which death or illness has occurred. This is frankly accepted by all concerned.

On the other hand, there are legends that will be volunteered only hesitantly and with some embarrassment. For example, a woman told me of a rapid near Fort Hope, which her father told her was the home of the water-snakes, and which was very dangerous for the man who looked into it. The woman laughed, and said, "I don't know, but that's what my father says."

The following account, however, illustrates the difficulty of communication in more fundamental matters.

June 17, 1955: Barbara tells me that last night Edith saw a strange woman dressed in rags, coming very fast toward her, as she was walking through the old graveyard. Edith fainted, and fell into the lake. Later she came to Barbara's house with her hair wet. She thought the woman might be a Windigo (a cannibal spirit). Barbara asked if I believed what she told me. I said, "Oh, yes." She asked whether I believed in ghosts. I said "No." She said that before her brother died, he used to see "someone" whom no one else could see. She asked "Did you ever see someone?" I said, "No."

Barbara is a very intelligent girl, and, after going as far as grade five in school, is able to understand and appreciate the white man's patterns of thought. Hence she could accept the fact that, while not denying the reality of her friend's experience I was not able to share it with her. This, however, is an exceptional case. The question, "Do you believe?" normally arises only at an advanced stage of acculturation. Most natives are merely bewildered by the white man's attitude to what is an important part of their experience. The conversation recorded here would have been unlikely to take place with a less sophisticated Ojibwa, but it illustrates a problem that, in the latter case, remains unexpressed.

As we saw before, neither the caste barrier between missionary and people, nor the difficulty of reconciling Christian and native beliefs and practices, prevented a reasonably satisfactory adjustment so long as the band remained intact. However, we shall see later that they have prevented the church from giving adequate leadership in meeting the problems that have arisen more recently.

Another source of religious tension has been the competition between Anglican and Roman Catholic missionaries. Bishop Holmes, in 1905, reports that the population of Fort Hope consists of four hundred Anglicans and one hundred and fifty Roman Catholics. In this and subsequent reports, it is emphasized that the church is in danger from the efforts of Roman Catholic missionaries (27). However, the proportion of Anglicans to Roman Catholics remained the same until more recent years, when the Roman Catholic population moved away. In 1917 the bishop reports: "In spite of their numbers and aggressiveness, they are making little or no progress in the way of converts, that is, we and they are giving and taking, gaining and losing, alternately" (28). The earlier cries of danger may well have been exaggerated for MSCC consumption, but the picture of competition is not a pleasant one, from the point of view of the stability of the native society. So long as the natives remained on the reserve, serious disruptive effects were avoided, but competition was to hamper the work of both churches along the railroad line.

(i) Economic Problems.

More important, however, than any of the sources of disruption mentioned, were economic factors arising out of the nature of the fur trade itself. This is the reason usually given by both natives and white observers for the exodus of the greater part of the population from the Fort Hope reservation. As we have seen, this is the major source of income. It is also the major reason for contact with the outside world, and hence the principal source of social and economic change.

The fur trade, is, however, a highly unstable occupation. It is dependent on the size of the animal population, which varies from year to year, and on changes in the weather, which assist or hinder the trapper. For example, the condition of the snow, affecting the ease of travel, may mean the difference between plenty and starvation.

This situation has been aggravated by the reduction in mortality, due to modern medical assistance, and the resulting increase in population. Although population has fluctuated, as a result of epidemics, the statistics for the years since population figures became available show a considerable over-all increase. The following figures, taken at four-year intervals over the period 1909-1945, are based on the records of the annual treaty-parties.

Population of Fort Hope Band 1909-45:[29]

	Population	Births	Deaths
1909	519	11	58
1913	533	24	22
1917	559	21	17
1921	578	20	19
1925	581	21	39
1929	584	24	27
1933	630	36	17
1937	694	34	9
1941	782	29	9
1945	801	28	23

In appraising these statistics, one must remember the difficulties, especially during the earlier years, in obtaining information. Often, a

birth or death might not be recorded in the year that it took place. However, the population totals are reasonably dependable. Also established is the fact of a considerable excess of births over deaths. Between 1909 and 1945 the population of the Fort Hope Band increased, according to these figures, by 54.35%.

In a country where the food supply is always limited and precarious, the effects of this population increase have been serious. The situation is aggravated by such modern conveniences as firearms and steel traps, which make possible the destruction of life at a faster rate. Statistics are not available for the period in which we are interested, but the shortage of animals is a recurring theme of both MSCC and government reports. Ontario government game laws now protect the supply of fur-bearing animals, but this remains inadequate to meet the needs of the rapidly growing human population.

Another factor causing hardship among trappers is the precariousness of the fur market. Prices vary widely from year to year, and variations in fur prices do not coincide with those of the commodities bought at the store. As the natives become more dependent on trade, this becomes more serious.

This growing connection with modern commercial civilization has been another factor encouraging the natives to live closer to the railroad line. Fur prices are higher, because transportation is cheaper. For a people who now depend, to a great extent, on purchased goods, the cost of living is lower, since consumers at Fort Hope must pay for both the transportation of merchandise and the maintainance of an expensive post one hundred miles from the railroad. As the C.N.R. has now replaced the Albany River as a major transportation route, all goods are now flown from the railroad. The following comparison of prices at Fort Hope and on the railroad was obtained from the Indian Affairs Branch in Ottawa for 1956:

	Collins		Fort Hope
Flour (24 lb.)	1.95		4.80
Baking Powder (1 lb.)	.40	(½ lb.)	.25
Sugar (1 lb.)	.12		.25
Rolled Oats (6 lb.)	.60		1.32
Tea (1 lb.)	1.25		1.70
Lard (1 lb.)	.25		.40
Rice (1 lb.)	.20		.45
	4.77		9.25

The possibility of obtaining more of the comforts of civilization, at a better price, is a great incentive, especially to the younger Indians, to migrate to the railroad.

III. MIGRATION TO THE RAILROAD LINE

The dispersion of the Fort Hope band can be traced by reference to the records of the annual treaty payments. These are made to the heads of families, and to unmarried adults. Since a record is kept of where each payment is made, it is possible to find, by means of this, the number of family units in each place where treaty payments were made. Families paid by cheque either were not at the post when payment was made, or had moved to a new locality not visited by the Indian agent on his annual rounds. No payments were made at points on the line before 1945, all line families being paid by cheque. Sometimes the place to which the cheque was sent is recorded, sometimes not, but it is impossible to obtain accurate statistics as to the number of families on the line before the treaty party began visiting. Fort Hope Band-Families Paid Treaty, 1941-45:

	1941	1942	1943	1944	1945
Fort Hope	94	96	63	63	88
Lansdowne	58	45	65	64	63
Trout Lake	4	6	1	1	
Ogoki	2	3			
Lac Seul		1			

	1941	1942	1943	1944	1945
Osnaburgh	2		3	4	4
Frenchman's Head			1		
Attawapiscat	1	1			
Pickle Lake		1	16	33	5
Sioux Lookout		2	13	24	2
Ombabika		1			18
Collins					13
Paid by Cheque	23	27	38	15	3
Absent	16	13	8	6	4
	200	196	208	210	200

As one examines these statistics, one is impressed by the considerable mobility of the population. However, by far the largest part of the population moved back and forth in the area of Fort Hope and of Lansdowne House, a post forty miles from Fort Hope. One hundred and fifty-two out of two hundred families of Fort Hope band received treaty at these posts in 1941, and the proportion remained constant except for 1943 and 1944, when a number were paid at Pickle Lake. Most of the remaining families were shifting their centre of operations to the railway line. In 1941 all of these were paid by cheque. In 1942, 1943, and 1944 many of them went to the agency headquarters at Sioux Lookout. However, by 1945 contact had been re-established, and the treaty party was making regular visits to Collins and to Ombabika - the rail point on the shortest canoe route to Fort Hope.

A more exact picture was obtained by tracing the history of the thirteen heads of families paid at Collins in 1945. Of these, five were paid at Fort Hope, one at Osnaburgh, and the rest by cheque in 1941. Of the cheques, two were sent to the Drake brothers at Collins. Two of the thirteen were at Fort Hope at the treaty party's visit in 1942, but neither of these were among the five who

were there the previous year. In 1943 all were paid either by cheque or at Sioux Lookout. In 1944 one was paid at Fort Hope, the rest by cheque or at Sioux Lookout. In 1945 all were paid at Collins.

The year 1945 is the year given by local informants as the beginning of the settlement of Fort Hope Indians at Collins, and, as we have seen, this agrees with government statistics. However, the statistics also show that settlement at Collins was preceded by a number of years in which those concerned no longer participated in the life of the Fort Hope community. They trapped and traded too far away to be able to make the annual trip to Fort Hope at treaty time, or to participate in the social, religious, and political activities of the band.

The Rev. Reginald Stackhouse, the first student missionary, was at Collins and Ombabika in the summer of 1946. He told me that his most vivid impression of the people was that they knew no games. This lack of community recreational activity, still evident today, is striking evidence of the breakdown of the band life. It is not a question of not knowing how to play, but of having no interest, because these activities have lost their meaning. The opinion of most of the young people is that dancing - either round dancing or the native square dance - is "no fun." The life of these people came to be characterized by the apathy and aimlessness typical of the line Indian.

IV. THE NEW SETTLEMENT ON THE LINE

(a) The New Environment

The migrants came into an area that had been subject to acute social disorganization since the completion of the Grand Trunk Pacific more than thirty years before. Mr. R.S. McKenzie, superintendent of the Savanne Agency, wrote in his annual report in 1914, that some of the natives had already found employment on the railroad and in lumber camps. He speaks of the Indians in general as "industrious," "making good progress," "law-abiding and civil." On the other hand, he also reports: "Many of the Indians in this agency

are addicted to liquor. Their morality is only fair, with room for improvement." Further on he reports that "there is a portion of them that is very indolent, and do nothing but roam from place to place" (30).

The more civilized environment brought to such bands as the White Sands a greater frequency of social interaction, not only among themselves, but also with white immigrants, with occasional inter-marriage. On the other hand, all of the community social and religious activities we observed at Fort Hope had disappeared. Most of the people have been educated at church residential schools, and scoff at the old religion of the Ojibwa.

Attempts of the white man to organize Ojibwa society from outside have likewise failed. Along the railroad, the Hudson's Bay monopoly is replaced by small traders competing with one another. The reserve system and band government are not in effect here, and control by the Canadian government is far more difficult. As we have seen, there was not even an annual treaty visit before 1945. Even since then visits have been far less regular than in the bush.

Ecclesiastical control, also, is weak. There has never been a resident missionary at any of the Indian settlements, and there are no native catechists. Itinerant missionaries of the Anglican and Roman Catholic churches are regarded as outsiders who compete for members of their respective organizations. It is with bands from such a widely different background that the Fort Hope band has intermingled. The present situation is shown in the table below: (Line points are marked with an asterisk.)

Registered Trappers - 1954-1955 (31)

Band	Fort Hope	White Sands	Marten's Falls	Nipigon
Trap-line Area				
Auden* (Ombabika)	9	3	1	
Armstrong*		12		
Collins*	26	3		3
Savant*		1		2

Registered Trappers - 1954-1955[31]

Band Trap-Line Area	Fort Hope	Osnaburgh	Frenchman's Head	Ignace
Savant*		4	3	4
Fort Hope*	29			
Lansdowne	117			
Pickle Lake	34	35		

From this it appears that the newcomers from Fort Hope now comprise a definite majority of the Indian population of the line points, although other bands, especially White Sands, comprise a considerable minority. The dispersion of the band is seen in the fact that, while the majority still live in the "bush," at Lansdowne, the population of Fort Hope itself has now dwindled to the point where it is exceeded by that of Fort Hope Indians on the line. It must be remembered that, with recent enfranchisements, the population of treaty Indians on the line does not include all those of Ojibwa culture and background. Thus the figures shown for the line posts would be larger, if non-treaty trappers (32) of Fort Hope origin were included.

More numerous than the natives were the European and eastern Canadian immigrants who came to work on the railroad. These people are from a number of different national and cultural backgrounds and, as a rule, little community life develops. "The bush" is not regarded as home, and railway employees seek to be transferred at the first opportunity. In larger concentrations of population - such as Savant Lake, with a population of over one hundred - social life centres around all-night drinking parties, which are the only way out of the loneliness and frustration felt and expressed by all.

Both churches have attempted to minister to these, as to the Indians, by means of itinerant missionaries. The first mention of this area in reports of the M.S.C.C. is an account of the work of a divinity student, Mr. Thomas W. Jones, who worked along the railroad from Cochrane to Armstrong Station, in the summer of 1917 (33). He found the sectionmen "indifferent, sceptical, but

friendly." This attitude is still prevalent. There is a longer-established white population around the lumber mill at Allan Water Bridge, which, as a result of successful agitation, now receives a monthly visit from an Anglican minister. Most of the people, however, feel that religion is a good thing, and welcome the missionary as a visitor from outside. On the other hand, there is a widespread conviction that morality is not what it should be, and that religion could do much to correct the situation.

Denominational allegiance is weak, or non-existent. I talked to one man in Savant Lake, who spoke of himself as Anglican, Presbyterian, and United, in the same conversation, using the terms interchangeably. Roman Catholics attend Protestant services, and may even receive communion. A Roman Catholic prospector was among those agitating for a service at Allan Water. He approached both Anglican and Roman Catholic missionaries, and said that the people wanted one, but not both of them.

The churches' attention to the white settlers has been even less than that given to the natives. Roman Catholic services are held monthly at Savant Lake, and the priest knows personally most of the Roman Catholics. Until 1954, no regular Anglican services were held anywhere on the Allan Water Subdivision, except for the work of a student in the summers at Collins. Competition and ill-feeling between priests of the two churches further limits their usefulness.

The outside organization of most interest to the white settlers is the railroad. This becomes the object of much resentment and hostility. Service was speeded up on the transcontinental trains in the spring of 1955, eliminating all regular stops between Armstrong and Savant. As a result the only regular train now is a mixed passenger and freight train once a week. Resentment is especially keen among the sectionmen, who are irritated by the attitude of the officials above them.

Especially noticeable is the attitude of the running trades. As the sectionmen travel on pass, they do not receive the same consideration

as revenue passengers. Further, the running trades regard them as socially inferior. The most extreme instance I observed of this occurred when an Indian sectionman, his wife and baby, tried to disembark from a train in the summer of 1955 with a large box of groceries. As the train was late, the conductor gave orders to start, and, on seeing that the trio had been unable to jump, told them they would have to walk the eight miles back from the next station (34). Similar incidents form a regular topic of conversation, and feed the resentment of the sectionmen against the company.

The heterogeneous and scattered nature of the population prevents resentment from finding any organized expression. Union leaders are distrusted just as much as the company. The sectionmen at Collins supported the union when a strike vote was taken in 1954, but gave as their reason that if they did not, they might lose their jobs.

The large excess of men over women among the white population makes a stable family life and family morality difficult. Common-law marriage tends to be regarded as "all right, provided they are faithful to each other." Railroad B and B gangs and other railroad gangs moving through the area employ bachelors, who tend to question standards of pre-marital abstinence. Yet these attitudes are continually being contradicted by people who adhere to the standards of the wider society.

The same discrepancy is seen in regard to drinking. One of the older men said to me, "A man is not a man if he doesn't get drunk," and in this expressed a common attitude of the social milieu in which he lived. Yet the presence of the railway and of civilization acts as a check on this pattern of behaviour.

This, then, briefly, was the situation on the Allan Water Subdivision. A population from Eastern Canada and Europe was living in isolation, and had grown estranged from many of the mores of the societies from which they came, but its mobility, and the railway, providing rapid communication with the outside world, prevented the emergence of new patterns. Living in close proximity to this population were the Ojibwa, who had been influenced by it, and had suffered the disruption of their old

patterns of life. It was into this situation that the Fort Hope trappers, with their families, entered. We shall now proceed to examine the results.

(b) Effects on Family Life.

We saw before that the life of the Ojibwa centres around the family hunting band. It is at this point that we shall begin our study of the effects of the new environment. New forms of employment have cut deeply into the old patterns of family life. A considerable minority are now living by the employment of their men on the railroad. This means that the families now live throughout the year in one place. It also means a lessening of the importance of the co-operative family unit. I know of one case of a man who left the section because of the disruptive effect the new way of life was having on the family.

