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

ANTHROPOLOGICA

N. 6 - 1958

THE RESEARCH CENTER FOR AMERINDIAN ANTHROPOLOGY
UNIVERSITY OF OTTAWA

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A NOTE FROM THE EDITOR

In the fourth issue of Anthropologica (No. 4, p. 138, 1957), we published a note announcing our intention to publish a special issue "bearing exclusively on problems arising from the integration, christianization and administration of our Indian and Eskimo populations." A meeting of a few persons, including administrators, missionaries and anthropologists was arranged soon after to plan such a number. Various authors were contacted and articles requested.

Unfortunately, a good half of the prospective contributors failed to submit a paper. The number of potential writers being very limited, no substitutes could be obtained. June Helm MacNeish and the editor planned an article on the acculturation trends across Canada; we failed to obtain the statistics on which our analysis would have been based; others had similarly good reasons for not making their contributions.

We offer here the articles which were received; the balance of this issue is made up of regular contributions.

Marcel Rioux, Editor,
Research Centre for Amerindian Anthropology.

INDIAN EDUCATION TODAY

by

André Renaud, O.M.I.

There are two ways of studying an object. The first one consists in classifying it with others, presumed to be of the same species, and to compare it with them or with the abstract ideal which all of them are supposed to represent. The other looks at the object in its natural setting, in relation to other entities of different nature, with which it forms a whole. One can pass judgment on a nose, as noses go. One can look at the same nose as part of a human face.

Education is primarily a social process by which society prepares its coming generation to carry on. It is the complex action and responsibility of practically every element and institution in the community. In our society however, the burden of training the younger ones is more and more officially delegated to one institution in particular, namely, the school. More often than not, when the word Education is mentioned, especially with a capital E, people automatically think of the School. Consequently, having to write on the practical problems of Indian Education today, we feel obliged to center our study on the Indian School, its difficulties, its achievements and its shortcomings. But we will try to use the two approaches mentioned above and to study the Indian School first in comparison with other Canadian Schools in general, and, second as part of the educational process going on in the Indian communities. In this way, we hope to satisfy the curiosity of all those interested in reading this paper either because of its title or because it appears in an anthropological journal. At the same time it will be an attempt at studying the whole of Indian Education according to the true meaning of the terms and not simply as a formal and autonomous institution.

Part One: THE INDIAN SCHOOL AS A CANADIAN SCHOOL

1. - Type of Schools

Indian children or, to be technical, children whose fathers are legally considered as Indians under the terms of the British North America Act and the Indian Act, receive their schooling free of charge, at three types of schools: federal day schools on the reserve, federal or church-owned residential schools and provincial schools.

Day schools are built, staffed and administered by Indian Branch wherever Indian bands are living a more or less settled existence within reasonable distance from a central location. Residential schools were originally built by the different churches and subsidized by the federal. Only a few of those are left. Most present residential schools have been built by the Branch and operate with federal money. They are however staffed and administered, under federal regulations and supervision, by either the Anglican, Catholic, Presbyterian or United Church, according to circumstances.

For the purpose of this article, provincial schools are simply non-indian schools built and operated by institutions other than Indians Affairs Branch, primarily for the benefit of a non-indian population. They may be public or private, undenominational or separate, day or residential, or combined. Day-schools on the reserves and government or church-owned residential schools cater to an all indian population and are provided or maintained by Indian Affairs Branch. Unless otherwise specified, they constitute the "Indian School" with which we are concerned.

2. - Perspective

It is possible to study the Indian School as a Canadian School as well as a school for Indians because the Indian child himself can be thought of in the same way, i.e., as a Canadian and as the product and member of an Indian community.

There are intimations that most people in Canada, including statesmen and administrators, think of him, and consequently of his school, almost exclusively in the first way. In this perspective, the Indian child is simply a canadian child whose schooling, through a twist of historical circumstances, is the responsibility of the federal government rather than that of the province on whose territory he was born.

Education being constitutionally a provincial concern, the federal government feels that it can best acquit itself of this responsibility by providing the Indian child with schooling facilities and opportunities identical to those maintained by the province in which he lives. Buildings and facilities, textbooks and teachers, curriculum and regulations will as much as possible approximate those of the province. Adaptation to cultural differences and specific in-service training will be kept at a minimum so that at no time it be possible to accuse the Indian school of being inferior, or of depriving the Indian child of what his fellow-canadians of the same age are receiving in their own schools. When it is politically and administratively feasible, as well as agreeable to the parents, the Indian child will be sent to the provincial school.

The federal Indian school therefore aims at being first and foremost a Canadian school, or a school for Canadians, the "provincial way," of course, which again is the Canadian way. It provides its pupils with the same type of schooling as that which other Canadians are receiving, and expects them to graduate with the same information, training and general competency so as to be able to carry on with further schooling at provincial institutions or to take a job and settle in the national community.

The Indian School can therefore be evaluated the same way other Canadian schools are appraised, through examinations, standardized tests, analysis of school records and the comparative life achievements of its graduates and leavers. Unfortunately for the student of Indian Education

this has not been done yet, on a nationwide basis, not even, to our knowledge, on a provincial basis.

It is therefore rather difficult to report scientifically on the problems and difficulties of Indian Education today. This is no reflection on the efficiency of the federal government agency handling Indian Education. On the contrary, Indian Affairs Branch has been too busy building schools, recruiting teachers, appointing supervisors and drawing-up agreements with provincial Departments of Education and local school Boards, to take a good look at its educational accomplishments other than material.

The last annual report describes the number of pupils in attendance at the various types of schools, teachers recruitment, qualifications and salaries, instances of in-service training and minor local adaptations to curriculum, educational supplies of various kinds, transportation facilities and recent initiations in post-elementary vocational training, adult education and guidance. This last item, though barely off the drawing-board, could eventually provide educational research workers and statisticians with better and more complete information than available now. For the time being however the only country-wide data on-hand is the number of pupils in school, according to age and grade placement.

3. - Enrollment

This simple pupil-count in itself is nevertheless useful to understand the complexity of the task with which Indian Affairs Branch is faced, together with the vigorous expansion of services since World War II. In 1945, the Indian population being at 125,686, there were 16,438 Indian pupils in 337 schools (255 day, 76 residential, 6 provincial). This number represented 13.08 per cent of the total Indian population (the same ratio for the general population of Canada that year was 17.6 in elementary and secondary schools). It represented only 48.5 per cent of the number of boys and girls between the ages of 7 and 16. The average attendance

was 80.09 per cent.

In 1956, on a total population of around 157, 850, there were 29,571 children attending 477 federal schools (372 day, 66 residential, 28 seasonal, 11 hospital) and another 5,666 at provincial, private or territorial (Yukon and Northwest Territories) schools. In other words, 22 per cent of the total Indian population was in school, compared to the 20 per cent now quoted as national average.

The 1956 ratio could imply that the Indian Affairs Education Division is doing better than the average provincial school system, and that all Indian children of school age, i.e., between the ages of 6 to 16, are in school. This is not the case yet. There are still close to 2,000 children between the ages of 7 to 16, for whom there are no accommodations. And since the starting-age has been lowered to 6 years old just two years ago, there are hundreds who will wait till they are 7 years old before room can be found for them in the present accommodations.

The 22 per cent can be explained by the fact that most Indian pupils are chronologically behind in their grades so that they must stay beyond school-leaving age of 16 if they want to complete their Grade 8 or carry on with post-primary courses. Furthermore, since the Indian natality rate is almost double that of the nation as a whole, it is to be expected that, notwithstanding a higher (though decreasing) infantile mortality rate, the ratio of the school age group to the total population will be higher also.

Nevertheless, the increase from 13.08 to 22 in percentage is a tribute to the efficiency of post-war Indian Affairs Branch in providing adequate facilities to the Indian school population. That this has been done notwithstanding the acute teacher shortage all across Canada during the same period, the numerous difficulties and obstacles of building schools and teacherages in isolated places, scattered from coast to coast,

within a rather titanic form of government machinery (as compared to Departments of Education within provincial governments) is further evidence of the vigor and initiative with which the Branch has tackled its task. Credit must be given also to the Indian communities themselves whose changes in ways of living and in attitude towards education have made this development possible to a 90 per cent average attendance.

It is not enough to have every child in school with a qualified teacher in each classroom. The question must be asked: how does he fare? How does the average Indian child take to the canadian school, whether federal or provincial, day or residential? Does he proceed at the same rate as the non-Indian child? Does he achieve the same success? Does he truly develop his native abilities to their maximum or at least train them sufficiently to warrant further maturation in the same direction in after-school life?

Again the only information available on a country-wide basis is the pupil-count per Grade reported annually. A comparison between the 1945 and 1956 statistics of the Indian Affairs Branch annual report with statistics secured from the 1948-50 Survey of Elementary and Secondary Education in Canada (Dominion Bureau of Statistics) gives the following picture.

The basis for comparison is the enrollment from Grade 1 to 12 in the public, private and special classes of eight provinces (Quebec and Newfoundland excepted). Grade 13 figures were added to Grade 12 together with those from vocational courses at or below Grade 12 level. The percentage of pupils per grade, of the total enrollment, was calculated and arranged in the following table. There were 16,438 Indian pupils in schools of all types in 1945 and 33,268 in 1956.

Grade	Indian 1945	Indian 1956	Canada 1950
1	35.07	26.6	13.3
2	16.3	14.8	11.13
3	14.6	13.7	10.25
4	12.12	11.7	9.7
5	9.2	9.8	9.4
6	6.16	7.8	8.8
7	4.17	5.8	8.1
8	1.9	3.1	7.5
9	0.4	2.2	6.5
10	---	1.4	4.9
11	---	.08	3.4
12 and others	---	1.3	4.6

The above illustrates quite clearly the speed at which the average Indian pupil travels through the standard grades. The 1945 figures reflect the half-day system then prevalent in residential schools (half the day only spent in the classroom, the other half at manual work) and the poor attendance at day-schools (68 per cent average). Fifty per cent of the pupils enrolled were below a Grade 2, 9th month median and 99.6 did not reach beyond Grade 8. In comparison, the 1956 figures tell a much more encouraging picture, with the median raised at Grade 3, 6th month and 5.7 per cent carrying on beyond Grade 8.

Nevertheless, the 1956 distribution is still far from approximating the national pattern where the median lies at Grade 5, 7th month and 25 per cent are located beyond Grade 8.

The large percentage of pupils in Grade 1 can be explained partly by the fact that new schools were opened where there were none and every pupil had to start in Grade 1, as well as by the admission of more 6 year old pupils than in previous years. But the basic explanation is that in areas where native language is spoken at home, the pupils usually need two years to achieve Grade 1 level, either by spending a year in Kindergarden or repeating Grade 1.

The Grade 3 - 6th month median and Grade 5 - 9th month third quartile together with the thining out percentage of the top grades intimates a high degree of overagedness. Whether this is because the majority of children started school at age seven or repeated at least one grade, the fact remains that too many of them will reach school-leaving age before enrolling in Grade 8.

The question can be asked immediately: how well prepared for life in the Canadian community are the majority of our Indian boys and girls if they do not even complete Grade 8? We must also keep in mind that, though Grade placement policies vary from province to province, it is more and more common, in the lower grades, to promote automatically, on the basis of chronological age. Consequently, we can suspect that the grade placement reported officially does not give a true picture of the "Canadian educational level" reached by Indian pupils. A nation-wide survey somewhat along the lines of the one carried out in 1946-48 by S. Peterson and the University of Chicago for the United States Indian Service (cf. "How Well Are Indian Children Educated?") would be necessary to reach below the surface of official reports and gage the efficiency of Indian schools as Canadian schools. It would be particularly useful to determine what are the educational difficulties of the Indian child under the present set-up.

An attempt at such an appraisal has been made recently in the residential schools administered by the Oblate Fathers. Of the forty-four

residential schools under Catholic auspices, forty-one are managed by the Oblates. The survey covered thirty-two of these schools, west of the Great Lakes. It was sponsored by the Indian and Eskimo Welfare Commission of the Oblate Fathers in Canada, which provides educational administration and supervision, consultation and government liaison services to all these schools. It was approved both as a regular professional activity of the Superintendent of schools and as an educational research project. It was conducted personally by the author, with the cooperation of the personnel at the University of Ottawa School of Psychology and Education and the staff at each school visited.

4. - Population Tested

Before entering into the details of the survey and some of its findings, a word must be said about the school population it attempted to measure. By official policy, the residential school is primarily an institution for children from broken homes or whose parents are unable to provide for proper care and direction. It is also used for the children of nomadic hunters and trappers whose way of life makes day-school arrangements impracticable. In practice, it also remains in operation in settled communities where scattered home locations or sub-standard socio-economic patterns are against successful day-school attendance. Finally, in recent years, it has been more and more the practice to transfer to residential schools older students intent on carrying on with the senior grades which cannot be taught adequately in the majority of one or two classroom day-schools.

For all these reasons, the population at each school is usually not normal, homogeneous, as school populations go, and this varies from school to school. In settled areas for instance, culturally closer to the Canadian standards, a good proportion of the children will be "institutional cases" with emotional or mental handicaps: orphans, children from broken homes, sick parents, etc., difficult children who could not progress

under day-school tuition, or dullards who would discredit their ethnic group at the provincial school; the balance will be made up of children from isolated areas with no school facilities of their own and still highly native culturally. In other areas, usually north, pupils will come from regular homes but with little prolonged contacts with the full Canadian way of life.

With new day-schools opening on the reserves constantly, the transfer of the best senior pupils to provincial schools and a fixed authorized pupilage, most schools have, in part, a fluctuating population, with children sort of taking turns at being boarders for two or three years, Overagedness is quite constant. In very few places is the unavoidable institutional side of these schools counter-balanced by the spaciousness of the premises, particularly of the classrooms. On the contrary, with a teacher-pupil ratio fixed at a thirty-five minimum, (fifteen is enough in day-schools) and limited building opportunities, the Branch has not been in position to improve residential facilities according to the present need, let alone expand them according to the rise in population.

All of which explains why, more often than not, the principal and staff at each school would state that the results on the tests were not fully typical of their school. However, because these results have all been lumped together, it is hoped that local variables will offset each other and not interfere significantly with the picture of something that really is, as found in residential schools and, to a certain extent, in Indian schools in general.

Grade 5 to 8 class groups were selected (at least wherever it was possible to do so without breaking the regular routine of the school) for obvious reasons. All the children in those grades would be familiar enough with English and with classroom work to respond somewhat normally to tests printed and administered in English. Furthermore, the bulk of the pupils in these rooms would have spent an average of five years

at that particular school and would be quite representative of both, the local school population in general and the efficiency of that particular school. The following table gives the age and grade distribution of the pupils covered by the survey in the thirty-two schools visited. To illustrate to averagedness underlined earlier for all Indian schools but particularly in the residential, the last two columns give the grade-placement of the average non-Indian-Canadian child of the same age and the subsequent retardation on the part of the Indian pupil on the basis of chronological age.

	No. tested	Aver. C.A.	Non-Indian Gr. placem.	Chronolog. Retardation
Grade 5	512	12y.7mo.	gr.6, 8mo.	1gr. 3mo.
Grade 6	457	13y.6mo.	gr.7, 7mo.	1gr. 4mo.
Grade 7	363	14y.6mo.	gr.8, 7mo.	1gr. 4mo.
Grade 8	230	15y.2mo.	gr.9, 7mo.	1gr. 4mo.

As the survey was conducted around the 3rd month of the school year in most schools, and the figures interpolated to that period elsewhere, the average retardation on grade-placement according to chronological age is one grade and four months. Technically, as far as the children in these grades and schools are concerned, it can be explained by the fact that most of them started school at the legal and (as far as accommodations are concerned) practical age of seven.

5. - Materials Used

Both psychological and educational research on the Indian pupil are sadly lacking in Canada. Except for the odd master's thesis on a particular group of pupils in relation to mental aptitudes or scholastic achievements, it is a complete blank. It is almost as if, compared to the United States, our Canadian Indian did not rate the effort. Perhaps this is just a reflection of the general state of research in Canada, which

is still at the pioneering stage and can barely cope with the problems found in the non-Indian classroom. At any rate, our own can be justly described as virgin land.

It was therefore decided that the first effort on such a trans-provincial scale should be primarily a broad exploration of the field. Different models of standardized aptitudes and achievement tests were sampled with various groups of pupils, following which it was agreed that two items only should be measured immediately: general intelligence and reading achievement. The importance and urgency of gaging the former stemmed from the increasing number of pupils expressing the wish to carry on into High School. As for reading, not only is it the most essential tool of our civilization and the key to further education; but, with pupils for whom English, the language of the majority group in the nation, is a second language, it is a valid indicator of achievement in a new and different way of thinking and communicating.

The use of our standardized intelligence tests with people of a cultural background other than ours can and has been questioned. Intelligence or mental ability is such a general and spiritual power that it cannot be measured truly in the abstract. It must be literally seen in action solving this or that kind of problems, since it develops by solving problems. But problems themselves, even the most abstract ones except perhaps those of pure mathematics, are approached through a conditioning particular to a specific culture, that of the thinker himself, or tester. Therefore, à priori, intelligence tests standardized in a given cultural environment are valid primarily and almost exclusively for the people brought up in that culture. Nevertheless, our Indians are becoming more and more, willy-nilly, part of our nation and drawn into our culture stream. Their children will, for a fair number of them, leave the reserve to earn their living among the "whites." If they stay on the reserve, they will have to assume more and more of the whiteman's way of running their own affairs.

Hence, Indian children must, of necessity, be rated in relation to our standards, even if this does not give a true picture of their native abilities.

The intelligence tests selected were the S R A Verbal and Non-Verbal Forms, the former prepared by Dr. T.G. Thurstone and Dr. T.S. Thurstone as a short form of the American Council on Education Psychological Examination, and a revised edition of the Thurstone Test of Mental Alertness, the latter by Dr. N. McMurry and Dr. J. E. King, both published by Science Research Associates of Chicago. The Verbal Form uses items proved by research to test ability to think with words and numbers, with separate sub-scores for each type. The Non-Verbal assumes that recognition of differences is basic to learning aptitudes, and uses pictured objects to test the ability of reasoning out differences.

Both are group-tests, short, with time-limits, quick scoring, set for ages 12 to 17, attractive and less forbidding in format than the Otis or Dominion. The norms are given in Percentiles, Quotients and Stanine. The validity of the Verbal Form is acknowledged by reviewers as adequate for a group-test though the time limit is sometimes criticized as too short. The Non-Verbal Form is designed for students with reading difficulties, illiterate and foreign born students. Its validity has been acknowledged in practice with immigrants, though it is questioned by reviewers who doubt the value of non-verbal tests in general. The reliability of each Form and both together is stated to be .91, established with the same standardizing population. Though this is not explained too clearly according to the same reviewers, it was this fact, plus the ease with which both forms can be administered, corrected and interpreted, which led to their selection. Since all tests would be found lacking in validity when used with Indian pupils, and this was to be an exploratory survey on a broad scale, it was deemed useless to use more elaborate and complicated devices that would make the survey impractical without adding substantially to its objectivity.

The other test selected was the Gates Reading Survey for Grades 3 to 10, extensively used everywhere as first step in diagnostic and remedial programs. Its three sections, Vocabulary, Comprehension and Speed, contain much more items than the reading sub-tests usually found in School Achievement Batteries. Its norms are well recognized and do spread the groups tested on a wide range. Its format and construction reproduce those of workbooks used practically everywhere and with which all Indian school pupils are familiar.

The background of Indian boys and girls being economically, socially and culturally different from that of the average non-Indian pupil, it was decided that each testee would answer a background questionnaire adapted from the one used by the United States Indian Service in the national survey mentioned above ("How Well Are Indian Children Educated" pp 122-123).

6. - Administration and Tabulation

The background questionnaire was answered by each child under the supervision of his classroom teacher and, revised by the principal before being sent to Ottawa for coding. The tests were administered by the author himself, except for the Reading test at five schools where it was given by the local senior-teacher. The survey in the schools of Northwestern Ontario, Manitoba and Eastern Saskatchewan took place in February and March 1955 with the results interpolated for November 1954, Western Saskatchewan and Alberta schools were visited in the Fall of 1955 and British Columbia at the same period in 1956.

Identical rapport techniques and testing procedures, developed in the pre-survey test-sampling visits, were used everywhere and, except for inevitable differences in material facilities, the same routine was followed at every school with the children responding about the same way.

Tests were corrected on the spot with the help of the teachers. Individual results were studied in relation to school records and, except

for a few surprises on the Non-Verbal Form, they confirmed the known standing of each child in his class-group. Averages for each sub-test and class-group were also tabulated immediately and the profile of the school discussed with the staff. Tests scores and coded background replies are being currently checked and readied for I B M card-punching and computing. It had been anticipated that the complete statistical analyses would be finished by the time of writing this report. Unforeseen delays have postponed it till next summer. However, the means on each test and subtest have already been computed, and an item analysis of the replies on the Non-Verbal and Reading Tests tabulated.

7. - Results on the Non-Verbal Intelligence Test

Man. - East. Sask.

	C.A.	M.A.	QUO.
Grade 5	12-11	12-9	99
6	13-8	13-3	97
7	14-6	14-2	98
8	15-2	15-0	99

W. Sask. - Alberta

Grade 5	12-8	12-5	98
6	13-8	13-1	96
7	14-5	13-5	93
8	15-0	14-8	99

British Columbia

Grade 5	12-7	12-4	98
6	13-4	13-0	98
7	14-4	14-2	99
8	15-0	15-4	102

At first glance, these results speak in favor of both the native ability of Indian pupils as well as the general validity of the test. The slightly below normal average can be explained by a number of factors (besides the fact that the test

was given only once) such as unfamiliarity with certain objects pictured on the tests and not found in the global environment of the pupils, mental or physical fatigue at the moment the test was administered, etc.

Individually, very few of the pupils who scored below the 80 I.Q. mark were acknowledged as sub-normal by their teachers. Most cases turned out to be traceable to emotional disturbances of one kind or another, quite to be expected in residential schools; homesickness, worry over father-mother relationship, etc. A separate count by sex in the first round of schools (Manitoba, Eastern Saskatchewan) revealed that girls in their early teens were more susceptible to these kinds of emotional upsets than the other pupils. This was confirmed repeatedly in the other schools visited to the point where principals and teachers sometimes suspected the administrator of witchcraft in detecting the problem-cases among their pupils. It is the author's impression that the whole field of Indian emotional adjustment, at least under residential circumstances, would well warrant a thorough scientific investigation. What with the Indian's traditional reticence in these matters and perfect facial control, it would be quite a challenge.

Bi-culturalistic growth is also suspected of being responsible for a good number of relatively low scores on the part of pupils known to be average and even brilliant. Grade 5 pupils of known average or superior intelligence scored as predicted on the Non-Verbal Form, regardless of their achievement on the other two tests, provided of course they were not laboring under an emotional disturbance or handicapped by the absence of the appropriate cultural background. Average and bright pupils in Grade 8 and beyond scored well on the three tests, evidencing not only a good native ability but also a sound command of English as language and as thinking process. The in-between group of average and superior children scored relatively lower than predicted on the three tests, or at least on the two Forms, as if their mental processes were slowed

down by an incomplete mastery of the second language. Any one who has gone through the same process of learning a second language seriously can recall the crucial stage where words, sentence structures and spelling got all mixed up in both languages and thus slowed down the mental processes of thinking in anyone of the two.

We cannot yet assume that the test used is 100% valid or fair for the population tested. Only in Grade 5 was the standard deviation larger than expected on a normal distribution. In the other three grades, the scores were more clustered than normal. Whether this is typical of the Indian population as a whole or the fault of the test itself is hard to decide. The latter was somewhat hinted at by the fact that the time-limit itself did not seem to eliminate enough of the pupils. Indians in most places have kept up their traditional sharpness of visual observation and a test unintentionally relying on this cultural trait would favor them seriously. Item analysis and further experimentation will be necessary to decide whether or not the Non-Verbal Form should be used again, modified either in its construction or its norms.

8. - Results on the Reading Survey

As mentioned earlier, the Gates Reading Survey is made up of three sub-tests: Vocabulary, Comprehension and Speed, the latter affording also a percentage score of Accuracy. The norms for each sub-test are given in Grades and Months of school year and also in chronological years and months. The average of the three scores thus gives a Reading Age which can be worked into a Reading Quotient using the formula $\frac{RA}{CA} = RQ$. The following table reports the aggregate average per grade on each sub-test together with the Reading Age and the Reading Quotient. As most of the groups were tested in the Fall and the scores of the others were interpolated to the same period, we class them as being in the third month of the school-year during which they were tested.

	No.	C.A.	Voc.	Comp.	Speed
Grade 5.3	512	12-7	4.2	4.0	3.8
" 6.3	457	13-6	4.7	4.5	4.4
" 7.3	363	14-6	5.3	5.6	5.3
" 8.3	230	15-2	6.0	6.0	6.1

	Aver.	R.Age	Quot.	Retard.
Grade 5.3	4.0	9.8	77	2.8
" 6.3	4.6	10.4	77	3.0
" 7.3	5.3	11.1	77	3.4
" 8.3	6.0	11.10	79	3.7

Though the progression of scores is not from the same group of individual pupils, it can be assumed that, since the children came from the same environment and attend the same schools, the whole Grade 5 group, if tested the following year, would probably have scored the same as their predecessors of the previous year, and so on to Grade 8, unless, of course, a specific program of intensified reading instruction and remedial work was launched immediately after the survey (which, incidentally, was urgently recommended by the administrator and implemented eventually in most schools). On this assumption, the following comments can be ventured.

There is steady improvement from grade to grade in the three departments measured by the test. This improvement is not as great as found in non-Indian schools, averaging 7 instead of 10 months. This slowness is reflected in the Quotients. The Manitoba-Eastern Saskatchewan group averaged 8 months, Alberta 6 and British Columbia 7. In the first group of schools (Man-Sask) it was noted that the bilingual and English monolingual had the edge in number. The reverse was true in Alberta-Western Saskatchewan whilst B.C. was close to 50-50. On the whole however, the majority of the pupils came from non-English speaking homes and for them the Reading Survey was partly a language test as well as a reading survey.

It is all to the credit of our Indian pupils if, after four years and three months in school, they are only 13 chronological months behind their non-Indian classmates of the same grade in learning a second language besides mastering the techniques of reading. (How many of us averaged the same progress in High School French or English?) If they were started to read in their native language and comparable tests were found to measure their achievement, there is no doubt that they would be on par with their non-Indian classmates and even age-mates. Assuming that they would be taught oral English thoroughly whilst learning to read in their own language, their reading techniques would readily transfer to the second language with far less retardation. As it is, a year must be devoted to start them in oral English. It is no wonder then that they should still be one Grade behind in their Reading when they reach Grade 5.

What is more disquieting however is that they do not keep this steady progress in the following grades; by the third month of their Grade 8, they are more than two grades behind. If, on top of that grade-placement retardation we add the chronological retardation mentioned earlier, (cf., last column on above table) it means that, on the average, our present fifteen years old pupils are academically three years and more behind their fellow-Canadians of the same age. Furthermore, Grade 8 is a select group, since most of those who reached age 16 previously dropped out. How far behind are these early school leavers now?

True, there are very interesting exceptions, particularly in the schools where pupils have learned English whilst growing-up at home. But this simply darkens the picture for the others, who are the majority. It must also be recalled that formal lessons in Reading normally disappear with Grade 7. Apparently there is not much incidental reading progress through the content-courses, not even in vocabulary. English and Reading being the keys to these courses, one may wonder how much Grades 7 and 8 pupils gather from

their textbooks. It is a known fact that, though the content of these textbooks is presumably set at the appropriate level, their language difficulties are usually not.

The same question can be raised in relation to general motivation for reading. Indian boys and girls develop normally, as human beings, if not culturally as Canadians. As they grow older physically, they also grow mentally and emotionally. The results on the Non-Verbal Form are only an instance of this normal growth. Their interests in life and their concern over its different problems mature at the same rate as with non-Indians. At age 15, how many of these interests can they satisfy through reading, how many of these problems can they solve if their command of the language and their reading techniques limit them to a Grade 5 level of content? This is the case of the great majority of boys and girls in residential schools who do not, for the most part, eventually reach a true Grade 8 level, not only because, having attained age 16, they can leave school at once, but because they probably find schoolwork either too childish or too confusing.

A comparative study of the sub-tests results show a slight edge in Vocabulary over Comprehension, Grade 8 being an exception that can be explained by its selectiveness. On individual scores the difference would not be significant, with the whole group, however, it can be assumed to be. It would suggest that the pupils are somewhat better in utilizing skills and abilities involved in learning and recognizing individual words and their meanings than they are in comprehension of connected materials. It would be worthwhile investigating to what extent this points out to Verbalism, or to translating, which would be only natural in learning a second language.

The Speed of Reading lags significantly behind in Grades 5 and 6, evidencing the mental effort of thinking in a second language and, again, translating. Yet the content of the exercises in this sub-test is Grade 2.5 level. Senior Grade

pupils have picked up Speed not from reading their textbooks but from reading easy materials which is at their level of English comprehension. In a few schools, the scores on the Speed test were quite superior to the average reported above, thus raising the overall Reading average for the whole school. Inquiry into the particular circumstances of these schools showed that, one way or another, these schools were providing more time, better facilities and extra books for recreational reading. Unfortunately, these conditions could not be duplicated immediately everywhere, the various material facilities of residential schools being necessarily kept at a minimum essential.