However, the effect of work on the section seems, on the whole, not to have been particularly disruptive of family life. In fact, among the line Indians, the most stable families were those whose men worked on the section. One obvious reason for this is that employment is selective. Only those men known to be reliable will be employed, and they will be tested during a period as non-permanent employees. On the other hand, willingness to accept permanent employment on the section, with its long hours of hard labour, and its limitations of freedom, is a mark of a considerable degree of adjustment to modern patterns of life. Another possible reason is that the work provides a steady source of income, and frees those employed from many of the tensions and anxieties which beset the rest of the population.

More significant for the majority of the population are those jobs which give temporary or seasonal employment to those whose principal source of livelihood is still trapping. The railroad takes on extra sectionmen during the summer. MacDougall's lumber mill at Fee Spur, now closed, provided employment for a time. Every summer there is work for some of the men guiding American tourists. Fire-fighting for the Ontario Department of Lands and Forests provides lucrative employment for some of the younger men.

These jobs take men away from their families, often for weeks at a time. They provide extra money, but that is soon spent, and they provide no security in the form of a steady income. Finally, they leave the man to loaf for much of the summer, during periods of unemployment.

During the winters, most of the men go to their traplines, but here, too, the pattern is changed. Those with trap-lines close to the settlement have built cabins, where they and their families spend most of the winter, with the father going out to his trap-line, and returning home (35). As a result, the family is thrown together much less of the time, and it no longer lives much of the year in isolation.

Under these circumstances, traditional values are no longer adequate. In the bush, as we saw, marital fidelity had meaning in relation to the close ties of the family hunting band. As fidelity was necessary for survival, and was reenforced by strong emotional ties, there was no need for elaborate external controls.

On the line, however, the situation is different. Through most of the year in the bush, desertion or infidelity would mean death by freezing or starvation. On the line it brings nothing more than social disapproval. But the effect of this, too, is weakened by the disruption of the band life. As a result, wives may desert their husbands, or have affairs with other men, in full view of the community. The effect is devastating, not only on the children who may be left behind, but on the husband, who may have to coax in public, and, in any case, loses his self-respect, and any prestige he may have had in the face of the community. The opinion I have heard expressed, without exception, is that in such a case, the husband ought to let his wife go, since he only demeans himself by trying to persuade her to stay. However, this attitude, again, is one suited to a situation in which there was no need of external persuasion to hold the family together.

This breakdown of family morality leads to a breakdown of many phases of the pattern of life. The rythm of daily living is disturbed. Children who, at Fort Hope, would have been up

before six and in bed by eight, sleep to nine at Collins, and may be wandering about aimlessly after midnight, while the parents are drunk. The result is a high degree of juvenile delinquency, with thefts, brawls, and other forms of disturbance. But more impressive than the actual disturbances observed, was the absence of meaningful activity in the lives of these young people, who could be seen for weeks, hanging around the local store with nothing to do.

(c) Economic Instability.

The social instability has been aggravated by economic instability. Most of the people are still dependent on the fur trade, which is dependent on fluctuations in the supply of game, and, being primarily a luxury trade, has a highly unstable market. We have already mentioned this as a factor in encouraging migration away from Fort Hope, but a better picture of the situation may be given by quoting some figures from the Department of Lands and Forests. Following are a table of beaver production and average prices for Ontario over a thirty-five year period, and local income figures.

Season	No. of skins	Average Price
1919-20	104,183	25.67
20-21	83,812	15.78
21-22	111,165	16.74
22-23	77,478	14.64
23-24	54,346	15.54
24-25	48,364	19.33
25-26	27,597	19.56
26-27	20,738	22.31
27-28	22,040	23.65
28-29	17,493	21.55
30-31	15,304	12.62
31-32	13,230	10.42
32-33	10,799	11.00
33-34	10,336	8.18
34-35	8,496	7.52
35-36	1,781	9.27
36-37	239	13.41
37-38	390	11.17
38-39	16,934	14.30
39-40	18,124	17.35
40-41	21,293	22.88

Season	No. of skins	Average Price
1941-42	25,199	21.05
42-43	24,169	32.00
43-44	32,808	37.89
44-45	38.041	35.90
45-46	42,196	50.78
46-47	47,267	27.75
47-48	57,953	33.40
48-49	63,374	21.40
49-50	73,759	19.95
50-51	87,608	23.63
51-52	105,361	14.15
52-53	122,590	13.15
53-54	105,361	9.65

Local Catch of Fur-Bearing Animals

MINK

	1949-50	50-51	51-52	52-53	53-54	54-55
Fort Hope	204	164	163	245	305	240
Savant-Armstrong (inc.Collins)	579	550	574	552	320	285
Auden	200	160	172	280	257	149

BEAVER

Fort Hope	432	583	905	1086	1012	1334
Savant-Armstrong	1658	2001	3244	3160	2165	2192
Auden	320	377	530	684	596	870

LYNX

Fort Hope	2	4		22	20	13
Savant-Armstrong	38	28	33	101	101	44
Auden				15	30	13

Local Catch of Fur-Bearing Animals

MUSKRAT

	1949-50	50-51	51-52	52-53	53-54	54-55
Fort Hope	1488	247	122	834	422	
Savant-Armstrong	1967	1302	1301	1878	614	
Auden	1000	596	655	1211	463	

Average Income per Trapper

	Fort Hope	Savant-Armstrong	Auden
1949-50	$787	$756	$421
1950-51	1,144	960	492
1951-52	780	826	576
1952-53	752	814	690
1953-54	593	401	470

Note: Of these tables the first was compiled by the Department of Lands and Forests in Toronto from information published by the Dominion Bureau of Statistics. The others I compiled from information in the Sioux Lookout office in 1955.

These figures show, at a glance, the extreme variation, both in supply and in demand, over a period of years. Especially to be noted is the sharp decline in prices since 1951, which coincides with a rise in the cost of living, in Northern Ontario, as elsewhere.

Some estimates of the income from trapping and other activities in the Collins area were obtained from Mr. J.R. Patience, the local trader. Mr. Patience was able to locate, for me, thirty-four trappers, including whites and non-treaty Indians, but said there were others. From all of these, he obtained 1380 beaver in the 1953-54 season, at an average of fifteen dollars a pelt, and 1235 in the 1954-55 season, at an estimated average of twenty-five dollars. For mink the figures were about one hundred and fifty each year at twenty-five, and for muskrat a thousand at one dollar a piece.

Patience bought a thousand dollars worth of fish from four families in 1954, no fish in 1955. Blueberries bring from $1.50 to $2.00 a basket, and the amount taken varies greatly from year to year. Ten guides were employed in 1954, six in 1955, at ten dollars a day, for about ten days each. The lumber mill at Fee Spur employed twenty in 1954, but only two in 1955.

Most of these figures are based only on rough estimates by the local trader, but these estimates can probably be considered reasonably reliable. They show that, as far as the major sources of income are concerned, 1955 was a better year than 1954. More important, however, they show that all sources of income vary from year to year.

Just as striking as these figures is the variation, in a single year, from trapper to trapper. Patience told me that, while a good trapper might make a thousand dollars in the eight winter months, a poor trapper might earn five hundred. This general estimate is supported by information I was able to pick up in casual conversation with the trappers themselves. On the other hand, a trapper's performance will vary from year to year. Patience cited one case of a man who had been one of the best trappers in 1954, but in 1955 he and his family were living at a bare subsistence level, because domestic discord had disturbed him emotionally, and affected his trapping. I could not verify this last incident, but I have seen the same cause have the same effect elsewhere. Family ties, as we have seen, are very important to the Ojibwa, and any such disturbance as death of a loved one, absence of a wife in hospital, or discord in the home, may result in periods of idleness at home, and slowness in covering the trapline. Finally, the success of the trapper will be affected by his physical condition, and by conditions on his trapline.

The whole situation is made worse by the lack of any relationship between fluctuations in the fur market and variations in the cost of living. This is illustrated by the following table, which shows food prices 1949-54 (36). The average beaver price for Ontario is also shown from the following table.

		1949	1950	1951	1952	1953	1954
Flour	24 lb.	1.75	1.75	1.75	1.75	1.95	1.95
Baking Powder	1 lb.	.30	.30	.35	.35	.35	.40
Sugar	1 lb.	.10	.10	.15	.15	.15	.12
Rolled Oats	6 lb.	.50	.50	.60	.60	.60	.60
Tea	1 lb.	1.00	1.00	1.10	1.10	1.00	1.10
Lard	1 lb.	.25	.25	.35	.35	.20	.30
Rice	1 lb.	.20	.15	.17½	.17½	.17½	.20
Total		4.10	4.05	4.47½	4.47½	4.42½	4.67
Average Beaver Price (Ont)		21.40	19.95	23.63	14.15	13.15	9.65

The significant thing about all of this is not the mere fact of the uncertainty of existence. The Ojibwa has always known that, and there is today, with family allowances, destitute rations, and hospital care, probably less danger of actual death by starvation, than ever before. What is significant is that the factors producing this uncertainty are completely beyond the native's comprehension. Formerly, his knowledge of his environment, and his religious beliefs and practices, together with the practical skills he possessed, enabled him to adjust to the dangers and uncertainties of nature. Now, his life is complicated by things beyond his experience and understanding - world markets and economic crises. The result is anxiety, frustration, and resentment.

(d) Patterns of Frustration and Aggression.

These frustrations are one of the reasons for the difficulties which beset marital adjustment and home life. They also find expression in tensions between natives and traders. A certain amount of this is evident in the case of all the line traders, and it has been present for many years between the

Fort Hope people and the Hudson's Bay Company. Although the trader is naturally the focal point of antagonism - since it is he who raises the price of food and clothing, and lowers that of furs - there is also some against church and government, for reasons that will be examined later. The summer of 1954 at Collins was one of unrest, in which both Mr. Patience and I were continually receiving complaints from all sides. In 1955, after a better trapping season, relations were much more cordial.

However, none of these provide satisfactory outlets for aggression. The disgruntled trapper who transfers his patronage to another trader, thirty miles away, will incur considerable inconvenience and gain nothing in the process. Withdrawal of children from the school will bring disciplinary action from the Indian agent. The Indian is so completely dependent on the new civilization that he is unable to retaliate against the anxieties and frustrations it brings.

The one form of tension relief almost universally employed is drunkenness. The people at Collins drink wine or beer, when it can be obtained, but many of them will drink anything they can - sometimes with tragic results. Most families make home brew. The only exception to this is the case of George Ooshag, who drinks only occasionally and moderately, and his wife, who does not drink. It is significant that this man works on the railroad, and thus represents a high degree of successful acculturation.

Liquor among the Ojibwa is an old problem, but had been brought under control. Home brew is made at Fort Hope on special occasions, and may be the occasion for an all-night drinking party, ending when the drink is finished, and the participants thoroughly drunk. But this drunkenness occurs only on infrequent occasions, and it is never universal. The consumption of alcohol does not seem to have a central place in the life of the Fort Hope Ojibwa.

This was still, apparently, the situation during the early years of settlement at Collins. Mr. Stackhouse was in Collins in June, which is the month of the highest intensity of social intercourse, but saw no signs of drunkenness or violence.

However, it was not long before Collins became known as a centre of bootlegging, in which brawls became a regular weekly occurrence. Residents today tell me that for several years all of the Indian men carried knives at all times. Whether or not this is an exaggeration, police visits to Collins during this period were frequent, and correspondence of student missionaries with various officials was extensive.

The winter before I arrived (1954), an almost successful attempt at murder put the victim in hospital for six months, but during my two summers at Collins, nothing happened more serious than broken bones and broken windows. Brawls occurred every weekend in June and early July of 1954, and less frequently after that, as many of the people were away. Drunkenness and brawling were much less serious, however, in 1955, possibly because Indians who wished to drink could now go to the beer parlour in Armstrong. However, in both years, Collins residents were among those arrested at Armstrong and Savant.

V. THE PROBLEM OF SOCIAL DISORGANIZATION AND ATTEMPT AT A SOLUTION

The situation we have described can obviously be interpreted in terms of anomie - a breakdown of the norms and moral standards of the society. This interpretation, as we saw, has been used by anthropologists in explaining the situation of the modern Saulteaux. Our investigations have shown this explanation to be true as far as it goes.

However, this does not explain present patterns of behaviour. If the social scientist were to be content with an explanation that suggested that the Ojibwa have lost all moral standards, he would reflect a common local interpretation: "They're just stupid and like to get drunk," but would explain nothing.

A more careful inquiry will show the disorders as a part of a reaction to the problems outlined, based on the cultural background of the Ojibwa. As we saw before, the standards of the

culture are enforced mainly through internal controls. We saw the great importance of the soul, or erchak, in Ojibwa thinking. The Ojibwa acts in obedience to its impulses, and is hence a pronounced introvert. This introversion is strengthened by the suspicions and fears arising from the prevalence of sorcery, and the general uncertainty of the social environment. The uncertainty has been increased by events; the discrediting of the old religious practices has left no means of dealing with it; and to it has been added the suspicion of the new civilization. This introversion and isolation of the individual has been accentuated by the breakdown of community life.

On the other hand, all of the forms of tension release formerly provided by the Ojibwa society - in religious ceremonial, in the dance, and in sports - have now disappeared. The attempt to find this release in drunken orgies meets with no strong condemnation in the native mores, which have never been associated with any pattern, either of abstinence or of moderate drinking. On the contrary, drunkenness is actually encouraged by Ojibwa individualism, and the emphasis on the soul. A local troublemaker said to me, "I'm mad, and when that's in my head, I've got to fight." His attitude was quite typical. He was sober at the time, but considered his impulses too strong to resist. Another young man told me: "When somebody give me wine, I have to drink, because I like it. Anyway, the devil chases me every day."

We have seen, now, that social and economic factors, and a change in the environment, had brought about the disintegration of many of the institutions of the Ojibwa society, and a disruption of the social equilibrium. The members of the society were unable to meet the situation in a constructive way, and the result was further disorganization. We shall now examine attempts, both from outside, and from within the society itself, to meet this situation.

(a) The Government.

Something of the position of the Indian Affairs Branch in relation to the problem was learned in an interview with Mr. Swartman, the superintendent of Sioux Lookout agency. Mr. Swartman

emphasized the increased difficulties facing Indian Affairs now that the great majority of the Fort Hope band no longer live on reserves. "You have no control," he said. "On the reserve, for example, there are regulations to prevent trespassing. If a white man is drunk or tracing women, the Indians themselves can throw him out. Off the reserve, they can do nothing."

One attempt at social re-organization which Mr. Swartman enthusiastically supports is a sports program at the residential school. The Black Hawks hockey team, who visited Ottawa and Toronto in 1951, were a part of this program. Mr. Swartman extolled sports as "a great morale builder," and a means of developing pride. He told me: "We have followed youngsters who have played on our hockey team, and we find they turn out better than the others." Among other examples, Mr. Swartman told of a boy from Pickle Lake - an area of considerable social disorganization, who had won the first prize in chemistry at Sioux Ste. Marie high school, had finished grade thirteen, and was going on to university. Such cases are noteworthy, in a society where few of the children go beyond grade three, but actually prove very little, since those playing on a team will represent a high degree of selection. However, taking into account the native culture, and the culture to which adjustment is being made, this would seem to be a constructive approach.

However, little is done in this way for the majority. Of course, with the bulk of the population, outside of the school, nothing can be done by the government.

The actual enforcement of law and order becomes more difficult on the line, through the break-down of existing patterns of authority. The provincial police, unlike the R.C.M.P., have no interest in Indians as such. Their authority is entirely external, and is usually regarded with resentment. While they act as a deterrent to more extreme forms of troublemaking, there is now no authority whose legitimacy is really recognized.

The government provides free hospitalization wherever it is needed, and compulsory hospitalization in certain cases of communicable diseases. On the line there is an almost universal willingness to avail themselves of this. I met with one case of a bush Indian woman at Collins who refused to go to hospital when ordered to do so on suspicion of T.B. On the other hand, I received numerous complaints about failure to provide medical assistance when the natives felt that it was needed. The native midwife is still used in most cases of pregnancy, but even here an interest is being shown in having babies in hospital.

Assistance in the form of family allowances, treaty money, and destitute rations has been useful in preventing starvation, but has been a mixed blessing. The general opinion of white settlers, that Indians are encouraged by family allowances, to stop working and live on what the government provides, is an exaggeration based on prejudice. However, it may well be that government assistance, by lessening the impact of economic changes, has lessened the necessity for the native society to make any adjustment. Further it increases native dependence on an outside authority, thus hindering the re-organization of the Ojibwa society.

One of the major means by which the government is seeking to aid the acculturation of the native population is the school. Teaching is done in the summer months, usually by divinity students appointed on recommendation of the Anglican bishop, but paid and supervised by the government. All whom I have met have expressed their appreciation of the work of missionary teachers at Fort Hope, but unfortunately this does not apply to the school at Collins. There is disillusionment with the possibilities of education, where untrained teachers work for only three months of the year, during which time only a fraction of the children are present for the greater part of the summer. The problems of the residential school are even more serious. Children who come back from school are often discontented with the life at home, after the comforts of civilization. It is difficult to gear instruction to the needs of the pupils. For example, until recently, boys were employed on

the school farm, which was worked on a large scale, with modern mechanized equipment. Skills learned here were of no value at home.

One of the difficulties of the residential school is the necessity of separating the children from their parents. This not only prevents them from learning the skills necessary for life at home, but also removes them from the atmosphere in which the necessary social controls were built up. As we saw, discipline in the family tends to be lax and permissive, but it is a very effective agent of social pressure and means of building up internal norms of conduct. In the residential school, this type of discipline is impossible. The child is placed in a larger group, under the supervision of adults from a foreign culture and speaking an unfamiliar language. As a result, it is difficult to avoid, on the one hand, excessive laxity, and, on the other, a too rigid discipline. Thus, while both the day-school and the residential school have their place in the process of acculturation, they must be used wisely, as both present serious difficulties and dangers.

(b) The Church.

Closely associated with the government in the work of acculturation is the Christian church. Both the day and the residential schools were begun by the church, and, to this day, they are run, to a considerable extent, by clergy under government supervision. Further, the minister works in collaboration with the government in many instances where the welfare of the natives is affected. Mr. Swartman had this to say of the work of the missionaries:

> On the whole they have been a good influence. The Indians look up to them and respect them. There have been exceptions. (Here he mentioned a missionary who had sold liquor at Fort Hope.) The Indians from the reserves are a better type of Indian, and this is partly due to missionary influence. But by missionaries I do not mean just Anglicans. I mean any missionary who is sincerely interested in the welfare of the people.

Two things stand out in this statement. First, there is the association of the missionaries' work with the better quality of the reserve Indians. Mr. Swartman said that much of the credit must go to the band organization of the people themselves, but he felt that missionaries, working within this context, had contributed. We have already seen, in this paper, that this is true. We shall have to examine the difference between this situation and that on the line.

Secondly, we notice Mr. Swartman's anxiety, lest he seem to favour one denomination. This is a problem with the public official who must work with several denominations seeking to use their political influence. This was not so bad when each church had a well-defined sphere of influence, but now, with Roman Catholic and Anglican mixed together, and each side seeking favours, the position becomes difficult.

One of the major differences between the bush and the line missionary is the fact that the latter can no longer identify himself with a community. The Anglican minister who visits Collins is responsible for one hundred and seventy miles of railway line, in addition to other points which he must visit by aeroplane. The Indians form only a small part of those under his care, and as he is the only Protestant minister to visit many places, he must minister to people of varied ethnic and religious backgrounds, usually without coming to know or understand their problems.

An almost inevitable result of this is that the missionary is no longer intimately concerned with the spiritual growth of the community, or of individuals within it. He is a stranger who does not know the great majority of the natives. Hence he will be mainly interested in the Church as an organization, and in maintaining its membership. His life is a round of baptisms, communion services, and the daily offices of the Church. In the absence of intimate contact with the people, the only means of judging the success of his work is the size of the congregations, and of the collections.

Proselytizing becomes far more common on the line than in the bush. Close contact between members of the two churches, and the fact that often members of one church will be in a settlement which is visited only by a missionary of the other faith, make this inevitable. The Ojibwa have little interest in the difference between Roman and Anglican theology, and the break-up of the band community weakens identification with either of the churches. Father Hawkins told me of seven Anglicans at Savant Lake who had joined his church in one year during the period when that settlement was not being visited by an Anglican missionary. However, probably the greatest number changing their religious affiliation are those who marry into the other church. In neither case have I seen any evidence of more than a superficial change. The impression is inevitably created that the church is interested in obtaining members, but membership is devoid of meaning in relation to the lives of the members.

The type of missionary typically found on the line is different from the bush missionary. Such Anglican missionaries as Richards and Macdonald were men of simple faith, usually fundamentalist in outlook, and had a passionate interest in saving souls. This led to a real identification of themselves with the people to whom they ministered. As we have seen, their emphasis on the relation of the soulto Christ appealed very successfully to the world-view of the Ojibwa. The Roman Catholic missionaries are French Canadian Oblates, whose background and outlook is, in many ways similar to that of their Protestant colleagues.

On the line the picture is different. The Protestant missionary has likely trained with a view to regular parochial work, and usually hopes for work in a more civilized part of the country. The result of this type of training and position is a more liberal outlook, a tendency to be identified with the church outside, rather than the people to whom he is ministering, and a less intimate interest in the spiritual development of the people. The Roman Catholic missionaries are Jesuits. Here, as in the case of the Protestants, one sees more interest in problems of organization, and less in personal moral and spiritual problems, than was the case in the bush. The problem is

accentuated at Collins by the fact that the student-missionary is paid as a government teacher, and acts as a representative of the secular authority. As a result, the church is identified, not with the collective life of the people, but with a system of external controls which must be accommodated to that collective life.

This is seen in the relation between the church and the native marriage customs. We have already briefly outlined the native marriage practices. To these the missionaries simply added the church marriage ceremony, which was performed as soon as possible after the "Indian marriage" had taken place. On the line, however, Indian marriage becomes associated with the practice of common-law marriage, which occurs with some frequency in an area removed from the ministrations of the church. This latter practice - of simply marrying by taking up residence together - is in open conflict with the accepted mores of our society, and with the teachings of the church. Very often it will be followed by a church wedding, if the missionary suggests it, but common law marriage is strongly discouraged by the church authorities. The traditional Ojibwa practice, with its lack of formal ceremony, its simplicity, and its tendency to regard the church service as secondary, is outwardly very similar. The government recognizes no difference, and regards children born of an "Indian marriage" as illegitimate, causing many difficulties. For example, I was unable to send one boy into residential school because the parents were not legally married. A widow may be unable to obtain compensation for a husband killed in an accident, if she cannot prove she was married to him.

The church does not take quite the same attitude. "Indian marriages," contracted before witnesses, and recognized by the native community, do not receive the same condemnation as does ordinary common law marriage. However, it is difficult to draw the line so as to permit the one without encouraging the other. As a Roman Catholic missionary told me, "It's allright in the eyes of God, but we do not publicize that fact."

Native reactions are varied. Sometimes there is annoyance at what is considered an unreasonable attitude, especially if it causes

inconvenience. An Anglican girl, who was living with a Roman Catholic boy, was persuaded by the priest to have a church wedding, and to be confirmed as a Roman Catholic. The girl's father, not wishing her to leave the Anglican church, refused his permission. He told me, "I knew a man who had a wife forty years, and never married her. But she was his wife just the same. I don't see anything wrong with that."

However, the ridicule of the white population, the non-recognition of the government, and the ambivalent attitude of the church, have produced their effect. The subject raises feelings of inferiority and embarrassment, and a tendency not to take "Indian marriages" as seriously as formerly. This will be illustrated from the following case history:

> Tuesday - June 28th - A arrived on the local. He had a ticket to Armstrong, but got off here, as the train was too late to make the beer parlour. I had sent for him to arrange a church marriage, but he never came. I asked about him and B. He said they were living together, and one of his companions commented, without conviction, "Just ain't right." He was willing to have a church marriage, but was in no hurry. (A date was arranged for the marriage, but the couple did not appear, because they had no ring.)
>
> Monday, September 5: A's father tells me he did not approve of the marriage and would not give permission. "A can't get married until he's twenty-one. (37) B has gone to see her grandmother. She will be in the bush all winter with her. In the spring, maybe come back - I don't know."

From this account we notice, first, the acceptance of the fact that the church does not approve of Indian marriages. However, this does not deter the young people from engaging in the practice, nor does it make them overly anxious to have their marriages solemnized in the church. On the other hand, it does encourage them to regard themselves as not fully married, and thus makes the relationship unstable. The father's attitude is

interesting. He did not object to his son's living with a girl of whom he disapproved, but exerted his influence to break up the relationship before it was finalized in the church.

The situation, then, is that under new conditions, and the pressure of a new type of society, formerly accepted marriage customs are no longer adequate. However, as the identification between the church and the people has broken down, the church is no longer able to give a decisive lead in this matter. The result is a weakening of both Christian and aboriginal standards. The problems of adjustment have given new meaning to certain aspects of Christian teaching. The condition of anomie, and the failure of the society to cope with the sense of guilt aroused by violation of moral standards, lead to an interest in the doctrines of sin and redemption. Hymns such as "Rock of Ages," and "Tell me the old, old story," which I never heard at Fort Hope, are popular at Collins. Yet the interest in these problems cannot really be satisfied by a church which has never been able to translate these aspects of its teaching into terms comprehensible to the Ojibwa. The attitude of many to the church is typified in the following quotation from a conversation with a young Ojibwa at Collins:

> "You talk all the time about a better place, but I'm not going nowhere. When I die it's nobody's business. Sure, I think about God every day, but I have to work." "When I get drunk, that's the devil's work. Isn't that right? So I don't go to church. I don't go to church because I'm going to burn anyway, even if I do go." "That lady makes home brew, and why does she make it except to drink. When somebody give me wine, I have to drink, because I like it. Anyway, the devil chases me every day." "I don't give a damn about God or anybody else. I only think for myself, and if I kill somebody, that's nobody's business."

This indicates an advanced stage of acculturation, in which ideas and concepts formerly having little meaning, are now deeply disturbing. But the basically Ojibwa outlook remains. Life is seen as governed and directed by spirits (here, the

devil.) We see also the importance of the soul, considered as the man's spirit residing inside him. The desires of the soul exercise a compulsion which he cannot, and does not attempt to, resist. "I have to drink because I like it." Christianity raises standards of conduct which he has not learned to understand or appreciate. His difficulty is one aspect of his general failure to meet the demands of the new situation, and the new cultural environment. He is bewildered and frustrated, and his frustration is expressed in antagonism - "I don't give a damn." Finally, underlying all of this is the irrelevance of much of the missionaries' teaching to his spiritual needs. This complaint is expressed in such remarks as, "You talk all the time about a better place, but I'm not going nowhere," and, "but I have to work."

All of this is not intended to create an impression of total estrangement, in which all contact has been lost between the church and the natives. The people of Collins are still regular church-goers. Most of them come to the church whenever they are within reach of it, and the visits of the missionary bring the entire Indian population to church. Even the most cynical will appeal to the missionary for help in a variety of ways, including minor first-aid, and the contacting of a doctor, if necessary. In turn, they are often anxious to help him in many ways. Many of the line Ojibwa still look to the church for an answer to their social and spiritual problems, but as yet they have not found it.

(c) The Trader.

We have seen that the bush Indian community lived around the Hudson's Bay trading post. On the railroad line the Company's monopoly, and its paternalistic relationship with the people, has disappeared. The free trader who has taken its place still gives credit, buys furs and sells groceries, but he no longer has the influence of the Bay manager. His store is the centre at which groups of natives congregate together through the day, and the young men use his pool table for recreation, but he is in competition with other traders along the line, and his power is diminished by other sources of employment besides the fur trade.

The existence of better communication makes the government less dependent on him as its agent in dealing with the natives. Finally, as an isolated individual rather than a representative of a large company, he is less likely to support the central authority. On the other hand, the trader, like the missionary, exercises personal influence, and is frequently asked for help in maintaining law and order, stopping fights, administering first aid, and similar services. In these things he is tacitly recognized as having authority.

(d) Relations with the White Population.

Apart from the trader, the only white man recognized as having authority is the section foreman, but his influence is very limited. He has considerable personal prestige, and several of the men work under him. In cases of emergency, he can use the C.N.R. telephone to send messages.

An important factor in the situation is the attitude of the white population as a whole. There is no recognized philosophy of races nor is there a caste system such as is maintained by the Hudson's Bay Company. There are instances of intermarriage in all of the line communities. Mr. John Patience, the trader at Collins, is married to an Ojibwa woman from Fort Hope. He and his wife and children hold, both personally and by virtue of the store, a high status-position in relation to both European and Indian populations.

However, social intercourse between the groups is often difficult. The only mixed church congregation is at Allan Water. At Collins, no white men attended the church. At Savant Lake, no Indians attended. I had several white children in the school. The store-keeper and the section-foreman sent their children to the school, without any noticeable friction arising. Since they had a recognized position in the community, and were secure in their status, they did not fear loss of prestige in having their children mix with the others. Here the store-keeper's Indian wife was an advantage to him. On the other hand, the children of an Italian section-man were less happy. The Indian parents threatened to withdraw their children, and two families did so, in protest against the admission of non-Indian children.

Later the Italian children were withdrawn, because their parents feared the influence of the others on their children.

In the absence of a philosophy of racial segregation, hostility between different groups finds expression in contempt for various culture traits. "They're dirty," "You can't trust them," "The white children are rough," and other complaints. These sentiments lead to an impatience with any social activities, such as football, in which the Indians may be engaged (38). The following is an instance of the sort of minor friction that is always present.

> June 20th - the Section Foreman complained about the damage done by the Indians. He disapproves of their being allowed to play with the school football. They play too close to the station and have broken one window. If he sees them playing there again, he will put a hole in the ball. "That ball was meant for the kids, and you should not allow grown men to play with it."

The refusal of most of the white men to join in social activities with the Indians forms, in a settlement as small as Collins, a serious barrier to social re-organization. Some of the white men will join in poker and gambling with Indians at the store, but refuse to go into their homes to play. At Allan Water, where the white population is larger than at Collins, separate drinking parties are held every week-end. Except for a few cases of men married to Indian women, I have never seen a white man drop in at an Indian's home for a purely social call.

VI. THE EMERGENCE OF NEW SOCIAL PATTERNS

We have seen how various attempts to meet the problem of the Ojibwa at Collins from outside have met on the whole, with failure. We shall now indicate, briefly, some of the directions being taken by the Ojibwa society itself. We have shown that many of the patterns of individual behaviour, such as drunkenness, brawling, and other forms of anti-social activity, which, from one point of view are symptoms of social disorganization and anomie,

are also a part of the pattern of re-organization. In them, the Ojibwa is still seeking to adjust to new situations with the aid of standards of conduct and ways of thinking handed down to him by his society. We have seen how his individualism, and his emphasis on the soul and on adaptation to the spirit world all play a part.

(a) Social Drinking.

The drinking pattern has led to new forms of social organization. Drinking, until recently was not permitted to Indians. It was thus necessary for them to drink in secret. All but one of the families permanently resident in Collins admitted to me that they made home brew. The young men told me they had regular caches in the bush, where I or the police could not find them. Means were also arranged for obtaining liquor from outside. Two men at Collins, and others along the line, had become enfranchised, admittedly with the intention of obtaining access to liquor. These men would receive cases of wine on the local train, which they could sell to their neighbours. Within a short time most of the populace would be drunk. However, this process introduces serious strains, which are recognized. Following is a typical incident.

> June 3, 1955: The men, and some women were drunk this evening. There was fighting, because A (an enfranchised Indian) had given the others his wine. He was knocked out by B (a friend who blamed him for making him drunk.) The children are running loose, as usual, many of them hungry. The women are screaming and upbraiding the men. Davey told me he learned to drink in the army. B said others made fun of him when he went to church. He had to take a drink to keep his friends. Bill excused himself by saying that A had given him wine.

The permission for Indians to use the beer parlours would seem to be a step in the right direction, since it cuts the ground from under this system. At the moment, however, it has hampered other forms of activity. In 1955, Mr. Patience reported his grocery business down, because Indians were going to Armstrong at week-ends. The week-end

movies were discontinued. In Armstrong and Savant Lake Indians were getting drunk with white men in the beer parlours. Even this, however, had an advantage, since the presence of the provincial police was a deterrent to excesses.

The drinking pattern leads naturally to an antagonism toward established institutions. Representatives of church and government tended to be regarded as policemen looking for homebrew, and this might be felt even of the missionary paying a pastoral call. Following are several incidents:

> July 17th: Sunday: I found a family drinking home brew, and kicked over the pail. They accused me of immorality.
>
> August 17th: Tuesday - I went to Ogoki. While at Ron's house I had taunts shouted at me from outside, of "No home brew there." This led me and Ron to a discussion in which I said that I never went looking for home brew, although I would stop anyone I found drinking. I was a minister, not a policeman. Ron said that that was right.