The Quotients remain desperately constant from Grade 5 to 7. This does not reflect the true picture of all the schools visited. In most places, the quotients rise slowly but regularly as the older pupils drop out and those who remain keep bridging the language gap which separates them from their fellow classmates of non-Indian background. This rise in Quotients is further evidence that retardation in Reading is not due to mental retardation but to an unmeasured variable: English and the whole Canadian cultural background. That this rise is not shown on the overall statistics, except in Grade 8, must be credited to a few large schools where the pupils, reflecting their parents' attitude towards education as leading to assimilation, do not go beyond a Grade 5 level of English and Reading achievement, thus contributing lower Quotients per grade to the whole aggregate.

9. - Results on the Verbal Form

The SRA Verbal Form aims at testing ability to think with words and numbers. 84 items are grouped in blocks of seven, each containing two same-opposite word identification, one arithmetic-reasoning, two vocabulary-recall (with only the initial letters of the right answer as part of the multiple-choice design) and two number series items. The blocks are sequenced according to increasing difficulty. While the four item-types would permit separate part scores, only language (L) and Quantitative (Q) sub-scores are

computed, following the practice with the American Council on Education Psychological Examination. Each sub-score can be translated into a Quotient, and so is their sum, the latter quotient or I.Q. not being necessarily an average of the sub-Quotients. The following table lists the quotients on each sub-test, the I.Q. and Mental Age on the whole test, followed by the average chronological Age for each group and the apparent mental retardation to be drawn up.

	No.	Long.Q.	Quant.Q.	I.Q.
Grade 5	512	70	72	72
" 6	457	74	78	74
" 7	363	74	80	75
" 8	230	77	84	80

	M.A.	C.A.	Retard.
Grade 5	9y. m.	12y.7mo.	3y.7mo.
" 6	10y. m.	13y.6mo.	3y.7mo.
" 7	10y.11m.	14y.6mo.	3y.7mo.
" 8	12y. 1m.	15y.2mo.	3y.1mo.

Anyone placing too much faith in Intelligence Tests as such (and there are many who do) would immediately conclude that Indians just do not have the what it takes and that, to be perfectly frank, they are an inferior race. Fortunately, we know this is not the case. If the results are so below normal, it is simply the fault of the test, not of the pupils. As an intelligence test therefore, the Verbal Form does not rate our Indian pupils properly: it is not valid. Two things militate against its objectivity in relation to them: language or cultural patterns in general, and time-limit, which again is cultural. The test is prepared for a non-Indian population where thinking takes place in English, with abstract as well as concrete situations, and where time-saving is supreme. Most of our pupils still think in their native language, or at least, in their native or rather cultural pattern. (The

author is often aware that, by choice as well as habit, he uses thinking patterns typical of the French, even when thinking with English words), and all of them practically look at "time" primarily not as something to "save" but something to enjoy. Everywhere the pupils comments were: "Yes, it was much harder than the picture test or the reading test. But if you had given us more time, we would have done much better, particularly with the problems."

Be it as it may, these pupils live in a non-Indian and western european Canada where English and all it implies are the socio-mental tools of the majority, and where the one who can do the most the fastest is acknowledged as superior to his fellow-men. The test is valid therefore in comparing our pupils with their fellow-Canadians of non-Indian descent, with which they will have to associate or compete. Consequently, we must find out why they scored so low and what can be done to bring them closer to our cultural mental standards and patterns. We know, à priori, from experience and partly from the Non-Verbal Form, that they are endowed with adequate mental alertness; how can we channel this power into our own cultural stream for their own benefit?

There is a constant rise in Quotients from Grade to Grade in both the sub-tests and the total. This is not due exclusively to the elimination of the over-aged pupils, since the results on the Non-Verbal Form, measuring more adequately native intelligence, were apparently not influenced by this elimination. A selection does take place, of course, but along academic lines; however, it does explain the increase in Quotients altogether. In a permanently handicapped or retarded school population, the quotients remain relatively constant and this is why they are reliable. In the present situation, a variable factor not included in the construction of the test is present, namely, English as a language and as a culture. This is shown by the discrepancy between the Quotients on the two subtests, Language and Quantitative. Mathematic or number problems require less translation and

cultural interpretation.

The language-culture handicap is also demonstrated by comparing the results on the Reading Test, with those on the Verbal Form. In terms of Quotients, the one on the Language sub-test starts well below the Reading Quotient (which remains somewhat constant) and eventually approximates it. In many schools, both run parallel all along. The overall average of the Language Quotients is weighed down by the large group of children for whom English is definitely a second language and culture. In Grade 5, they understand written English reasonably enough but are far from being able to reason things out or think in English to the same degree. As they become more familiar with this second language, they can think to the extent that they know it. In terms of Retardation on Mental and Reading years, the average for the four grades is almost identical, with this difference however that the Mental Age Retardation in Grade 8 has decreased by 6 months whereas the Reading Age retardation has increased by the same amount from Grade 5 to 8. The decrease in Mental Age Retardation could be attributed to the selectiviness of the Grade 8 group whilst the increase could be the fact of decreasing formal Reading instruction from Grade 5 to 8.

It would be an over-simplification on our part to credit the below-standard results of Indian school pupils on one Intelligence test to the language handicap alone. There must be other factors such as the time-limit, already mentioned, the newness of the situation, the traditional attitude still strong in many areas of not taking a guess or not answering unless absolutely sure (it appeared more prevalent among the girls), the practice of attempting each question one after the other instead of picking up first those personally found easier and coming back to the others later, etc., etc. But these are all cultural factors rather than personal psychological ones. They are the very same factors which will interfere with the successful adjustment of these same pupils in non-Indian situations, where they might seek employment or carry on with their studies.

Generally speaking however, language, as the most essential component of our culture and channel of communication, remains the most important barrier between the Indian's native intelligence and its full and efficient application to problems of life in a non-Indian Canadian environment. No matter how much endowed with intelligence by nature in an English speaking environment, an Indian will understand directions and keep step with his superiors or associates to the extent that he has mastered English as a language and thinking process. This might explain why so many Canadians think of him as a physically grown-up but mentally childish individual. How conducive to successful integration can this assumption be?

10. - 1957 Fall Re-test

In August 1957, a one-week workshop was held in Ottawa for Indian residential school Principals. It was sponsored by the Oblate Fathers Commission on Indian and Eskimo Welfare and planned by the secretariate of the Commission, with the help of the staff at the University of Ottawa School of Psychology and Education. Among other resolutions it was decided that, for guidance as well as educational supervision and research purposes, pupils in Grade 5 to 8 would be tested twice a year (Fall and Spring), using the same test both times and in all the schools, in order to ascertain progress and to have some kind of national norms (to be drawn by the Secretariate of the Commission from the aggregate results). The test would vary each year, according to a cycle, so as to cover periodically the most important areas of Indian Education. The original survey had apparently convinced every one of the multiple value of standardized tests, and had also initiated enough staff-members at each school into the same techniques and procedures to warrant local administration.

The test selected for the first year was the Modern School Achievement Tests, skills Edition, prepared by Arthur Q. Gates, Paul R. Mort and Ralph B. Spence (Bureau of Publications,

Teachers College, Columbia University, New York, 1948). The following reasons led to the selection of this test: the norms were similar to the Reading Survey previously used; it had not been administered in any school anywhere; it was rated slightly less favorable to the Canadian school than the other two American Achievement Batteries currently used, and finally, it would not interfere with a similar survey intended by Indian Affairs Branch with the Dominion Achievement Tests.

The Modern School Achievement Tests are made up of five sub-tests, namely, Reading Comprehension, Reading Speed, Arithmetic Computation, Arithmetic Reasoning and Spelling. As with the Gates Reading Survey, the norms for each sub-test are given in terms of School Grade and months and average Chronological years and months. The thirty-one schools who sent in their individual pupils results averaged the following scores, reported in terms of School Grades and months, except for the average on the whole test which is further reported in Chronological years and months, and in terms of Educational Quotients. Again the test was given around the third month of the current school year.

Gr.	No.	C.A.	R.Com.	R.Sp.	Ar.Com.	Ar.Rea.
5.3	661	12-3	4.2	4.4	4.3	3.8
6.3	528	13-3	5.0	5.1	5.1	4.4
7.3	361	14-0	5.9	5.7	6.0	5.5
8.3	241	14-11	6.4	6.3	7.1	6.6

Gr.	Spel.	Ave.	E.A.	E.Q.	Ret.
5.3	5.0	4.3	10-0	81	2.2
6.3	5.8	5.1	10-11	82.5	2.4
7.3	6.6	5.9	11-9	84	2.4
8.3	7.4	6.8	12-7	84.5	2.4

Comparing this table with the tables of results from the first survey, we find a larger enrolment in the lower grades and a lowering of the average age. On the whole, the present aggregate averages 3 months younger per grade, which

immediately reduces the margin of retardation on grade placement itself with non-Indian pupils of the same chronological age. The results on each sub-test and on the whole test average higher than on the Gates Reading Survey. This could be the proof of a definite improvement in teaching techniques and pupil achievement. It could also be brought about by a variation in norms between the two tests. Finally, it could be credited to the fact that, the test being administered locally, a time more appropriate to maximum efficiency on the part of the pupils was probably selected, rather than one fitting the circumstances of a traveling schedule.

The comparison between the two series of results must be made in terms of the profile projected by each test. The increment from grade to grade in Reading Comprehension on this year's survey is 8 months between Grade 5 and 6, 9 between 6 and 7, 5 between 7 and 8. In 1955-56, it was 5, 7 and 8 respectively. On Speed, 7,6 and 6 in 1957 for 6,7 and 7 in 55-56. This would imply a definite improvement of reading-instruction in the middle Grades coupled with a broader but less academic promotion into Grade 8, but little change in facilities and opportunities of reading for recreation.

Spelling is the highest scored department almost everywhere, even in most isolated non-English speaking areas. This might be caused by the ease with which it can be drilled. We think it can also be related to language learning patterns, particularly if the scores are compared with the other two reading sub-tests. It recalls the edge in Vocabulary on the Reading Survey, and the comments made earlier on Verbalism. Perhaps the traditional trait of visual observation mentioned about the Non-Verbal Form has also something to do with these results.

The increase from Grade to Grade in both departments of Arithmetic is the closest to normal, as far as rate is concerned; in fact, it is one month better than normal in the two senior grades, thus confirming the results on the

Quantitative section of the Verbal Form and their interpretation.

The average on the whole test however still average twelve school-months below the grade placement listed, which is quite significant. The average Educational Quotients show an increase, from grade to grade, partly due to elimination of weaker pupils but also, we like to believe, due to an increasing familiarity with English and Canadian culture in general. The true retardation, based on grade placement according to non-Indian chronological age (cf. last column on table) is almost a constant two years and four months. This is the result of perduring averagedness and cultural retardation.

General Conclusions

On the basis of these results, the Indian Residential School does not yet compare favorably with the Canadian school. The achievement in content courses has not been sampled, but as these courses are more or less diversified combinations or applications of reading techniques, language comprehension and reasoning with or without numbers, it is doubtful if standardized tests in those departments would have produced better averages and change our verdict. Furthermore, we have been dealing with mean scores exclusively, and the rapidly increasing number of Indian pupils from residential schools entering High School reminds us of this fact. But these pupils are only exceptions, mostly from areas where Indian communities are culturally much closer to our standards than is the case in most districts serviced by residential schools.

Can the residential schools as such be blamed for these results, as is sometime done in certain quarters? Definitely not. As has been stated more than once already, the residential school deals with children from communities where English is at best a second language and where cultural patterns are still quite at variance with those of the Canadian community at large. It cannot by any stretch of imagination achieve

in an eight-year period what the non-Indian child, through his family, his community and then his school achieves in fifteen. It cannot do so if it follows the provincial course of studies because this course of studies is the institutional product of an autonomous culture, developed by that culture as part of the enculturation process of its coming generation, pre-supposing cultural foundations of the same nature, which it expands and completes. These foundations being absent, the school most efficient in imparting this course of study, whether it be residential, day or provincial, cannot do its work properly and expect the same lasting results. If, on the other hand, the residential school catered to the true educational needs of its pupils, it would not be able to follow the whole course of study, and many of its graduates would lag in certain departments. However, they would, we like to think, catch up with the non-Indians on fundamentals and essentials, something which they are not doing apparently now. The experiment has been tried in the U.S. and this assumption substantiated in the survey mentioned earlier. (Cf. How Well Are Indian Children Educated, p. 18, no. 11).

Are the federal day-schools in the same predicament? In selected areas where long association with non-Indians and favorable economic acculturation have produced settled communities quite similar if not identical to nearby non-Indian communities, no. There, the Indian school stands to its community in the same relation as the provincial schools to those communities. In fact, under these conditions, if distances are not prohibitive and racial prejudice absent, there is no reason why the pupils should not attend these provincial schools, as is the present policy of Indian Affairs Branch. The pupils are culturally Canadians and they can profit just as much from the provincial schools as their fellow-citizens. If, for one reason or another, they attend their own federal school as a community school, that school should turn out the same type of graduates as the average Canadian school, and it probably does.

When the overall cultural life and patterns of the Indian community, from which its pupils come, are anywhere closer to the aboriginal, the day-school operates under the same handicap as the residential school. It probably does so at a disadvantage, if for instance the homes are too small for home-study and if, going back to these homes at the end of the school day and for the week-end, the pupils are re-exposed to their native culture, however diluted, from which the school is trying to separate them during school hours. Furthermore the residential school usually offers better grouping through a bigger enrolment and more numerous classrooms. It has a larger, more specialized and usually more permanent staff. It can surround its pupils almost twenty-four hours a day with non-Indian Canadian culture through radio, television, public address system, movies, books, newspapers, group activities, etc. It can maintain their interest longer through better organized recreational and athletic programs and through vocational training of all kinds. For all these reasons, except in those selected areas mentioned above, it is doubtful if the federal day-school does a better job as a Canadian school than the residential schools are trying to do.

Part Two: THE INDIAN SCHOOL AS A SCHOOL FOR INDIANS

The present-day Indian School, residential or otherwise, has difficulties in competing with its model the Canadian School because the majority of its pupils do not have a cultural background similar to that of the non-Indian Canadian pupils for whom the Canadian school was designed. This leads to the question: is the Canadian school as such the ideal school for Indians? Does it meet their particular educational needs in relation not only to their home-background and upbringing, but also in relation to their individual and collective future? This is the other approach to the problems of Indian Education. We like to think that it is more objective, as it does not raise the school, Indian or Canadian, into an absolute, but focusses the discussion on the Indian child himself for

whom the school is provided.

Now that Canada is maturing into a nation, her citizens more and more think of themselves as Canadians, first and foremost, reducing the ethnic extraction or cultural descent to the role of statistical background. This is not true as yet of most Indians. Psychologically as well as historically, they are Indians first and Canadians afterwards. Or, to put it differently, their way of being Canadians is to be Indians. Consequently, and contrary to current opinion, setting the Indian pupil apart from his non-Indian classmates in order to study his particular problems (or, for that matter, to deal with those problems more adequately), does not, imply racial segregation but a long overdued recognition of the Indian community as a genuine and culturally distinct human community with an educational problem and process of its own.

The comments that make up this second part are not immediately the end-product of exact scientific research, since all the background information, collected from each child taking part in the survey, has not yet been co-related, by item, with the results on the tests. Nor has it been possible immediately to mark out the school and after-school life-orbit of each pupil tested. Nevertheless, they are based on verified factual information.

At each school visited, in order to understand the results of the tests and to interpret them to the teachers as objectively as possible, on-the-spot information was sollicited from the principal and area field-workers (superintendents, farm instructors, nurses and missionaries) concerning the home and community background of the children in school. Special attention was given to the size and kind of homes, family patterns, income-producing activities and schooling of the parents. Pertinent questions were asked and records consulted about the out-of-school performance of graduates and leavers of the preceding five years. This information led to certain hypotheses as to the possible explanations for the

school's profile on the survey. These were verified through analysis of extreme individual cases at both ends of the curves and through discussion with the teachers. Revised hypotheses were verified again at other schools and confronted with research findings from Psychology and Educational Anthropology as well as with experiences and practices in countries with similar problems. The following notes are an attempt at summarizing these partially tested conclusions, as an interpretation of the achievements and shortcomings of the Indian school and a re-definition of its fundamental problems.

1. - The cultural background of the Indian pupil

The Indian child entering school for the first time is different from his non-Indian classmates in more than "legal" terms, scil., as heir to the right of living on the reserve. This difference is not biological or genetic, as would have it those who attribute his scholastic success to his "white blood" when he happens to enjoy both. Racial variations that have persevered have no direct, immediate and essential bearing on his psychological personality, though their concomitance may provoke social reactions which in turn will influence the development of this personality.

At time of birth, the differences already present in the Indian child's temperament are purely individual, the product of his particular combination of genes. He has the same physiological and psychological needs, and the same undevelopped powers to satisfy those needs as any other child born anywhere in the world. However, like any other child, he is not born in a laboratory or social vacuum. He is born in a given family which belongs in every way to a given community and, from then on, his growing personality starts differenciating itself, other than individual-wise from that of children born to other families in other communities.

Because his family is part of a community that has been in existence, at one place or another, in one form or another, for hundreds of years and, consequently, has its own traditions and culture (in the anthropological sense of the word), he does not develop his physio-psychological powers and apparatus in exactly the same fashion as his fellow-Canadians of the same age. His acquired techniques and habits of communication and reasoning, for instance, are, in most areas, still those of his native forefathers, even if part or perhaps the whole of his vocabulary is English or French. The type of life his parents lead is different and so are his own games. The needs he shares with all other children of the world are not satisfied the same way nor are their expression encouraged in the same manner.

Little by little, at or as the core of his conscious personality, a sense of values develops which is that of his people, to whom his parents refer when they say "We..." rather than that of the Canadian people at large. Individual freedom, economic well-being and ownership, authority within the family and the community, self-discipline, association with peers and elders, status and prestige within the groups, relationship with strangers and outsiders, outlook on nature and the world-at-large, relationship with the Invisible, these and many others acquire meaning, engender attitudes and criss-cross into a pattern of habits which relate him personally (rather than theoretically as in the case of the anthropologist specialized in amerindian culture) to the oldest and most venerable tradition of human community-living in this country. These values, meanings and attitudes condition his reflexes and color his psychological reactions in their own way. Consequently, though he be a normal child born on Canadian soil, the things that bring him satisfaction or sadness, that arouse his curiosity or puzzle his mental alertness, are not, by necessity, those that draw out the non-Indian child of the same age. The drives may be the same, since he is just as human, but their related objects, their rate of development

as well as their patterns of expression are deeply typified by his social environment.

"The experiences of people living in different cultures may vary in such a way as to lead to basically different perceptual responses, lend a different meaning to their actions, stimulate the development of totally different interests and furnish diverse ideals and standards of behavior (Cf. Anastasi, A. and J.P. Foley Junior, Differential Psychology, Rev. ed., New York, Macmillan, 1949, p. 733).

The aperceptive mass of ideas, associations, explanations and other type of information which slowly fills his mind and imagination in his early formative years is also far from being identical to that of the non-Indian Canadian child. Most of the time, his parents have had relatively little formal schooling and cannot but impart to him a mixture of scientific and natively empirical answers to the questions that he asks. In typical Indian tradition, he will usually ask these questions, or simply listen, to his grandparents, and they, in turn, less acculturated than their children, will relay what they rightly think is the supreme wisdom of their own tribe. Other sources of non-Indian information found in average Canadian homes, such as books, encyclopedias, magazines, newspapers, radio and television are also missing for the most part. If they are present, they are seldom used to the same extent and along the same patterns as in non-Indian homes.

This leads us to mention the material conditions of the Indian home. Roughly seventy-five per cent of these homes, if not more, are below the average Canadian standards. Even the houses recently built under the housing program of the Branch are still in many areas below the ever rising standards preferred by the majority of Canadians, though all of them, it must be stated, are well above the old one-room and curtain log-cabin. As for furniture, facilities and interior decoration, only the poorest newcomers to this country, would be satisfied with them, though seldom permanently.

Though it may not be felt as a privation by the Indians themselves whose supreme social value is not material wealth, this poverty of the houses reflects the sub-standard level of economic life of most Indian communities. The average income is still insufficient and it is doubtful if, without family allowances, rations, free health services, education and other forms of subsidies, some communities would survive very long. Such socio-economic factors have a definite bearing on the cultural growth of Indian children. Not only do they account for a limited early exposure to our culture and for certain operational and behavior patterns that are found in similar socio-economic groups of ethnic background other than Indian (including French or English Canadian); they also explain the perseverance of many cultural traits and traditions at variance with the global Canadian cultural complex. There is no such a thing as a cultural vacuum. The elements, traits and patterns that, through circumstances, are not replaced by new ones, persevere automatically, even when not reinforced by reactionary nationalism. If the Indian does not live like a "whiteman," he cannot grow-up into one.

The socio-economic and non-Canadian cultural circumstances of the Indian home are also those of the Indian communities themselves, as neighborhood in which the Indian child grows up. With few exceptions, Indian communities are rural as opposed to urban, and thus immediately share in the relatively different cultural level of our own non-urban minority. Most of them are not rural in the same way as the latter, being anywhere between a technologically modified native food-gathering economy and a type of food-raising complex usually quite inferior to the average Canadian one. The learning and living experiences of the Indian child in such an environment cannot but be different of that of the average urbanized Canadian.

The picture of the Indian child that we have attempted to describe and of his home background does not apply to all individual pupils, homes and communities in an identical way. There

are variants and differences. These stem from 1 - the cultural and geo-economic differences originally present before the European occupation; 2 - the variety of historical contacts with the newcomers; 3 - the type of permanent association with the dominant culture which has followed. In other words, there is a sub-culture particular to each region, if not to each Indian community: it is the perduring local native culture, or its residual structure, acculturated according to its own experience of prolonged contact with the developing Canadian culture and its own appreciation of this culture. The Indian child is first and foremost the product of this local "group-memory."

2. - The Indian school in relation to the cultural background of its pupils

In an autonomous society, the educational process that begins at birth has a twofold function: 1) to impart to the newcomer the current culture of the group so that he can associate freely in the various activities of the community; 2) to equip him with the skills he will need as an individual to provide for himself and his family whilst contributing to the economic and social welfare of the community. In our society, the school-system handles only part of the cultural transmission process, that which the other institutions and forces in society delegate to it. Eventually it diversifies its channels so as to provide every young adult with specific information and skills leading to gainful employment. In other words, it carries on the enculturation of the child initiated in the home and brings it to maturation or near completion in one given direction, scil., occupational training, leaving it to the other forces present in society and to the individual himself to complete the process in the other departments.

The Indian child enters a school system which is not an institution or product of his native community and over which said community has little control, if any. The enculturation process that he has been undergoing up till then was quite different from that of the other

Canadian children for whom this school-system has been tailor-made. It will not, in most areas, serve as cultural basis for the educational activities of the school nor, if it perdures, will it share these activities to the same extent as in non-Indian communities.

By force of historical circumstances of which everyone is aware, the sociological function of the school attended by the Indian child is not to transmit whatever blend of native culture is operating in his community but to make it possible for him to integrate, either individually or through his community, in the socio-economic complex of the Canadian nation.

The school must not only equip him with the information and skills commonly essential to all Canadian and with specific knowledge and techniques for individual employment. It must help the child to integrate these into his culture personality whose behavior patterns and inner structure must, in turn and at least in part, be modified and adjusted so as to make possible, meaningful and renumerative the use of this information and the practice of these skills. All this must be done in the eight or nine years that he is obliged by law to attend school, or, at least, initiated successfully enough during those years to motivate him either to remain in school till the process is completed or to carry on by himself till then.

On account of his pre-school life experience, the educational needs of the Indian pupil are therefore much greater and, in part, different in kind, from those of his non-Indian classmate if he is to associate with the latter later on in life or lead a similar life in his own community.

Like any other Canadian child, he must master the three r's and other fundamental essentials of our civilization acknowledged as minimum schooling standards in Canada. He must learn the same language and communication skills, but without the benefit of a culturally rich home-background

of the same complex, and with a quite different attitude towards self-expression and social relationship in general. He has to learn computing with problems borrowed from an economic system with which his parents are not yet fully familiar and which operates on attitudes and values that are quite different from those developped by his people over the centuries. Human community development in his own native country is taught to him from a perspective almost opposite to that of his grandparents and with little reference to his forefathers' contributions to it, thus affording him little opportunity of identifying himself completely with the new nation. The world of nature with which he has begun to commune is broken into bits and fragments, each one with a specific explanation that seems to by-pass its life and beauty. His motivation for such a process does not arise spontaneously from the content of the program or the nature of the skills taught, since they are not fully in line with the meanings and interests he has acquired at home. Thus, even in relation to the basic objectives of the Canadian school and in terms of enculturation, the Indian pupil's needs are greater and somewhat different from those of his non-Indian classmate. Unless these needs are acknowledged and taken care of, schooling will not produce lasting results any more than fitting a steel-head on a wax-handle will manufacture a genuine ax.

At the same time, the Indian must furthermore acquire some of the generalizations, attitudes, interests, personal and social habits that make up the operative basis of our common culture and which, contrary to the experience of the non-Indian child, are seldom fully present and identical in his home and community. For his own as well as his community's promotion to a genuine level of Canadian culture and life, it is not enough to know how to read, reckon and write and to train as a laborer or a professional. Concrete and relevant information about various occupations, walks of life and about various ways of despatching one's personal or social responsibilities, accepted forms of emotional expression

and control, home-management, health-habits, value-judgments on people and actions, these and so many other elements of our culture, which non-Indian children acquire unconsciously simply by growing up, are lacking in his "integration-kit." Sometimes they are radically opposed to those in which he has been reared.

The school cannot impart to him all these facts and traits and thus change him into a "whiteman." But it must familiarize him with those that are functionally essential to his carrying on non-Indian life-activities, on or off the reserve. When possible, it should also create a conscious and rational awareness of the others so as to foster self-acculturation, if desired by the individual. It must tactfully relieve him of whatever traits or attitudes that could definitely interfere with his success in life as well as make him a stranger to the average non-Indian Canadian. His typical use of income and money, for instance, must be brought in line with that of our culture, if he is not to remain a pauper for ever. His group-consciousness and cohesiveness must be either attenuated or else harnessed to promote the welfare of his whose class-group or native community.

Whether the school can do all this transculturation single-handed or by drawing upon other institutions and social forces is a different question. The educational needs are there and again they must be met squarely; otherwise as in the past, the whole schooling effort, no matter how pedagogically correct from our point of view, will prove of little benefit both to the individual and to his community.

3. - The socio-economic future of the Indian pupil

If the school must accept the Indian pupil the way he really is, (rather than the way we would like him to be or the way other Canadian children are) it must also keep in mind where he is going to work and live after he graduates. In other words, the school must prepare him for life. This is a frequently repeated truism but its

implementation is too often taken for granted, particularly in the case of Indians. Sending them all to school is a worthy objective but will not automatically prepare them for a better life unless this betterment itself is methodically planned by the school. This can only be done by taking a cold hard look at what usually happens to the majority of boys and girls after they leave school.

In most areas, upon completing either their studies or simply their legal number of years in school, from 75 to 95 per cent of the Indian boys and girls presently in school return or remain on their native reserve. The boys for the most part occupy themselves, off and on, with helping their parents, relatives or neighbors at small scale farming or cattle-raising, fishing, trapping, wood-cutting, house-building and other seasonal activities. An increasing number, though still a tenuous minority, look for and find similar occupations and others, such as trucking and loading, in the nearby area and district. On the whole, a very small number secure permanent year-round employment on or off the reserve.

The girls will assume house chores at home or at relatives, trying to put in practice, in living-accommodations and with household-equipment inferior to that of the average Canadian's summer cottage, the techniques and skills they have learned in school with up-to-date fixtures. It will be easier for them than for the boys to find salaried employment in restaurants, schools, hospitals, hotels and private homes though seldom above that of junior domestic. Many will marry non-Indian men of the lower class and others will keep house for temporarily isolated lumberjacks, miners, trappers and prospectors. This exodus of girls of marriageable age sometimes creates an acute shortage of partners for the boys who have far less opportunities or freedom to marry non-Indians.

When these young people settle down, marry and start having children, they often enough

have to live with one of the parents or relatives in already crowded habitations. They may put up their own cabin or move into one abandoned by an older family whose turn has come to occupy one of the newer houses constructed by the government or by the band. Outside of family allowances, their income will remain irregular and, partly because of economic, administrative and demographic conditions on the reserve, partly because of their wrong consumer's and managerial habits, it will be years before the best of them will raise themselves to a higher standard of living, closer to the Canadian average and above the one of their parents.