Ron's attitude is more common than is the openly antagonistic re-action. Usually the majority will acquiesce in the missionary's stand, even if they themselves drink. There are also some, like George Ooshag's family at Collins, and some of the bush families, who are openly and consistently opposed to drunkenness.

Other sources of friction have been mentioned before, such as store prices, enforced attendance at school, and the many disturbances arising from day-to-day contact with white people. All of these things re-enforce a sense of identity as Indians. They hinder assimilation, and are a part of the re-organization of the Ojibwa social system in isolation from other social systems.

(b) Adaptation to European Values.

On the other hand, adjustment has involved a considerable degree of assimilation. All of the natives have, to some degree, conformed to the values of the white man. This has taken place in a variety of ways and for various reasons. The

assimilation of the English language, and of much of the white man's material culture, have been inspired by economic reasons. An interest in wild west movies, and in wearing cowboy suits with toy pistols, provide a release, through fantasy, for frustrated emotions, for which, as we have seen, no adequate release is provided. In addition to this, many, especially of the young men, seek to improve their status by identifying themselves with the larger and more powerful society. The superior attitudes of those who come home from school, the writing of names on walls, and the way in which younger men imitate the trainmen by swinging themselves on and off the train as it moves out of the station, are minor indications of this. This tendency to assimilation, as well as that to differentiation, plays a part in all of the social activities at Collins and other line points.

(c) Organized Recreation.

We have discussed the importance of social drinking in the re-organization of the line Ojibwa society. At Collins this usually took the form of parties of two or three families, who would drink together. I happened to be in Allan Water four times on a Saturday, and was told that every Friday the Indian population, and the white population, would each gather together with a supply of liquor, and drink until the supply ran out. The two groups drank separately, but the pattern was the same. The story is slightly exaggerated, as I have had twenty-five in church, sober, on a Saturday afternoon, but there were others still drinking. The Roman Catholic missionary told me it was a waste of time to visit Allan Water on a Saturday.

Another popular social activity consists in gambling games, especially pool, played in the store pool room, and cards, played in the homes. This is an activity in which white men and Indians participate together, to a certain extent. Most white settlers consider it indecent to be drunk with an Indian, but will gamble with him. However, most of the card games are not mixed, and several of the white men refused to play in the homes of Indians.

Also noticeable in the summer of 1955 was a revived interest in athletic activity. Children's games were observed, and the school soccer ball and skipping rope, which formerly had not been used except at recess, were now in demand. The ball was used, night after night, through the month of June, and several incidents will help to show something of the pattern emerging.

> May 29th, Sunday - Several Indians played football with some of the bull-cooks on the steel gang. Later the ball was lost. The Indians accused the bull-cooks of stealing it. It was found in one of the bunk-cars, and the game was resumed. Finally, the bull-cooks found a ball of their own and two games were played, Indians in one, bull-cooks in the other. The foreman told me not to lend my ball to his men.
>
> June 3 - We played football at recess. Barbara (a girl recently arrived from Fort Hope, and used to games in which both sexes played) joined the game, and the boys lost interest.
>
> June 12 - Tommy Wynn took the football, after church. Boys and girls were kicking the ball in the afternoon, but there was no game.

Here we notice several things. The football became, very early, an object of interest only to the boys, and they were suspicious of outsiders - either people not a part of the Collins community, or girls. The old community games at Fort Hope were a thing of the past. Girls were not wanted, and older men and women were not interested. Any interest in an organized game soon faded, too, and by the middle of June, the boys were usually seen kicking the ball around individually, each one trying to get the ball himself, and show how high and how far he could kick it. The old form of community sport seems to have disappeared with the band community itself. I was told of baseball and hockey teams at Savant Lake, but was never able to see either of them in action, or to discover whether they had any social significance.

(d) Religious Patterns.

The Indians at Collins had no native religious leadership or organization on a community level. They came out to service when the missionary visited them, but the church was locked during the winter. However, some of the families have perpetuated the old religious life in their homes. Family prayers are said, using the prayer book in the syllabics, and hymns are sung. I could observe nothing of pre-Christian practices, except charms in the hair of children and on baby's cradle-boards, but I was assured by white observers and some of the Indians who say they have abandoned them, that these practices still continue among the bush Indians, and some of the older people.

Some of these people are very devout, and often sharply critical of the missionaries, whom they accuse of failing to minister to the spiritual needs of the people. Following is a quotation from an Ojibwa sectionman of Fort Hope band:

"The other Indians still have the religion they had a long time ago. (He did not elaborate.) Even my mother-in-law blames the minister because he doesn't speak Indian. She says, 'If we understood him, we would do what he says. Why can't our minister speak Indian the way the priest does?'"

I heard more of these complaints elsewhere. Much of the service was in English, which some of the older people did not understand. The missionary student would preach in English, and there was no Ojibwa with sufficient self-confidence to act as interpreter. Probably the worst feature was a scratchy gramophone on which the student used to play canticles sung in an English cathedral. The records were worn, and the words indistinct even to one familiar with the English language. The congregation sat in bored silence, and nothing further from congregational worship could be imagined. This had been in use for three summers when I withdrew it as a result of protests from the congregation.

Faced with this failure of the church to minister to their needs, the Ojibwa Christians have developed patterns of thinking of their own. One of them told me:

The family have Bible-reading and prayers together every day when they are alone. I pray every day, but sometimes I don't get what I ask for. Once I said, "If you don't listen, I'm not going to pray any more." Why do we need doctors, if we have faith in God? If we had more faith, we would not need them. Once my boy was sick when I was in the bush. I prayed, and then I dreamed that he would be all right, and he was.

This religious attitude is typical of the Ojibwa, with their emphasis on personal family religion. The strong magical element in prayer as a means of manipulating the environment is also typically Ojibwa, and is an understandable reaction to an uncertain environment. The relationship here portrayed between the individual and God, and the importance of the dream, will also be familiar to anyone acquainted with the Ojibwa.

These people, as yet, have been unable to exercise any real leadership in the religious reorganization of the community. However, in their own lives, religion has been a source of stability, and has assisted the process of adjustment. Most of the others, as we have seen, are conscious of religious needs, and would probably respond to an appropriate stimulus. In this connection, we might mention the work of the Pentecostalists and Northern Evangelical Society, sectarian groups which are making inroads into Anglican and Roman Catholic strength among the Cree to the north-west. As yet there have been no signs of them on the line, but John Yesno at Fort Hope told me he had been impressed by their approach, and warned that they had a great appeal to Indians, because they preached the Gospel in understandable terms, and because they were taking steps to train native leadership through a school at Round Lake.

Up to the present, the sects have worked in areas where they, like the Anglicans before them, could make use of an existing social and religious system, and not in areas where disintegration has been as pronounced as on the line. But, with its enthusiasm and its emphasis on personal religion and possession by the Spirit, this type of religion has much in it to appeal to the Ojibwa. Other aspects of it - especially the emphasis on

forgiveness of sin - answer to the strains, tensions, and sense of guilt resulting from the present confused state of Ojibwa society. As yet, however, it is impossible to predict with any certainty what direction the line Ojibwa will follow as they seek to re-build the religious bases of their society.

(e) Continued Political and Social Disorganization.

Nothing has arisen to fill the place of the old band organization. The spring congregation of the people has lost its importance as has the visit of the Indian agent. The treaty party does not visit with the same regularity as it did in the bush. No treaty visit was made in 1954, and in 1955 the party came at the end of July, when most of the people were away. On the latter occasion the populace was called together for a band meeting but nothing significant was discussed. I asked at Ottawa for records of band meetings, but was told that nothing ever happened at band meetings in Northern Ontario, that was worth reporting to headquarters. Actually, as we have seen, the band has ceased to exist except in name.

The official government answer to the breakdown of the native community is eventual assimilation into the wider society of the Canadian Nation.

The ultimate goal of our Indian policy is the integration of the Indians into the general life and economy of the country. It is recognized, however, that during a temporary transition period of varying length, depending upon the circumstances and stage of development of different bands, special treatment and legislation are necessary (39).

As we have seen, however, success in this direction has been very limited. Government assistance in such activities as house-building has encouraged a certain amount of assimilation in material culture, and schools have fostered a desire for certain aspects of the white man's culture. On the other hand, the residential school has often succeeded only in breaking down existing social patterns, without building up anything to replace them, and in creating desires that are inevitably frustrated. Some of the natives (40)

have surrendered their Indian status and become enfranchised, but the reason for this was that it was a means of obtaining intoxicants for themselves and their families. The result was that they lost all benefits of free education and medical care, and all other forms of government assistance to Indians. As the people who became enfranchised were often unable to become assimilated to the outside community, the result was only to weaken the Ojibwa society.

In 1955, the people of Collins voted in the provincial election. Sixty-four out of the eighty on the voters' list voted, but very little was known of the issues. I saw no signs of interest, except for the following incident after the election.

> Friday, July 1: A man got off the train (an enfranchised former Indian.) He told Patience he would get him a job, and addressed me as Father. I asked him his job. He said he was an organizer for the new party that was trying to get new roads. The name of the party was the Conservative party. They were campaigning for a system of roads, one to Savant, one to Armstrong.
>
> "Railroad service here is no good, and besides, roads would provide work for the Indians."

The Conservative party received fifty-seven out of sixty-four votes cast at Collins, but the voters showed little evidence of being really interested in who was elected.

VII. CONCLUSION

From what we have written it will appear that there have been diverse attempts, both by the Ojibwa society itself, and by interested parties outside, to meet the problem of social breakdown. As yet none of these responses has been adequate. The old society, based on trapping and the family hunting and gathering economy, has been seriously disrupted, and nothing has been found to fill its place.

It is interesting to see how this fits into the total picture of Canadian frontier development. The problem of disorganization on the frontier is summarized by Professor Clark as follows:

The lack of institutional agencies securing the active participation of frontier populations increased the reliance upon individual resources, and the greater the lack the greater was this reliance. As frontier populations were left without leadership they tended to become less dependent upon traditional institutions even after they were established ... New patterns of behavior inevitably developed which did not fit into traditional systems of institutional control, and efforts of institutions to secure greater conformity led to a conflict of social values and to a condition which might be described as one of social disorganization (41).

There is an obvious parallel between this and the situation we have been studying. Changes in the physical, economic and social environment create a situation in which existing institutional controls cannot be maintained. The result is a reorganization of society, following new patterns of behavior, patterns often at variance with those upheld by the older institutions. Further it must be noted that the line Ojibwa are intermingling with a white Canadian frontier population, with whom they have much in common. The connection is especially close when seen from the point of view of such Canadian institutional agencies as the church and the law-enforcement agencies, which seek to bring both under the same system of control.

However, the problem must be studied differently because of the nature of the society. It makes sense, in talking of Methodism or frontier and post-frontier political radicalism in Upper Canada, to concentrate on problems of social organization, leaving questions of personality to the social psychologist. In Ojibwa society, far more depends directly on the personality type, and on reactions on this level. Institutional patterns have always been weak, and have depended heavily on the personality system of the actor, and such smaller social systems as the family. The problem we have been investigating is one resulting from

the disruption of institutional patterns of behaviour. Talcott Parsons defines institutionalization by saying that a standard of behaviour is institutionalized when "from the point of view of any given actor ... it is both the mode of fulfilment of his own need-dispositions and a condition of 'optimizing' the reactions of other significant actors" (42). That is to say that the internalized role-expectations are complemented and strengthened by expectations regarding the actions of others, contingent on the fulfilment or non-fulfilment of these role expectations.

We have seen that the Ojibwa society is characterized by a low degree of institutionalization. Formal sanctions are weak, and public opinion, although important, is ill-defined. The society depends heavily on non-social environmental factors, which impose sanctions of economic necessity, and on the extent to which moral standards can be internalized within the personality structure of the Ojibwa actor. This means that it is dependent on the family hunting community, within which the process of socialization takes place and the actor's personality and value systems are formed. We have seen how isolation for most of the year, and a trapping economy at a little more than a subsistance level, are related to the closeness of the family ties, and the stability of the family. This pattern has been disrupted by economic changes, which brought insecurity, and the breakdown of the family hunting economy. As the family was weakened as a co-operative unit, identification of individuals with it was weakened, and economic pressures formerly strengthening family loyalty were removed. All of this was associated with the intrusion, into the Ojibwa life, of a commercial civilization, the breakdown of the old isolation of the family, and contact with a wider society. The dangers arising from this situation required stronger institutional safeguards.

Yet, at the very time when the increased frequency of social interaction made the existing institutional structure adequate, it was being further weakened by the disintegration of the band community. The band political, religious and social organization centered around the activities of the spring, when the people gathered together. More important these gatherings made possible the

development of the individual's identification of himself within the group, and those sharped standards and opinions on which social control rests, especially in a society whose formal controls are weak.

Recent changes have resulted in the band's never being found together. In place of a single post of a monopolistic company, there are now different traders drawing band members in different directions. Many incentives draw people to points on the line. Here, the mixing of those from different bands, contrast with the white population, and more prolonged and frequent contacts, were more than the Ojibwa social system was equipped to meet. These factors resulted in a breakdown of group norms, and the present condition of "anomie" among the line Indians.

Although there was no highly structured religious system, we saw how the Anglican missionaries had built upon existing religious authority and religious concepts. The result was a religion, partly Christian and partly aboriginal, which was related to the important activities of life. Its leadership was charismatic, and its basic conceptions concerned spiritual power, especially as related to the central activities of trapping and fishing. Economic changes -- the drawing of the people into a world governed by the fluctuations of the fur market, and the advent of commercial civilization -- have undermined the economic basis of this religion. Centuries of contact with the white man, intensified in the last generation, have led to an undermining of native beliefs. The disintegration of the band has led to the decline of medicine-man and catechist, and the weakening of the church.

In the church we found an interesting example of an organization from outside seeking to become institutionalized within a society, securing acceptance of its standards and recognition of the legitimacy of its authority. Missionaries at Fort Hope seem to a great extent to have succeeded in making the church a central institution of the community, and in helping the latter to adjust to changing condition. This we noted in relation to several families at Collins, whose successful adjustment was seen in such things as the

mens adaptation to new forms of employment, the care of the children, and the absence of such anti-social manifestations as drunkenness and strife.

However, the church's institutionalization within the native community was incomplete, and it was therefore unable to serve as a basis for social reorganization in the situation found on the line. The process of disorganization may have been hastened by the removal of children to residential schools. The new religion was never fully integrated with the religious and economic life of the natives, and missionaries discouraged the rituals of the trap-line. In recent years both Anglican and Roman Catholic Churches have been seen as ecclesiastical empires whose primary concern has been to hold adherents within the framework of their organization. Their control is paternalistic, and even the native catechists no longer exist at such places as Collins. Competition between the two, and the break-down of the band organization, have weakened both churches.

The Canadian government, like the church, made use of the existing organization, working with chiefs and band councils. When the native political organization, never strong, lost control of those who left the reserves, the task of government became very difficult. Government authority now is entirely external to the Ojibwa society, and is exercised by means of economic and political controls.

Also holding authority is the trader, whose position is the result of the natives' complete economic dependence on him. The Hudson's Bay Company, by encouraging the people to congregate at its stores, stimulated community life, but its paternalism made it unnecessary for the native society to meet its own problems. The rise of competition among fur traders, and the opening of alternative sources of employment, have tended to break down this authority. However, the position of the trader is still very important in relation to the situation of the Ojibwa society. By tying the native economy to a world market whose fluctuations are beyond the Indians' comprehension, the fur trade has introduced strains and anxieties with which Ojibwa society is unable to cope.

We studied also the society's response. Lack of institutionalization made impossible a clear and adequate response on an institutional level. There has for example, been no nativistic religious revival like the Long House revival among the Six Nations, nor have grievances against the government led to any organized protest. However, we saw that members of the society were responding in various ways to the problems facing them. Through their responses, the Ojibwa culture and the Ojibwa personality pattern were brought to bear on these problems. Lack of rigid institutionalization facilitated some forms of assimilation. On the other hand, the Ojibwa's social background gave him no adequate frame of reference to apply to the situation, and the Ojibwa world-view does not provide adequate protection against such disruptive elements as alcohol. New patterns of social interaction are emerging, but the Ojibwa Society has not succeeded in achieving stability.

The problem we have been investigating is one of a society whose patterns of behaviour were sufficiently institutionalized to be adapted to its mode of life. That is to say that internalized norms and external sanctions, both social and environmental, worked together to maintain a stable social system. Changing economic conditions made this degree of institutionalization inadequate, and at the same time led to a breakdown of existing patterns. Attempts to achieve a new equilibrium have, so far, not been successful, and the result is a condition of "anomie," in which norms of conduct are no longer sufficiently defined and maintained for the effective functioning of the society.

St. Barnabas Church,
Toronto, Ontario.

NOTES

(1) The Theory of Social and Economic Organization, (Part I, Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft), tr. A. Henderson and T. Parsons, London, Edinburgh and Glasgow, 1947, p. 107.

(2) Journal of Projective Techniques, XV, pp. 27-44, 1951 - also American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, XX, pp. 732-43, 1950.

(3) See Hallowell - The Passing of the Midewiwin in the Lake Winnipeg Region, American Anthropologist, n.s., XXXVIII, pp. 32-37, 1928.

(4) American Anthropologist, n.s., XLVIII, 1945, p. 195.

(5) i.e., in the summer of 1955.

(6) This information was obtained in July 1955.

(7) Statistics compiled in Sioux Lookout Office, August 1955.

(8) A. Skinner, in "Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History," vol. IX, New York, 1912, p. 149.

(9) From an interview at Sioux Lookout, July 20, 1955.

(10) Cf., Skinner, p. 151.

(11) Skinner, p. 150.

(12) Indian Affairs lists the bands in two groups - those which now elect for a definite period, and those still under "tribal custom."

(13) This happened in 1953 when I was in Fort Hope.

(14) Missionary Society of the Church in Canada, Annual Report, Toronto, 1907, p. 20.

(15) M.S.C.C., Annual Report, Toronto, 1905, p. 38.

(16) Ibid, 1906, p. 28.

(17) Ibid, 1907, p. 19.

(18) Page 23.

(19) This situation is being remedied. The Rev. George Nielson, now at Fort Hope, is a fully qualified teacher.

(20) That is, except at Treaty Time, in the spring.

(21) "Okima" is the word for chief. The king of England is kichi okima - big chief; the missionary is anumea-okima-prayer chief; the company manager, like the band chief, is usually known simply as "okima."

(22) Page 6 of covering letter from Duncan C. Scott, Samuel Stewart, and Daniel MacMartin, treaty commissioners, to the Supt. General of Indian Affairs, Ottawa, November 6, 1905.

(23) Covering letter, p. 6.

(24) The James Bay Treaty 9, 1905 and 1906, signed at Fort Hope, July 19, 1905, page 20.

(25) Treaty 9, p. 20.

(26) Covering letter, p. 4.

(27) M.S.C.C., Annual Report, 1905, p. 38.

(28) Ibid.

(29) Statistics compiled from the Treaty Books kept by the Indian Affairs Branch, Dept. of Citizenship and Immigration, Ottawa.

(30) Indian Affairs - Annual Report for the Year Ending March 31, 1914, p. 9.

(31) Figures obtained from Ontario Department of Lands and Forests, Sioux Lookout.

(32) That is, those who have surrendered their Indian status.

(33) M.S.C.C. Annual Report for 1917, p. 46.

(34) Incident observed July 23, 1955. Further details obtained from the sectionman concerned.

(35) Out of thirty-four whom the local trader listed for me, eight trappers stayed at Collins throughout the year.

(36) Information supplied by Mr. H.M. Jones, Director, Indian Affairs, from prices paid for destitute rations.

(37) This, of course, is not true. A was eighteen and could have married without his father's consent. He either did not know this or was not, himself, anxious to go through with the marriage.

(38) Now the subject of a revived interest.

(39) Report of the Minister of Citizenship and Immigration in the House of Commons, June 21, 1950.

(40) No exact figures could be obtained.

(41) S.D. Clark, the Social Development of Canada, Toronto, 1942, p. 6.

(42) The Social System, Glencoe, 1951, p. 38.

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L'ORIGINE DES CARACTERES SYLLABIQUES

par

Louis-Philippe Vaillancourt, O.M.I.

C'est à un ministre protestant, le Révérend James Evans, que revient le mérite d'avoir inventé les caractères syllabiques. Né en Angleterre, il vint au Canada en qualité de prédicant méthodiste. Il fit d'abord un séjour dans le Haut-Canada, où on lui confia la direction d'une école indienne. Il s'intéressa à la langue de ses élèves, l'apprit et tenta même de l'écrire en se servant des lettres romaines. La chose s'avéra assez difficile et donna des mots vraiment trop longs. Connaissant la sténographie, il eut l'idée de s'en inspirer pour former un alphabet simple et facile, qui permettrait aux Indiens d'apprendre à lire et à écrire leur propre langue. Mais, il ne donna pas suite à son projet immédiatement.

Sur ces entrefaites, la Compagnie de la Baie d'Hudson l'engagea comme missionnaire dans le nord canadien. Il fut envoyé à Norway House pour y fonder une mission parmi les Indiens de la région. Il y arriva à l'automne de 1840, après un long voyage de quatre mois en canot d'écorce. Il bâtit sa résidence et une église-école en bois rond. De nouveau professeur, il décida de composer son nouveau système d'écriture. Au lieu d'écrire chaque syllabe d'un mot avec des lettres, comme nous le faisons en français, il voulut la représenter au moyen d'un signe. Ce procédé faciliterait singulièrement le travail de l'élève. Prenons un exemple: en Cris de l'Est de la Baie James et en Nascapi le mot Dieu se traduit par "Tchishamanito." Si je veux écrire ce long mot avec des lettres, il m'en faudra treize. Par contre, si j'emploie des signes syllabiques, seulement cinq me suffiront, puisqu'il n'y a que cinq syllabes dans ce mot. Il mit donc à jour un nouvel alphabet qu'on appela "Caractères Syllabiques," parce que chaque syllabe est écrite au moyen d'un ou de plusieurs signes, ou caractères. De plus, le même caractère peut représenter plusieurs syllabes, selon la position qu'on lui donne. Par

exemple, le caractère ᐯ équivaut à la syllabe crise "pé". Si je le renverse, ᐱ ce sera la syllabe "pi". Si maintenant il pointe vers la droite, ᐳ , il donnera la syllabe "po". Pointé vers la gauche, ᐸ il représente la syllabe "pa". En outre, un point " . " ajouté soit avant, soit après, soit même avant et après ce caractère engendre toute une nouvelle série de syllabes, en lui ajoutant la nuance de "W". Exemple: le point ajouté avant ce caractère fait .ᐸ "pwa". Mis après, il donne ᐸ° "paw". Ecrit avant et après, il produit la syllabe .ᐸ° "pwaw". Et ainsi de suite pour tous les autres caractères. Un seul signe peut donc, à lui seul, représenter quatre syllabes, et unis au point, il en fournit douze autres. En jouant ainsi avec un nombre relativement restreint de signes, il réussit à écrire toutes les syllabes de la langue crise. Voici le tableau de ces caractères syllabiques:

é. ᐁ	i. ᐃ	o. ᐅ	a. ᐊ
pé. ᐯ	pi. ᐱ	po. ᐳ	pa. ᐸ
té. ᑌ	ti. ᑎ	to. ᑐ	ta. ᑕ
ké. ᑫ	ki. ᑭ	ko. ᑯ	ka. ᑲ
tché. ᒉ	tchi. ᒋ	tcho. ᒍ	tcha. ᒐ
mé. ᒣ	mi. ᒥ	mo. ᒧ	ma. ᒪ
né. ᓀ	ni. ᓂ	no. ᓄ	na. ᓇ
sé. ᓭ	si. ᓯ	so. ᓱ	sa. ᓴ
shé. ᔐ	shi. ᔑ	sho. ᔓ	sha. ᔕ
yé. ᔦ	yi. ᔨ	yo. ᔪ	ya. ᔭ
ré. ᕃ	ri. ᕆ	ro. ᕈ	ra. ᕋ
lé. ᓓ	li. ᓕ	lo. ᓗ	la. ᓚ
fé. ᕓ	fi. ᕕ	fo. ᕗ	fa. ᕙ

Et le point qui peut s'ajouter soit avant, soit après, soit avant et après chacun de ces caractères pour former un caractère composé ou entre le son "w".

Fier de son invention, il voulut savoir si elle était pratique, c'est-à-dire si les Indiens, qui ne savaient ni lire ni écrire, en saisiraient la signification et pourraient les apprendre. Muni d'un paquet de feuilles de bouleau et d'un bout de bois carbonisé au feu, il se rendit à un campement. Il leur fit part de sa découverte et leur expliqua le sens des divers caractères. A sa grande satisfaction, ils les comprirent facilement et n'eurent pas de peine à les confier à leur mémoire. En peu de temps, ils purent lire et écrire leur propre langue. Ils n'en revenaient pas de pouvoir enfin imiter les Blancs qui lisaient de gros livres. Ils disaient que l'écorce de bouleau parlait et donnèrent à leur ministre le surnom de "L'homme qui a fait parler l'écorce de bouleau."

Les premiers pas étaient faits. Il s'agissait maintenant d'aller plus loin, d'imprimer quelque chose. Mais, que faire? Dans le bois, à des centaines de milles de toute communication (nous sommes en 1840), sans papier, sans encre, sans presse, etc., comment produire un livre, si petit soit-il? Dieu avait doté notre ministre d'un esprit inventif et débrouillard; il se débrouilla.

D'abord, il fallait trouver un matériel assez résistant pour former les caractères. Il commença par en tailler en bois au couteau. Ensuite, il en confectionna avec du papier de plomb qu'il prenait dans des boites vides de thé. Mais, ces deux premières expériences ne semblent pas lui avoir donné satisfaction. Il eut recours au plomb. Comme il y avait encore à Norway House des vieux boulets de canon, vestiges des guerres d'autrefois, il en fit fondre et coula ses caractères. Cette fois, il réussit. Il fabriqua ses moules avec de la glaise, de la craie, du mastic et du sable.

En deuxième lieu, il fallait de l'encre. Qu'à cela ne tienne. Il mélangea de la suie de cheminée avec de l'huile de poisson et il obtint un liquide noir, assez semblable à de l'encre.

Le problème du papier fut vite résolu. Il envoya les enfants dans les bois dépouiller les arbres et lui ramasser de l'écorce de bouleau.

La dernière difficulté, et non la moindre, à surmonter, était celle de la presse. Heureusement que la Compagnie de la Baie d'Hudson en avait une pour presser la fourrure afin de la rendre plus maniable pour les voyages d'été, en canot d'écorce. Mais, le chef de poste de l'endroit, qui ne voyait pas d'un bon oeil cette imprimerie poindre à l'horizon, refusa de la lui prêter. Cependant, après que monsieur Evans lui eut promis qu'il n'imprimerait que des passages de la Sainte Bible, des prières et des chants religieux, il consentit à la lui passer.

Maintenant, tout l'équipement était complet: presse, encre, caractères et des tas de feuilles de bouleau. Avec ces moyens rudimentaires, notre auteur entreprit d'imprimer son premier livre en caractères syllabiques. Une fois l'impression terminée, il relia son volume en attachant les feuilles de bouleau ensemble et en les recouvrant d'une peau de caribou. Son livre était terminé. Un exemplaire de ce premier volume imprimé en caractères syllabiques à Norway House, en 1840, est conservé à la bibliothèque de Victoria College à Toronto.

Ce nouveau mode d'écriture s'avéra des plus pratiques pour les langues indiennes et esquimaudes. Aussi, ne tarda-t-il pas à se répandre dans tout le nord canadien. Les missionnaires, tant protestants que catholiques, l'adoptèrent et l'enseignèrent à leurs fidèles. Ainsi ces enfants des bois purent apprendre à lire et à écrire leur propre langue en peu de temps. Cet alphabet dépassa même les frontières canadiennes. En effet, en 1891, le Tibet l'accepta pour ses nombreuses peuplades aborigènes. On le rencontre aussi aux îles Philippines.

De nos jours, ces caractères sont encore en usage parmi les Indiens et les Esquimaux du Canada. Ils s'identifient en quelque sorte avec eux. Les parents les enseignent à leurs enfants, le soir et le dimanche, au campement, au cours des longs hivers, dans le bois. Plusieurs même les apprennent seuls, sans maître. C'est ainsi qu'un bon nombre d'Indiens et d'Esquimaux savent lire et écrire leur langue, et ne sont pas complètement illéttrés.

Plusieurs livres ont été écrits en caractères syllabiques. Mentionnons-en quelques-uns:

la Sainte Bible en entier, le Nouveau Testament, les quatre Evangiles en un seul, des catéchismes, des livres de prières, des livres de cantiques, des livres de spiritualité, des revues, etc., etc.

"Grâce à leur simplicité, ces caractères syllabiques sont à la portée de toutes les intelligences, des enfants comme des grandes personnes, et beaucoup d'Indiens, sans jamais être allés à l'école, et sans jamais avoir reçu des leçons du Père missionnaire, ont appris à lire et à écrire par eux-mêmes en très peu de temps. Il est surprenant de voir comment cette simplicité a permis à certains de nos chrétiens, vivant au fond des bois, d'arriver, par la lecture de leurs livres en caractères syllabiques, à une connaissance de l'Evangile, de la vie de Notre-Seigneur et des vérités de notre sainte religion bien au-dessus de la moyenne que l'on trouve chez les Blancs.*

Par cette invention, le Révérend James Evans a réalisé une découverte vraiment remarquable, une découverte comparable à celle de Louis Braille qui imagina l'écriture en relief pour les aveugles. Il a aussi fait une oeuvre éminemment humanitaire et civilisatrice en faveur de ces enfants des bois, qui sans cela, n'auraient jamais pu pénétrer dans le sanctuaire sacré du Livre.

Nous souscrivons donc bien volontiers au tribut de louange que Lord Dufferin rendit un jour au Révérend James Evans: "The motherland has given many men a title and a pension, and a resting place in Westminster Abbey, who never did half as much for mankind."**

Eastmain, via Moosonee,
Baie James, Ontario, Canada.

* Acte de visite des missions du Nord-Ouest canadien par le T.R. Père Théodore Labouré, O.M.I., Supérieur Général des O.M.I., en 1936.

** The Beaver. A Magazine of the North, September 1940. Article "Preacher and Printer" by Rev. L.A. Cormie. C'est là aussi, dans cet article, que nous avons puisé la majeure partie de cet article.

REFLEXIONS SUR LA CUEILLETTE DE DOCUMENTS ETHNO-LINGUISTIQUES

par

Jean-Paul Vinay

0. J'ai eu l'occasion de rédiger, pour l'Enquête ethno-linguistique publiée par le Centre de recherches en anthropologie amérindienne (1) des "Instructions" portant surtout sur certaines techniques linguistiques de dépouillement de l'enquête. L'expérience nous invite maintenant à revoir ces instructions pour en préciser certains aspects; rédigées dans un style volontairement très laconique, elles laissent de côté plusieurs points importants du travail sur le terrain, et notamment ne montrent pas assez qu'un enquêteur peut faire de l'excellent travail, - j'entends du travail utilisable par les linguistes et les anthropologues, sans pour cela être un spécialiste ou un linguiste de profession.

0.1 En attendant de reprendre la rédaction de ces "Instructions" pour en élargir la portée, qu'il me soit permis de signaler plusieurs points de nature à faciliter le travail de l'enquêteur.

1. Dépistage des phonèmes d'une langue notée:

1.1 La qualité essentielle que l'on exige de l'enquêteur est la curiosité intellectuelle, jointe à une parfaite honnêteté. Curiosité, pour ne jamais manquer une occasion de s'instruire, pour suivre toutes les pistes qui s'offrent parfois même dans une phrase jetée incidemment par l'informateur; honnêteté, pour savoir se limiter, avouer les zones encore obscures du sujet, le manque d'information sur tel ou tel point précis, la difficulté de notation d'un son, etc. Cette double qualité permettra au linguiste d'opérer, par la suite, un dépouillement structuré des notes rédigées sur le terrain. La question est particulièrement d'importance en ce qui concerne le groupement des allophones en phonèmes; on sait que les phonèmes

sont les unités pertinentes de la langue parlée, à partir desquelles se bâtissent tous les morphèmes, tous les radicaux et, par conséquent, tous les énoncés. Ces unités sonores sont essentielles, puisqu'elles sont les matériaux avec lesquels les messages parlés peuvent se construire: en laisser une de côté, sans la reconnaître ni la noter au passage, c'est s'exposer à de graves contre-sens: p. ex., si en français du Nord, l'analyse ne distingue pas entre "o ouvert" (transcrit par [ɔ]) et "o fermé" (transcrit par [o]), on supprime par là même les oppositions du type sol/saule, Paul/pôle qui, pour ne pas être très nombreuses, n'en sont pas moins une pièce importante du système vocalique de ce parler. Il est bien entendu qu'une opposition de ce genre peut toujours manquer dans un autre dialecte (dans le français du midi, par exemple), et le fait de ne pas la noter dans une transcription est donc -- négativement -- aussi important que celui de la noter. On comprend toute l'importance que prend une notation correcte (et honnête) de toutes les nuances entendues, sans préjudice du classement phonologique qui sera fait par la suite.