As for their active participation in the embryonic, federally supervised and steered, self-government activities of their community, the traditions of the tribe usually postpones it till they have reached full middle-aged maturity. When they can afford it, they will entertain themselves in white settlements, at the movies, poolrooms or, if legally authorized, beer-parlors. If they can get hold of a car or truck, they will travel around. Otherwise they will stay on the reserve, grouping at one home or another to talk, listen to the radio, dicker around with machinery, play records, etc. The radio of their working hours to times of idleness will approximate that expected in our own society when automotion finally sets in.

Why will they not leave the reserve altogether and settle in town or city? Many of them try but end up with less than they can enjoy at home and eventually drift back to the reserve. Their failure to secure permanent and lucrative employment will be primarily the fact of their lack of training which will have been denied them because they will have left school before completing Grade 8 (to say nothing of Grade 10), which in turn will be mostly due to their home-background and canadianwise cultural retardation. Should they manage to overcome this handicap, become semi-skilled and find employment, again wrong consumer's and managerial practices will keep them at a sub-standard level of life. Some

of them will be recuperated by the recently initiated young adult vocational training and placement program of Indian Affairs Branch, which is hoped to gather momentum as the years go by. But the bulk of prospective "bread-winners" and "children-raisers" will remain on the reserves, thereby assuring the continuity of present-day Indian communities of socio-economic conditions inferior to that of the nation.

The small minority of Grade 7 and 8 pupils who will carry on and move into the senior grades are not so much better off. The majority of them will choose academic rather than vocational or technical training, as it proves more readily accessible to them everywhere at one of the larger residential schools or any of the provincial high-schools, and also because they, as well as their parents, have greater knowledge of an respect for white collar occupations, examplified on the reserves, than of and for the hundreds of lucrative employment opportunities of skilled labor. A small percentage of them will complete this academic course but, by this time, unless they had in mind all along a specific vocation, few will find enough patience, self-control and energy to carry on into university or anything that would postpone a few more years the moment they can look for employment and raise a family. Thus the high-school students and even sometimes the graduates, particularly the boys, will find it hard to secure employment outside of the reserves because they will not have a trade or a profession.

Such is the immediate future which lies in wait for the larger and consequently more nationally important proportion of the boys and girls presently in school, federal or provincial, outside of a few priviledged areas of better economic opportunities and longer acculturative association with the Canadian community at large.

4. - Schooling Indian pupils for life, as individuals

The average Indian pupil, growing-up in a partially acculturated and integrated community, must be prepared for life in a very realistic way. This is perhaps the area where the solution of continuity between the Canadian school and the socio-cultural life of his community shows the most, detrimentally to every party concerned, including the whole Canadian people.

The Canadian school prepares its non-Indian pupils for life not only because it carries on the enculturation process initiated in the home but also because it equips its pupils with information, skills and habits directly related to the kind of occupation and life in which they will enter after graduation. It concentrates on these objectives, leaving it to the family and to the other institutions and forces in the community to round up the enculturation process, at the end of which the individual young man or woman will be competent to take his place in every activity of the community, besides providing for his own needs and that of his family. All these things it can do or agree to leave to other factors, because it is aware of both the kind of life and opportunities which its graduates will meet and the substantial contributions of these other factors (clubs, home, peer-group, unions, churches, community groups and activities, T.V., etc.) towards the same end. The whole process coordinates smoothly, and relatively efficiently, because it operates in a broadly homogeneous and autonomous cultural society and it is also geared to the rate of mental and academic development of its natural school population.

In comparison, the preparation of the Indian pupil, by the school, for a culturally more Canadian way of life, on or off the reserve, is not substantially shared and fostered by the ongoing cultural life of the Indian community. Nor can the majority of Indian pupils be prepared, in fact, for the same wide variety of vocations and avocations as are opened to the

average non-Indian, partly because most of these occupations are not practiced by Indians on the reserves, which the majority of them are not inclined to leave, partly because the off-reserve variety of employment opportunities is little known to them or felt beyond their range. Even if, through radical changes of one kind or another, these two handicaps were overcomed, there remains the academic and cultural retardation illustrated by both surveys, which bars them from admission to provincial vocational schools.

Yet, without some sort of vocational training before they leave school, the majority of these boys and girls are doomed to become second-class citizens, on or off the reserve, and to raise another generation of under-privileged and culturally handicapped children. Whether this type of training is offered before school-leaving age or at the young adult level, it must be given, if we want to live up to our principle of "equality of opportunity" and acquit ourselves of the duty we have assumed by taking the country away from its first occupants.

5. - Educational needs of the Indian pupil in relation to his community

Up to this point, we have considered the problems of Indian Education in terms of the average individual pupil, trying to gage his schooling needs as he stands in comparison with his non-Indian Canadian classmate, i.e., the task that the school must perform to equip him with the equivalent kind of knowledge and skills for employment and living, taking into account the Canadianwise cultural indigence of his particular background. The school catering to the Indian pupil has to assume this extra burden because the other educational factors at work with non-Indian children in our society are not operating in the Indian community in an identical cultural complex and direction.

The final question is: will this be sufficient? If, through a course of studies and methods adjusted, one way or another, to their

true acculturation needs, followed by a terminal period for all those who have not achieved a true Grade 6 or 7 level two years previous to their leaving school, the present generation of Indian pupils as adequately prepared for gainful occupation and economic self-support, would our Indian problem be automatically solved? Education is said to be the key to successful integration. Will the above key really open all the doors that are presently closed to the majority of our Indian citizens? Will it mark the end of the present cultural lag which handicaps the Indian pupil? Will the next generation be so highly acculturated as to be able to enter the Canadian school, particularly the provincial one, and fall in step immediately with the non-Indian pupil?

The question is worthwhile asking. Our Indian communities survive at a disheartening and almost shameful sub-standard socio-economic level not only because their native economy has been upset but more precisely because, in the meanwhile, they have not been able to adjust their culture adequately to this environmental change. The historical circumstances that are responsible for this failure are not of our concern, nor the socio-psychological factors that keep the communities together. The fact is there: Indian communities perdure as valid communities and most of them show an increase in population. The question is: will they keep rearing children in a truncated cultural tradition or will they eventually give their children basically the same kind of home-background as non-Indians? There is only one way to prevent the former and insure the latter: "ad hoc" education.

In any society, the most steadfast patterns of behavior and the least susceptible to radical change are those connected with family-living and child-raising. They belong to the core of this local culture and deal with the conscious life-line of the community. As modern Psychology and Anthropology have established, they constitute the most potent social factor in the personality development of any child. Partial and usually superficial changes are brought about

indirectly by modifications in the other fields of activity that affect the culture of the whole group, viz., switch over from food-gathering to food-producing, from temporary shelter to permanent housing, etc. Studies in the dynamics of acculturation show that "for the child, undergoing his early enculturation within the family, the influence of an ongoing acculturative situation is minimal." (Herskovits, M.J., Introduction to the Proceedings and Selected Papers of the XXIXthe International Congress of Americanists. Cf. Tax, Sol, ed. Acculturation in the Americas, Univ. of Chicago Press, 1952, p. 56).

The majority of Indian boys and girls now presently in school will establish themselves on the reserves, or nearby, within their native communities or the equivalent. Even if, through a schooling and follow-up process meeting their individual needs and prospects, they do so in economic surroundings of a kind and level closer to Canadian standards, they will probably bring up their children the way they themselves have been brought up. There will be some variations, particularly in the technological field of homemaking and family living. Basically however, it will remain in the same cultural tradition. It will be natural for them to do so, partly because of the presence of parents from both sides, partly because they will not have learned otherwise. This is what has been going on in practically every Indian Community in Canada, even those that have had schools with them for two or more generations. It explains the perseverance of so much native culture, particularly of those elements which handicap both the pupils in school and the adults trying to integrate. (Incidentally it also accounts for the edge which children of mixed blood often evidence when they come to school. "Whether the miscegenation occurs through legal marriages, or illicit unions, the presence of the white parent will, on the whole, tend to bring about a closer contact with the white culture than is the case in families where no such mixture has occured." (Cf. Anastasi, op. cit., p. 748).

The cycle must be broken somewhere, by the Indians themselves, since it is their culture and their socio-economic betterment which is at stake. Just as they need special assitance from the school and later on, from other agencies, to accede to culturally non-Indian sources of income, they will not readjust their family-living and child-raising patterns without the same type of outside help and guidance. Again this special educational need of Indian pupils varies in degree from one community to the next, at least from one region to another. However, it is fairly constant.

This sociological perspective must be given effective recognition notwithstanding the increasing number of Indian students moving into High or Vocational Schools and away from their native surroundings. This increase is not in itself immediately significant in relation to Indian communities as such, since the whole Indian population is increasing and, consequently, there is also an increase in the absolute number of pupils leaving school without truly terminating their formal "life-preparatory" education. As for the exodus of the brighter, better educated and therefore more acculturated young Indians, however profitable it may be for themselves individually, encouraging for their teachers and enriching to the Canadian community at large, it may deprive many native communities of their natural leaders, thus making it harder for them to regain control over their own affairs and successfully integrate, as autonomous communities, in the socio-economic life of the nation.

General Conclusions

Such are, then, the educational needs of the vast majority of Indian pupils and the obstacles that the Indian school must overcome if both are to be integrated in the Canadian nation. To sum up, Indian children must receive from the school: 1) the minimum schooling essentials common to all Canadians, particularly language, integrated into their psycho-cultural background and personality; 2) methodical

enrichment of this background and careful adjustment of this personality to foster closer association with other Canadians; 3) "ad hoc" vocational training for permanent and renumerative occupations on the reserve or in the vicinity; 4) instruction, help and guidance in family-living and child-raising to foster an earlier acculturation of the next generation.

When the Indian school has to meet these needs, in part or in toto, it cannot compete academically with the Canadian school, as we have seen on the survey. When it patterns itself too closely on the Canadian school, it is not a good Indian school since it does not meet the socio-cultural needs of the majority of its pupils, as explored in our second part. Singly taken, none of these needs can be said particular to the Indian pupil exclusively, any more than any of the individual traits usually ascribed to his cultural personality. As both needs and traits are human, they are bound to emerge here and there with other human beings and communities. What warrants special consideration and justifies group-treatment is their simultaneous presence, their psycho-social concatenation and their interrelationships in the life-pattern of permanent, homogeneous "child-producing" communities.

In other words, these specific needs are common to the Indian pupils "qua" Indian culturally, not directly because of their legal status or their racial heredity. These two do come into the picture and are far from improving it, even in such a supposedly benevolent state and broad-minded nation as Canada. Basically, however, from a combined anthropological and pedagogical point of view, the obstacles to the Indian pupil's successful schooling or, to put it differently, the special problems that challenge his teacher, stem from the conflict between two living cultures, that of the Indian community in which the pupil has grown up and will probably live most of his life, and that of the nation into which both child and community must eventually integrate.

For that matter, the teacher himself should be included in this inventory of the Indian child's educational needs or difficulties. He is the product and representative of one culture, that of the dominant group. Unless he has been sensitized to such notions and facts as cultural differences, cultural change and acculturation, either theoretically or by experience, in broad terms or with reference to his particular situation, he can by-pass the problem altogether and never fully understand the sociological process in which he has agreed to take part.

In that respect, the average teacher simply reflects the general attitude of the Canadian people whose misconceptions of what the Indian was originally, ignorance of what has happened to him historically and overall cultural superiority-complex render only to prone to accept, if not to urge, rash solutions that are over-simplifications of the problem.

Indian Education as a social process at work in the Canadian nation must, therefore, go beyond the academic schooling of present-day Indian boys and girls. Not only must it prepare the way for the next generation on the reserve, it must also involve practically the whole Canadian people, ultimately responsible for the plight of the oldest Canadians. It will be economically successful and culturally enriching, let us not delude ourselves, only to the extent that it will rally the active participation, at all levels of social communication and responsibility beginning with the family, in terms of adults as well as school age children, of both societies implicated in the process: the Indian communities on the reserves and the Canadian community.

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SOME REMARKS ABOUT THE ATHAPASCAN INDIANS

by

Angus Sherwood

These observations cover the years from 1911 to the present amongst Beaver, Sicanni, Casca, Slavi, Mountain Indians and Hare and to a lesser extent with the Dog-ribs and Carrier.

These Athapascan Indians were free (not confined to reservations). Some were pagan, some Christian. All depended for their living on hunting, fishing and trapping. In the early years they depended very little on store bought food and the hunt for food came first. Trapping was a side line as it did not take much fur to supply their needs. As big game became scarcer their need for imported food became greater and trapping took more of their time. The Liard and Mackenzie River Indians used more work dogs to cover more country; this in turn took more fish and meat for dog food. The supply of native dog food became scarce in many places and today many native trappers have to buy imported dog food.

When the first white men came the Indians had no work dogs, only small dogs for hunting. At first a dog team was 3 dogs and the driver used a pushing pole to help move the load. Today a dog team consists of 5 or 6 dogs. In a family of father, mother and three sons there may be 20 dogs. This means that the mouths to be fed have been multiplied by four. This is too much for the country to support. I think that the net result has been that work dogs have been a loss to the country, although they have been a blessing to the women as they had to do the work of the dogs in the old days.

The only Indians that openly resented the coming of the white man were the Beaver Indians. They had horses and their good range land on the north bank of the Peace River was

taken up by homesteaders. The Beaver were the most warlike. For years they had fought the Crees and until the Crees got firearms the Beaver had held their own. They were proud people. They only asked to be left alone in the mountains north of Hudson's Hope and Fort St. John. They clung to their pagan religion. Their chief, after a tribal conference, told the trader what debt to give each hunter and saw to it that this debt was paid. The 'Flu epidemic of 1919-20 nearly wiped out the Beaver that I knew.

The Sicanni on the Parsnip and Finlay Rivers were a friendly lot and helpful to newcomers. They mixed freely with the Carriers and Casca and intermarried. I doubt if many were full blood Sicanni. Despite the provocation they received from white trappers who came into their country after the construction of the Grand Trunk Pacific Railroad, they remained friendly. They hated the Chinese miners. They blamed them for bringing venereal disease. During the placer mining on the Omineca River many Chinese miners took over claims that the white miners left as too poor. These Chinese wore blue overalls and no Sicanni would buy blue jeans, they wanted black ones. The McLeod Lake Sicanni had a strain of Iroquois blood. They planted gardens and played the game of "Snow Snake."

All the Sicanni were scrupulously honest. We had unlocked cabins and caches scattered all over. Even when starving the Indians left them untouched. This also applied to the Carrier and Casca who came to the Finlay Forks Post to trade. In 1924 I told them that I was closing the store and going to the Mackenzie River. After the Spring beaver hunt they brought their furs to me and paid their debts. In some cases they paid for relatives who did not come. They said: "the other traders could wait. I was going away so I must be paid first," They were to be pitied. They had no medical aid at all and scrofula was almost universal amongst them. When able to work they were very good and learned quickly. They refused treaty money saying that they wanted to be free men. A Casca Indian that I prospected

with on the Nahanni had taken treaty money at Fort Simpson when he came there from the Pelly River. He often said he hoped we found something good so he would have the money to pay back all he had received from the Government.

These Sicanni were not awed by the Government. The young people had never seen a policeman. The last police that had been on the Finlay River were the North West Mounted Police in 1907 when the Yukon Trail had been made from Fort St. John to connect with the Telegraph Trail north of Hazelton. They were naturally decent people. They saw a priest every two or three years as one came from Fort St. James on Stuart Lake.

The Slavi and Hares on the Liard and Mackenzie were much the same: that is the people who stayed out in the bush. At the trading posts, which were larger than those in Northern British Columbia, there was usually a Mission as well as two or more traders. Around these posts were Indians who worked at odd jobs for the Missions and traders. These people looked down on the bush Indians and in turn were looked down upon by the bush hunters. Many of them were dead beats and lived by their wits. From the trader's viewpoint they were a poor risk, not so much because they meant to be dishonest as because they did not "make any fur." Civilization had spoiled them, they wanted the comforts of Post life but they could not pay for it. Outwardly they were Christians but if anything went wrong they got a Medicine Man to work to help them. The old ways of the Medicine Man still persist although it is kept hidden as much as possible.

Many thoughtful Indians have told me that they believe the coming of the white man was a good thing except for the new diseases that they brought. Steel tools made life much easier and the Mission influence has been good in teaching them kindness to their women and cleanliness in their camps. While the fur trade lasted the education given children by the Missions probably did more harm than good, especially with the boys. Ordinary

school subjects did not fit them to earn their living except as interpreters or odd-job men around the trading posts. They had missed their training as hunters and were misfits in the life of their people. Many girls wept for days when they came home, they found their people so dirty. However, things improved and today the average camp is clean except for a few old women who think that body lice are a sign of good health.

Today, with improved health meaures by the Federal Government, the birth rate is exceeding the death rate. The fur market is poor, furs are scarcer, the population is increasing. Something must be done to help these people. They have not been penned up on reservations and are fairly free of dependence on government doles. They are intelligent and good workers but their way of working is different from the white man's way. The awful monotony of the average white man's life: 8 hours a day, 6 days a week, for months on end seems nothing but drudgery to them. The native way is to work day and night at a fishery, hunt or journey until that job is finished. Then comes a period of rest with gambling, dancing or visiting. Then another spurt of work. Social life of some kind is very important in their life. It is not a question of intelligence, a good hunter is as well educated in his way as the average white workman. They have a quick grasp of mechanics but it soon becomes drudgery.

Perhaps the solution will be to take children when very young into a residential school, teach them a trade so thoroughly that they can compete with the white tradesman. At present some natives are working on construction projects. Their work is satisfactory but these natives have the feeling that they still do not belong to the white man's world. The only social intercourse they have after work is with white riffraff who will gamble with them or sell them booze. There is need of educating the white man as well as the Indian. Segregation does not stop at the border of Canada and the United States. It may take several generations before an Indian family will feel that they are getting as much out of life as

they did as hunters. If a few can become outstanding men in some line of work others will follow them. They took pride in being the best hunters or travellers and it will be that way with their work once they feel that they are accepted by the white man. The Huron and Iroquois feel that way about steel work on high buildings.

It will take patient teaching and a real show of interest by employers but it must be done if we are to be truthful in saying that we are living in a democratic country. We should not have different grades of Canadians.

In conclusion I would say that the early years of the fur trade were the most beneficial to the Indians. They were left to live their old way of life and had steel tools and firearms. The teaching of the missionaries made the lot of the women easier and in famine years they received help from the white man. The lack of medical aid was the worst lack of those years. Tuberculosis spread unchecked.

After the year 1916 there came a boom in fur prices which lasted until 1929. In those years the natives became dependent on store bought food and clothing. Much of the clothing was wholly unsuitable for bush wear. They took to flashy items and it was a common sight to see a woman tanning a moose hide while wearing a silk waist and silk stockings. They also built cabins and stayed in the settlements when they would have been better off in the bush.

They lost a lot of their old independence and copied the poorest parts of the white man's customs. The young people today do not fit into the old life of their people nor into the ways of the white man. It is impossible to go back and it will take a lot of careful teaching before they can go forward. Teaching can't stop by training them for 8 hours work; it must teach them how to use their leisure time also.

In 45 years amongst Athapascans I have received much kindness and very little that was bad. I hope they can fit into Canadian life on an equal footing with other Canadians.

Norman Wells,
Northwest Territories.

ATTAWAPISKAT--BLEND OF TRADITIONS

by

John J. Honigmann

It is safe to assume that any eventual classification of types of acculturation will include two extremes: culture contact situations notoriously detrimental to the welfare of at least one of the component parties and contact in which new currents of culture are assimilated to old in such a way that the terminal product is a reasonably successful, new integration of life. Up to the present time such a successful integration has been achieved by the people of Attawapiskat on James Bay, Ontario. They have learned--not without conflict, hard work, and occasional disconcertment--facets of a new way of life and have incorporated these in a configuration that is meaningful and satisfying.

I

The acephalous units making up the aboriginal Attawapiskat population occupied river drainages (it scarcely is fitting to speak of valleys along the flat western shore of James Bay) from which they acquired their names. Such structural units still persist in the way families informally group themselves when they build dwellings in the modern settlement of Attawapiskat. Those people who spend the winter trapping on the Attawapiskat and Lawaaci rivers are located upriver; the Lake River folk camp on a shelf below the main part of the settlement, and the Ekwan people mostly live downriver from the church which stands prominently in the center of the post.

Aboriginally a river drainage unit comprised a number of independent and self-sufficient mobile bands that formed and reformed under the leadership of a resource person of

wisdom and experience. Such chiefs lacked legal power. Today the coming of autumn still sees families, singly or in pairs and threes, dispersing from Attawapiskat to coastal goose camps and inland to more distant trap lines. But commercial trapping in lieu of subsistence hunting and fishing has made the people occupational specialists in a complex international society. They no longer supply all of their needs-tools, clothing, food, containers, and shelter--from the products of the forest but draw on the resources of several continents for steel, woolens, cottons, tea, tinned meats, sugar, cordage, lamps, radios, gasoline, and other goods. In return they pay their bills annually with the furs of the beaver, fox, mink, muskrat, and marten. But furs are not too plentiful, at least not in the country immediately inland from the coastal marshes. Yet people are reluctant to penetrate far up the eastward flowing streams to exploit unfamiliar territory where, they have been told, game is more plentiful. To stay in the relatively unproductive territory near the Bay limits the fulfillment of needs which, it is significant to note, are expanding. A number of families and individuals have been induced to leave Attawapiskat and trapping to work at unskilled jobs on radar installations, air fields, and in the small harbor at Moosonee, the supply depot for the trading posts and military installations of James Bay. The regular remuneration that comes from such work exerts a strong pull for young men who are, however, often in conflict about leaving their homes. Relatively few opportunities for employment are offered by the Hudson's Bay Company and mission in Attawapiskat. Wages there compare unfavorably with those paid outside for unskilled labor.

Will Attawapiskat gradually cease to be a fur post and the Indians become dispersed in Canadian society, their identity lost as a community? In 1947 the resident population consisted of about 467 persons, with a number of families already residing more or less permanently at Fort Albany, Moosonee, and at a few points along the Ontario Northland Railroad.(1)

Government sponsored health examinations followed in a large number of cases by subsequent hospitalization at Moose Factory, Moosonee, and more distant sanitoria made many more people rapidly familiar with the outside world and seem to have been responsible for a stepping up of the rate of external migration. In 1955 a census carefully carried out revealed the Attawapiskat population to have been reduced to 300 people, the colonies at Fort Albany and Moosonee having expanded. On the other hand, counterbalancing forces which integrate the community continue at work, providing a considerable measure of strength and satisfaction. To these we shall turn in a moment.

II

The history of acculturation on the west coast of James Bay goes back to 1685 when Fort Albany succeeded the establishment of Ruperts House and Moose Factory farther south.(2) But the ensuing two centuries were relatively quiet years as far as concerns culture change, particularly for Attawapiskat. It is likely that during the eighteenth century Attawapiskat Indians began to transform their material culture with goods secured from the Hudson's Bay Company outlet at Quichitchouanne (Fort Albany). Other areas of life scarcely remained unaltered. With time spared from manufacturing stone tools, weapons, and garments trapping increasingly came to replace hunting. Strangers swelled the local population as inland people moved coastward to be near the trade center. The Indians' outlook seems to have been optimistic. Some of the new things were puzzling and, like guns and ammunition, even dangerous but their mastery came with time. Old men built the shaking tent (kosapatcikan) and after communion with their helpers reported confidently that the new traits would be helpful to the people. The new way of life would not bring disaster. This positive attitude toward culture change, devoid of any nostalgic clinging to the past, persisted when ideological innovation intensified following contact with the Oblates of the Immaculate Conception.

Actually, missionary contact at Fort Albany goes back to the brief interlude when the Fort (renamed after Ste. Anne de Beaupré) (3) was a French post (1686-1693). But the Jesuits left after the English reconquest and no further serious attempts at Christianization occurred until 1848. In that year the Oblates began to make annual visits to the Company's establishment. In 1892 they instituted a permanent setup that included a boarding school after 1902. The Anglican missionary began to call at Fort Albany in 1852. Both organizations made contact with the more northerly Attawapiskat Indians, notably those who visited Fort Albany during the summer trading season. It was not long before the Oblates penetrated northward. They constructed a church at Attawapiskat in 1893 and a missionary residence in 1912. The Hudson's Bay Company followed with a summer trade center in 1894 and was followed by Revillion Frères, the "French Company" as it is locally known, in 1902. Only in the early twenties was an Anglican church erected in Attawapiskat, the congregation of which includes only one indigenous family and that of the Hudson's Bay Company interpreter.

Precisely how the Attawapiskat Indians interpret Catholic dogma would make an interesting topic for further inquiry. But no question exists regarding the satisfaction they obtain from that religion. The aboriginal past is reinterpreted as a time of sorcery and evil, when the devil helped certain men (shamans) to extend their ordinary human power. People do not doubt the efficacy of shamanism in general nor have they lost their belief in sorcery. Evil men still exist and may utilize these channels to effect revenge for wrongs committed against them. But no longer do individuals seek spirit helpers. The older faith in a vaguely conceived pool (manitu) has been replaced by belief in a Supreme Being. Many people, but probably more women than men, regularly go to confession and communion. The High Mass on Sunday is attended by practically the entire community and is participated in actively. Most adults have received liturgical instruction during one or two years of residence at the

Fort Albany boarding school and their education has prepared them to sing Gregorian chants of the Mass and other services as well as to join in hymns.

The mission occupies a strategic position in the social structure of the community. While the manager of the Hudson's Bay Company exerts economic power, the Mission wields intellectual and moral power. The priest is a councillor, the nuns are teachers and nurses. Through the hospital the mission channels medicine to the sick. Missionaries try to keep families informed about members who are hospitalized in southern Ontario sanitoria. Community policy, difficult to arrive at in an acephalous group unaccustomed to formally coordinated action, is often formulated through the leadership of the mission director. Thus, the layout for houses to be built with government assistance, clearing the bush for the dwelling sites, draining paths, and instructing workers were all undertaken by the Mission. Labor is employed by the mission, the workers being paid off in tokens used to buy goods from the small store which that organization operates. The inclination of the mission staff is to suppress impatience and hostility when frustrated in relations with natives. In this behavior they parallel the Indians' attitude. Sometimes, however, tempers break through. The Indians are quite able to distinguish two kinds of missionary roles. The role of the priest as mediator between God and man is highly respected and not challenged. The roles of manager, employer, community organizer, and the educational functions of the mission personnel are criticized more readily.

The mission gives unity to this community in which the chiefs and councillors possess practically no power and display little effective leadership. In the first place, the Church and its activities--morning Mass, evening services, the rites of holy days--represent social values. The major passage rites of life, marriage and baptism, are celebrated in Church. However individuals may feel personally about the significance of these events, attendance at them testifies publicly to the importance that they hold

for everyone. Regularly to express the importance of these events gives the people a basis of unity that far transcends anything present in the aboriginal river drainage units. Participation is not a passive thing. Indians in Moosonee also attend High Mass but in contrast to Attawapiskat the service there does not appear to spring from the community. Participation in Attawapiskat symbolizes a community founded on common values as much as on territoriality and ramifying bonds of kinship.

The mission acts as host to government parties which visit the settlement for administrative purposes and to give medical examinations. Over the public address system, which reaches the community through a loudspeaker planted in the church steeple, people are called for examinations or summoned to meet officials. Such mediated communication organizes the community quite directly. On Sunday afternoons in summer there is usually a concert of recorded music, sometimes accompanied by an organ and vocal recital of semipopular music rendered by the brother who is also organist for services ("Mocking Bird Hill" is one of his favorites). The ritual significance of this music lies in how it emphasizes the central position of the Church in the contemporary social structure. Wedding feasts for which people prepare food at home are celebrated in the school basement while the Indian Agent's feast (beans, bread, tea, and pie) is cooked in the hospital kitchens and served by the nuns, brothers, and their native assistants. Attawapiskat would be a far less tightly knit community without the mission. The ritual nature of many of these activities should not be overlooked. But it is now clear that ritual plays a paramount role in integrating clusters of sedentary folk and enriching the satisfactions of group living.

III

The Hudson's Bay Company and free trader's establishment are the economic pivots of Attawapiskat. Practically speaking their roles are not less important for maintaining the social system

than are the leadership, communications, and ritual activities of the mission. Government communication not infrequently is mediated through the radio facilities of the Company and often the airways' pilot drops his bags of mail at the store to be sorted. Government relief and family allowances are distributed through the Company.[4] The overall importance of the traders is not less than that of the mission personnel (who, of course, also assume economic roles). But the quality of interpersonal relations in the two channels contrasts strongly. Although the local representative of the free trader is linked by kinship to many Attawapiskat families, the business organizations tend to be specialized in their dealings with the Indians. The manager of the Company and even the interpreter play a limited part in local affairs. The store, warehouse, and other premises are given over to few functions apart from business. One of these, dancing in the Company's carpenter shop, actually is illicit as far as the official values backed by Church sanctions are concerned.

IV

An integrative role also is played by government. Economically speaking Attawapiskat is a poor post, although how it ranks relative to all other Canadian Indian posts cannot be gauged at all precisely. A considerable measure of the livelihood is provided by the Federal government, particularly through family allowances and relief. Welfare is furnished to the old, women whose husbands are away in hospitals, and to young adults working on houses for themselves and, therefore, unable to hunt for meat in the summer. The explanation for this dependence on external support, of course, lies on the poverty of fur-bearing animals on the same factor, that is, which seems to be instigating emigration. In this connection the program of the Department of Lands and Forests, Province of Ontario, is of considerable significance. The restocking program of the Department, if successful, will replenish the supply of beaver and, perhaps, certain other animals and fish. Instructions in conservation will help

to maintain the animal population. These measures may stabilize the people around their traditional forest orientation and counterbalance the centrifugal forces noted above.

From the standpoint of the Attawapiskat Cree Indians government is primarily a source of welfare. It would seem, though, that from the Indian point of view government has never played its role adequately, not even during 1946 and 1947 when almost every family drew some assistance and nearly a third of the community's income derived from family allowances and relief. People cite the treaty of 1905 and maintain that by it the federal Government promised to care for the Indians. The promise has not been kept, for in the lifetime of living informants cases of fatal or near fatal starvation have occurred. The people plead poor and lack of resources for realizing needs. Such attitudes are hard to meet in a mutually satisfactory fashion. The result is that a pretty constant undercurrent of resentment and suspicion accompanies relations in this sector of life. Face-to-face contacts between officials and people are infrequent. When they do occur the object often is to learn about, or to satisfy, pressing needs of the population. Hence the Indians have little opportunity to become familiar with other administrative roles. The image of the government as a provider constantly is reinforced.

V

Many more data remain to be analyzed before a full account can be given of the general Indian personality. People in Attawapiskat give the impression of following a disciplined and somewhat compulsive style of life. The discipline is internal, not external. Adults are not readily spontaneous and cling to safety. For example, they are reluctant to move to new trapping grounds, fearful to venture too far into the bush in winter lest they become sick or starve, ambivalent about seeking new opportunities in the wider society, and insistent on the protection of stronger agencies,

like government. Perhaps some of these attitudes also underlie the way they conceive of the Church and mission. Although evidence on this point is unavailable, it is quite likely that this cautious and wary orientation to life existed in aboriginal times, expressing itself through different channels. It is not a product of culture contact. It should also be clear that the insecurity which marks the Attawapiskat personality in no sense is crippling. The people are resourceful in meeting familiar problems of existence. They are ready to laugh and by no means can be considered pathologically unhappy.

The net gains of acculturation outweigh inevitable problems. A new way of life grew up around trapping and came to encompass the Church. Missionaries gave direction to culture change. The native culture grew in terms of offering people more control over their environment and a richer variety of elements with which to satisfy impulses. In achieving these rewards the people in turn had to surrender a measure of individual autonomy to traders, missionaries, hospitals, and to a less visible government. They entered a position in which they could be frustrated and disappointed by those agencies which linked them with a world-wide society. The attempt to exploit that society for a larger measure of satisfactions, for example, has been frustrated by the refusal of the outside world to give without some return. Yet the poverty of fur resources does not allow the Indians to pay for all the imported goods they desire. The satisfactions of group living in the settlement are being tested severely by constantly expanding wants in the face of inadequate resources.

Two somewhat negative factors making for the continuance of Attawapiskat as a community remain to be mentioned. First, the people are little prepared to win jobs and hold their own in a heterogeneous Canadian society. Only one or two men command English. Skills are limited and few men are equipped to compete for other than unskilled jobs. Second, men who have been outside or served the Canadian Army as woodcutters during

the First World War shed their idiosyncratic experiences to a large extent after they returned to Attawapiskat. They did not become teachers or leaders but reassumed the modalities of the group. Hence there are no outstanding deviants in the population. There also is no schism between progressives pressing for change and conservatives resistant to innovation.

Attawapiskat presents no colorful or dramatic culture. Many of the elements of behavior, like the tools, dress, and religion, scarcely strike the North American visitor as exotic. But it has proven to be a satisfying culture for the writer to study, a warm and friendly community in which to work. Of course, most anthropologists become attached to people with whom they spend extended periods of time. The satisfactions derived from field work in Attawapiskat must, however, be kept in mind when assessing the reliability of the picture which has been sketched in the present paper.

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FOOTNOTES

1. Honigmann, John J., Foodways of a Muskeg Community. Unpublished manuscript. Microfilm available from Wilson Library, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill.

2. Historical accounts include Cooper, John, "The Northern Algonquian Supreme Being" (Primitive Man, 1933, Vol. 6, pp. 42-111); Saindon, Emile, En missionnant (Ottawa, Imprimerie du Droit), and Soeur Paul-Emile, Amiskwaski, La Terre du Castor (Ottawa, Editions de l'Université d'Ottawa). Data were also provided from the archives of the Hudson's Bay Company through the courtesy of the Winnipeg office of that concern and the author has drawn on information provided by the Right Reverend Henri Belleau, O.M.I.; Reverend Arthur Bilodeau, O.M.I.; Reverend Jules Leguerrier, O.M.I.; James Faries; William Loutit, and others. For a comprehensive account of precontact Attawapiskat culture see Honigmann, John J., "The Attawapiskat Swampy Cree, An Ethnographic Reconstruction" (Anthropological Papers of the University of Alaska, 1956, Vol. 5, pp. 23-82).

3. The name persists for the present-day Roman Catholic mission settlement at Lac Ste. Anne, a short distance upriver from Fort Albany post.

4. In 1955 checks began to be issued to Indians in place of paying family allowances in kind. These can be cashed or spent anyplace.

COMMUNITIES OF SOCIETAL INDIANS IN CANADA

by

Bruce B. MacLachlan

Of great anthropological interest, both potential and realized, are the Indian communities which exist today in Canada. Within the range of variation of human societies and cultures these communities represent cases which for many purposes are co-ordinate, and of equal value, with the classical cases of anthropology.

These communities can be approached in terms of any theoretical frame of reference and yield contributions to the understanding of human society and culture. From the point of view of salvage ethnography these communities can be, and have been, considered as the descendants of ethnographic "tribes" and the heirs of what tribal culture has survived. These communities can be studied, as some have been, in the context of interest in acculturation. It is also possible to consider modern Indian communities as possible examples in their own right or relatively distinct societies with unique cultures or cultural patterns. Such communities are not in fact "synchronic isolates," i.e., closed systems in time and space; it is nevertheless possible to analyze out open systems, and to understand them insofar as possible in their own terms, then in the context of their history and their external relations.

We may wish to identify groups of people, or, in some cases, individuals as "Indian" on the basis of one or a combination of several types of criteria, e.g., legal, biological, cultural, or societal:

(1) Legal: Indian as defined by statute and by judicial and executive decisions.

(2) Biological: A Mendelian, intra-breeding population with a genetic constitution

(allelotype) differing from that of Euro-American populations (and, perhaps, resembling presumptive aboriginal genetic characteristics) may be classed as "Indian." Such groups presumably do exist in partial reproductive isolation as a consequence of social, cultural, and legal factors.

(3) Cultural: A group may be characterized by patterns of behavior which are distinct from the behavior patterns of neighboring Euro-Americans. These distinctive behavior patterns may be of at least two sorts, (a) behavior which seems related to aboriginal behavior (i) as a fairly "pure survival" or (ii) as an evolutionary development from, or an elaboration of, behavior in the ethnographic present; or (b) behavior which seems more closely related to conditions of modern culture contact, behavior more or less determined by elements of general Canadian culture, adaptations to the external social environment. (This could include political behavior by "Indians" for "Indians.") The term Indian may or may not be reserved for behavior of the first sort (a).

(4) Societal: A distinguishable group with a high internal interaction rate and which is recognized as a group at least by its members may be classed as "Indian," because (a) outsiders consider the group to be Indian, or (b) the members of the group consider themselves to be Indian, or (c) there is a historical continuity between the present group and past groups definitely aboriginal Indian, or (d) some combination of reasons (a), (b), and (c).

Clearly the populations of Indian communities will best be defined by some set of societal criteria; indeed "societal Indians" could be defined in terms of membership, or residence, in a community localized in time and space. "Indians" societally defined probably have the most interest for anthropology generally, although for some specific problems some other kind of criteria may be equally or more useful. The general interest of societal Indians is the greater, because a group of Indians societally defined probably will include, perhaps exclusively, individuals who would be classified as Indian under strictly biological or cultural criteria. (Apparently

there are a very few communities which might be classified as Indian on sociocultural grounds, but which include few, if any, legal Indians.) On the other hand, individuals classed as Indian under legal, biological, or cultural criteria may not meet societal criteria.

For some anthropological, and even some administrative or political, purposes it may be desirable, or even necessary, to consider as "Indian" groups or individuals who are so defined by societal criteria; for often it is a community or community standards, rather than a series of individuals, which interacts with outsiders and outside influences. If there is an "Indian problem," as we hear reference to in the United States, it is probably groups of "Indians," regardless of legal, cultural, or biological factors, which contribute to a "problem" which is distinctively Indian.

In an attempt to determine the character, distribution, size, and growth characteristics of Indian communities I examined data which is partially summarized in the accompanying tables. The two principal general sources do not employ societal criteria: the Indian Affairs Branch Census of Indians in Canada (IAB) uses a strictly statutory definition; the Bureau of Statistics Census of Canada (the Census) uses several variations on ethnic (quasi-racial) criteria. However in the present context certain features of the data are noteworthy.

(1) The population of legal Indians (i.e., those individuals listed as Indians under the Indian Act) has been increasing rapidly during the twentieth century. (See Tables 1A, 1B.)

(2) Not only has this population been increasing rapidly, but, for the country as a whole, the rate of increase is itself accelerated. (See Table 1C.) However the acceleration in the five years ending in 1954 is less than the acceleration in the preceding five-year period. This may indicate a tapering-off of the population increase. On the other hand, this decline in acceleration of population

increase may be wholly or in part simply an artifact of the legal redefinition of Indian, which occurred in 1951.

(3) For the 1949-1954 increase (11%) in the number of legal Indians occurred in spite of, rather than because of, the redefinition of Indian in the 1951 Indian Act (Revised Statutes, 1952, c. 149, secs. 5-17, as amended in 4-5 Elizabeth II, c. 40, secs. 3-4). The fairly explicit purpose, and the effect, of this law is clearly to reduce, rather than increase, the number of legal Indians. Furthermore there is a certain amount, though not large, of enfranchisement of Indians.

(4) The foregoing remarks apply to the country as a whole, but there are marked regional variations. The data seem to fall into the ad hoc groupings indicated in the tables (Tables 1, 3, and 4): (a) Prince Edward Island; (b) Nova Scotia and New Brunswick; (c) Quebec and Ontario; (d) Manitoba, Saskatchewan, and Alberta; (e) British Columbia; and (f) the Territories.

Interprovincial migration is the most obvious explanation. Exigencies of the depression, of the Second World War, of the exploitation of minerals in the North and in the Prairie Provinces might explain considerable net movement. Even in 1915 the Canadian Indian population was fairly mobile, although the net migration in any area was small in most cases (moderate net in-migration into Manitoba, heavy net out-migration from the Northwest Territories). However, it is my understanding that the complete enrollment of a legal Band is reported from the Province (s) in which the Band is located; that individuals or families not residing with the Band, and perhaps in another Province, are nevertheless reported along with the Band of which they are legally members. If this understanding is correct, then, only if a whole Band (or its administrative center) is moved from one Province to another, will the migration be reflected in the IAB census.

The apparent alternative basis for the regional variations is in differential rates of

natural increase. Superficial comparison of the rates of natural increase in 1950 (See Table 4) indicates that the vital statistics are in accord with this. As between the North and the more settled regions of Canada ecological differences may account for differential rates of increase; the way of life of many Whites and Indians in the North reflects an ecological system not far removed from aboriginal conditions in many broadly conceived aspects. Differences of rate of increase in various regions of southern Canada may be more a function of purely cultural factors.

(5) As a result of amalgamations the number of legal Bands has been reduced, despite general increases in population. Thus the mean Band size must have been increasing, and, from the administrative and political view at least, the Indian population is becoming more centralized. The IAB census does not indicate whether amalgamations of Bands have any relationship to the amalgamation of physical communities. No such relationship is necessary, since Bands do not correspond one-to-one with communities.

(6) There exists a discrepancy between the size of the "population of Indian origin" as reported in the Ninth Census and the (legal) Indian population as reported by the IAB. (See Table 3.) The Census shows ca. 14,000 more individuals of Indian origin than the IAB shows Indians; this figure represents ca. 9% of the 155,516 returned by the Census (Bureau of Statistics).

In part this is a result of the use of different criteria for defining the relevant population. Unfortunately for present purposes, with the 1951 decennial census the Bureau of Statistics ceased trying to record "Indians" and "Metis" separately, and began recording only an individual's ethnic "origin," traced through the paternal line. However a graphing of past Bureau of Statistics and IAB censuses indicates that the Bureau of Statistics has consistently returned more Indians than the IAB (even when the Bureau of Statistics has distinguished Indians from Metis); also the

fact that the use of the two sets of criteria produces a discrepancy of this order is of itself an interesting datum. It is likely that some, and possibly many, of these 14,000 individuals are societal Indians. If we assume that most of the legal Indians are societal Indians -- but this assumption may not be warranted, at least in some sections of the country -- then this gives us a range within which the population of societal Indians in Canada in 1951 should fall, viz. 142,000 - 156,000.

Particularly interesting are the facts that the total of the discrepancies in Manitoba, Saskatchewan, and Alberta is nearly adequate to account for the national total; whereas the discrepancy in Quebec is negative, i.e., more Indians (IAB) than people of Indian origin (Census) are reported from Quebec. The discrepancies may be accounted for, wholly or in part, if the number of Indians actually in residence in the Province at the time of the census was recorded by the Bureau of Statistics, and if the number of Indians in a Band in the Province, regardless of the actual residence of the individuals, was recorded by the Indian Affairs Branch. For instance, it may be that hundreds of Caughnawaga were returned from Quebec by the IAB, but were not returned in the Ninth Census, because they were not resident in Quebec at the time of the census. Nevertheless it apparently remains true that there is a regional variability in the Canadian Indian population and its ecological characteristics which leads to a relatively small discrepancy between the two censuses, to a relatively large positive discrepancy, or to a relatively large negative discrepancy. And the large positive discrepancies are associated with the areas of greatest recent growth of Indian population, though not with the areas of greatest absolute Indian population. Inter-Provincial movements are by no means adequate to account for this, since the negative discrepancies come no where near equalling the positive discrepancies; the ca. 14,000 total represents a net positive discrepancy.

Testimony (in 1951) before the Parliamentary committee on revising the Indian Act indicated that there were in northern Alberta (where the greatest discrepancy between censuses exists) groups which considered themselves to be Indian, which acted like Indians, and which in good faith exercised some of the prerogatives of legal Indians, only to learn that they were not so regarded by the government.

In northern British Columbia I encountered a small population of people legally White who seemed clearly to be part of the reservation community, upon the fringes of which they lived, and who in most of their overt behavior (and appearance) resembled closely the legal Indian population. For many purposes it may be useful to recognize such people as part of the Indian community, as Indians. The case of this particular group (and perhaps other cases as well) is complicated by the fact that in some contexts the members of this population will verbally identify as "Indians" and in other contexts as "White."

(7) Aside from this synchronic discrepancy, there is a diachronic discrepancy between the Census and IAB figures. In the decade 1939-1949 the population of legal Indians (IAB) increased by 18,029. (See Table 1A.) In the nearly corresponding decade 1941-1951 the "population of Indian origin" (Census) increased by only one-tenth of this (1,784). (See Table 2. It is assumed here that the Ninth Census (1951) category "Indian origin" is comparable to the sum of the Eighth Census (1941) categories "Indian" and "Metis").

Since presumably all legal Indians are included in the Census "Indian origin" category (and if the net migration of Indians between Canada and the United States - and - Alaska is negligible), this means that the non-legal "Indian" population (i.e. the difference between legal Indians and population of Indian origin) has experienced a net decrease nearly equal to the net increase of the legal Indian population, so that the net increase of the combined population is small. Probably the birth rate in the non-legal

"Indian" population is well in excess of the death rate; therefor the fairly substantial net decrease must reflect a "passing" from one census category to another, presumably indicating a sociological movement in the direction of assimilation.

This suggests the tentative conclusion with reference to societal Indians that in recent years the birth rate among societal Indians has been slightly in excess of the combined death rate and assimilation rate, yielding a small annual increase in the number of societal Indians. Even if the birth rate were to fall below the combined death and assimilation rates (as perhaps it now is), it would not fall so far below as to result in a very substantial net decrease per year of societal Indians; and thus, barring a sharp intensification or proliferation of pressures favoring assimilation, communities of societal Indians will be a factor in Canada for a long time to come.

Summary and Conclusions

To those concerned for almost any reason with Canadian Indians of especial interest are Indians in functioning communities. The population of these communities needs not, and does not, exactly correspond with the population of "Indians" defined in any but societal terms. Information on some of the Indians so defined is available in scattered sources; but there is apparently neither complete nor systematic coverage of even the order of numbers of people living in Indian communities in Canada.

In this paper selected official figures on Canadian Indian population have been organized and annotated in a manner intended to highlight both (a) suggestions as to the size, nature, and distribution of the societal Indian population and (b) questions still unanswered. The following general remarks may be offered:

(1) There were in 1950 probably between 142,000 and 156,000 societal Indians in Canada, unevenly distributed among the several regions. Possibly there were less than 142,000; almost certainly there were no more than ca. 156,000.

(2) In the decades preceding 1950 the population of societal Indians was probably gradually increasing, and at an accelerated rate; the birth rate exceeding the combined death and assimilation rates. If the net balance has now changed to a net decrease, it represents a small decrease, and, barring radical change in the conditions of acculturation, Canadian Indian communities will persist as communities and as Indian into the forseeable future.

(3) There are marked regional differences, not only in absolute size, but also in rate of growth, and census identification of Indians. These factors are certainly associated with other factors, ecological and social, including differential conditions of acculturation.

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TABLE 1: GROWTH OF CANADIAN INDIAN POPULATION

1A. Absolute figures from Indian Affairs censuses

1915	1934	1939	1944	1949	1954
CANADA					
103,531	112,510	118,378	125,686	136,407	151,558
Prince Edward Is.					
288	224	274	266	273	272
Nova Scotia					
2,042	2,093	2,165	2,364	2,641	3,002
New Brunswick					
1,862	1,734	1,922	2,047	2,139	2,629
Quebec					
13,174	13,281	14,578	15,194	15,970	17,574
Ontario					
26,162	30,631	30,145	32,421	34,571	37,255
Manitoba					
10,798	12,958	14,561	15,933	17,549	19,684
Saskatchewan					
9,775	11,878	13,020	14,158	16,308	18,750
Alberta					
8,500	10,900	12,163	12,441	13,805	15,715
British Columbia					
25,399	23,593	24,276	25,515	27,936	31,086
Northwest Terr.					
4,003	3,854	3,724	3,816	3,772	4,023
Yukon Terr.					
1,528	1,359	1,550	1,531	1,443	1,568

1b. Index of population growth (1915 population in each row is base = 1.00)

CANADA					
1.00	1.09	1.14	1.21	1.32	1.46
Prince Edward Is.					
1.00	0.78	0.95	0.92	0.95	0.94

1b. Index of population growth (1915 population in each row is base = 1.00) (cont.)

1915	1934	1939	1944	1949	1954
Nova Scotia					
1.00	1.02	1.06	1.16	1.29	1.47
New Brunswick					
1.00	0.93	1.03	1.10	1.15	1.41
Quebec					
1.00	1.01	1.11	1.15	1.21	1.33
Ontario					
1.00	1.17	1.15	1.24	1.32	1.42
Manitoba					
1.00	1.20	1.35	1.48	1.63	1.82
Saskatchewan					
1.00	1.22	1.33	1.45	1.67	1.92
Alberta					
1.00	1.28	1.43	1.46	1.62	1.85
British Columbia					
1.00	0.93	0.96	1.00	1.10	1.22
Northwest Terr.					
1.00	0.96	0.93	0.95	0.94	1.00
Yukon Terr.					
1.00	0.89	1.01	1.00	0.94	1.03

1c. Growth of Indian populations: Percent of increase per 5-year period (Base: population figure of the preceding census)

	Percent of change in the 5 yrs. ending --			
CANADA	5	6	9	11
Prince Edward Island	22	-3	3	0
Nova Scotia	3	9	12	14
New Brunswick	11	7	4	23
Quebec	10	4	5	10
Ontario	-2	8	7	8

1c. Growth of Indian populations: Percent of increase per 5-year period (Base: population figure of the preceding census) (cont.)

	Percent of change in the 5 yrs. ending --			
	1939	1944	1949	1954
Manitoba	12	9	10	12
Saskatchewan	10	9	15	15
Alberta	12	2	11	14
British Columbia	3	5	9	11
Northwest Terr.	-3	2	-1	7
Yukon Terr.	14	-1	-6	9

TABLE 2: "INDIANS" AND/OR "POPULATION OF INDIAN ORIGIN" AS REPORTED IN THE CENSUS OF CANADA (Bureau of Statistics)

	Indian race or racial origin					
1901	1911	1921	1931	1941	1951
CANADA						
127,941[a]	105,492[b]	110,814	122,911	118,316[c]	155,874[d]

a) Includes 34,481 "Half-breeds;" includes Eskimos.

b) Includes Eskimos.

c) If the reported number of "Half-breeds" (35,416) were included, the total would be 153,732.

d) Revision of census criteria resulted in the lumping of "pure" Indians and "Half-breeds." Includes Newfoundland (358 individuals of Indian origin).

TABLE 3: LEGAL INDIANS AND THE "POPULATION OF INDIAN ORIGIN" IN CANADA, 1951

A Pop. of Indian Origin, 1951	B Legal Indians, 1949	C Estimate of Legal Indians for 1951	D Difference, 1951
CANADA (excluding Newfoundland)			
155,516	136,407	142,000	14,000
Prince Edward Is.			
257	273		
Nova Scotia			
2,717	2,641		
New Brunswick			
2,255	2,139		
Quebec			
14,631	15,970	16,700	-2,000
Ontario			
37,370	34,571		
Manitoba			
21,024	17,549	18,300	3,000
Saskatchewan			
22,250	16,308	17,300	5,000
Alberta			
21,163	13,805	14,700	6,000
British Columbia			
28,478	27,936		
Northwest Terr.			
3,838	3,772		
Yukon Terr.			
1,533	1,443		

Sources:

Column A: Canada. Bureau of Statistics. Ninth Census of Canada (1951), vol. II, Table 32.

Column B: Canada. Dept. of Citizenship and Immigration. Indian Affairs Branch. Census of Indians in Canada: 1949.

Column C: Graphic interpolation. Appropriate values from Table 1A (above) were graphed for the years 1915, 1934, 1939, 1944, 1949, and 1954. The figures in Column C of this Table represent the 1951-intersects rounded to the nearest 100.

Column D: The value in Column C subtracted from the corresponding value in Column A. Differences rounded to nearest 1,000.

TABLE 4:
RATE OF NATURAL INCREASE
TOTAL POPULATION AND INDIAN POPULATION
CANADA: 1950

Excess of births (exclusive of stillbirths) over deaths per 1,000 of population

	General population (Including Indians)	Pop. of Indian origin (Based on 1951 figures)
CANADA	18.1	33
Prince Edward Is.	20.7	20
Nova Scotia	17.6	27
New Brunswick	22.4	33
Quebec	21.6	23
Ontario	14.5	29
Manitoba	16.5	37
Saskatchewan	18.4	45
Alberta	20.6	42
British Columbia	13.6	29
Northwest Terr.		23
Yukon Terr.		23

THE FEAST OF THE DEAD: HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

by

T.F. McIlwraith

In 1636 Brébeuf was present at a burial ceremony of the Hurons at Ossossoné which he described under the fitting, if somewhat lurid, title of the "Feast of the Dead." His description is so well known and has been so frequently quoted that it requires only the briefest summary. A large pit had been dug, scaffolds had been erected around it, and into the hole were thrown the remains of those who had died in the preceding six or seven years. In some cases only bones remained, tied up in untidy bundles; in other cases, there were cast in the corpses of those who had died recently. With them were deposited ornaments and valuables of different kinds, including three metal pots (1). Brébeuf commented on the ghastliness of the ceremony, and his description was used as a basis by later writers as a picture of the depravity and gruesomeness of "Indian" rituals.

There is no record of later Feasts of the Dead between that witnessed by Brébeuf and the destruction of the Hurons as a culture group in 1649. In the last 150 years, however, there have been discovered in southern Ontario a considerable number of ossuaries, each containing the remains of a large number of individuals. It has been tacitly assumed that such ossuaries were the scenes of comparable Feasts of the Dead. This is probably the case, but it is little more than conjecture that the rituals used were similar to those witnessed by Brébeuf.

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(1) This ossuary was identified and excavated by Kenneth E. Kidd. See: Kidd, K.E. The Excavation and Historical Identification of a Huron Ossuary (American Antiquity, vol. XVIII (4), April, 1953, 359-379.

In 1956 the operator of a tractor in the outskirts of Toronto turned up a number of bones. It was obvious that they were human and excavation work was suspended. The discovery attracted a good deal of local interest. Speculation as to the origin of the bones ranged from the site of a fierce battle, to the burial of cholera victims, to the hypothesis of an Indian ossuary. Preliminary investigation showed that the last assumption was correct, and the provincial government acted with commendable promptness in declaring the area a site of archaeological importance. The bones that had been thrown out by the excavator were removed to the Royal Ontario Museum for examination.

The Reeve of Scarboro, the township in which the ossuary was located, became extremely interested. Believing, probably correctly, that a Feast of the Dead had been held here, he conceived the idea of another feast being held in 1956 to rebury the bones that had been accidentally discovered. This proposal received considerable local support. Obviously Indian cooperation was the essential factor, and Dr. Dunning will explain the steps taken to approach the Six Nations Indians on the Grand River Reserve, about sixty miles from Scarboro. Suffice to say that a group of the Long-House People accepted the invitation and Indians from a wide area in Canada and the United States participated.

The ceremony itself was extraordinarily interesting, but in addition, the fact that it was held under present conditions is a striking example of cultural continuity, combined with an almost complete change in motivation. In terms of ethno-history, the following points should be mentioned:

1) The Feast of the Dead had not been performed since 1636, or 1649 at the latest. None of the Indians had any knowledge of Huron ritual except what they may have read from accounts based on Brébeuf, or on the record of modern archaeological investigation.

2) The ceremony which was thought of as a Huron Feast of the Dead derived much of its technique from Iroquois rituals of which the participants were familiar to a certain extent. This was supplemented by modern anthropological studies.

3) It was assumed that the ossuary was Huron or proto-Huron, on the basis that the Hurons alone were known to have such types of burial, and yet this mourning ceremony was held under the auspices of the Iroquois, their bitterest enemies and destroyers in 1649. Though this fact was recognized by the Iroquois, it was tacitly overlooked, probably as an indication of pan-Indianism.

4) It was believed by the officials who sponsored the ceremony that the "Indians" would know the proper ritual. Unquestionably this belief encouraged the Indians to take part.

5) For several centuries the Feast of the Dead had been considered a horrible ceremonial, and as such, condemned by the white man. This was forgotten and the Iroquois were invited to perform the ritual with the support of members of three levels of Canadian Government. The Reeve of Scarboro spoke, almost as presiding master of ceremonies. Officials of the Province of Ontario were present, as well as the Federal Minister of Citizenship and Immigration who spoke in his capacity as the Minister responsible for Indian Affairs. A complimentary dinner was extended by the Township of Scarboro, at which were present not only the Minister of Citizenship and Immigration but other federal members of parliament and, on the provincial level, a Cabinet Minister, the Speaker of the House, and a former Prime Minister. Two graces were said, one by a minister of the United Church and one by an Iroquois "in Indian."

Remembering the efforts made over many years to suppress ceremonials which were regarded as horrible and pagan, the holding of a Feast of the Dead under such conditions is a surprising example of the vicissitudes of culture change.

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IROQUOIS FEAST OF THE DEAD: NEW STYLE*

by

R. Wm. Dunning

In October 1956 a three day ceremony, authorized by the Ohsweken group of the Grand Council of the Six Nations Iroquois Confederacy, was led by senior chiefs from the Six Nations Reservation, Ohsweken, Ontario, Canada, assisted by Iroquois chiefs from several other places in Canada and the U.S.A. The ceremony was a burial ritual which included the Feast of the Dead, to reconsecrate the bones of two prehistoric ossuaries (1) which had been discovered during building excavations at Tabor's Hill, Scarborough Township, Ontario. (2) This procedure was unusual for several reasons.