1.2 Mais ce classement phonologique ne peut guère se faire directement sur le terrain: l'enquêteur a trop de choses à faire, trop de points à observer pour pouvoir, par-dessus le marché, se livrer à des analyses fonctionnelles abstraites. Une telle analyse peut s'esquisser cependant, en fin d'enquête, lorsque l'enquêteur revoit ses notes, relit les pages du Questionnaire, et commence à se poser des questions. Comme il est parfois difficile de revenir sur une enquête terminée, il y a donc avantage à insister sur ce point. Je prends pour ce faire un exemple montagnais. Après avoir noté la phrase "il est mort": ['n ɪpu], pour laquelle j'ai noté tantôt [e] tantôt [ɪ], je suis arrivé à la phrase "il va se marier, il se marie": [kata'ni.pu] qui sonnait, me semblait-il, étrangement comme la première. Vers la fin de l'enquête, j'ai rapproché ces deux exemples en les soumettant à l'informateur, qui a ri: il sentait donc lui-même la possibilité d'une ambiguïté, et il a prononcé les deux exemples alternés, qui ont donné alors une différence très nette de timbre accompagnée d'une longueur: [n ɪpu], [ni.pu]. Bien que sur le moment je ne pouvais décider lequel du timbre ou de la longueur était véritablement

"pertinent" (c. à d. fonctionnel), l'attention était désormais éveillée et ce problème s'inscrivait automatiquement parmi ceux qu'il fallait aborder lors du dépouillement des notes. Une autre paire "suspecte" se révéla bientôt: le mot pour "poisson" [nəmɛ̨š] et pour "ma soeur" [nəmɪṣ], [nəmmɪ̧ṣ]. Un deuxième informateur m'avait donné pour "soeur" une voyelle identique à celle recueillie pour "poisson"; le rapprochement des deux par le premier informateur révéla la distinction entre une voyelle relâchée fermée [ɪ] et une voyelle assez ouverte, pas trop cependant [ɛ̨]. Quant à la voyelle du second informateur, elle restait identique à celle utilisée pour "poisson"; il faut voir dans ce cas un idiolecte différent, aboutissant à l'effacement d'une distinction phonologique. (La même chose se passe en français, où certains informateurs donnent "jeune" et "jeûne" avec la même voyelle, d'autres avec deux voyelles différentes.) Il y a une morale à cette histoire, comme dirait Lewis Carroll: Il ne faut se servir <u>que d'un seul informateur</u> à la fois pour faire une enquête. Comme le pose en principe D. Jones, "The fact that there is so much variation in the pronunciation of different (French) speakers illustrates well the necessity for establishing phonemic classifications from the speech of one individual, and taking no account of any other." (2)

2. <u>Vérification indirecte par l'informateur</u>:

2.1 Lorsqu'on opère sur une langue pour laquelle il existe une écriture indigène, on pourra utilement se servir de l'informateur pour savoir comment ce dernier réagit devant ses propres problèmes de phonologie. Un alphabet est un ensemble de signes mis à la disposition des sujets parlants pour rendre compte des phonèmes de leur langue: sauf pour les langues où la norme orthographique est enseignée et consacrée par l'usage (et même là, il y a des exceptions), il est toujours instructif d'observer la façon dont les usagers tirent parti des ressources de la graphie. Par exemple, après avoir noté une série de mots pour lesquels se posent des problèmes d'analyse (cf. § 1.2, sons entendus comme voisins, hésitation sur l'attribution à une syllabe de telle ou telle voyelle, place de l'accent tonique, etc.,) on peut demander à l'informateur, s'il sait écrire, <u>de</u>

noter ces mêmes mots dans son système orthographique.

2.2 La raison pour laquelle on peut se livrer à ces sortes de vérifications ressort de la théorie phonologique elle-même. On sait qu'un sujet parlant a une conscience très exacte des phonèmes de sa langue maternelle, surtout dans la mesure où le nombre des oppositions basées sur ces phonèmes est plus grand (3).

2.3 Avant de passer à ces vérifications, il est utile d'avoir une idée claire des valeurs phonétiques que le sujet parlant donne aux signes alphabétiques ou syllabiques à sa disposition. Prenons l'exemple du naskapi, sous-dialecte montagnais (No 3136, cf. "Classification de la famille linguistique algonquin-ritwan," Anthropologica I, (1955) : 111). Cette langue utilise le syllabaire de J. Evans avec des valeurs assez particulières (4). Une excellente introduction au système phonique du naskapi consistera donc à passer en revue la valeur de tous les signes qui, comme on sait, expriment une série de voyelles fondamentales précédées d'une consonne simple ou d'un complexe consonantique. On notera que dans le tableau qui va suivre, mon informateur m'a donné ce syllabaire sur la base de 7 formes vocaliques, au lieu des 4 formes du système Evans. Cette divergence est normale, puisqu'il est possible, par l'adjonction de diacritiques, de multiplier les voyelles de base; elle correspond sans doute aux différents systèmes voçaliques des dialectes utilisant ce syllabaire. C'est ainsi que le dictionnaire cris de Watkins (ed. 1938) ne donne que 5 voyelles de base; l'édition du Old Testament in Plain Cree (Foreign Bible Society 1908) fait de même; mais la Cree Grammar de Hives (1948) en donne 7, qui ne semblent d'ailleurs pas correspondre aux 7 voyelles données par mon informateur naskapi. On notera que cette forme particulière du syllabaire à 7 bases vocaliques, enseigné par les missionnaires anglicans au poste de Mistassini pendant l'école d'été, ne convient pas au système vocalique du naskapi. Les transcriptions phonétiques que l'on va lire sous chacun des signes dénotent les hésitations de l'informateur: l'emploi du point adscrit note indifféremment la durée vocalique seule, la durée vocalique suivie de nasalisation, et parfois une

nette différence de timbre et d'articulation. On peut donc s'attendre à ce que l'informateur transcrive de façon non systématique les mots qu'on lui propose. C'est justement ce qui s'est passé, et la simplification volontairement apportée aux graphies sera, pour le phonologue, une précieuse indication du groupement des phonèmes tel que le "sent" le sujet parlant.

2.4 Voici d'abord le syllabaire Evans dans sa forme naskapi (Informateur: Shosep Metaweshish, Poste de Mistassini, Lac Mistassini (PQ) juin 1947).

SYLLABAIRE CRIS, VERSION NASKAPI

	V1	V2	V3	V4
	ᐁ	ᐃ	ᐄ	ᐅ
1	ᔦ.	i.	wi.	o.
	ᐯ	ᐱ	ᐲ	ᐳ
2	pᔦ.	pi.	špi.	po.
	ᑌ	ᑎ	ᑏ	ᑐ
3	te.	ti.	šti.	to.
	ᑫ	ᑭ	ᑮ	ᑯ
4	kᔦ.	ki.	ški.	ko.
	ᒉ	ᒋ	ᒌ	ᒍ
5	tše., -ᔦ.	tši. dži.	štji.	tšu,tšo.
	ᒣ	ᒥ	ᒦ	ᒧ
6	mᔦ.	mi.	mǐ.n	mo.
	ᓀ	ᓂ	ᓃ	ᓄ
7	nᔦ.	ni.	nǐ.n	no.
	ᔪ	ᔫ	ᔬ	ᔭ
8	šᔦ (šjᔦ)	ši,çi	šiu	šo,šo w

	V5	V6	V7	V_o
1	▷̇ wo^h	◁ a	◁̇ wǎ^h	∘
2	>̇ špọ·	< pa·	<̇ pǎ^h, pʌ	<
3	ɔ̇ štọ·	c tæ	ċ tǎ^h, tʌ	c
4	ḋ škọ·	b ka·	ḃ ka^h	b
5	j štọ·	ɩ tšaɛ	ɩ̇ štšæ	ɩ
6	┘̇ mố	L ma	L̇ mǎ^h	L
7	ȯ̲ nǒ^h	ɑ̲ næ	ɑ̲̇ nə̂^{h}, nʌ	ɑ̲
8	ɾ̇ šö̈	ʕ sæ, ṣaɛ	ʕ̇ ṣə, ṣʌ	ʕ

	V1	V2	V3	V4
9				
10				
11				
12				
13				
14				
15				

	V5	V6	V7	V_o
9				
10				
11				
12				
13				
14				
15				

2.5 Parmi les commentaires qui s'imposent, on notera que certains phénomènes apparaissent de façon constante et s'annulent par là même, e.g. la longueur des voyelles à la finale absolue, que l'on relève presque partout [kʷ·] , [jo·] , [što·] , [špi·] sauf dans la colonne 7 où les diverses notations gravitent toutes autour d'une voyelle indistincte, parfois centralisée et assez ouverte, mais brève [sʌ] , [jʌ] , [wʌ] , [sʌ] , [la·] , [wăh] . La brièveté des voyelles s'apparaît de son côté comme liée à une catastase ou détente aspirée notée ici [ʰ] , et qui semble s'opposer à la longueur comme trait pertinent [wi./wiʰ] ; [wo./woʰ] ; [no./noʰ] etc. Les notations ne sont pas absolument probantes à ce sujet mais constituent des indications précieuses à exploiter lors du classement phonologique final.

2.6 Pour ce qui est des voyelles, on note que V1, V2, V3, V4 semblent se rapporter à des phonèmes et d'ailleurs leurs oppositions sont nettes pour l'ensemble du syllabaire; ce point est naturellement confirmé par ce que l'on sait de la structure vocalique du cris commun (Cf. en anticipant, l'article de R. Longacre "Quality and Quantity in Cree Vowels" qui doit paraître dans le numéro d'octobre de RACL 3.2, et qui groupe les allophones vocaliques du cris autour de V1, V2, V4 et V6). La série V3, notamment, trahit constamment des hésitations d'attribution: [mī·n, nī·n, šıu, sɪ] , à côté de [mi·, ni·, si·, etc] . Si nous considérons maintenant les séries numérotées horizontalement, la série 5 met l'accent sur l'instabilité en naskapi des affriquées, où l'élément plosif vient se placer tantôt avant, tantôt après la fricative: [tšɛ] mais [šti] ou [štjī] et même [štša] ! Les séries 8 et 9 orienteront le chercheur vers le groupe complexe noté s,ş,š,ç qui pourrait bien, dans ces conditions, ne constituer qu'un seul phonème à valeur chuintante, comme il arrive fréquemment pour les langues qui n'opposent pas /s/ à /š/. Les séries 11 et 12 semblent faire double emploi; ce fait attirera l'attention du chercheur sur l'absence de la série "yod". (Le naskapi est un dialecte en L). Il y a également double emploi dans le cas de certains signes du syllabaire, cf. 2.V3 et 13.V2; 2.V5 et 13.V4, 13.V5, etc. Enfin l'absence de toute notation de sonorité dans les plosives et les fricatives devrait indiquer dès le départ une

solution phonologique sans trait pertinent de sonorité. Le mot Christ apparaissant en 15 possède la seule diphtongue du syllabaire, que l'on attribuera, tout au moins au début, à l'origine anglaise de cet emprunt.

2.7 Examinons maintenant, à l'aide de quelques exemples, la façon dont l'informateur utilise les ressources de ce syllabaire. Dès le début de mon enquête, il m'était apparu que l'informateur prononçait pour certains mots un [k] fortement vélarisé (5) à la finale, alternant avec [kw] dans le cas de mots au pluriel; j'avais fait la même remarque pour certains [t] en finale. Or, il est intéressant de constater que l'informateur, qui disposait pour noter [k] final soit d'un signe spécial (petit signe non pointé figurant à droite de la dernière colonne), soit de l'un des sept signes de la série 4, a senti de lui-même ces vélarisations, puisqu'il a choisi de préférence les symboles des bases V4 ou V7, qui sont toutes deux vélaires. Ce fait ressort nettement de la comparaison entre les notations phonétiques (à gauche) et le dépouillement du groupe orthographique en valeurs syllabiques (à droite):

1. [pe'ik]  (pe· je· ko)

2. [mišt'k]  (mi· šti· ka^{h})

3. [oštašk]  (o ši· ta· šk^{o}·)

4. [mittat]  (mi· ta· to·)

5. [pip'k] (pi· pi· ko·)

6. [aštšji] (a štji)

7. [ni.l'n] (ni· ^{ə}la· ni)

 (ni· ^{ə}la· na·)

2.8 Il reste certains faits obscurs qu'il faudra éclairer par des questions posées par la suite, lorsque le système vocalique aura été plus nettement délimité: pourquoi, par exemple, l'informateur a-t-il utilisé ɔ pour rendre [i] ou, à la rigueur [ji] ? Une vérification montrera que ce n'est pas par confusion entre ɔ et ɒ, mais bien par anticipation du timbre vélarisé du [k] final. Autre question: pourquoi a-t-il transcrit, dans l'exemple No 3, le premier [ɛ̃] par une syllabe complète [ɛn] et le deuxième par le signe adscrit [ɔ̃] ? Cette notation est d'importance capitale, car Montagnais et Naskapi ont une même habitude de désonoriser les voyelles fermées [i] et [u] entre deux consonnes, si elles sont brèves, de sorte que l'oreille ne perçoit qu'une consonne là où l'informateur a le sentiment d'avoir articulé une syllabe. Il est amusant de constater un trait absolument semblable chez nombre de Canadiens-français, qui prononcent: univers(i)té, M.P(i)ché, const(i)t(u)tion, à t(ou)t à l'heure, et même c(o)mmode. (6)

3. Autre forme de vérification par l'informateur:

3.1 La plupart des enquêteurs commencent leurs notations par des mots séparés, ou ce qu'ils croient tels: on désigne du doigt une réalité concrète et on note la réponse. Cette méthode, qui a des inconvénients (l'informateur peut mal interpréter le geste, et dire par exemple "doigt" lorsque vous lui demandez en fait de dire le chiffre "un") est évidemment commode, et d'ailleurs suggérée par les Questionnaires du type publié par le Comité international permanent de linguistes, 1931 (NIIe édition, 1952). C'est également celle de la majeure partie des fascicules de l'Enquête ethno-linguistique à laquelle je faisais allusion en débutant cet article. Pour vérifier l'exactitude des notations et des sens, on pourra évidemment faire l'épreuve inverse et demander à l'informateur, s'il sait le français ou l'anglais, de traduire les mots ainsi notés. Toute difficulté de compréhension doit être attribuée, en principe, à une erreur de prononciation de la part de l'enquêteur -- pas forcément à une erreur de transcription, car l'oreille est infiniment plus souple que les organes de la parole.

3.2 Plus intéressant cependant est l'enseignement que l'on pourra tirer de la traduction; d'une façon générale, dès que l'on aborde un texte suivi (e.g. dépouillement d'une conversation enregistrée au magnétophone), il faudra une traduction, et celle-ci devra suivre l'original d'aussi près que possible (7). Lorsque l'informateur connaît le français, par exemple, il sera bon de noter les termes mêmes de sa traduction. Il nous donne alors, en effet, des indices utilisables dans le classement linguistique ultérieur: une insistance sur la traduction de formes verbales avec "nous autres mais pas vous" attirera l'attention sur les formes exclusives et inclusives du pronom, etc. Je voudrais citer ici la traduction donnée spontanément par un excellent informateur, Siméon Raphaël, de Pointe Bleue, qui interprétait pour J. Rousseau et moi lors d'une excursion ethno-botanico-linguistique sur le lac Mistassini. Cet Indien, remarquablement cultivé et parlant un français très élégant, insistait de lui-même sur certains aspects de la structure du montagnais lorsqu'il traduisait: ce court passage est représentatif du style oratoire familier de l'informateur:

Retour à Mistassini. (Siméon R.) 23/6.