First, earlier mention of ossuary burial and consecration is limited (Jesuit Relations ibid; Sagard, 1939, and Champlain ed., Biggar, 1929). As far as the writer is aware this historic Huron ceremony has not been conducted since the middle of the seventeenth century, and this is the first time that a reburial has taken place. Judging from the early literature, the Hurons and Iroquois were hereditary enemies. The Hurons were never part of the Five Iroquois Nations (now, since the inclusion of the Tuscarora Nation, the present Six Nations), nor were the Iroquois Nations ever part of the Hurons. These two were regarded by early explorers and missionaries as two ethnic groups separated by dialect and by cultural idiom -- namely burial rites. The large ossuary type

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* I wish to thank Miss Alika Podolinsky for valuable ethnographical assistance both in observing the rituals and recording much of the data. The writer is grateful to Professor T.F. McIlwraith and Dr. William Fenton who read and criticized the paper.

burial was not known to the Iroquois Nations (3) but was practised by some outside tribes including the Hurons. Thus we have an unsuspecting group of Iroquois gathered with full contemporary regalia carrying out the Iroquois Feast of the Dead ceremony in the foreign context of a Huron ossuary. (4) The Iroquois semi-annual Feast of the Dead is conducted at the time of the traditional camp moves (Fenton and Kurath, 1951, p. 143-45). Therefore the Iroquois believed the ossuaries to be an Iroquois burial site. This fusion may prove to be the prototype for future burial ceremonies.

Second, as the present-day Feast of the Dead is still a sacred ceremony, non-Iroquois are excluded. Speck and Fenton and Kurath are possibly the only ones who have witnessed and recorded it. On the present occasion the ritual was organized by the Ohsweken group, part of the Six Nations Confederacy. The three day ceremonial was partially financed and stimulated by Scarborough Township officials who saw the advantages of dedicating a proposed metropolitan park in a suitable fashion. As will be seen from the description below, the reburial ceremony was organized around the requirements of a rural park inauguration.

Third, the rapidity with which the Iroquois-Township ceremony was organized was remarkable. Within eight weeks, approximately two hundred Iroquois from nine localities in Canada and the United States, took part in the ceremony viewed by 2,000 non-Indian visitors. The press, twenty-seven strong, was represented by all kinds of publications from Life Magazine to small village newspapers. Radio, television and film units were on hand. The Dominion Government was represented by the Minister of Citizenship and Immigration (also Superintendent General of Indian Affairs), the Provincial Government by the Minister of Travel and Publicity, and local federal and provincial parliamentary members.

Fourth, an important development was the change in attitude of many of the Iroquois participants during the three day ceremonies. Some persons from Ohsweken as well as some from

other reservations and towns were pleased to come and take part in the rituals. "It is the decision of the Council of Chiefs," they said. Others were resentful and in open disagreement on the point of allowing non-Iroquois to be present. In the circumstances these persons were persuaded to present a unified front as Iroquois members. They considered themselves as "Indians" and ranged themselves spontaneously together vis-à-vis the "whites." Such expressions as "it is our tradition," and "... came from our forefathers," etc., were heard. A number of Christian Iroquois were present and these also were members of the Confederacy for the occasion. At first there had been a fairly general feeling of diffidence and unwillingness on the part of many to be separated out as "Indians" (many came in European syle clothing and failed to register as Indian guests of the Township.) As the ceremonies proceded and were accorded an unusual amount of publicity and enthusiasm by the crowds of spectators, the Iroquois people gradually assumed a conscious pride in their identity with this age-old ritual. At the beginning several Iroquois expressed resentment at the public nature of their ritual. Later they began to express the spontaneous conviction that the ceremony would become an annual event at Tabor's Hill. They volunteered to do the dances again for the benefit of many visitors who had missed them the night before. The rapid and overwhelming acceptance of "Indian custom and belief" was fundamental to the change in their behaviour. (5)

The emphasis in this paper will be on the rituals as a contemporary event representing a composite Iroquois-Township ceremony. It will deal with the attitudes and factions involved and the development of an Iroquois and "White" solidarity.

ORGANIZATION

The ossuary was discovered and reported about August 17th, at which time the Provincial health authorities advised an investigation of these human bones. The Scarborough Township Reeve called in an official of the Royal Ontario

Museum of Archaeology to investigate. Upon the latter's assurance of the importance of the dual ossuary discovery, the Archaeological and Historic Sites Board was approached in order that they might protect the site. The Minister of Travel and Publicity was contacted by long distance telephone and took the decision to preserve the site. Within two days of the Reeve's knowledge of the find, the site had been declared a prohibited area. The contractor was given an equivalent piece of ground elsewhere in the township, "It represents an investment of a quarter of a million dollars", he said. The Reeve telephoned the office of the Indian Superintendent of the Six Nations Reservation to see if anyone would be qualified to perform an ancient burial ceremony. The secretary of the elective council expressed his personal opinion (which did not necessarily represent that of the council), that no one on the reservation would be qualified to perform such a ceremony. When queried later about this, the secretary stated that the local newspaper had telephoned him to this effect, and his reply had been much as the Reeve's office reported. As a result of the news story in the local peper, four chiefs journeyed to Scarborough to inform the Reeve of their willingness to perform the ceremony.

Within two weeks the local officials were prepared, and made their first trip to Ohsweken. It was decided in the Grand Council at the Onondaga Long House that the ceremony would be performed. (6) The meeting followed the usual procedure, commencing about ten a.m. and lasting until three p.m. Almost the only words of English throughout were at the conclusion when it was announced to the Reeve "it will be done." It was also decided that the Reeve's executive assistant be given the position of honorary secretary of the Council in order to communicate with all other members of the Confederacy. This official made trips to the reservation to conclude plans for the combined ceremonials and to help the Iroquois with any problems of organization which might lie outside of their experience. On his fourth trip to Ohsweken, it was proposed that the Reeve and he would be adopted into the

Iroquois Confederacy. (7) A Mohawk chief proposed the adoption, it was replied to by a Cayuga chief and the Onondagas made the decision. The Council was asked to delay their ceremony from the sixth of October until the nineteenth, in order to give the Scarborough officials time to complete all arrangements.

The Township Council voted the sum of $500 to cover expenses which was over spent by $150. In addition, Mr. Spencer Clark, proprietor of the Guild Inn, put up $600 to help meet the running expenses. All Iroquois from the Six Nations were invited to attend, transportation being supplied for all those coming from Ohsweken. The Westhill Motel owners were approached to make donations of sleeping accommodation. About twenty of them donated approximately thirty double bedrooms free of charge, and in addition provided all Iroquois participating or visiting with accommodation at one half the usual rate. On the second evening dinner was given to two hundred and forty persons, including "chiefs and other dignitaries" at the Scarborough Golf Club, half the cost of which was supplied by the Scarborough Golf Club, and half by the Scarborough Council. Luncheon on the third day was supplied for the same number by the Council of Scarborough and the Westhill Motel owners.

DESCRIPTION OF CEREMONIES

The interest of this paper is in the combined nature of the organization i.e., Iroquois-Township. Almost from beginning to end the ceremony was organized for the particular occasion. Parts of it were a faithful reproduction of the Feast of the Dead, the semi-annual ritual which is carried out at the time of moving camp, and has been carefully recorded and described elsewhere (Fenton & Kurath, 1951). But it is in fact a "new" ritual which represents two widely differing groups and their equally divergent values. On the one side, the performers of the rituals are explicitly dedicated to the religious revival of the Long House way of life and its necessary correlative, the development of political autonomy

within Canadian territory. On the other, the township officials were interested in any reasonable publicity which would draw favourable attention to their growing community. They were desirous of promoting an authentic ritual and were meticulous in preserving the atmosphere and detail of the ethnic ceremonies.

October 19, 1956. At two p.m. a Mohawk chief arrived at the site along with his official party. It was at the top of Tabor's Hill, a flattened area some fifty yards in diameter, which had been cordoned off by police from the group of visitors. From a large woodpile which had been prepared and supplied by township workmen, the chief and his small party gathered wood for his ritual tobacco-burning fire. Some consultation took place between the Iroquois and the township officials and workmen. A small tipi-type fire was prepared by the chief's runner, around which gathered the party of eight. A windscreen was held by the chief's wife and a Cayuga clan matron. The group formed around the windward side of the fire in a semicircle -- from left to right in the following order: the chief who recited the prayer, with a "warrior" behind; the two women, the firetender, another "warrior" (Ojibwa who had been adopted into a Cayuga clan by "chief" Howard Skye), and the two young sons of the chief's runner. There was no stated precedence about the numbers or composition of the group. It was performed by members of the vanguard, as the main group of Iroquois were to arrive by bus the following day. As the ceremony began, the township workmen moved away. The Mohawk chief gave the prayer with eyes lowered, and spoke in a low monotone which was scarcely audible outside of the participating group. He held a split-wood basket containing tobacco in its brown paper folding,(8) and several times during his speech carefully put small amounts of tobacco into the fire. Meanwhile the fire was kept and tended by one person. All members kept their eyes lowered, sometimes looking at the fire. The speech lasted for twenty minutes or more, (9) after which the chief's wife consulted with her husband who thereupon gave the basket to her. She made a short speech in

English and presented it to the Reeve to be given to his wife. This concluded the official ritual for the day. The group were later taken around the University of Toronto archaeological excavation at the nearby village site.

Although the burning of sacred tobacco was scheduled for the following morning at the site, it was not performed. Instead it had been held secretly the previous evening. The participants explained that this change took place because of the desire to "placate" and "satisfy" the spirits for the intrusion of the "whites" at the sacred ritual. "We pacified the spirits yesterday." And it was held privately "... so that they (the spirits) might not be angry when the white people do not behave properly tomorrow."

October 20, 1956. At nine a.m. a few of the officials arrived at the site on Tabor's Hill. A Cayuga man seemed to be in charge of the early part of the organization. He prepared long poles for Plains-type tipis to be erected near the feast fire. (He styled himself "chief" to the reporters, and when queried about it replied that he was a "pine tree chief"). He was assured about procedure and was willing to explain ideology and procedure to foreigners at length. "We do a lot to hold up tradition." Asked if he had ever participated in a Feast of the Dead with the ossuary before, he replied, "Yes, I have. I can't remember how long ago it was now, perhaps twenty-five years... (ago), at the Bay of Quinte." 'How can you remember the ceremony if it is performed so seldom?' "We remember it," and "we do not need to rehearse. You do not rehearse communion," and "we know." (10) Information from other Iroquois visitors and participants varied as to the number of times it was performed. "Every Sunday." "We don't meet on Sunday"; "we haven't got a Sunday"; "on New Year's day -- our new year isn't your new year, ours goes according to the moon." "We have no new year, we perform the ceremony four times a year according to the seasons -- this is our duty." "It's traditional, always has been done this way." "We have performed this ceremony since prehistoric times." "We have

it from several speakers." "No, we never rehearse the dances, we remember them." "When I hear the music (drum), I know the dance." "We all understand the same way, we are all Iroquois." "We have no book of rituals, we remember." A Christian Iroquois woman, trying to justify the rituals with Christian teaching, explained, "the ceremony is not an act of friendship but we carry out the necessary sacraments, there is a complete cycle from birth and marriage to death."

For the first hour, people moved around speaking and renewing acquaintance with persons from other places, always speaking in an Iroquois language. Occasionally a non-Iroquois speaking Indian tried to remember his own language and found he was speaking to someone from a different tribe. Most of the younger children also spoke in Iroquois. The Cayuga man prepared the feast fire by suspending a horizontal pole over it supported by two X-shaped stakes driven into the ground. By ten o'clock most of the Iroquois had arrived, some having driven all night to arrive in time for the ceremony. Visitors who were gathering rapidly were kept well back from the summit of the hill.

The costumes varied in many combinations from European dress and feathered bonnets, to completely Indian (fringed buckskin jacket and leggings, moccasins and feather bonnet). Most people wore shoes or manufactured moccasins, and the men trousers of European pattern. A few wore breechcloths with leather, suede or buckskin leggings, most of whom also wore some kind of buckskin jacket. Only the major officials wore the Iroquois type headdress, i.e., a felt skull cap supporting a single vertical feather and one or more lying downwards. The majority of the men wore the full Plains-type headdress. The woman for the most part wore long buckskin or white doeskin fringed dresses, and some wore narrow leggings creased at the front. A few wore one feather in a beaded headband. A few men and women appeared in European style clothing, the women in suits or dresses with fur capes. Many of the skin jackets had clan symbols, including turtle, wolf and bear. Some persons "forget to put it on." Explaining some of their

costumes, some remarked, "no, this isn't Iroquois, this is just my own idea." "I got this costume from somebody else, maybe they could explain to you what it means - I don't know;" "It's just, you know, I like it." Some embellishments were just "to please myself." The people were well aware what was "... for real," and what was "just so." And even more clearly they stated it was "for you," and "just for the tourist you know, they like a lot of that."

A township truck with two workmen arrived at the site to bring the corn soup and the beef which had been cut up previously. Two large iron cauldrons (one of which belonged to the Onondaga Long House and the other to a chief's wife) were unloaded by township officials who placed them on the fire, suspending them by hooks from the horizontal pole. The Cayuga "chief" who had been preparing poles helped in this, stirring the soup and taking out bits of ash and coals. A chief's wife also assisted in this. The former then took a shovel and at a distance of about fifty feet from the fire, marked out an oval-shaped space for the grave, about twelve feet by eight. Six chiefs together began to dig the pit. It was explained that normally this was done by members of one clan, but as many of the people were strangers, and as they did not know the clan affiliation of the dead, it was best to represent them by several different clan and tribal members. Workers changed often. It was difficult digging in the hard packed loam and clay. When the pit neared five feet in depth, the members of the press stepped in and volunteered to finish the job. When the pit was completed, the Iroquois gathered around it, all other visitors and observers being moved back by the police officials. The senior Onondaga chief stood at the western edge of the pit to deliver his prayer, flanked by the elder women and surrounded by the chiefs and others. The Reeve stood at the opposite end of the pit with a microphone. Several chiefs and helpers then proceeded to carry the bones in wooden crates (11) down into the pit to be dumped. The packing was taken out and carried up with the boxes. When the bones had been carefully piled

in the centre of the pit, two wolf pelts were laid out flat on them. (12) A township official announced over the public address system that this was a sacred occasion to the Indians and perfect quiet and decorum should be observed during the prayer. The Onondaga chief spoke for about twenty-five minutes. He was an elderly blind man who stood with a cane. His voice however was loud and strongly punctuated. He spoke with great energy. The substance of his speech, which was translated mostly by one of the young women, follows (13):

> "Today, as is the will of the Great Spirit, our Creator, that all matters are to lay in the hands of the Confederate Chiefs. They are to be the supreme head of all the people of the Indian Nation. When the New Mind of Peace and Power arrive, they foresaw in the coming generations, that since the lives of the people are not everlasting, and in case of death in a family, there shall be two parties to the Confederate Council Fire, the Three Brethren and the Four Brethren, and whichever side free of mourning is responsible to condole with the mourning brethren, and to encourage them to carry on their tasks. It is up to these brethren, free of mourning, to carry out the necessary sacraments.
>
> "On this day, we are to hold what we call the Great Feast of the Dead. We will now hear the voice of the Confederate Chiefs. Harken, everyone present, we are gathered in this particular place, the ancient resting place, of our forefathers, no doubt it is that we on the face of the earth were derived from these ancestors. Here lies the resting place of our ancient fathers and mothers. Here, we the children of such forefathers think about these remains with great enthusiasm. The sorrow is great in our minds. Each and everyone of us are heading in this same direction since life is not everlasting, so we should

hold a steady mind and great forebearence, not to let this great sorrow bear too heavily on our minds. We should now transfer our minds to the remaining people. We are to turn their interest to the way of our Creator and to carry on as the Great Spirit wishes. Let your minds thus remain.

"Now to you, whose remains lie before us, to you, our ancient brothers and sisters, our minds are heavy, having lost our dear ones, in whom our minds were entrusted. It is very painful to the heart to lose these dear ones in reminiscence. Hold your heads high and don't let your sorrows interfere with your thoughts. Here, the minds of the remaining people are entrusted in those whom you may call your brothers. The New Message and the teachings of our Creator are the main objects to be followed henceforward. So let your minds thus remain.

"Now, we shall direct our voice to the resting places of our many friends. Our Creator so created in our minds that we should possess love for one another. So as your thoughts are thus, meditating, your losses and grief. Once again we reassure you to withhold your minds and not let your grief overcome your thoughts. Let your minds be instilled in the lives of the remaining generation. Entrust your minds in the teachings and the Good Message of our Creator, since the Indian Race as a whole have lost one of their relatives. So let your minds remain thus.

"We now direct our voices to you, whose remains lie before us. To you, to whom we say, 'our forefathers', we know not the cause of your death, you who lie before us; perhaps your death may have been from sickness or some other cause. We the remaining generation are left totally at sea and know nothing of the

cause of your death. We are quoting what our forefathers said.

"Once again we direct our voices to those who are present. We have completed this ceremony to the best of our ability. The Confederate Chiefs have spoken, they have advised you on how you are to live in the days to come.

"Now to everyone present at this gathering, we have all been taken by surprise and astonishment at this unusual event. It is all we can do to look upon the bones and remains of our forefathers. There is but a remainder of two piles of bones. So as will happen, we will take a last view of these remains. Meanwhile, place yourself in a position similar to this and try to imagine taking a last view of yourself, as there is a day to come when you shall take this form. As will happen, the chiefs will commence the viewing, then next the chiefs' officers, matrons of the women, and then the rest of the people are to pay their last respects. The mourning group is to pay their respects last of all.

"Now that we have all reviewed the bones of our forefathers, we must bear in mind that this is the last and final view.

"Harken! Now that we all have reviewed these remains, we shall now arrange for the reburial. The last journey of our forefathers is near at hand, so listen closely, everyone who has followed the remains of our ancestors thus far. It is the will of the Creator, that the people on earth are to respectfully take care of the passing of loved ones and friends. This was his will.

"Listen, O, Creator, in Heaven above, we have completed this ceremony

to the best of our ability, and now we have buried as you so desire for the resting place of the remains of those who pass from this earth. We have now taken these burdens from our hands. We have now replaced the remains of these beings into the earth from which you created man in the beginning. It has been your desire that the body of man is to be reunited with the soil of earth. We have now fulfilled our duty, we now place the responsibilities in your hands to do with these souls as you think fit. We who are left, have done as best we can to give these remains a decent burial. So now, this is all, the reburial is finished, we have reburied the bones of our ancestors to the best of our ability.

"Now, to you whose remains rest before us, said to be our forefathers. We know not the cause of your passing. We know not whether your death was from sickness or from what other cause. The case is strange that so many people are buried in this area. It seems that not only are there older men and women but children are also included in this ancient burial ground.

"When we were informed that your resting place was located here and that our white brothers had disturbed your rest, we the Lords of the Confederacy were then notified, that this event was accidental and was not done purposely. We then undertook the task to take care and rebury your remains. We, the Indian Nation have put our minds together and decided that the Great Feast of the Dead shall be held. When our white skinned friends were informed of our plans, we all put our heads together and decided to have a Memorial Feast, and we would all unite to have this occasion in your memory. So let your minds thus remain, you whose resting place is before us. There are to be the foods as the Indians so lived upon. Also present shall be the foods of our

white brothers. We have all taken a hand together to please you, our forefathers, who lie before us.

"Listen, once again, our ancestors who lie before us, a meal has been rightfully prepared for your sake. So listen, while we take up and quote the voice of our white brothers. For this purpose, we will use the Great Sacred Indian Tobacco. Today, you have been satisfied with the taste of the sacred tobacco, you our forefathers. The uncovering of your bones was not purposely done by our white brethren. So we ask your forgiveness and beg you not to molest or harm them in the days and nights to come. We, the Indians also join with our white brethren in begging you not to harm our white friends.

"When they uncovered your remains they respectfully made it known. They wish that they may live peacefully as they trod near to your resting places. For their pleadings they use the sacred tobacco to represent them. So let your minds remain thus, you to whom we have directed our voices. Listen once again, we are to speak. Here you lie, our forefathers, that we speak of as likely chiefs of the past. So, ancient chiefs, you are satisfied with the sacred tobacco. You, the dead, can clearly visualize, the feast prepared in your memory. We have united with our white brethren in this preparation today. We hope that you will be glad and satisfied in the future, so we again use the sacred tobacco as a representative of our wishes. So let your minds remain thus.

"Now to you our ancestors whom we will choose to classify as Deacons and Chief Matrons of the Four Main Ceremonies which the Creator released before. This day, we honour you, the Matrons and Deacons, with the sacred tobacco. You can clearly see the food which has been

prepared before you. You can also see that we have united with our white brethren in preparation of their feast. We hope that your minds will be glad and satisfied. We use the sacred tobacco as a token of our wishes.

"We will now direct our voices in a different direction; to the resting place of our ancient people of whom there is no special title. To the men and women of an ancient race. We use also, as token of our wishes, the sacred tobacco to satisfy you. You can clearly visualize that we have prepared this feast in your honour. We have united our pleadings with that of our white friends. We all hope that you will be glad and satisfied in the days ahead. We again use the sacred tobacco as a token of our pleadings and prayers. So let your minds remain thus.

"Another, we now direct our voices to the ancient children right down to the smallest baby. You children have been blessed with this sacred tobacco. There is no darkness to hide the view of the food in preparation of the feast in your honour.

"As you hear the utterance of our voices, we hope you will be glad and satisfied in the days ahead. You can clearly see, we have united with our white friends today in preparing this feast in your honour. We now hope that your minds will thus be satisfied. So let your minds remain thus.

"So to you who lie before us, we wrap together all our minds and prepare a feast, as you can see, in your honour. So let your minds be so, that we have now fulfilled the wishes of our white brethren. We will now all feast together. We shall eat the foods which the Creator has given, ancestors who lie before us. Those of us

who remain of the Indian Race and our white friends are as one to be satisfied. We shall all finish our meal and then our presence, shall be divided once again. Once again we will tred in peace and you shall rest in peace. We now use the sacred tobacco as a token of our wishes. We have spoken as best we can, so let your minds thus remain.

"Another thing, to the people, the chiefs, and all those present, we now direct our voice to you Mr. Harris and assistant, Mr. Nevile and colleagues. We speak for all the people of our nation, we extend to you our greatest thanks. We think that you have done a great honour in fulfilling your desires of reburial. We understand that it has been the wish of all you, colleagues of Mr. Harris. We thank you all as a whole. So let your minds be thus.

"To you Mr. Harris to whom our voices have been directed. We know that this disturbance of ancient burying grounds was against your wishes. There is a Supreme Being who directed your thoughts to the decision you have made. This goes also for all your colleagues, who have also taken a great respect for the living, especially to the lords of the Confederate Council. We cannot express our thankfulness to you, we can only express our thanks to a very small extent, as to the respect you have paid to us. You have indulged in a great task of great expense on our behalf, both of the deceased and the living. We have come to a conclusion that you have placed us in a very high esteem. Lastly, we, the people as a whole, both lords and followers extend our greatest thanks, to you our white friends. So let your minds remain thus."

The form of the speech follows closely that recorded by Fenton and Kurath, (ibid, p. 147-49), including the customary thanksgiving address - ganǫhǫnyǫk, followed by the true message -

ga'nigǫhą̈' dogɛs'ti' i.e., "what is really on his mind." And the tobacco invocation (below) followed the traditional pattern, including the usual beliefs concerning the dead (ibid, p. 160-63). Slight differences were noticeable in that the leading female figures did not appear to figure so prominently. Fenton & Kurath speak of the women Dead Feast officers and their importance in ultimate sanctions of the ceremony. In the present case it was a Mohawk chief's wife who took the major part in the feast. Also the chief's speech presented a specific reference to the Scarborough officials, welcoming and thanking them as well as beseeching the ancient chiefs to accept the tobacco invocation and feast as a symbol of the sincerity of both Iroquois and white participants, joined together ceremonially to honour the dead. The prayer therefore shows clearly the mixed nature of the ritual which joins the two groups, and is a symbol of a new acceptance of each other, sanctioned by the combined sacred ritual.

At the conclusion of the speech, the Cayuga runner took up the microphone and from a raised position on the fire truck (placed there for the benefit of the press), explained something of the ceremony which had taken place, laying stress upon the great welcome which the white brothers had offered. The young woman who had made the translation then read it in English over the amplifying system. The feast was announced, whereupon the newly arrived Cabinet Minister made his way to the microphone to say he would make a speech. He gave his name to the presiding official, and then proceeded to make a speech of welcome, stressing the important place held by our elder brothers (the Indians) in Canadian society.

The chiefs then moved over to the fire, and the senior chief finished his prayer, this time taking up a handmade wicker basket containing tobacco, and occasionally putting small portions into the fire. Upon the conclusion of the prayer and tobacco invocation (Fenton and Kurath, ibid, p. 148), the food was given out in

paper cups to be eaten with plastic spoons. The "whites" were enjoined to accept food if offered and also that they must not thank the giver until they had finished their portion. It would be an insult to the "Indians" they were told if they should refuse to partake of the feast after coming to watch.

The feast was followed by a banquet, "... honouring Chiefs and other Dignitaries at Scarborough Golf Club (Courtesy of the Township of Scarborough)." Two hundred and forty persons were guests at the banquet, the head table being made up of the following: One Federal and one Provincial Government Cabinet Minister, a former premier and a former speaker of the House, two provincial representatives, one Protestant minister, the Reeve, his deputy and the six councilmen, and one local resident, making a total of sixteen. The Indians numbered three; a Cayuga chief, the assistant secretary of the Confederacy, himself a Mohawk chief, and a Mohawk "princess." The Reeve, as chairman called on the Protestant minister to say a Christian grace, which was followed at the Reeve's request by an Iroquois grace in an Iroquois language. This appears to be the first time in a distinguished formal gathering that a "pagan" grace has been said along with a Christian one. There were several speeches, and several more planned, which due to the length of time allotted for the dinner had to be cancelled.

The speech of the Dominion Cabinet Minister was spontaneously accepted by the Iroquois as grounds for official government discrimination against the Confederacy. They thought he wanted to see the Indians disappear into the Canadian population. The Toronto press reported his speech on this point. "His opening remarks made everyone sit up and take notice. 'Some Indian children are stupid', he began. But as he went on it was clear that he was not endearing himself to the proud people, who feel his Government and its predecessors have consistently broken treaties and gone back on their word. The chiefs wanted to make an immediate reply at

the banquet, but they were informed that there was no time" (Toronto Evening Telegram, Oct. 22, 1956). Another report quoted the "Indians'" reaction to the speech as sponsoring "offensive integration" (Toronto Daily Star, Oct. 22, 1956). As time had run out, the meeting had to be hastily adjourned. The Cayuga runner who featured in many of the arrangements, took over the microphone at the head-table and on behalf of the Iroquois expressed their gratitude to the "whites" for this kind invitation and for their hospitality. Following the banquet, there was a display of Indian dancing on the Golf Club lawns. It was explained that these were not "sacred dances," but merely "social dances" (14).

October 21, 1956. At nine-thirty a.m., the Iroquois gathered in the centre of the burial site. Large numbers crowded outside the roped enclosure. Inside it appeared to be a casual, friendly gathering of people from many different places, only some of whom were known to one another. The atmosphere was friendly however, and many strange Iroquois tried to speak to one another. The usual expression in English was "Hello" or "Hi." An attempt was made to speak an Iroquois language, and those who could do so spoke only in Iroquois. Often words or jokes had to be translated into another dialect. The wife of a Mohawk chief, who had a considerable amount to do with the arrangements, explained that the seemingly casual greeting of acquaintances was really the Confederacy in council. "They are going to give Mr. Harris (Reeve) a hat," and "Mr. Neville (assistant to the Reeve) is going be adopted by the Iroquois." (15)

The microphone was set up at one end of the hill site, facing a large crowd of visitors. Most of the Iroquois gathered near the microphone, the chiefs being closest to it. A Seneca chief from Tonawanda, U.S.A., took the microphone and spoke fluently and smoothly in the Seneca dialect. A Cayuga chief from Ohsweken, in translating the speech, freely paraphrased it in his own words. "Brothers and sisters, I am asked by the people of the Six Nations to interpret the expression

we have heard spoken by one of our chiefs of the Seneca in an address of thanksgiving. It is the usual custom of one of our brothers and sisters now present to speak on behalf of your people. The first Creator, the Great Spirit who owns the land, gave rules to follow. ... to greet each other, to be thankful to be here, and now to unite our minds. Let this be in our minds. Next. The Creator who created our mothers and fathers, planted many things. We are thankful, we still continue to this day to unite to give thanks, all who are present. Next. He appointed our groups of beings - that bring rain, thunder and our grandmother the moon, and our great brother the sun, who shines the light - our guardian. Four angels the Great Spirit appointed to guide us people from day to day. He has appointed four beings to enforce His creation on earth for our benefit. We thank Thee (?). Let this be in our minds. Next, I refer to (the) Supreme Being the Great Spirit, creator of all, (in) another world above, (has) prepared a place above by His command, (for you to) receive a reward, (your) immortal soul forever."

The Seneca chief looked around, The Reeve called out to the Mohawk chief by the fire, "Josie, what happens now?" "Bill Smith's wanted at the speaker where the mike is," the Seneca chief called out. The latter then spoke in English. He was asked by the chiefs, he said, to say a few words on behalf of the chiefs of the council. "Our white brothers have discussed and put time and effort to see that our ancestors' remains be taken care of. All officers of Scarborough have done this. Indians are grateful and appreciative for what you have done. It is a great thing to leave their remains where they passed away. Leave their remains forever. They're going to turn it into a memorial park. This is wonderful, (and we are) thankful for the hospitality and the gentlemen's respect (for) getting all the Indians from Canada and the United States, (the) six tribes (together). Today (we) bestow a great honour on two (persons). (It is) not done ordinarily. It is our only way to show appreciation. Honourable Reeve Harris

appear by the mike! And another gentleman named Neville. This is going to be a tribal adoption, not a clan adoption." A pause for discussion. "Pardon for the interruption, because the custom has to be unanimously approved. It is the most sacred to the Indian people. It is the highest honour than can be bestowed, a great honour to be a member of the Indian Tribe of Canada and the United States. The first man is the Reeve. He was the one that thought of it in the first place that this burial ground should be taken care of. "(We) bestow on you one of the Iroquois war bonnets." A pause. "(The) Onondaga tribe's white brother." A clan mother placed the bonnet on the Reeve's head. The visitors clapped. "(You are) now a member of the Onondaga of Grand River and the United States - Tow{woh{do - first suggester."

"Mr. Neville is the next gentleman. (I am) asked by the Grand Council to perform this ceremony for them. Next try and remember when some Indian calls you by your Indian name. You are now a member of the Iroquois Confederacy; a great honour. (I) hope in the future you will be coming to the reserve area to see the people of the Indian tribe. And I thank you. There are certain rituals that go with this adoption ceremony. I never done this before in my whole life." There follows an explanation of Neville's Indian name. "There is a fire, he saw the trees, must be an Indian tribe nearby. They lived in tipis with fire always outside. The fire goes up into the sky. He saw that smoke and went to them on the south side. Hay{gwach{n{ - he who saw the fire.

The Onondaga firekeeper then spoke in Iroquois and sang while walking slowly forward, arm in arm with the two novitiates. A slow recitation was interrupted by the general chorus "wo - hu!". The Seneca chief explained that this was not a social function, but one of the sacred songs.

Several persons were then introduced. A county magistrate, himself a Mohawk from Ohsweken, spoke about the welcome accorded by the Indians to the Europeans when they arrived on these shores, and he hoped that the Canadians would be equally cordial in their welcoming of new Canadians from Europe. One Iroquois spoke nostalgically and at length. Another mentioned that one of the responsibilities of newly adopted brothers was to provide a feast of an ox, and he hoped the new brothers would recognize their responsibilities. Another recited a poem in both languages. A clan mother, who was the woman to speak, criticised the speech and attitude of the cabinet minister. She pointed out that, "he thinks he is trying to put over something he does not understand. The cultures are different. They took generations to develop under the Creator. The theme of European culture is compete, compete. Ours is space and plenty provided. The whites were greedy and our inheritance was destroyed. I do not agree with the speaker (cabinet minister.) For example the blacks of the southern U.S.A. would have been happier if left alone."

As the time was running short, other speeches were cancelled, and the presiding chief announced that the Indians who had taken part would walk around the ground as their names were called so that visitors could see who they were. After this some social dancing took place. It was explained that not many people had seen it the night before, and the Indians wanted to let everyone have a chance to see it. The final part of the ceremony was a luncheon provided by the township and motel owners. The makeup of the head-table was as follows: three provincial government representatives, four council members, one metropolitan council member, one local distinguished resident, one university professor and two Iroquois, i.e., the county magistrate and the senior Onondaga chief.

GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS

In analysing the rituals and their results several points emerge.

First, in the face of expressed resentment on the part of some chiefs at the "corruption" of the sacred rituals by the attendance of non-Iroquois, why were some chiefly members of the Long House religion so willing to perform the ceremony? (Speck, 1949, and Fenton and Kurath, 1951, p. 144, have described the sacred and exclusive nature of this ceremony.) It seems reasonable to suggest that one reason was the opportunity afforded for the Iroquois to gather from places throughout Canada and the United States. A gathering of more than the residential groups of the Six Nations at Ohsweken is rare. The Township officials made all the official invitations and organized transportation and accommodation. The Ohsweken chiefs were pleased at the opportunity to call together all groups for a special occasion. Not only did they want to meet the others, but they wanted the opportunity of conferring as a confederacy council to sanction plans and perhaps more important, to function as a Grand Council. True, a few chiefs do visit other places on occasion and take part in festivals and rituals. But rarely if ever in recent years has there been an opportunity for full participation of the Grand Council at a single ceremony. And this was not just a series of rituals, it was a meeting of the traditional Six Nations Confederacy Council, (nearly thirty chiefs came to the ceremony - sixty per cent of the traditional number of chiefs.) The wish of the Iroquois to function as a people under the authority and religious sanction of their hereditary council seems to have been paramount in overcoming the traditional secrecy (16) of the Feast of the Dead. By allowing the Township authorities to organize the meeting and partially underwrite the costs, the Iroquois could meet again as a full hereditary council.

Second, it is difficult to assess the degree of Confederacy solidarity created by the

failure of the Federal Government to grant political autonomy. There is no doubt however that a major positive sanction to the continuity of the Long House religion and its political ideals is that of the real or believed animosity of the government towards it. The writer had a distinct impression that each action or word by a government spokesman which appeared to discriminate against the Long House people was almost welcomed by them, as it gave them more ammunition for their development of solidarity vis-à-vis the outer world. Several people spoke of the Minister's recent speech (ten days previously) in which "... he looked for the time when the Indians would vanish." As mentioned above, the same speaker's words at the ceremony were interpreted by the Iroquois and some of the newspapers as suggestive of discrimination against them. We are not here concerned with whether there is or is not discrimination, (17) but how comment is received by the Iroquois. It is the explicit and avowed purpose of the Long House people to build a numerically larger religious group with eventual national political autonomy. It seems that the more negative is the policy of the government toward this end, the more useful it has proved to be for the Iroquois in the development of social solidarity. It is seen as a refusal even to recognize or discuss the claims of a minority group for political autonomy within the territory of Canada. (18) Nothing would better serve the purpose of the Confederacy (as visualised by the chiefs of the Ohsweken group) than a public condemnation of their felt discrimination by the government. Publicity for this ceremony was far and above the expectations of the Iroquois. Along with the newspaper, magazine, radio, television and screen publicity, about 2,000 visitors sympathetically watched and listened to all the proceedings. Therefore while some of the Long House people were against inclusion of the whites in the ceremony, it was seen by many as an opportunity for a public demonstration of unity. (19) In addition, the government policy of Indian integration expressed in the context of the sacred Indian ceremony and its sympathetic

reception by others, presented the Iroquois case in its most favourable light. And the unfortunate wording of the Minister's speech, revealing an apparent discriminatory attitude towards the Iroquois, reinforced the unity of the Confederacy as well as gaining a great deal of sympathy from the non-Iroquois audience.

Third, in general the ceremony was a success for both the Iroquois and the township officials. For the latter, a well planned organization which developed from the fortuitous discovery of unknown human bones became the vehicle for publicity for their community. It should be said here that the township officials did everything in their power to insure the authenticity of the ceremony. They also insisted that every care be taken to work with the Iroquois and to respect their feelings and sacred beliefs. Some of the Iroquois resentment was submerged by this acceptance of their ethnic individuality by the whites. It was explained by the Iroquois that their system of government was combined with "... our way of life." Noon (1949, p. 46) points out, "... that government and religion were probably interlocking institutions in pre-contact society." Almost the opposite view is held by Hewitt (1920, p. 543). Whatever may have been the case in the past, opinions expressed at this ritual suggest an interrelation of religion and politics as the desired norm. One chief said, "We chiefs make the law, and without chiefs there is no religion." Thus religion and political authority as visualised in the Grand Council seem to be dependently related. It is almost as if the traditional Iroquois recognize that their continuity rests in the perpetuation of the sacred concept of government by the Grand Council. (20) A senior chief's wife commenting on the success of the ceremony, volunteered the information that doubtless there would be an annual ceremony at Tabor's Hill. (21) When later questioned on this point, she admitted she had no idea what would be done. "It is up to the chiefs to decide. They decide and we follow." If publicity was the major attraction to the township officials, it was also a major consideration to the Iroquois. But the reasons were different.

The Iroquois saw an opportunity to show their social solidarity in the form of the sacred League of the Six Nations, and to ally themselves against the Dominion Government policy of integration.

Of even greater importance was the unique experience of having their way of life, both the sacred rituals and secular customs, enjoyed, appreciated and received by the whites on the same footing as their own. Until this ceremony took place, only the more conservative Iroquois openly proclaimed their traditional ways. Now that they were officially recognized by the cabinet minister's attendance at the ceremony, and publicly welcomed, more of those Iroquois who were trying to live a European style of life could openly appreciate and express their traditional beliefs and ethnic identity in the context of twentieth century convention.

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NOTES

(1) Because of their geographical location with relation to a proto-Huron archaeological site they were judged to be contemporary with the latter by Professor J.N. Emerson, University of Toronto, and Mr. Walter Kenyon, Assistant Curator of Ethnology, Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto. This would make the ossuary site a proto-Huron one, whose members in historic times were traditional enemies of the Six Nations Confederacy.

(2) For a contemporary account of a seventeenth century consecration ritual, see Jesuit Relations, Thwaites, ed., vol X, p. 279-305. And for an archaeological description of an ossuary; see Kidd, K.E., 1953.

(3) A few Pre-Iroquois archaeological sites have shown some small rock crevace burials which sometimes have been referred to as ossuaries. However these sites contained the disarticulated bones of only a few individuals, and consequently are different from the Huron type ossuary. See J.B. Nichols, 1928, Notes on Rock Crevace Burials in Jefferson County; Res. and Trans. of N.Y. State Archaeological Assoc. Vol. V, no. 4, Rochester. See also W.A. Ritchie, 1944, the Pre-Iroquois Occupations of New York State; Roch. Museum Memoir, no. 1, p. 168-9, Roch.

(4) Brebeuf's account of the Huron ossuary burial in the mid seventeenth century has been translated as the Feast of the Dead. And as the Iroquois seasonal camp-move ritual is also known as the Feast of the Dead, there is a confusion between these linguistically different but contiguous tribes.

(5) One informant at Onondaga Reservation told Dr. C.B. Richards that "It was quite an affair, she (informant) said, with hundreds of people there, many spectators. According to her, the story went that when they were

digging and uncovered the bones that the bulldozers wouldn't go, and men started falling off and fainting." (Personal communication from Dr. C.B. Richards, Oct. 18, 1957.)

Dr. Wm. C. Sturtevant reports the following:

"In May, 1957, a middle aged, politically sophisticated widely travelled, firm Longhouse believer at Newtown, Cattaraugus Reservation, told me of a recent occurrence at Toronto. He said that an attempt was made to level off an 'Indian cemetery,' but that the bulldozer stopped at the edge of the cemetery and could not be driven forward. The driver was able to back up, but every time he reached the cemetery the bulldozer stopped. My informant regarded this as a supernatural effect, and told me that the Canadian whites were much impressed and plan to have a 'feast' held at the cemetery every year."

"In October, 1957, I inquired -- (of the principal Newtown ceremonial expert). A bulldozer was clearing an area on a small knoll -- a road, he thought -- and 'turned up a lot of bones -- a real old graveyard -- Indian bones.' A woman who lived nearby began to hear 'hollering' in the middle of the night. She went to an Indian woman living, he thought, in Ottawa, and asked her advice on exorcising the ghosts. She was told to consult 'the head ones on the reservation.' It was arranged that Indians from Grand River would rebury the bones, and the whites would pay them 'a lot of money' for doing it. Representatives went from man reservations, including Cattaraugus. They arrived the day before the ceremony was scheduled and collected the money." (Personal communication from Dr. William C. Sturtevant, Oct. 30, 1957.)

(6) In accordance with traditional custom, all matters concerning the Six Nations Confederacy must be dealt within the Onondaga Long House, at which member chiefs of all six nations

must be present. Although most of the tribes have tribal long houses on the Ohsweken Reservation, as the Onondaga chiefs are 'keepers of the fire' and are senior in council, they take the final decision and therefore all matters of an inter-tribal nature are dealt within council at their long house.

(7) The senior Mohawk chief's wife explained that on the morning of the third day and immediately prior to the chief's ceremony, the council was now considering whether they would adopt both men into the tribe. It had been decided to adopt the Reeve's assistant, but as they were going to "give a hat" to the Reeve as well, they were now deciding if they would officially adopt him as well. A contradiction appears between statements of the latter and those of the Reeve's assistant. It seems likely to the writer that the dual adoption had been approved by the Ohsweken group of the Grand Council, and they wanted now to consult with other chiefs who had recently arrived in order to get general approval for the adoption.

(8) The tobacco used for the ceremony was grown and cured by the Iroquois which represents a continuation of the traditional indigenous custom of cultivating tobacco for sacred purposes.

(9) No translation was given, the chief mentioning afterward that it was the usual tobacco burning ritual speech (see Fenton & Kurath, ibid, p. 148).

(10) Fenton & Kurath, ibid, p. 145, say the ceremony is performed at village camp moves every ten or twelve years. As this speaker was well aware of the ritual and the occasions for its performance, the confusion about his having been at an ossuary burial ceremony (Huron and Nuetral and not Iroquois) is perhaps deliberate confusion. Huron ossuaries have been found in considerable numbers in Southern Ontario. There are also some in

the North Eastern United States (see Schmitt, 1952, and Nichols, 1929). In general the ossuary complex is not Iroquois but is Huron and Nuetral, although Professor Emerson does state from field surveys the existence of a few historic Seneca (Iroquois) ossuaries in the Niagara Peninsula (Southern Ontario).

(11) These were the disturbed bones and had been crated and stored at the Royal Ontario Museum. More than fifty percent of them it was estimated remained undisturbed in the ossuaries.

(12) Supplied by the Provincial Department of Game and Fisheries at the request of the Reeve's office.

(13) The chief had spent about four or five nights discussing it with several bilingual Iroquois, who attempted to translate and record it literally. Only one person remained to finish the work. The speech in translation was mimeographed and circulated among the non-Iroquois guests. It appears to be a fairly accurate translation. Some liberties had been taken however, such as the choice of the word "enthusiasm" which might better have been rendered as "sympathetic interest."

(14) As these dances were not an intrinsic part of the ceremony, they have not been described here. For a description of the Feast of the Dead associated dancing, see Fenton and Kurath, (ibid, p. 150-163).

(15) The Grand Council of the Confederacy met at Ohsweken in September and decided to adopt both of these men. At that time however the Council was represented only by residents of the Six Nations Reservation. It remained now to gain unanimity among the Council chiefs from other places.

(16) One chief said, "we can only imagine how strongly some object in their own tongue, if

they even tell us about it."

(17) It is the writer's opinion that the Dominion Government is not discriminating against freedom of religion, economic, social or educational opportunities.

(18) The Iroquois base their claim on a treaty with the British Government in 1794. They claim that with the birth of the Dominion Government in 1867 their political autonomy was disallowed.

(19) During the ceremonies the Iroquois expressed their solidarity vis-à-vis the whites by referring to themselves as "Indians" rather than as Iroquois.

(20) Needless to say this represents a small minority of the Iroquois group. At the Six Nations Reservation at Ohsweken, the resident population is about 4,000. The Agency suggests that about 300 to 350 persons adhere to the Long House religion, while about 800 to 850 voted for the last elective council. The Long House group revise these figures to say that about 1,000 are active Long House people, and as only 800 to 850 voted for the elective council, the remainder of the 4,000 are really Long House by sentiment. There are therefore two parallel councils, an elected council which cooperates with the Indian Superintendent, and the hereditary Confederacy Council in which members are appointed by clan mothers and which has no official legislative or jural authority.

(21) The Six Nations Iroquois have scheduled a re-enactment of the reburial ceremony on the site for the weekend of Oct. 25-27, 1957.

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THE UNITED CHURCH SITE NEAR ROCK LAKE IN MANITOBA

by

R. S. MacNeish and K. H. Capes

INTRODUCTION

The reason for undertaking this excavation was the need of examining a site of possible stratigraphy in order to attain a chronological sequence for southern Manitoba. Previous excavations in the area have no recorded stratigraphy.

The area dug is near the southern border of Manitoba in the watershed of the Pembina River (See map Fig. 1). The actual site, DhLs-3, (1) is situated about 1¼ miles south of the village of Glenora, on the north shore of Rock Lake, in the grounds of the United Church just north of the outdoor chapel. The site is on a high lake or river terrace, probably a river terrace of the Pembina Channel during late or just post-Pleistocene times, when Lake Souris drained in a channel southward through a chain of lakes that included Rock Lake. (2) The terrace is about halfway up from the lake to the top of the escarpment, about 250 feet from the water. This spot was picked because the edge of the road adjacent showed deepest refuse.

EXCAVATION

Initially a contour map was made of the immediate area (See map Fig. 2). This was accomplished by setting up a plane table and using the top of the foundation of a house as datum plane, as it was about level with the terrace. The map included the area right around the site to be excavated. The area for excavation was marked off in two adjacent rows of five 5-foot squares

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(1) See map Fig. 1 (2) Elson, 1955

running east-west, and finally an eleventh square extended the west end of the 10-foot wide trench five feet to the north. Digging was carried out in squares in arbitrary 6-inch levels or by actual soil zones when they were discernible. (Fig.1). Approximately the top 4 inches comprised humus which was shaken over screens. The trowel was used through the dark sandy refuse remains which came next and which was also screened. In this horizon three charcoal lenses with fire-cracked rocks turned up in squares E10, N5, and N10W10; in all probability some sort of hearth areas. Gradually the sandy refuse became clayish and at a depth of about 18 inches it was necessary to exchange the trowel for a shovel, using a horizontal slicing technique. The clay refuse was also put through the screen. At a depth of about 30 inches there was another soil break and refuse became predominantly a yellow-grey clay mixed with buffalo bones. This grey-clay bone zone continued to about 40 inches and noticeably contained no pottery, though it had chips and a few stone artifacts. Below this level lay sterile sub-soil and digging was not continued much deeper.

The method of analysis followed was the laying out of all excavated material according to arbitrary squares and levels, combining all levels of each square, noting the trends in time of each individual type of artifact, and finally correlating arbitrary levels and trends of each type with the geological levels. (3)

PROJECTILE POINTS

With the exception of Level 3, points were found in all levels down to 6 inclusive. Ten were of recognizable types. There were 5 unidentifiable tips, and one whole specimen of unknown type.

McKean Lanceolate (4) (Plate 1, No. 10)

Two broken specimens came from Levels 5 and 6 respectively; in Level 6 two more were found

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(3) See analysis (4) Wheeler, R.P., 1952.

but disappeared from our washing tables in the field.

Form and size:

The two collected are small, basal notched; one is straight-sided and one convex, both taper gradually to a point. Measurements of the convex-sided specimen are: length 36 mm., width 16 mm., thickness about 5 mm.

Chipping technique:

Pressure flaking on surfaces from edges inwards; little retouching of edges. One lateral basal edge of the chalcedony point has a small amount of grinding on it.

Material:

Brown chalcedony and grey chert.

Function:

These are small enough to have been arrow points. However, both are in the small end of the range for the type which, in the main, were probably dart points.

Relationships:

Points of this type occur in the Whiteshell Focus of eastern Manitoba (5), at Mortlach in Saskatchewan (6), at a number of sites in Montana (7), and Wyoming (8), in the Angostura Basin of South Dakota (9), and in Signal Butte I in Nebraska (10). They bear a resemblance to stemmed indented based points covering a larger

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(5) MacNeish, n.d. (6) Wettlaufer, personal communication. (7) Mulloy, W., 1952 (8) Mulloy, W., 1954 (9) Hughes, J.T., 1949 (10) Strong, 1935.

area southwest of Manitoba from California (where they are called Pinto Basin Points) to Texas (where they are called Pedernales Points) (11).

As far as our United Church site is concerned, the type is mainly in our pre-pottery levels and may have lasted up into early ceramic times. In eastern Manitoba the type is always pre-ceramic (12).

Hanna (13): (Plate I, No. 5, 6, 7).

Six specimens came from Levels 1, 2 and 5.

Form and size:

Small, convex edges gradually tapering to a point, side-removed to corner-notched, with bases straight to slightly concave. Average measurements of three specimens are: length 27 mm., width 18 mm., thickness 7 mm.

Chipping technique:

Basal notches or concavity removed by percussion flaking. Surfaces and edges finished by pressure flaking.

Material:

Brown chalcedony and quartzite.

Function:

Probably either arrow or dart points.

Relationships:

Points of this type appear with the ceramic horizon at Rock Lake. Further south and west in the Plains they are pre-ceramic.

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(11) Suhm and Krieger, 1954 (12) MacNeish, n.d.
(13) Wheeler, 1954.

Anderson Corner-notched (14): (Plate I, No. 8 and 9)

Two points, one of quartzite and one of chalcedony, came from Levels 2 and 5 respectively.

Form and size:

Medium sized, corner-notched with convex edges gradually tapering to a point, and straight base. The quartzite point is the larger and measures: length about 57 mm., width at shoulders 30 mm., width at base 24 mm., depth and width of notch 5 and 13 mm., and about 10 mm. thick. The measurements of the chalcedony point are: length 50 mm., width at shoulders 22 mm., width at base 20 mm., depth and width of notch 5 and 10 mm., thickness about 5 mm.

Chipping technique:

The quartzite specimen is retouched on all edges and slightly chipped on surfaces, probably by pressure flaking. The chalcedony point has fine pressure flaking on both surfaces and neat retouching on edges.

Material:

Brown chalcedony and quartzite.

Function:

Dart or spear points.

Relationships:

These occur with the pottery at the United Church site. They are common in eastern Manitoba appearing in the late pre-ceramic Larter Focus and in the early ceramic Anderson and Nutimik Foci (15). Either the same type or a similar one is widespread in the northern Plains (16). A similar type also occurs with the Middle

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(14) MacNeish, n.d. (15) MacNeish, n.d.
(16) Mulloy, 1952.

Woodland horizons in the midwestern United States (17).

Prairie Side-notched (18): (Plate I, No. 1 and 2).

Two points and one base of point were found in Levels 2 and 4.

Form and size:

Small, side-notched, with convex edges gradually tapering to a point, and straight base. Measurements of complete specimens are: length 20 mm., width 11 mm., thickness about 1 mm. Side notches are 2 to 4 mm. above the base, and are 3 to 4 mm. wide, and 2 mm. deep.

Chipping technique:

Retouching on all edges of both surfaces by pressure flaking; quite long scars (about 2 mm.); flaking on body negligible except above base.

Material:

Two of brown chalcedony and one of quartzite.

Function:

Arrow point.

Relationships:

These points appear in the upper levels of the United Church site and are associated with the Manitoba and Winnipeg River Fabric-Impressed wares. The type is widespread in the Plains during late prehistoric times and the same, or a similar, type appears over much of North America at this time period (19).

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(17) Griffin, 1952 (18) MacNeish, 1954
(19) Suhm and Krieger, 1954.

Eastern Triangular (20): (Plate I, No. 3)

One base found in Level 2.

Form and size:

Straight base with sides converging very gradually. Width 20 mm.

Chipping technique:

Very shallow flakes removed from both surfaces by pressure flaking; edges slightly retouched.

Material:

Quartzite.

Function:

Arrow point.

Relationships:

Small triangular points like this one are widespread over much of North America during the late prehistoric or early historic periods (21). The one found at Rock Lake also appeared late in that deposit.

Aberrant point: (Plate I, No. 4)

This point came from Level 2.

Form and size:

A small, long, narrow, corner-notched point, with slightly convex edges, gradually tapering to a point, straight base, and straight stem. Total length 33 mm., width at shoulders 13 mm., width at base 7 mm., length of stem 5 mm.

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(20) MacNeish, 1954 (21) Suhm and Krieger, 1954

Chipping technique:

Both surfaces covered with fine pressure flaking, and edges retouched by same method. Seemed to have been made from an initial flat flake rather than a quarry blank.

Material:

Brown chalcedony.

Function:

Arrow point.

Relationships:

Unknown.

SCRAPERS

Borer Scrapers: (Plate I, No. 15-18)

These scrapers, numbering eleven, were found in Levels 2, 3, 4, 5 and 7.

Form and size:

They are like irregularly-shaped small side-scrapers, chipped to a point at the end opposite the bulb of percussion, which is on the ventral side. Average length and width of the four specimens illustrated are respectively 36 mm. and 18 mm.

Chipping technique:

Plano-convex flakes were selected; percussion flaking applied to dorsal surface; retouching by pressure flaking formed point, sometimes on both sides but most frequently on dorsal side only; retouching also applied to one or more edges. One specimen is bifacially chipped.

Material:

Brown chalcedony and chert.

Function:

As awls for making holes in skins and possibly for gouging bone.

Thin flake side-scrapers: (Plate II, No. 10-13)

These scrapers come from all levels.

Form and size:

They are small, thin, random, irregularly-shaped flakes. Some have been retouched on one edge only, others on two edges, some all the way round. Average measurements of the four specimens illustrated are: length 44 mm. and width at widest point 23 mm.

Chipping technique:

Percussion flaking on dorsal surface only; retouching by pressure flaking, usually only the dorsal side, but occasionally same edge retouched on both dorsal and ventral surfaces.

Material:

Mostly brown chalcedony; some chert.

Function:

Most likely used for knives, for cutting rather than scraping. May have been inserted in slotted bone handles.

Small humped-back scrapers: (Plate II, No. 1-3)

The scrapers of this type were found in Levels 4, 5 and 6. Their maximum concentration was in the pre-pottery Level 6.

Form and size:

They are small, plano-convex, with the dorsal side rising abruptly to a hump at the scraping end, and sloping gradually to a fairly flat and usually narrowing edge at the opposite

end. In general outline they are fairly triangular.

Measurements were taken of eight scrapers showing they ranged from maximum height of 5 to 11 mm., with width from 16 to 23 mm., the back end ranged from a height of 1 to 7 mm., with width from 2 to 32 mm. Average and typical measurements are: height and width of scraping edge 8 mm., and 21 mm., respectively, height and width of back end 3 mm., and 10 mm., length of scraper 25 mm.

Chipping technique:

Initially fashioned by percussion technique, all flaking on dorsal surface only. Steep pressure flaking has been applied to the nosed end; pressure flaking also to retouched edges, sometimes all the way round.

Material:

Brown chalcedony, chert, and quartzite.

Function:

Hafted to a handle and used to scrape skins.

Thin concave end-scrapers: (Plate II, No. 7-9)

These scrapers, numbering ten, came from Levels 3, 4, 5 and 6.

Form and size:

Typical specimens are concave-convex, roughly oblong, one end a little narrower than the other. In three out of four whole scrapers the wider end is the scraping edge, i.e., the end opposite the bulb of percussion which shows on the ventral (concave) side. The scraping edges are thin and almost flat. In the fourth specimen the bulb of percussion appears at the wider end and therefore the scraping edge, which, contrary to the others, is snub-nosed, is at the narrow end.

The whole specimens ranged in length from 40 to 48 mm., and in width from 19 to 30 mm.,

averaging in size 43 x 24 mm.

Chipping technique:

Flat or concavo-convex flakes struck off core; retouching by pressure flaking on dorsal surface and along the two sides and scraping edge on dorsal surface.

Material:

Brown chalcedony and chert.

Function:

Hafted to a handle and used as an end-scraper or flesher.

Lamellar flakes: (Plate I, No. 11-13)

Eight of these flake tools came from Levels 2 to 5. Their greatest concentration was in Levels 4 and 5.

Form and size:

These flakes are roughly rectangular with the exception of the long shaped flake from Level 2 (See No. 13) which seems to have been fashioned as a composite tool. Average width of flakes is 15 mm. Length of two whole ones is approximately 45 mm. each. The majority are under 3 mm. thick but one piece is 6 mm. in thickness.

Chipping technique:

The flakes have been struck from polyhedral cores. Most flakes show some retouching by pressure flaking. A lamellar flake side-scraper is retouched on its cutting edge. A tiny flake is retouched on opposite sides on alternate surfaces.

Material:

Brown chalcedony, chert, quartzite.

Function:

Probably knives for cutting.

Thin flat end-scrapers: (Plate II, No. 4-6)

Most of the ten scrapers of this type came from Levels 1 to 3 though two were found in Level 5.

Form and size:

These scrapers are plano-convex, truncated triangular to isosceles triangular in shape, with the wider end having the scraping edge. The bulb of percussion seen on the ventral surface is usually at the narrow end but sometimes is near the centre giving the tool a convex-convex appearance. The scraping edges are steep compared to the working end of the thin concave end-scrapers.

Length ranges from 20 mm. to 35 mm. Width at scraping edge is from 20 mm. to 27 mm. Height of scraping edge is from 1 to 5 mm. Average measurements are: length 28 mm., width 24 mm., scraping edge thickness 3 mm.

Chipping technique:

Flake struck off prismatic core, fashioned by percussion flaking on dorsal surface. Cutting end has steep retouching by pressure flaking, lateral edges also finished by pressure flaking but not so steep.

Material:

Brown chalcedony, chert, fossilized wood (1 scraper).

Function:

Hafted to a handle and used for scraping.

Large flake side-scrapers: (Plate III, No. 4-6, 8)

Twenty-two of these scrapers were found in the top five levels.

Form and size:

Irregular in shape and size, ranging from 65 x 36 mm. to 35 x 19 mm.