1. [menastagaŋs nita'lw pi·nan ɛ·ko wɛtakus 'tiṣikatš
Dimanche nous se reposent alors vers le soir

2. [po·šitš uts mauts ɛ.papam,skats ɛo'takos,l,tš
nos deux messieurs/ faire un'tour/
ont embarqué / sur l'eau/ le soir

3. [ɛ.cko 'nipiats 'tṣinušeo os=m mi'lwɛli'tamuts
alors ils ont/ un brochet ils ont eu grand
tué/ plaisir

4. [ɛ'pɛtolats nɛ·mɛṣ ɛ.ko we.p,ts ni'pajats e.ko
amenèrent du de bonne nous nous
poisson/alors/ heure / couchons alors

5. [wepits tṣɛ'tsɛpa 'po.šjats ɛ.ko'sta.mats tšɛ'lo.t,ts
de bonne on est parcequ'on
heure /du matin/ parti/ avait peur du vent

6. [ɛ·ko pɛ·tʂmi·lopəmitʂkajatʂ ɛ·hko 'nasəmišikajatʂ
alors/on est venu sans vent/alors/on est arrivé
tranquillement tranquilles

7. [mis'tasinitʂ ɛ·k^{w}o mɛ·ʂ,katʂ miʂtitu ili'no.^{w}ətʂ
à Mistassini alors eux autres / arrivent /quantité/ d'Indiens

8. [ka.'tʂi ni'tohota.
revenaient de la chasse.

3.3 On notera la façon diverse dont S.R. a rendu le morphème pluriel /-ts/ "Ils...", "nous sommes," "on est," "eux autres," voire pas du tout: il indique inconsciemment par là une différence d'extension entre les pronoms français et les pronoms montagnais qui pourra faire l'objet d'une enquête particulière, au moment par exemple de la révision des notes sur les verbes (Questionnaire, B30 sqq.).

3.4 Avec une traduction de ce genre (qui possède ses caractéristiques propres, e.g. dans le cas présent, le très intéressant "nos deux messieurs," employé par S.R. pour nous désigner, J. Rousseau et moi) l'enquêteur pourra se livrer à ses premiers essais de découpage morphologique: reconnaissance des morphèmes nominaux, des indicatifs de temps, de personne, d'aspect; les morphèmes du nombre; les morphèmes de position, etc. Mais même si l'enquêteur ne veut pas aller jusque là, il reste qu'une traduction proposée par l'informateur, doublant celle notée par l'enquêteur, est de nature à préciser bien des points obscurs; on ne doit pas hésiter à la susciter, toutes les fois que la chose sera possible (8).

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(2) Jones, D., The Phoneme, its Nature and Use. Cambridge, Heffer, 1950, p. 65. Ce livre, fort bien fait, a l'immense avantage d'être rédigé dans une langue claire et assimilable même par un non spécialiste. Je ne saurais trop en recommander la lecture à toute personne se destinant à une enquête ethno-linguistique.

(3) cf. Troubetzkoy, N.S., Principes de Phonologie, trad. J. Cantineau. Paris, Klincksieck, 1949, Chap. 1, "Notions fondamentales," p. 33 ss.

(4) Comparer les tableaux donnés par D. Diringer, The Alphabet, New York, Philosophical Library, 1948, pp. 181-183.

(5) "vélarisé", c'est-à-dire prononcé en même temps qu'un [u] non actualisé, mais articulé en position secondaire. Le contraire de vélarisé est "palatalisé": dans le syllabaire, 8.V1 et 8.V2, par exemple, sont fortement palatalisés dans la prononciation de l'informateur, ce que j'ai indiqué par la notation "yod" [j].

(6) A t(ou)t à l'heure est également français, de même que t(u) sais, où qu(e)t(u)vas, etc.

(7) cf. C.F. Voegelin, "Multiple Stage Translation," Eight Papers on Translation, IJAL 20.4 (Oct. 1954): 271-280. Tous les 8 articles sont importants pour le sujet qui nous occupe ici.

(8) On trouvera d'excellents conseils sur l'enquête linguistique dans l'article de Raven I. McDavid, Jr., "Tape Recording in Dialect Geography," Revue de l'Association Canadienne de Linguistique, III.1 (Mars 1957).

REMARQUES SUR LES CONCEPTS DE FOLK-SOCIETE ET DE SOCIETE PAYSANNE*

par

Marcel Rioux

Au XXIIIe congrès de l'ACFAS tenu à Ottawa en novembre 1955, M. Philip Garigue, professeur d'anthropologie à l'Université McGill, a présenté une communication qui a fait quelque bruit dans notre Landerneau sociologique. L'essai a paru dans la troisième livraison des "Contributions à l'étude des Sciences de l'Homme" (Montréal, 1956, p. 123-132.) C'est de cette communication qu'il sera question ici; je ne veux pas discuter la partie polémique de ce travail, estimant que Miner, Hughes et Falardeau peuvent très bien répondre à M. Garigue s'ils le jugent à propos; je ne me permettrai de discuter ses assertions que lorsque je suis personnellement en cause. La communication de M. Garigue comporte certains énoncés qui touchent à l'anthropologie théorique et ce sont ces propositions générales que je veux plutôt discuter ici parce qu'elles touchent de très près à la méthodologie de notre discipline. M. Garigue a récemment publié un deuxième travail, moins volontiers polémique que le premier, beaucoup mieux documenté, auquel je me reporterai à l'occasion; il s'agit de "St-Justin: a Case-Study in Rural French Canadian Social Organization" paru dans "The Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science", août 1956.

La thèse principale du premier essai de monsieur Garigue c'est que l'emploi du concept de folk-société et de celui de continuum folk-urbain a contribué largement à créer des mythes sur la nature de la réalité socio-culturelle du Québec et a faussé l'interprétation de cette réalité. Selon M. Garigue, un des grands responsables de cette mythisation de la réalité québécoise, c'est Léon Gérin. Ce sont ses études qui auraient incité

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* Ce travail a été présenté au XXIVe congrès de l'ACFAS à Montréal, en novembre 1956.

les sociologues qui vinrent après lui à se tourner vers le concept de folk-société. Selon M. Garigue, les problèmes que l'industrialisation a fait naître au Canada français ne seraient pas aussi graves qu'on l'a dit parce que, selon les historiens, sous le régime français la société canadienne-française était déjà largement commerciale et qu'elle possédait tout ce qu'il faut pour s'adapter aux nouvelles réalités. Ce que je voudrais discuter devant vous c'est justement de ce concept de folk-société, et de son application à la réalité socio-culturelle du Québec.

Au début de son premier essai, M. Garigue, pour étayer sa thèse qui veut que ceux qui ont étudié le Québec l'aient considéré comme "une société ou une culture homogène et traditionnelle" écrit: "Par exemple: Miner soutient que, depuis le XVIIe siècle, la société canadienne-française est demeurée inchangée dans son expression rurale, et Rioux prétend que la culture canadienne-française traditionnelle est à la fois simple et archaïque." (1) Parce que ces deux auteurs ne sont pas cités au texte, il est difficile de trouver où ils ont soutenu ces opinions. Je n'ai pas essayé de retrouver cette opinion chez Miner; je doute fort qu'elle corresponde à toute sa pensée. Quant à moi, j'ai écrit dans "Description de la Culture de l'Ile Verte," ouvrage que M. Garigue cite sans se reporter au texte, "Le caractère archaïque de cette communauté de pêcheurs, son insularité et sa simplicité structurale..." (2) Ces deux adjectifs s'appliquaient à l'Ile Verte et non à la culture canadienne-française. Dans une autre publication, "Sur le Sens de l'Evolution Socio-Culturelle de l'Ile Verte," (3) j'écrivais: "Tout d'abord, il faut dire que si la province de Québec est quelquefois qualifiée de société paysanne, ce ne saurait être que par rapport à des sociétés très urbanisées, dont elle diffère certes, mais ne diffère-t-elle pas davantage encore du type de la société sacrée ou de la folk-société, type qui est à l'extrême opposé de la société profane ou urbaine." En note de la page 3 du même article j'ajoutais ceci: "Dans sa préface au livre de Horace Miner, St-Denis, a French-Canadian Parish, Robert Redfield parle de Saint-Denis comme d'une communauté paysanne. Il fait de l'habitant canadien-français, l'unique paysan ou presque, de l'Amérique du Nord. Même si on restreint l'appellation de société paysanne aux

communautés rurales du Québec, encore là, il est évident qu'il faudrait établir une gradation entre ce type de paysan et les habitants d'autres parties du monde qui participent à la même classification." Cette longue citation était nécessaire, semble-t-il, pour me laver de l'accusation de penser que la culture canadienne-française est simple et archaïque. Si j'ai employé ces deux termes au sujet de l'Ile Verte c'est dans un sens relatif. On admettra facilement qu'il y a des différences de degré entre les parties d'un tout et qu'il y en a certaines qui sont plus simples et plus archaïques que d'autres.

Quoi qu'il en soit, M. Garigue fait porter ses critiques sur le concept du continuum folk-urbain. Ce concept, dit-il, n'est pas valide pour une analyse sociologique du Canada français. Il fait à ce concept deux critiques précises: "Deux raisons suffiront à motiver ce rejet: en tant qu'il pose une hypothèse, un tel concept n'apparaît étayé sur aucune donnée susceptible de vérification; en tant qu'il s'offre comme une catégorie permettant de décrire un "type idéal," il revêt une signification métasociologique qui ne saurait manquer de défigurer gravement la réalité sociologique qu'il est censé clarifier" (4)

Devant ces critiques il faut analyser brièvement ce concept du continuum folk-urbain et tout d'abord nous interroger sur la nature et la fonction de la typologie en science et plus particulièrement dans les sciences de l'homme. En effet, M. Garigue semble n'avoir pas tout à fait compris la nature et la fonction de cette typologie.

Pourquoi construit-on des types, pourquoi crée-t-on des typologies? Le but d'une typologie, comme celui du nom commun, c'est de permettre à l'observateur de percevoir de l'ordre dans l'infinie complexité de l'univers. Pour construire une typologie, il faut noter les facteurs homogènes qui se présentent dans des phénomènes hétérogènes; la typologie essaie de découvrir des systèmes. Sorokin va plus loin quand il écrit que "le type idéal ne se distingue pas de la définition adéquate; ainsi, dit-il, la définition géométrique d'un triangle représente son type idéal au sens le plus strict du terme." (5) Selon Carl H. Hempel, on peut distinguer trois catégories de types:

1) classificatoires; 2) extrêmes et 3) idéaux. (6) Les types dits classificatoires ne sont construits qu'à partir d'une seule variable: statut marital, âge, etc. Les types idéaux dont les types extrêmes ne sont qu'une variété sont, au contraire, construits en tenant compte de plusieurs variables qui sont liées fonctionnellement. A l'intérieur de la catégorie "type idéal," on doit distinguer un type historique et un type sociologique; le premier est daté et localisé tandis que l'autre ne l'est pas. Comme le type idéal folk-urbain de Redfield est un type idéal sociologique, nous allons maintenant concentrer notre attention sur cette dernière variété. Le dictionnaire de sociologie définit ainsi le type idéal: "une configuration ou une gestalt de caractères qu'on construit en mettant ensemble les caractères qu'on observe le plus souvent dans les spécimens de la catégorie des phénomènes qu'il faut classifier. Il n'est pas nécessaire que tous les caractères attribués à un type soient présents dans un cas donné mais il faut qu'ils se présentent dans une grande proportion de cas et qu'aucun ne soit incompatible avec les autres caractères..." (7) Comme le dit encore Van der Leeuw: "Le type n'a pas de réalité. Il n'est pas, lui non plus, une photographie de la réalité. Comme la structure, il est hors du temps et n'a pas besoin de se présenter dans la réalité historique." (8)

La typologie de Redfield s'occupe des sociétés et des cultures globales; alors que d'autres typologies sont construites dans le but d'étudier des processus, des institutions, le continuum folk-urbain veut classifier et surtout étudier des touts socio-culturels. Julian H. Steward s'est intéressé au même problème et voici ce qu'il écrit: "Si on doit établir un système taxonomique dans le but de trouver des parallèles trans-culturels (cross-culturels) et des uniformités plutôt que pour mettre en évidence des contrastes et des différences, on a besoin d'un concept qu'on peut appeler "type culturel." Il a toujours été difficile de déterminer empiriquement des types qui auraient pu révéler des uniformités et des parallèles. Notre définition du type culturel diffère sensiblement de celle de l'aire culturelle. Premièrement, ce type est caractérisé par le fait qu'il inclut des éléments sélectionnés plutôt que tout le contenu des

cultures. Aucune culture n'étant exactement semblable à aucune autre, il est donc nécessaire de choisir certains complexes de traits qu'on peut trouver chez deux ou plusieurs cultures mais pas nécessairement chez toutes. Deuxièmement, les traits sélectionnés le seront par le problème à résoudre et au système de notations. Troisièmement, on présumera dans chaque cas que les traits sélectionnés ont des liens fonctionnels entre eux." (9)

Qu'est-ce donc que cette typologie folk-urbain ou que ce continuum folk-urbain? Dès le début on doit faire remarquer qu'il y a dans la terminologie de Redfield deux ambiguités. La première sur laquelle nous reviendrons plus loin c'est qu'il emploie indifféremment l'expression de folk-culture et de folk-société. La deuxième c'est que sa typologie a oscillée entre une typologie dichotomique (folk et urbain) et une typologie trichotomique, (folk, paysan et urbain). Quelques fois il définit la folk-société comme occupant un stage intermédiaire entre la culture tribale et la communauté urbaine; souvent aussi cet intermédiaire est appelé "paysan." En 1947, donc après ses travaux à Tepoztlan et au Yucatan, la folk-culture inclut la culture tribale et la culture paysanne. D'ailleurs, comme l'a noté M. Garigue, l'appellation folk-urbain s'est transmuée en continuum folk-urbain. La publication de trois livres plus récents de Redfield, "The Primitive World and its Transformations," "The Little Community" et son "Peasant Society and Culture" semble bien indiquer que Redfield attache de plus en plus d'importance au type intermédiaire: le paysan.

Il ne faudrait pas croire que cette typologie de Redfield est la première en date; qu'elle soit dichotomique ou trichotomique elle a eu de nombreux devanciers. J'en mentionne quelques-unes parce que la typologie de Redfield étant en partie théorique, plusieurs de ces typologies lui ont servi de point de départ pour construire la sienne propre. Mentionnons parmi les typologies trichotomiques: sociétés divine, héroïque et humaine de Vico; théologique, métaphysique et scientifique d'Auguste Comte; idéationnelle, idéaliste et sensuelle de Sorokin; parmi les typologies plus récentes mentionnons

celle de Elton Mayo "established" et "adaptive" celle de Bateson, "steady state" et "unsteady state" et enfin "culture et civilisation" de MacIver. La typologie de Redfield parce qu'elle s'appuie sur un plus grand nombre d'études et surtout parce qu'elle se prête mieux à la dérivation d'hypothèses a été depuis quelque temps l'objet de bien des discussions et de bien des travaux. Depuis que Redfield a émis sa conception de la folk-société bien des définitions en ont été données par Redfield et par d'autres. Voici une des premières définitions de Redfield, définition qui inclut la société tribale et paysanne: "Une telle société est petite, isolée, analphabétique, homogène et possède un puissant esprit de groupe. Les façons de vivre sont intégrées dans ce système cohérent et conventionnel qu'on appelle une culture. Le comportement est traditionnel, spontané, dépourvu de sens critique et personnel; il n'y a pas de législation ni de tradition d'expérimentation, ni de spéculation à des fins proprement intellectuelles. La parenté, ses liens et ses institutions sont les catégories-type de la vie et le groupe familial est l'unité d'action; le sacré prévaut sur le profane; l'économie de statut prévaut sur l'économie de marché." (10) Certains auteurs ont fait remarquer que plusieurs éléments de cette définition ne s'appliquent pas aux sociétés paysannes, notamment l'isolation, l'analphabétisme et l'absence de législation; plusieurs des traits mentionnés ont tendance à être influencés par des traits urbains. C'est pourquoi peu après s'est amorcé le type idéal de la société ou de la culture paysanne. D'ailleurs, même en 1939, Redfield avait bien vu le rôle que devaient jouer les sociétés paysannes dans une typologie globale. En préface au livre de Miner, Redfield écrit: "Dans l'étude comparative des sociétés, les groupes paysans occupent une position stratégique; ils forment une espèce de moyen terme dans l'équation de la culture et de la civilisation. D'une part, ils ressemblent aux peuples primitifs que l'ethnologue a surtout étudiés; d'autre part, ils font partie de ce monde moderne urbanisé dont l'étude appartient surtout aux sociologues." (11) D'ailleurs, bien avant Redfield, Maine, Durkheim et Tonnies avaient fait une place à la société paysanne comme type important dans la typologie des sociétés globales. Maine la plaçait entre la société statutaire et la société

contractuelle, Durkheim entre la solidarité mécanique et la solidarité organique et Tonnies entre la Gemeinshalft et la Gesellschaft. Historiquement, on peut dire que la société paysanne existe depuis 5,000 ans, depuis la naissance des villes; on peut dire qu'en Occident à tout le moins, la période de floraison des sociétés paysannes se place entre deux révolutions: la révolution urbaine et la révolution industrielle. Si l'on pouvait caractériser en gros les époques et leur adjoindre un type de société prédominante, on pourrait dire que la société tribale domine le paléolithique, que la société paysanne domine le néolithique et que la société urbaine de type occidental est en train de couvrir la face de la terre. Quand Toynbee parle d'occidentalisation de la planète, il est évident que le type de société urbaine industrielle que l'Occident charroie avec lui entre pour beaucoup dans ce processus.