Chipping technique:

Struck off core by percussion flaking and shaped by percussion flaking; some pressure flaking on dorsal side of cutting edge; sometimes on more than one edge.

Material:

Quartzite, chert, brown chalcedony.

Function:

Scraping skins.

OTHER STONE TOOLS

Bifacial blade fragments: (Plate III, No. 1-3)

Sixteen fragments of bifacial blades came from all levels.

Form and size:

Since they are broken specimens, the forms are irregular, but several appear to be parts of spear points. The most complete specimen measures 74 mm. by 37 mm.

Chipping technique:

All specimens are bifacially flaked and have retouched edges. One artifact of chalcedony has fine pressure flaking on both surfaces and all edges. (No. 1)

Material:

Brown chalcedony, quartzite, chert.

Function:

Some probably used as scrapers.

Stone choppers: (Plate III, No. 7 and 9)

Two choppers came from Levels 3 and 5, respectively.

Form and size:

One is rectangular to squarish, measuring 68 mm. by 55 mm., and about 10 mm. thick at upper end, thinning to thickness of 1 mm. at chopping end. The other is a thick spherical tool approximately 50 mm. in diameter.

Chipping technique:

Both are crudely fashioned. The sphere has been struck from a pebble and shaped along two edges by percussion flaking. It has no retouching. The other is a coarse bifacial flake that has been roughly chipped, with a little percussion flaking on its cutting edge.

Material:

Quartzite.

Function:

Chopping and scraping.

Rubbing stones: (Plate IV, No. 1-3)

Three of these stones were found in Levels 2, 4 and 5.

Form and size:

They appear to be parts of pebbles. One measures 43 mm. by 30 mm., the next in size is 40 mm. by 20 mm., and the third 25 mm. by 15 mm.

Chipping technique:

To flatten pebble large flakes have been struck off. Then the steep edges have been worked by removing thin parallel grooves, probably by rubbing with a pencil-pointed bone tool.

Material:

Shale.

Function:

Scraping or rubbing.

Aberrant side-scraper: (Plate I, No. 14)

This artifact was found in Level 3.

Form and size:

It is a small, narrow side-scraper, oval in outline; one long side forms a cutting edge, but one end has been flattened (by removal of two long flakes) as if for scraping. Length 47 mm., width 15 mm.

Chipping technique:

Worked on dorsal side only, pressure flaking on surface and retouching on cutting edge.

Material:

Brown chalcedony.

Function: Probably cutting and scraping bone tools.

Polishing stone:

This tool was found in Level 1.

Form and size:

It is a tiny fragment measuring 29 by 9 by 2 mm.

Chipping technique:

None. Polished by use.

Material:

Mica schist.

Function:

Probably for polishing bone.

BONE TOOLS

Bone awls: (Plate IV, No. 4 and 5)

There were three awls from Levels 4 and 5. One is a fragment of a leg bone, probably deer; one is made of the ulna of a smaller animal, such as a hare; and the third is a cut and polished antler tip.

Form and size:

Long, narrowly rounded to flat, rounded -- pointed tool. Length of deer leg bone tool measures 15 cm., width about 2 cm., width at tip 5 mm.

Manufacturing technique:

Cut, whittled to a point, and then polished with an abrasive tool.

Function:

Piercing skins.

Bone pendant (drop end broken): (Plate IV, No. 8)

Found in Level 4. Probably part of a leg or rib bone of deer.

Form and size:

Sides fairly parallel, though slightly narrowing towards upper end with hole. Tip is broken off. Present length is 78 mm., width at bottom is 18 mm., at top 12 mm. One long edge is rounded, about 2 mm. thick, the opposite edge is squared, ranging from 4 mm. thick at top end to 12 mm. at bottom.

Method of manufacture:

Cut off, shaped by cutting, and then polished with abrasive tool that has left scratches. Hole bored from both surfaces, probably with one of the borer-like scrapers described above.

Function:

Ornament.

Bone needle (?) fragment: (Plate IV, No. 6)

Came out of Layer 4.

Form and size:

Parallel-sided, flat, rounded edges, one edge steeper, about 2 mm. thick, other edge 1 mm. thick, width 5 mm., total length unknown.

Manufacturing technique:

Cut, and polished with abrasive tool.

Function:

Probably needle.

Barbed bone point (fragment): (Plate IV, No. 7)

Tip only, found in Level 3.

Form and size:

It is unilaterally barbed. Upper barb is cut at right angles to body, about 2 mm. in, perpendicular length of slot about 5 mm. Tip is about 4 mm. across.

Manufacturing technique:

It is made from an antler tip that was cut and then polished.

Function:

Fishing.

Bone flesher: (Plate IV, No. 9)

This tool came from Level 2. Another one was also recorded from this level.

Form and size:

It is made of the distal half of the cervidae tibia, about 18 cm. long. The distal end is the handle, the bevelled end (the working part) is about 7 cm. long and 3 cm. wide at the tip.

Manufacturing technique:

The distal half of a cervidae tibia has been cut off about 18 cm. below the proximal end. A piece has been split off at the bottom end to make a bevelled scraping edge, which has been shaped by cutting and then polishing with an abrasive tool that has left scratch marks. The working end has been cut to make a saw-like edge, the notches being about 3 mm. apart and 2 to 3 mm. deep.

Function:

Scraping skin.

Ochre:

A tiny ball of ochre, measuring 20 by 15 mm., came out of Level 2.

Function:

Body ornamentation.

Beaver tooth:

Out of Level 2 came a fragment of beaver tooth that has been split longitudinally and part of inner side of split has been polished.

Function:

Gouge.

POTTERY

Two main classes of pottery were found at the site. One characterized by being particularly coarse, came out of all levels, down to Level 5 inclusive, but was particularly prolific at the lower levels. It comprised three different types of sherds (or wares). The other class, considerably finer in texture, and with small temper, was not found below Level 3. It slightly predominated in the two upper levels and was of two types (or wares). Probably all five types, or wares, may eventually be further subdivided when more materials become available.

Avery Corded: (Plate V, No. 10-15)

Three hundred and seventy-seven sherds were examined from the upper five levels, including 4 pieces from Levels 7 and 8, which occurred in rodent holes.

Paste and temper:

Crushed rock, mainly quartz, ranging in size from 4 mm. to .5, averaging 1 mm. 101 pieces in 1 cubic cm. of pottery, making 8% of paste.

Consistency:

Poorly knit, angular, coarse texture.

Hardness:

Average 2.5.

Thickness:

Sherds range from 5 mm. to 8 mm. in thickness, averaging 5.7 mm.

Colour:

Exterior surfaces range from pale ochraceous buff to olivaceous black. Interior surfaces have the same range - pale ochraceous buff to olivaceous black. Cross-section - generally dark, but uneven firing, can lighten toward centre or toward exterior surfaces. Range from light ocracheous-salmon to iron grey.

Manufacturing technique:

Probably coil-made.

Surface finish:

Cord-wrapped paddle-impressed, the cord impressions running horizontally. The cord, of more than one yarn, appears tightly woven, the twist ranging in length from 1 to 2 mm., and thickness of cord about 1 mm. The cord is wound counter clockwise (Z).

The paddles appear irregularly wound, the width between cord impressions varying from 1 to 8 mm.

Vessel form:

Rims: Ten varieties of rim form show up in 16 rim sherds (See Fig. 3) Nos. 1, 3, 6, 9, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16 and 17) with No. 15 (with four rims) being slightly more common than all the others.

Decoration:

Some rims show interior punctating with a conical object (about 4 mm. in diameter) causing nodes on exterior; some lips marked with cord impressions or incising.

One rim sherd and two body sherds have incisions, in no regular pattern, by a sharp instrument criss-crossing the cord impressions. One sherd has a wash of red ochre on it.

Temporal and Geographical range: This type has been found only in south central Manitoba (22). The United Church excavations indicate that the type is dominant in Levels 3, 4, and 5. It diminishes noticeably in the upper two levels and its absence in various components of the Manitoba Focus in the same area would tend to show that it died out before the late prehistoric period (23).

Relationships:

The type is similar to Lockport Corded Ware in southeast Manitoba (24). Judging from photographs and brief descriptions, it seems related to some of the cord-marked wares of the Malmo Focus of northern and central Minnesota (25).

Laurel Plain: (Plate V, No. 4-9)

This type is based on 240 sherds taken from the five upper levels, including 4 pieces from Levels 7 and 8 (intrusive).

Paste:

Temper:

Crushed rock, mainly quartz; ranging in size from 5 mm. to 1/2 mm., average 1.5 mm.; 55 pieces in 1 cubic cm. of pottery, making 8% of paste.

Consistency:

Poorly knit, angular coarse texture.

Hardness:

About 2.55.

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(22) MacNeish, 1954 (23) Ibid
(24) Ibid (25) Wilford, 1955.

Thickness:

Sherds range from 4 to 10 mm., averaging 6.6 mm. in thickness.

Colour:

Exterior surfaces range from capucine buff to black, the majority being buffy brown. Interior surfaces are mainly black but a few are buffy brown. In cross-section the sherds reveal poorly-controlled firing, ranging in the centers from black to dusky neutral grey, usually brightening toward exterior surface, and may or may not brighten toward interior surface.

Manufacturing technique:

Probably by coiling, but coil breaks not well-marked or readily observable.

Surface finish:

Brushed horizontally to make clay smooth, interiorly and exteriorly; a few sherds approach to dull polishing.

Decoration:

Usually absent, but 3 out of 12 rims have interior punctating causing nodes on exterior. Linear punctating by a stylus on a few body sherds. Dentate stamping on other sherds, teeth about 4 mm. long and 2 mm. wide.

Vessel form:

Rims: Show considerable range of form, 10 varieties (See Fig. 1-10) appearing amongst the 12 rims found.

Temporal and Geographical Range:

This type occurs over much of northern Minnesota and all of southern Manitoba. It is a majority type in the earliest ceramic complex (Anderson Focus) and dies out in the second period

(Nutimik Focus) in southeast Manitoba (26). In Minnesota it is a majority type in the Laurel and Malmo Focus but also occurs in the Kathio and Howard Lake Foci (27). At United Church it is a strong minority type in Levels 4 and 5 that decreases in Levels 1 to 3.

Rock Lake Net-Impressed: (Plate V, No. 1-3)

Analysis of this type is based on 101 sherds from the top 5 levels.

Paste:

Temper:

Mainly quartz ranging in size from 1.5 mm. to .5 mm., averaging .8 mm. There were 53 pieces in 1 cubic cm., which made 4% of temper in paste.

Consistency:

Poorly knit, angular, coarse, crumbly texture.

Hardness:

2.07.

Thickness:

Sherds range from 4 to 12 mm. in thickness, averaging 7.4 mm.

Colour:

Exterior surfaces range from pale olive buff and light ochraceous buff to dark olive grey.

Interior surfaces range from pale olive grey and light ochraceous buff to iron grey. Cross-section shows poor firing, generally lighter towards surfaces, from light ochraceous buff to iron grey.

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(26) MacNeish, n.d. (27) Wilford, 1955.

Surface finish:

The surface is covered with net impressions as if the net were wrapped around the wet clay; perhaps sometimes paddled on. The net seems to have been made of cord about 1 mm. thick, comprising more than one yarn wound counter-clockwise. The size of the squares range from 2 to 5 mm. The net was probably made of Indian hemp and the original function of net of that size mesh could have been as a carrying bag or dip net for fishing.

Vessel form:

Rims: Two rims found representing types 7 and 8.

Decoration:

None.

Temporal and Geographical Range:

Sherds of this type occur over much of southern Manitoba (28). However, they are always a minority ware. In the United Church site excavations they are most numerous in Levels 2 and 3 though still a minority type.

Relationships: Unknown.

Manitoba Corded: (Plate VI, 1-6)

Analysis based on 188 sherds from Levels 1 to 3, including 1 sherd from Level 4.

Paste:

Temper:

Crushed rock, chiefly quartz, varying in size from .25 to 1 mm., averaging .5 mm.; 58 pieces in 1 cubic cm. of pottery comprising about 3% of paste.

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(28) MacNeish, n.d.

Consistency:

Fairly well knit, laminar structure, moderately coarse texture.

Hardness:

2.5.

Thickness:

Sherds range from 2 to 6 mm., averaging 4.3 mm. in thickness.

Colour:

Exterior surfaces range from pale ochraceous-buff to dark mouse-grey. Interior surfaces range from capucine buff to blackish mouse-grey. Cross-sections usually fairly even in colour, chiefly dark, though a few pieces get light towards exterior surfaces. Range is from capucine orange to deep mouse-grey.

Manufacturing technique:

Paddle and anvil method of beating clay, paddle being cord-wrapped.

Surface finish:

Cord-paddle impressed, then smoothed. The cord impressions run perpendicularly on pot. The cord, of more than one yarn, appears loosely woven, the twist being about 3 to 5 mm. in length, and thickness of cord 1 to 3 mm. The direction of twist is counter-clockwise (Z). The paddles must have been quite closely wound as the cord impressions are in most cases quite close.

Vessel form:

Rims: Ten varieties of rim are seen in 15 rim sherds, (See Fig. 3, No. 8, 18, 19, 20, 21, 25, 26, 27, 28 and 29).

Decoration:

One type of rim sherd has incisions alternately on exterior and interior edges of lip; these appear to be made with a pointed object like a pencil. (Plate VI, No. 5).

Other methods of decoration are cord-wrapped stick and punctating on rim sherds along mouth, rim, and neck.

Broad line incising is seen on a few sherds. (Plate VI, No. 2).

Temporal and Geographical Range:

In the United Church this type (or ware) occurred in the upper 3 levels. This same type of ware is diagnostic of the Manitoba Focus and is spread over the whole southern half of the province (29). It also occurs in the Blackduck Focus of northern Minnesota (30).

Relationships:

The body sherds of this type (or ware) are the same as those appearing in the above-mentioned areas. The cord-wrapped paddle-edge decorated wares from the United Church site seem to belong to the Manitoba Horizontal type. However, the notched rims and incised sherds that we have classified into this type (or ware) are a little different from any we have seen before. Perhaps when a large sample has been uncovered from south-central Manitoba, these may be classified into new types.

Winnipeg River Fabric-Impressed: (Plate VI, No. 10-12)

Analysis is based on 117 sherds from the top 3 levels.

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(29) MacNeish, n.d. (30) Wilford, 1955.

Paste:

Temper:

Crushed rock, chiefly shale, some quartz, varying in size from 3 to .5 mm., and averaging .9 mm; 37 pieces in 1 cubic cm. comprising a little over 3% of paste.

Consistency:

Fairly well knit, laminar structure, moderately coarse texture.

Hardness:

2.6.

Thickness:

Sherds range from 3 to 5 mm. in thickness, averaging 3.8 mm.

Colour:

Exterior surfaces range from light ochraceous salmon to mouse-grey to blackish mouse-grey. Interior surfaces range from pale ochraceous buff to mouse-grey to blackish mouse-grey. Cross-sections fairly even in colour, darkish, ranging from mouse-grey to blackish mouse-grey.

Manufacturing technique:

Perhaps paddle and anvil method.

Surface finish:

Surfaces are marked by a mass of shallow ovoid impressions fairly close together; these impressions range from 3 to 6 mm. in diameter and are about the same distance apart.

Probably the surfaces were paddled by babiche-wrapped paddle and then lightly smoothed.

Unfortunately none of the impressions are distinct enough for the type of weave to be discerned. Similar sherds with more distinct impressions from the Selkirk Focus of eastern Manitoba, however, usually show plain twine weave impressions.

Vessel form:

Rims: Out of 5 rim sherds, types represented were Fig. 3, No. 19, 22, 23, 24 and 30.

Decoration:

Punctating around neck. One rim sherd has notches on lip. (Plate VI, No. 7).

Temporal and Geographical Range:

This ware is common in eastern and northern Manitoba and occurs in the more northerly section of Saskatchewan (Reindeer Lake). Sherds of this type (or ware) occur at least as far east as Sioux Lookout, Ontario (31).

Relationships:

Since the typology of this ware in eastern Manitoba is based mainly on decorated rim and neck sherds, it has not been possible to classify these United Church Fabric-Impressed sherds more finely than as a ware class.

Aberrant Sherds:

There are two sherds with grit temper and a grooved paddle impression from Level 3 that were unlike any of the other sherds. There are also two grit-tempered sherds with deep wide trailed lines from Level 2 which resemble the Cambria Type A materials of southern Minnesota (32).

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(31) MacNeish, n.d. (32) Wilford, 1945.

BONE REMAINS

Through all layers, down to Level 7 inclusive, buffalo bones predominated. The next most prevalent bone material was bird bone, a few fragments from every level except Level 6. Rodent bones were found in the upper three levels and also Level 6. Scraps of turtle bone came out of Levels 1 and 4. Other animals represented by teeth only were fox--Levels 2 and 3, beaver--Levels 2, 5 and 7, wapiti--Levels 2, 3, and 4, bear--Levels 2, 4 and 5, canines--Levels 3, 4, 5, 6 and 7, deer--Level 7 only. Fish bones came out of Levels 1, 2, 3, 5 and 7.

It was noticeable that the buffalo bones on all horizons comprised chiefly the joints of long bones and the phalanges. There were no whole long bones. Presumably they were represented in the mass of unidentifiable scrap from all levels and had been split for the marrow or crushed for fat. Conspicuously absent were the heavy bones such as the pelvis, scapula, and skull; only 2 horns were found. A number of teeth came out of all levels and a few lower jaw fragments, which might indicate that the lower jaws were cut out in order to get at the tongue which would be a delicacy to take home. Vertebrae were rare. This indicates that buffalo probably were killed and skinned away from the site and only the long bones and ribs with the meat adhering brought to the site.

Level	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Glass Bead	X						
Clay Pipe Stem	X						
Polishing Stone	X						
Ochre		X					
Beaver Tooth		X					
Bone Flesher		X					
Aberrant Point		X					
Eastern Triangular Point		X					
Winnipeg R. Fabric Impr.	X	X	X				
Manitoba Corded Ware	X	X	X				
Aberrant Side Scraper		.	X				
Bone Point		.	X				
Prairie Side Notched Pt.		X	X	X			
Bone Needle		.	.	X			
Bone Pendant		.	.	X			
Grooved Bone		.	.	X			
Laurel Plain Ware	X	X	X	X	X		
Rock Lake Net Impressed	X	X	X	X	X		
Avery Corded Ware	X	X	X	X	X		
Anderson Corner Notched	X	X	X	X	X		
Hanna Point	X	X	X	X	X		
Large Flake Side Scraper	X	X	X	X	X		
Thin Flat End Scraper	X	X	X	X	X		
Lamellar Flake		X	X	X	X		
Rubbing Stone		X	X	X	X		
Stone Chopper		.	X	X	X		
Bone Awl		.	.	X	X		
Thin Concave End Scraper		.	X	X	X	X	
Humped-Back End Scraper		.	.	X	X	X	
McKean Lanceolate Point		.	.	.	X	X	
Bifacial Blade	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Thin Flake Side Scraper	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Borer Scraper		X	X	X	X	X	X

CONCLUSIONS

As may be seen from the study of the artifacts and the chart showing the distribution of the artifacts in the stratigraphic levels, there are some definite cultural changes. The earliest level is without pottery and besides that it contains the distinctive McKean Lanceolate projectile points. These materials from Level 6 seem to compose a distinctive pre-pottery manifestation. Starting with Level 5 and continuing into Level 4 there is a whole series of new artifact types including pottery. This is the second occupation at the site. The final complex of artifacts appear in Levels 1 to 3. In these three top levels there is a new kind of pottery as well as smaller projectile points and a few other distinctive artifacts. There are included, however, in these levels many of the same kind of artifacts that appeared in Levels 4 and 5. The question now becomes, do these distinctive materials from Levels 1 and 3 represent cultural additions to a single basic complex that started in Levels 4 and 5, or was there a distinctive occupation in Levels 1 and 3 by a new group whose materials became mixed with those of the previous occupation? The senior author is inclined toward the latter view, while Miss Capes favours the former interpretation. Be that as it may, the excavation showed definite trends of artifacts and at least gave us the beginnings of the stratigraphic sequence of an archaeological material in southwest Manitoba.

The earliest occupation has three kinds of artifacts: snub-nosed end-scrapers, thin concave end-scrapers, and McKean Lanceolate points. These three kinds of artifacts occur with the Lake Shore Focus which Vickers uncovered on the beach below the Avery's Hotel nearby. Though our sample is inadequate, it seems likely that the Level 6 material is another component of this focus. On a more speculative level, McKean Lanceolate points may indicate that this occupation is related to the Whiteshell Focus in eastern Manitoba (33), the lower levels of the McKean

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(33) MacNeish, n.d.

site in Wyoming (34), and Signal Butte I in western Nebraska (35). The materials found in Level 6 are too few to give us a very complete picture of the way of life of this first occupation. However, the bones do show that their economy was basically hunting of buffalo, somewhat supplemented by the hunting of other animals, and fishing. The McKean Lanceolate type of point probably tipped spears which they used in hunting, while the scrapers were used in preparing the skins for clothing.

The second occupation of the site gives us a much fuller picture of the ancient way of life. These materials are the same as those Vickers found at Avery Lake and at the Paddock site in the same area. He classified them as belonging to the Rock Lake Focus. Thus Levels 4 and 5 of the United Church site are components of that same focus. These materials in their pottery and projectile points show relationships with the Nutimik Focus of southeast Manitoba (36) and with the Malmo Focus of northern Minnesota (37). The similarity of the various artifact types have been pointed out in the artifact descriptions.

The location of the site was on a body of water in an area accessible to these people's chief natural resource, the buffalo. This animal not only provided the main staple of diet but also the skin necessary for clothing and shelter.

Subsistence thus was largely dependent upon hunting buffalo. These animals could have been rounded up and sent over cliffs to their death, being finally dispatched by spears tipped with points. From the type of buffalo remains found at the habitation, it is evident that preliminary butchering took place at the site of the kill, in order not to have to transport home the weightier parts of the animal.

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(34) Mulloy, 1954 (35) Strong, 1935
(36) MacNeish, n.d. (37) Wilford, 1955

Fish bones indicate that some fishing was done throughout the occupation of the site; the harpoon also is further indicative of this type of food. It is possible (from pottery evidence) that some fishing was done by dip nets. Doubtless berries were collected in season.

That the preparation of skins featured largely in the technology of these peoples is witnessed by the accumulation of different types of scrapers from the middle levels. As hunting was the chief occupation of the men, curing the skins would be one of the main tasks of the women. The skin would be laid flat or hung up so that the stone hafted end-scrapers could be applied to roll off the fat, and, finally, the large-flake scrapers would abrade it clean.

Neither hunting nor skinning could be carried out without stone tools. Chipping tools therefore was another main feature of their technology. The methods used were percussion flaking and pressure flaking, frequently very finely done. The two main rocks used were quartzite which could be found locally and brown chalcedony which came from the Dakotas to the south. This latter stone would have been acquired either through trade or by expeditions to the site of the quarry on the Knife River.

Some wood-carving must have been done to make lance shafts and various other tools. For this work the choppers and the flake side-scrapers would have been useful.

Bone artifacts too were manufactured and would bring into play the same choppers and knife-like side-scrapers, and also the rubbing and polishing stones, and, when needed, the stone borers for drilling holes.

Tailoring the skins would have been an occupation of the women. For this work they would use the bone awls and possibly the stone borers for punctating the skins, and also bone needles. Their thread would have been babiche, made of strips of hide.

Finally, the making of pottery is traditionally women's work. The clay would have to be brought into camp, the rock for the temper crushed to the required size. When the mixture had been kneeded it is possible the technique followed was the coil method, followed by paddling into shape with a cord or fabric-wrapped paddle. Some pots were finished by simply smoothing with a flat tool. Occasionally decoration was applied by punctating or incising, chiefly on the rims. It is unlikely that the pots were fired in a kiln as the soft sherds of irregular colouring indicate poorly-controlled firing. There was no burnishing.

The pottery indicated another aspect of these people's technology. They made a fabric of tightly woven babiche thongs and also knotted nets for which the cord was probably made of Indian hemp.

The ochre and bone pendant would indicate that these people were interested in ornamenting their bodies. Their pottery does not show a developed art but as they were migratory hunters they would not likely burden themselves with other than utilitarian utensils.

Some of the artifacts from the top three levels are different from our main Rock Lake component. The small triangular and side-notched points, the barbed bone point, the beaver tooth gouge, the needle, the bone flesher, and the two pottery types, Manitoba Corded Ware and Winnipeg River Fabric-Impressed Ware, occur in the Manitoba Focus of southern Manitoba (38). Certainly this later occupation is related. In actual fact, however, the way of life previously described for Levels 4 and 5 is very little different. The major difference is the more extensive us of small projectile points that may mean a preference for the bow and arrow and the making of slightly different pottery.

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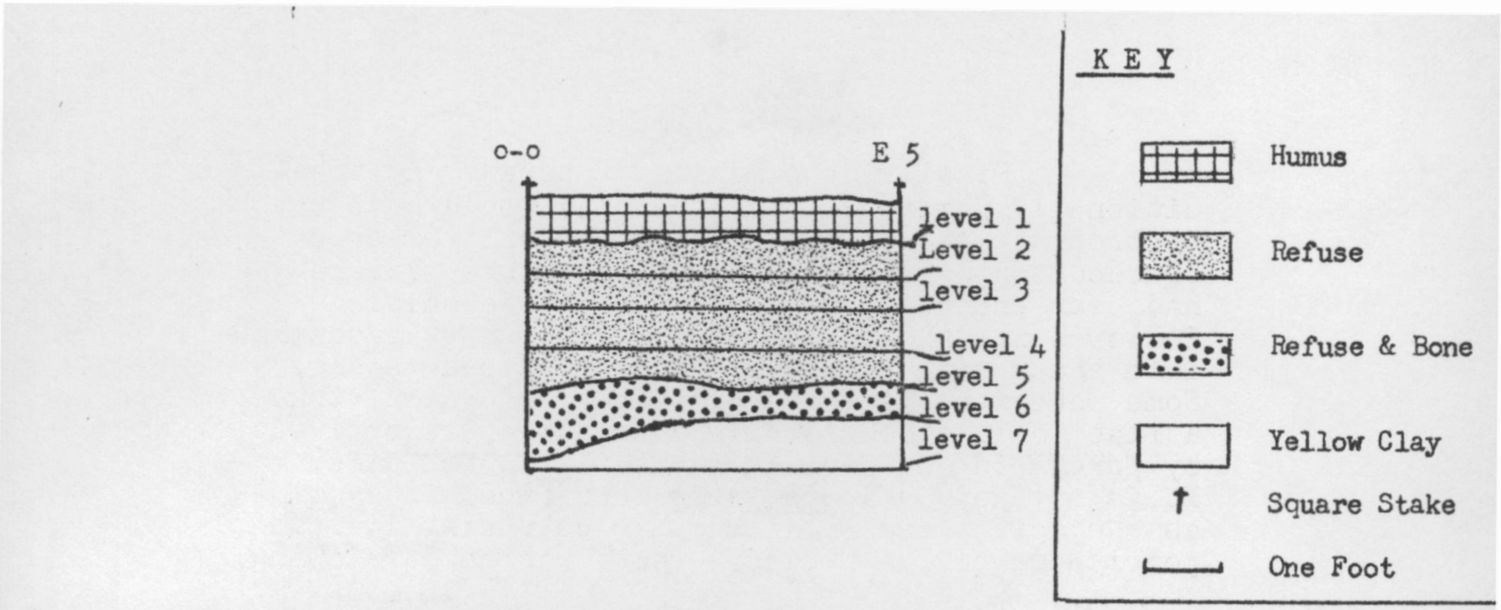
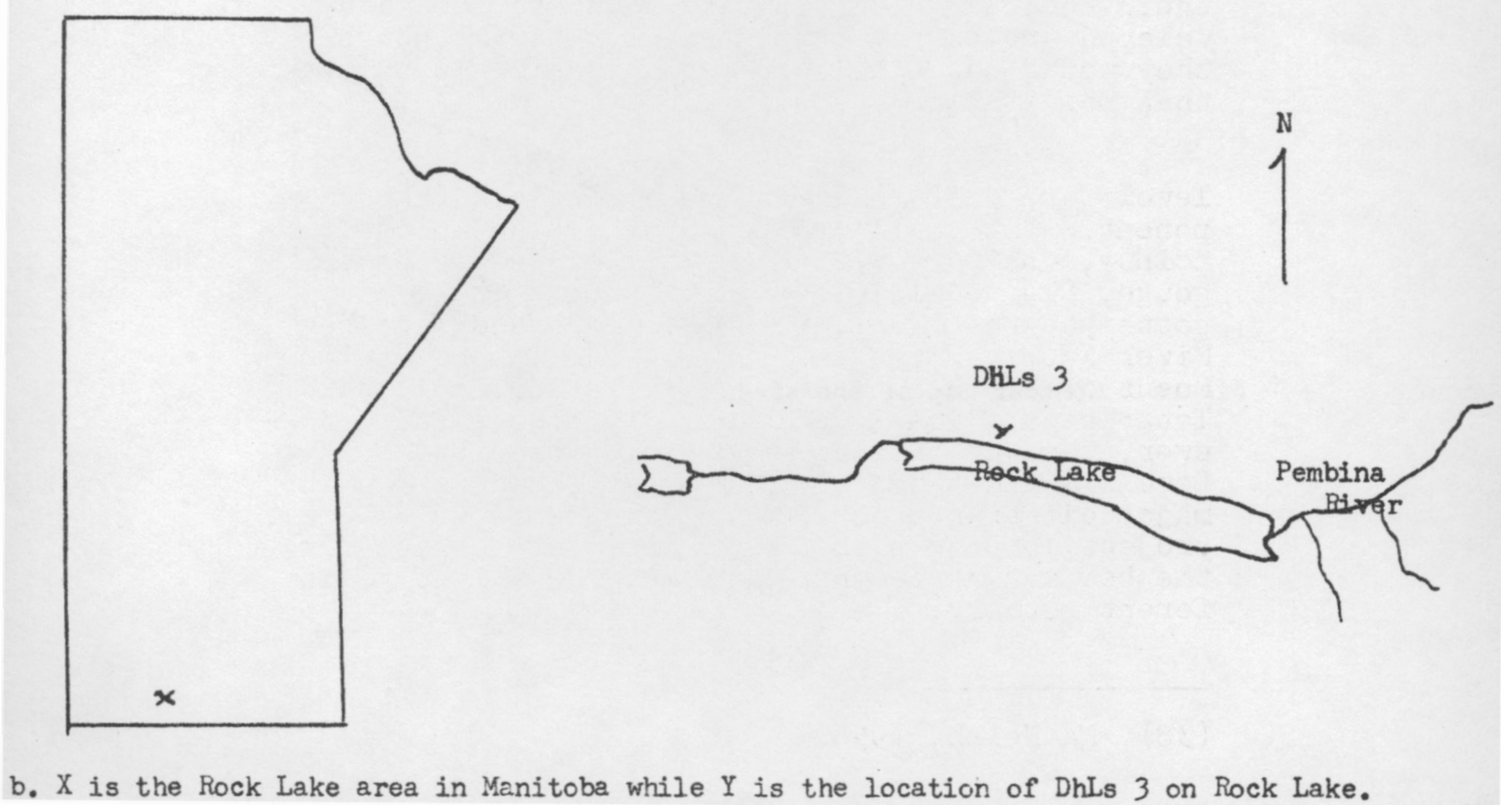
(38) MacNeish, 1954.



a.Cross-section of a typical square in the excavation.



b. X is the Rock Lake area in Manitoba while Y is the location of DhLs 3 on Rock Lake.

Figure 1

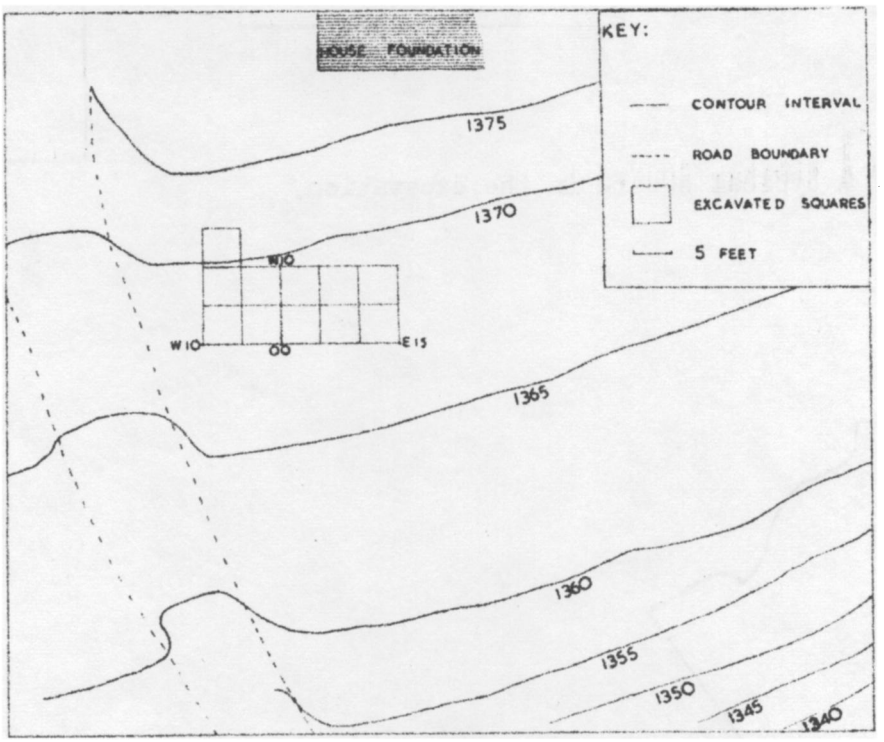


Figure 2 Contour map of the site.

Figure 2 - Contour map of site.

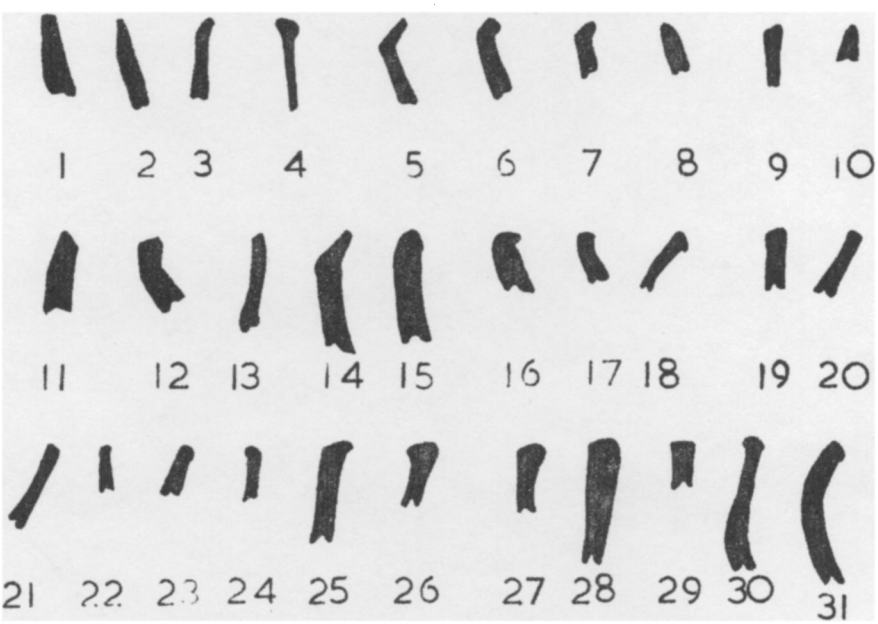


Figure 3 Pottery rim cross-sections, exteriors to the right.

Figure 3 - Rim cross-sections, exteriors to the right.

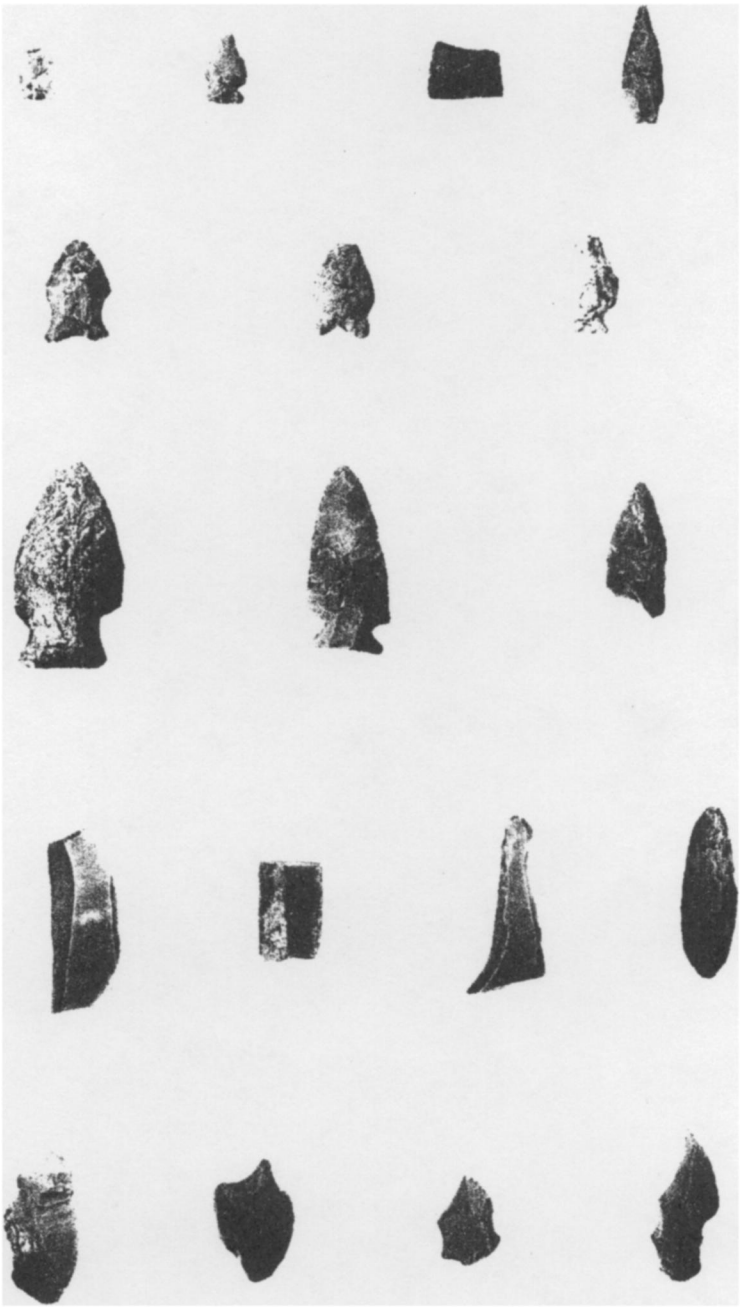


PLATE I

PLATE II

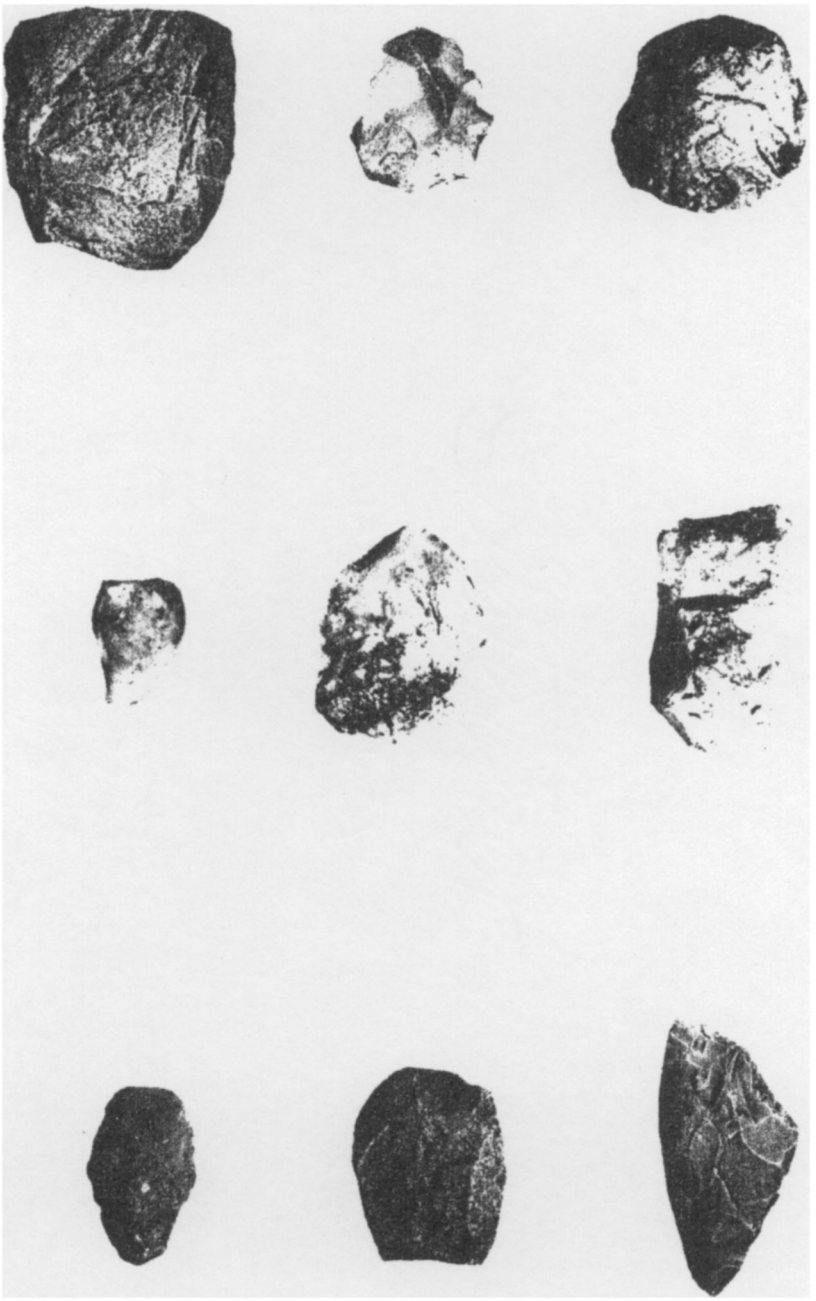


PLATE III

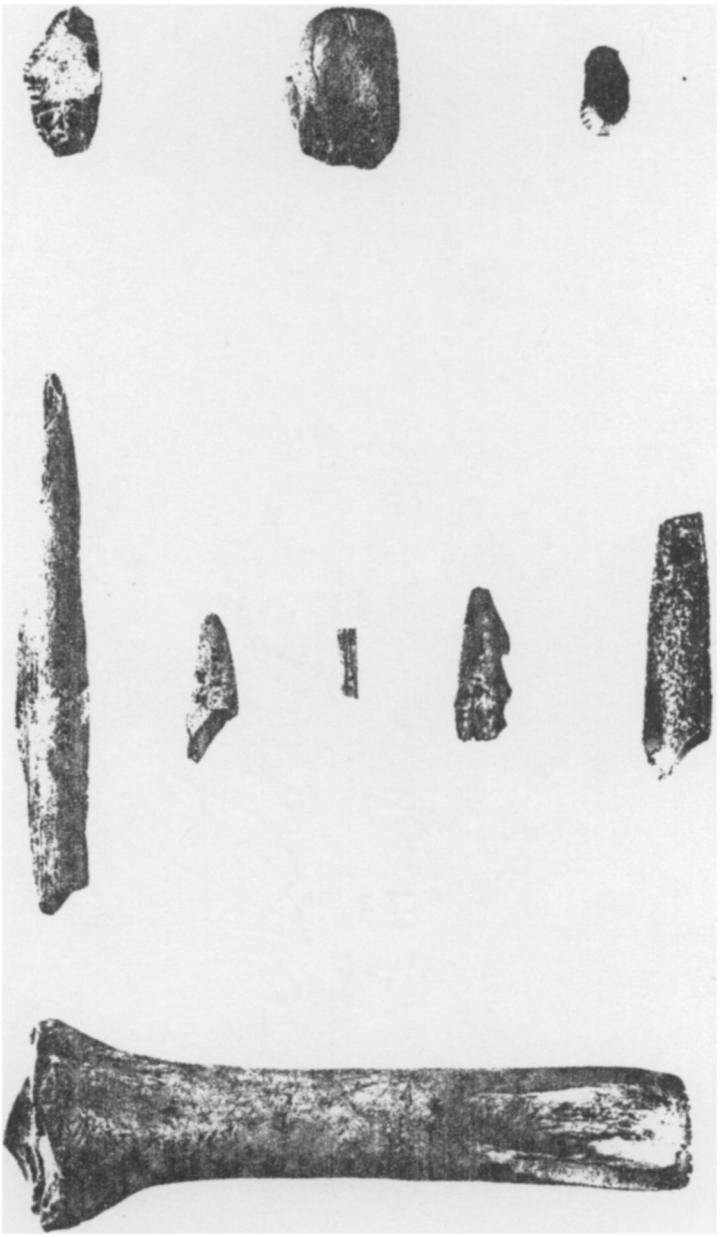


PLATE IV

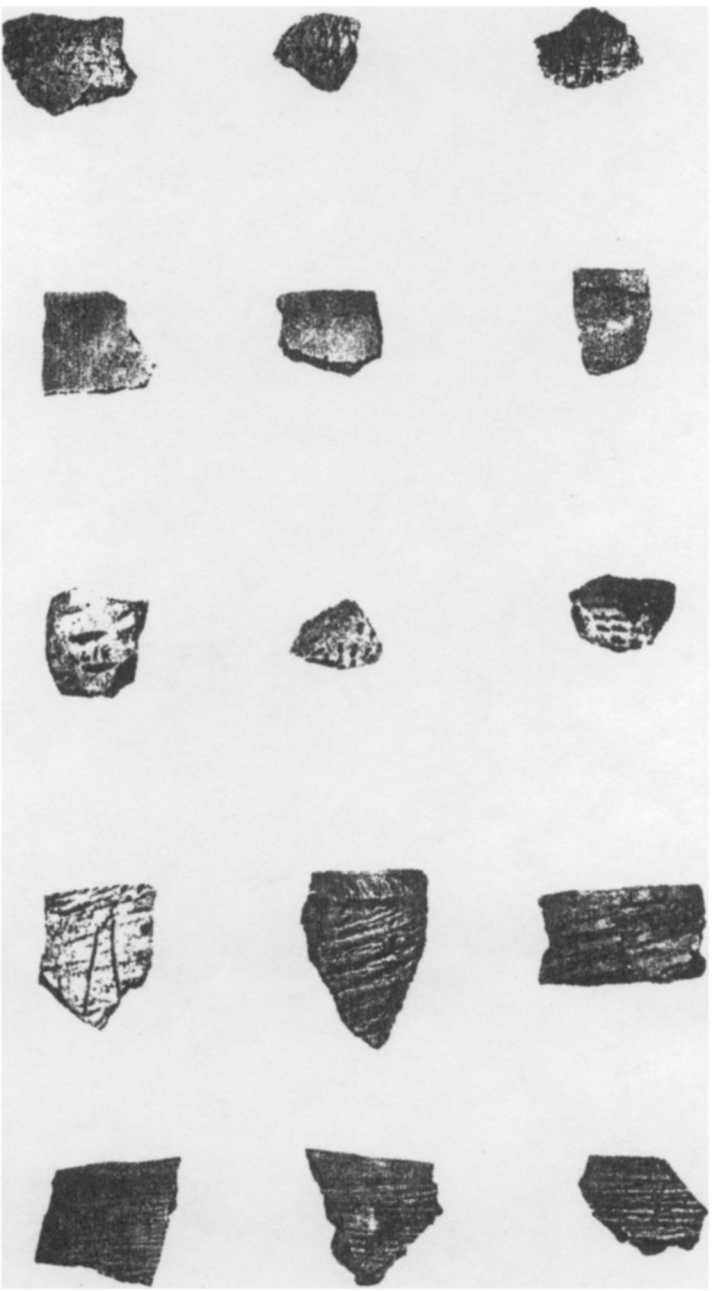


PLATE V

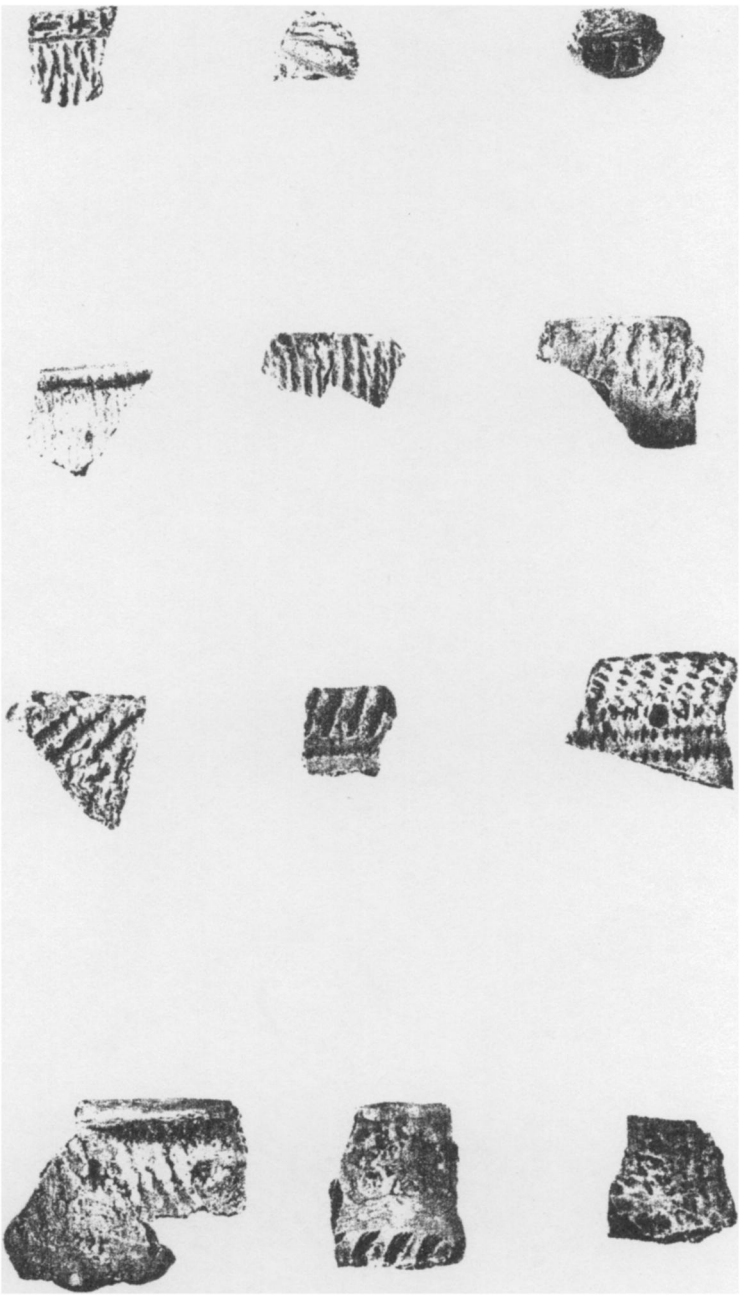


PLATE VI

Thus our preliminary excavations at Rock Lake show that a component of the Lake Shore Focus preceded a component of the Rock Lake Focus, which in turn is followed by materials of the Manitoba Focus. As is perhaps obvious, our information for the area is very limited and much more work should be done, but at least we have the framework for a cultural sequence.

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Jenness, Diamond: Dawn in Arctic Alaska. University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis, 1957. Thomas Allen Ltd., 266 King St. West, Toronto.

Dr. Jenness presents here a narrative account of his first year in the Arctic, 1913-14, when he served as anthropologist on the Stefansson Arctic Expedition. He passed a hard and hungry winter living with Eskimos on the Beaufort Sea coast east of Barrow, Alaska. The writing is characteristically modest and intensely realistic so that one gets a faithful and perceptive picture of the area and the people at the dawn of their acculturation.

The realistic descriptions of country, climate, events, people, and feelings carry the reader to the verge of participation. The dreary, monotonous thud of the winter routine in isolated coastal huts, the gradual infection and affection of spring's arrival, the haphazard living in overcrowded huts, the personality of Eskimo companions are all impressed on the reader. All northern field researchers will find much of personal interest. For anyone interested in ethnological field work the book exposes a vein of learning usually ignored in university courses. The whole story is a rewarding retrospection for anyone interested in the modern Arctic so different since the dawn. One may hope that those concerned with administration of Arctic peoples will read this book and then reread Jenness' earlier but closely related "The People of the Twilight."

It is a handsomely bound book in which errors of any category are pleasingly rare. Another reviewer has pointed out that the author had been misinformed in stating that the modern Eskimo east of Barrow no longer hunt whales. A second possible error occurs in the suggestion (page 122)

that the earliest Eskimos hunted the mammoth. I will not argue that early people hunted mammoth but I doubt that such hunters were Eskimo, physically or culturally. Certainly present archaeological evidence suggests that the earliest sites that have any probability of being of Eskimo origin are younger than the time of the mammoth's extinction.

The book is free of the tin trappings of Arctic adventuring and the sordid drapes of pedantry. Rather, the content is fresh and pertinent; the style discrete, relaxed and personal. The result is pleasant and profitable for the reader, a book to be recommended to anyone with an interest in the Arctic.

W. E. Taylor

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Ottawa, Ontario.

Wormington, H.M.: Ancient Man in North America, Denver Museum of Natural History, Popular Series No. 4, 1957, 322 pages, 72 figures.

This edition is the fourth and expanded version of Dr. Wormington's classic handbook. This is one of the few anthropological volumes that strikes that rare balance of competently serving both professional and amateur interests.

Interested laymen and amateur archaeologists will find Dr. Wormington's book excellent for a number of reasons. First of all, it is extremely clearly and lucidly written with a minimum of archaeological jargon. Secondly, the pictures illustrating the artifacts or artifact types under discussion, as well as the archaeological finds, are clear and very instructive. Thirdly, almost all the available data on the subject of Ancient Man in North America is presented in brief summary form so that an interested reader can easily comprehend what the archaeologists have been doing and upon what they based their conclusions. And finally, some sections of the book, such as Methods of Dating, Pleistocene and Recent Periods, and The Peopling of North America, give the lay reader a clear and concise view of how the professional archaeologist works and thinks.

Though the whole book is of interest to the laymen, most of it is invaluable to the professional. And for those who are teaching, the amassing of almost all the data of investigations on the subject of Early Man in the New World, as well as the mature judgments of how individual sites fit into the general scheme of things is extremely valuable. Dr. Wormington's discussion of the Early Man materials has been divided into four general sections. The first of these sections concerns the Paleoeastern tradition. This is an

excellent compilation of the available data as well as a good deal of data that are not normally available. The various cultural complexes and artifact types involved are described and very intelligently assessed. The next section concerns the Paleowestern tradition. This again takes in most of the available data but is not quite so neatly organized nor the types quite so easily defined. This is perhaps due somewhat to the nature of the finds and the materials as well as the relative recency of finds and recognition of this field. The final tradition she discusses is the Paleonorthern. Here the materials available to her are a good deal scarcer and the final analysis of most of them is still to be completed. She has done an excellent job considering what she has had to work with. My personal feeling about this section is that perhaps the materials described are not so old nor so uniform as the materials in her other two traditions and that we may yet find in the northern areas Paleoeastern and/or Paleowestern materials temporally preceding the Paleonorthern.

The section on human skeletal remains is again an excellent summation of the meagre data on the physical characteristics of the most ancient men of North America. The final section of her book, entitled "The Peopling of North America" should, in fact, be re-entitled "Problems Concerning the Peopling of North America." This section is extremely lucid and well written and shows tremendous amount of insight into this complex subject. Dr. Wormington's hints and posing of problems go a long way towards pointing out the direction that future research should take. Part of this section contains rather sober and very valuable reflections on over-enthusiastic interpretations by archaeologists of their own material.

In conclusion, I would recommend that every archaeologist, amateur and professional, have this book in his library, and the intelligent layman, as well, will find it thoroughly enjoyable and stimulating. Dr. Wormington has stated that this is the last of this series on Ancient Man she will write. I hope this is not true, for

her contributions to the study of Ancient Man in North America have been invaluable, and, I am sure, will continue to be so.

Richard S. MacNeish

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Ottawa, Ontario.

Barbeau, Marius: Haida Carvers in Argillite, Bulletin #139 - Anthropological Series #38, Dept of Northern Affairs and National Resources, National Museum of Canada, Queen's Printer, Ottawa.

This is the accumulation of countless notes made by the author during his many trips on the Pacific West Coast. When Dr. Barbeau first went there in 1915, his delving into all the facets of the Indian's culture started to fill volumes of note books. Little seems to have escaped his notice. Artists, ethnologists and anthropologists and those just interested in the Pacific Coast people will find the raison d'être of many folk legends, myths and traditions which possibly have puzzled them in the past. Today these meticulously gathered facts, long stored in note books in his files at the National Museum, are at last seeing the light.

Shortly after the 1st decade of the century, Dr. Barbeau became intensely interested in these Indians and conscientiously recorded verbatim their life stories, customs and legends. One of the most remarkable features of this volume is the excellence of the photographs. The reader should take himself back many years to the days when the art of photography was still in its infancy -- realizing that flash bulbs, light meters and many of the gadgets now necessary for good photography were either not yet invented or were considered far too expensive to be included in the paraphernalia supplied to scientists from the Museum going out on field research trips. Today even the reasonably priced cameras seem to have eliminated the necessity of many of the former attachments to obtain good photographic records. Then the casual reader should place himself in the time place where many of these pictures were taken. Candid shots much like the quick sketch of an artist are so often far more forcefully authoritative than ones laborously worked over in the studio, invariably losing their directness, spontaneity and true proportions

of the scene or situation being recorded.

The "biographies" also contain much information pertaining to the cultural life of these people, the informants often revealing long past events in history, both legendary and true. There are also some photographs of the carvers themselves.

As in many of Dr. Barbeau's books, it is quite likely that Haida Carvers in Argillite with its companion volume, Haida Myths, will become the authority on argillite carving of this period.

Harold Pfeiffer.

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