On voit donc facilement que du point de vue des deux plus importants processus modernes: l'urbanisation et l'acculturation, le concept de société paysanne prend de plus en plus d'importance; en définitive, ce sont des sociétés paysannes qui, présentement s'acculturent et s'urbanisent. Pour arriver à créer un type de ce genre de société il faut donc prendre en considération des caractères qui sont communs à plusieurs de ces sociétés, par hypothèse, ce que nous avons en vue en construisant un type c'est moins de classifier des touts socioculturels que de nous servir de ce type dans un but comparatif et pour émettre des hypothèses qui nous permettent de déceler des caractères ou des processus sous-jacents à la nature et à la transformation de ces sociétés.

Nous avons donc vu que si la définition de folk-société s'applique dans une certaine mesure aux sociétés tribales et aux sociétés paysannes, elle n'est pas sans s'écarter sur bien des points des sociétés paysannes réelles et sur des points assez fondamentaux pour qu'on puisse construire un autre type. Kroeber en donne la définition suivante: "Les paysans sont décidément des ruraux - mais vivent en rapport avec les marchés des villes; ils forment un segment d'une plus grande population qui comprend ordinairement des urbains et quelquefois des métropolitains. Ce sont des sociétés partielles qui possèdent des cultures partielles."(12)

Cette définition très lâche de Kroeber est bien loin de constituer un type idéal. Redfield même, qui vient de publier un volume sur la culture et la société paysannes n'a pas donné de définition adéquate ni tenter de construire un type. Il admet avec Von Dietze qu'il est difficile de définir le terme de paysannerie et que la construction d'une théorie compréhensive de la paysannerie est impossible. Peut-on ajouter que ce n'est la première fois que l'anthropologie et la sociologie se seront servi d'un terme de la langue commune pour en faire un concept scientifique avec tout ce que cela comporte de malentendus. Pensons au terme de culture qui encore aujourd'hui donne lieu à bien des quiproquos. Le terme de paysan est en train de devenir l'objet de ces équivoques. Si on veut faire du paysan un type universel de société intermédiaire entre la société tribale et la société urbaine, il est bien évident qu'il faudra le purger de coloration trop étroitement occidentale. D'autre part, il reste le danger que la typologie de Redfield n'évite pas, c'est celui de mêler les critères sociaux et culturels et d'aboutir à une typologie bicéphale.

Lewis a d'ailleurs écrit à ce sujet: "On peut objecter, en vérité, que la classification folk-urbain n'est pas une classification culturelle parce qu'elle fait fi des différences culturelles fondamentales, c'est-à-dire des différences entre l'éthos des peuples. En effet, les attitudes et le système de valeurs de certaines folk-sociétés peuvent ressembler plus à ceux de certaines sociétés urbaines qu'à ceux d'autres folk-sociétés; par exemple, l'individualisme et l'agressivité des Indiens Pieds-Noirs rappellent plus les systèmes de valeurs urbains de l'Amérique que ceux des Zunis. Ceci veut peut-être dire que les critères qu'on a employés dans la classification folk-urbain sont fondés sur les aspects purement formels de la société et non pas vitaux pour l'analyse culturelle." (13)

En appendice à ma monographie sur Belle-Anse j'écrivais ceci: "Si, comme le dit Cournot, un type est l'ensemble d'un grand nombre de caractères formant un tout organique et dont la réunion ne peut pas s'expliquer par le hasard c'est-à-dire par le seul concours de causes qui ne seraient

pas enchaînées et subordonnées les unes aux autres, il est évident, disais-je, qu'on ne peut établir un type qui comprendrait des caractéristiques sociales et culturelles, s'il n'est pas d'abord établi qu'elles sont liées causalement. Si, à la rigueur, on peut dire avec Piaget que les faits socio-culturels, envisagés du point de vue synchronique ne sont pas liés causalement mais logiquement, par implication, il n'en reste pas moins que ceux qui sont envisagés d'un point de vue diachronique sont liés causalement." (14) Il serait hors de mon propos de discuter ici cette vaste question mais qu'il me soit permis de résumer la question ainsi: on pourrait, selon moi, employer des types mixtes c'est-à-dire des types dont certains caractères seraient sociaux et d'autres culturels pour des analyses synchroniques parce que la liaison n'est pas causale, par hypothèse, mais d'implication; dans les cas d'études diachroniques les types devraient être purs puisque leur liaison impliquerait qu'on a déjà résolu par l'affirmative le problème de la liaison causale des facteurs sociaux, culturels et économiques. C'est pour avoir procédé ainsi, c'est-à-dire pour avoir construit un type mixte que Redfield a du mal avec sa typologie qu'il applique à l'étude de processus. D'ailleurs, on a déjà fait remarquer qu'il emploie indifféremment l'expression folk-culture et folk-société et l'ambiguité subséquente vient de cette confusion qu'il a faite au départ.

Peut-on d'ores et déjà, nous rendre compte de ce que sont les caractères qualitatifs ou proprement culturels de la société paysanne: (il est à remarquer qu'à ce niveau-là, la folk-culture et la culture paysanne partagent beaucoup des mêmes caractères.) Il semble bien que ce qui ressort des nombreuses définitions qui ont été données de ces sociétés, c'est que ces cultures possèdent chacune un système de valeurs et de fins qui est commun à presque tous leurs membres. Ces valeurs et ces fins sont l'affaire de la majorité des membres du groupe. Ce système de valeurs est très intégratif et il imprègne tous les aspects de la vie; on peut remarquer une assez grande homogénéité non seulement des valeurs mais aussi entre les modèles culturels et le comportement. Les interactions primaires entre les membres de ces sociétés ont une importance capitale. Encore une fois, ces sociétés ne devraient pas être

définies tant par des caractères privatifs - non mécaniques, non urbanisées, non industrialisés - que par un caractère positif: ces sociétés sont basées sur des rapports personnels, concrets, entre individus. Contrairement aux cultures plus complexes où les systèmes secondaires de valeurs et de fins ont tendance à obscurcir le système de valeur central et quelquefois à le déplacer, dans la folk-culture et la culture paysanne il n'y a pas de désaccord sérieux quant aux fins ultimes de la société. Fondamentalement, ce ne sont pas des facteurs tels que le système de parenté qui rendent compte de l'intégration mais bien la structure des valeurs et des fins qui sont partagées par la très grande majorité des membres.

Quoi qu'il en soit de la définition de la culture et de la société paysannes, nous avons vu que l'utilité principale lui vient de son caractère heuristique; il serait hors de propos de nous étendre ici sur les hypothèses auxquelles le concept de continuum folk-urbain a donné lieu. Qu'il me soit permis de ne mentionner que celle de Redfield au Yucatan. "Pour les fins de cette enquête, dit-il, l'isolement et l'homogénéité sont pris ensemble comme formant une variable indépendante; l'organisation ou la désorganisation de la culture, la sécularisation et l'individualisation sont tenues comme des variables dépendantes." (15) En d'autres termes, l'hypothèse à vérifier était de savoir si l'homogénéité et l'isolement diminuant, la sécularisation, l'individualisation et la désorganisation s'accroissent? Les discussions et les travaux qui ont suivi la formulation de cette hypothèse ont mis en lumière comment elle est infirmée ou confirmée par les faits et en quoi la typologie dont elle est dérivée est fautive.

Regardons maintenant de plus près les raisons qui poussent Garigue à rejeter à priori le concept de folk-urbain ou de continuum folk-urbain. "Deux raisons, dit-il, suffiront à motiver ce rejet: en tant qu'il pose une hypothèse, un tel concept n'apparaît étayé sur aucune donnée empirique susceptible de vérification." (16) Si la typologie de folk-urbain était une typologie empirique elle serait directement vérifiable parce qu'elle serait fondée surtout sur des données empiriques. La fonction d'une typologie empirique c'est de synthétiser les observations plutôt que

de mettre en évidence l'essence des phénomènes à l'étude. La typologie folk-urbain est une typologie heuristique c'est-à-dire, comme le dit Lalande, "qu'on ne cherche pas à savoir si elle est vraie ou fausse mais qu'on l'adopte seulement à titre provisoire, comme idée directive dans la recherche des faits." (17) Comme le dit encore Winch, la typologie heuristique se présente comme une distortion volontaire des phénomènes empiriques en énonçant des formes extrêmes des caractères pertinents." (18) Il semble bien, toutefois, qu'on pourrait vérifier si dans un certain nombre de sociétés l'ensemble de caractères qu'on postule comme fonctionnellement ou causalement liés le sont ou ne le sont pas. Quoi qu'il en soit, la seule façon de se servir de telle ou telle typologie c'est d'en dériver des hypothèses et de les mettre à l'essai dans l'étude d'une situation donnée. C'est ce que Miner a fait à Tombouctou où il a confirmé l'hypothèse de Redfield. "En bref, dit-il, les implications théoriques du matériel de Tombouctou sont les suivantes: le décroissement de l'isolement, l'accroissement de la densité de la population et l'hétérogénéité semblent accompagner la désorganisation, la sécularisation et ce qu'il appelle (impersonalization) même en l'absence d'influences occidentales." (19)

La deuxième raison de M. Garigue est encore moins facile à comprendre. J'avoue même ne pas la comprendre du tout. "En tant qu'il (le concept de Folk-Society ou de Folk-Urban Continuum) s'offre comme une catégorie permettant de décrire un "type idéal," il revêt une signification métasociologique qui ne saurait manquer de défigurer la réalité sociologique qu'il est censé clarifier." (20) Le continuum folk-urbain ne nous permet pas de décrire un "type idéal," il est ce type idéal qui nous permet d'ordonner nos observations. En quoi est-il métasociologique? La plupart des auteurs qui ont réfléchi sur la méthodologie des sciences sociales s'accordent à dire que la méthode des "types idéaux" est la mieux adaptée à ces sciences. Depuis Max Weber l'emploi de cette méthode a été de plus en plus fréquente. Ne mentionnons que la typologie de Goode, le continuum magie-religion, qui est une illustration de la même méthode. Je n'ose pas croire, d'autre part, que M. Garigue ait pu

interpréter "type idéal" dans un sens normatif, ce qui défigurerait totalement la pensée de Redfield et celle de tous ceux qui emploient ce concept. En effet, il n'a jamais été question de proposer la folk-société ou la société urbaine comme types de société modèle.

Pour résumer ma pensée, je dirai que l'on peut discuter des travaux qui ont été faits dans le Québec mais qu'on aurait mauvaise grâce à imputer les erreurs qu'on croit y découvrir au concept de folk-société ou continuum folk-urbain. S'il est des sociologues qui ont dit, comme Garigue le prétend, que la culture canadienne-française est sociologiquement inadéquate et (qu') elle est destinée à disparaître pour la bonne raison qu'elle ne peut préparer les Canadiens-français à faire face aux exigences d'une vie urbaine industrielle, ce n'est pas à cause du concept de folk-société ni même à cause d'une mauvaise application de ce concept. En effet, le concept de continuum folk-urbain ne postule nullement que cette transition est impossible ou même difficile à réaliser.

D'ailleurs c'est forcer singulièrement la pensée de Falardeau que de lui prêter cette opinion. Pour ma part, en durcissant la pensée de Tremblay et de Falardeau j'y verrais peut-être la mise en relief exagérée de ce qu'ils appellent la pensée sociale du Canada français et que j'appelle l'idéologie dominante. Occupés qu'ils étaient à combattre cette idéologie, ils ont inconsciemment pris à leurs adversaires l'image du Canada rural que ces derniers leur dépeignaient sans trop se soucier d'aller voir si cette image correspondait bien à la réalité. Encore une fois, le concept de folk-société n'y est pour rien. C'est plutôt qu'ils ont accordé une importance trop grande à l'idéologie et pas assez à la culture globale, qu'ils se sont trop arrêtés aux modèles culturels plutôt qu'au comportement réel. D'ailleurs des membres de la même équipe qui travaillaient loin de l'idéologie ne s'y sont pas laissés prendre. Faucher et Lamontagne écrivent là-dessus: "Tout d'abord qu'on se rappelle l'opinion fréquemment énoncée qui veut que cette province fut très lente, comparée aux autres régions de l'Amérique du nord, à développer sa structure économique... Pour expliquer ce retard, on a

surtout mis en cause certains facteurs culturels spécifiques. Une telle interprétation est-elle juste? Si c'était vrai, il serait alors difficile d'expliquer le rapide et récent développement économique, à moins de supposer que l'orientation des facteurs culturels a subi une profonde transformation. Nous soutenons que cette explication est intenable. Il n'y a pas eu de ré-orientation culturelle; si pendant un certain temps, notre évolution semble avoir été influencée par les facteurs culturels, c'est qu'à ce moment précis il n'y avait pas d'autre issue." (21)

C'est d'ailleurs l'opinion que je soutiens dans une monographie qui doit bientôt paraître; au niveau du peuple l'urbanisation se fait remarquablement bien; la résistance est au niveau de l'idéologie; ce n'est pas la culture canadienne-française qui n'est pas adéquate mais c'est l'idéologie dominante qui longtemps est opposée à cette urbanisation.

Tout le long de son article, M. Garigue veut nous faire croire que le continuum folk-urbain a été créé et mis au monde pour embêter les Canadiens-français. Je veux bien croire que les nationaux en général ne sont jamais satisfaits d'une étude sociologique ou anthropologique qui leur est consacrée mais il ne faudrait pas aller jusqu'à croire qu'on a inventé des théories ad hoc pour les diminuer dans l'esprit des autres nations. Les études qui ont pris cette typologie heuristique comme hypothèse ne se bornent pas au Canada, loin de là: les communautés de l'Amérique du Sud, Tombouctou, de la Chine, des Indes, du Japon ont tour à tour été étudiées dans cette optique. Redfield lui-même n'élimine pas au départ, les Américains, comme le pense M. Garigue: "La paysannerie, dit Redfield, qu'elle soit mexicaine, chinoise ou polonaise, c'est ce style de vie qui a prévalu en dehors des villes mais dans leur orbitre d'une part, et, d'autre part, pendant la longue période qui s'est écoulée entre la révolution urbaine et la révolution industrielle ... En dehors des villes américaines, dit Redfield, on peut trouver au moins deux espèces de personnes qui possèdent un style de vie différent et qui vivent physiquement les uns près des autres bien qu'ils soient moralement loin les uns des autres." (22) Il s'agit du banlieusard et du

paysan américain.

D'ailleurs, monsieur Garigue possède bien lui aussi sa définition de la société paysanne. Son tour de passe-passe consiste à donner cette définition, de tenter de prouver que cette définition ne colle pas aux faits, que Gérin s'est trompé et qu'il a trompé tous ceux qui sont venus après lui, excepté M. Garigue lui-même. Sa définition la voici: "A peasant community can be said to exist, dit M. Garigue, where social norms have become so patterned that land ownership is conceived of as a mode of life and where to sell one's land is to desert the way of the community." (23) Voilà, si je ne m'abuse, une définition ad hoc car personne d'autre ne l'a jamais employée, à ma connaissance. Ce n'est certes pas celle de Redfield qui écrit: "Une société paysanne peut être constituée en parties ou entièrement de locataires ou même de squatters, si l'usufruit de la terre leur permet de mener une vie traditionnelle en commun..." (24)

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