

# ANTHROPOLOGICA

N.S. Vol. IV, No. 2, 1962



LE CENTRE CANADIEN  
DE RECHERCHES  
EN ANTHROPOLOGIE  
UNIVERSITÉ D'OTTAWA

THE CANADIAN RESEARCH  
CENTRE  
FOR ANTHROPOLOGY  
UNIVERSITY OF OTTAWA

COLLABORATEURS — CONTRIBUTORS

*Philip E. Smith*  
*R.W. Dunning*  
*Tom F.S. McFeat*  
*Marcel Rioux*  
*Marc-Adélarde Tremblay*  
*Ronald Cohen*  
*Lawrence Oschinsky*

# LE CENTRE CANADIEN DE RECHERCHES EN ANTHROPOLOGIE THE CANADIAN RESEARCH CENTER FOR ANTHROPOLOGY

**President:** Joseph-E. CHAMPAGNE, O.M.I.  
**Directeur de la recherche:** Marcel RIOUX  
**Director of Research Work:**  
**Secrétaire-trésorier:** Jean TRUDEAU, O.M.I.  
**Secretary and Treasurer:**  
**Directeurs conseillers:** Asen BALIKCI, W.E. TAYLOR, L. OSCHINSKY,  
**Consultative Directors:** Wilson DUFF, Guy DUBREUIL, M.A. TREMBLAY, Arthur THIBERT, O.M.I., T.F. MACILRAITH, Fernand DUMONT, June HELM, Farrel-E. BANIM, O.M.I., Ronald COHEN.

## ANTHROPOLOGICA

**Directeur:** Joseph-E. CHAMPAGNE, O.M.I.  
**Director:**  
**Rédacteur en chef:** Marcel RIOUX  
**Editor in Chief:**  
**Rédacteurs adjoints:** Jean TRUDEAU, O.M.I., W.E. TAYLOR, Asen  
**Assistant Editors:** BALIKCI, Victor VALENTINE, Farrel-E. BANIM, O.M.I., Ronald COHEN.

## RENSEIGNEMENTS

- *Anthropologica* est une revue bi-annuelle qui publie des articles relevant de l'anthropologie et des disciplines connexes.
- Les opinions exprimées par les auteurs ne sont pas nécessairement celles du Centre de Recherches.
- Les articles à paraître dans la revue doivent être adressés à:  
Marcel Rioux  
397 Meadow Drive  
Ottawa, Ontario, Canada
- Pour les abonnements et pour toute autre affaire concernant le Centre, s'adresser au:  
Centre Canadien de Recherches en Anthropologie  
Avenue des Oblats  
Ottawa, Ontario, Canada
- Le prix de l'abonnement est de \$5.00 par année.

## INFORMATION

- *Anthropologica* is published twice a year and accepts articles in the various fields of the Science of Man.
- The views expressed in this magazine are those of the authors and not necessarily those of the Research Center or its officers.
- All articles and editorial matters should be referred to:  
Marcel Rioux  
397 Meadow Drive  
Ottawa, Ontario, Canada
- Subscriptions and other matters concerning the Research Center should be referred to:  
The Canadian Research Center for Anthropology  
Oblate Avenue  
Ottawa, Ontario, Canada
- The annual subscription fee is \$5.00.

# ANTHROPOLOGICA

---

N. S.

VOL. IV,

NO. 2,

1962

---

## SOMMAIRE — CONTENTS

<i>The Abbé Henri Breuil and Prehistoric Archaeology</i> PHILIP E. SMITH	199
<i>Some Aspects of Governmental Indian Policy and Administration</i> .....	R.H. DUNNING 209
<i>The Malecite Family Industries: A Case Study</i> .....	TOM F.S. McFEAT 233
<i>Remarques sur les concepts de vision du monde et de totalité</i> .....	MARCEL RIOUX 273
<i>Le transfert culturel: Fondement et extension dans le processus d'acculturation</i> .....	MARC-ADÉLARD TREMBLAY 293
<i>The Strategy of Social Evolution</i> .....	RONALD COHEN 321
<i>Facial Flatness and Cheekbone Morphology in Arctic Mongoloids</i> .....	LAWRENCE OSCHINSKY 349
<i>Recensions — Book Reviews</i> .....	379
<i>Notes bibliographiques — Book Notes</i> .....	381
<i>Table des matières du Volume IV — Contents of Volume IV</i> .....	383

# The Abbé Henri Breuil and Prehistoric Archaeology

BY PHILIP E. L. SMITH

---

It would not be wholly accurate to suggest that the death of the Abbé Henri Breuil on August 14, 1961 in his 85th year marks the end of an era in prehistoric studies; Breuil's contributions were so important, even in his last years, that his influence will continue far into the future. But the atmosphere will not be the same with the removal of this towering and colourful figure who dominated his field for well over fifty years. More than any other individual of this century, he made French (and to a great extent, European and African) Palaeolithic archaeology what it has become today. At his death a Parisian journal referred to him as the "père spirituel de la préhistoire", and few of his colleagues would disagree with this description though many would elevate him much further in the scientific hierarchy to Primate rank. He was almost the last of that generation of French scholars which included such men as Marcellin Boule, Emile Cartailhac, Denis Peyrony, Joseph Déchelette, Victor Com-mont and the Bouyssonie brothers, who in the years between the beginning of this century and the outbreak of World War I created in France what was truly a *belle époque* in the field of pre-history and especially of Palaeolithic archaeology.

Henri-Edouard-Prosper Breuil was born in 1877 in the *département* of Manche, the son of a magistrate, and was educated at Senlis and later at the Grand Séminaire d'Issy-les-Moulineaux where his interest in prehistoric archaeology was excited by one of his science teachers, the Abbé Jean Guibert. He was ordained to the priesthood in 1900 but never held a parochial appointment; his abilities were recognized early by his superiors and he was given permission to devote himself exclusively to the new science of prehistory. He repeatedly declined elevations in the Church hierarchy, but wore clerical costume on most occasions when it



was feasible. His first professional position was as Privat-Dozent (later *Professeur extraordinaire*) of prehistory and ethnography at the University of Fribourg in Switzerland, from 1905 to 1910. In the latter year the famous Institut de Paléontologie Humaine was set up in Paris by Prince Albert I of Monaco, and Breuil began his long association with it as Professor of Prehistoric Ethnography. The years before the Great War of 1914 were spent mainly in Spain studying cave art, and during the War he served there in the French Intelligence Service investigating German agents and their plans against Allied shipping. In 1927 he gave a course at the Institut d'Ethnographie at the Sorbonne, and in 1929 was elected to the Collège de France, from which he retired in 1947. He became a Membre de l'Institut, the first prehistorian to do so, when he was elected to the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres in 1938. He was made Commandeur de la Légion d'Honneur in 1958 in a public ceremony in Paris which was broadcast over the national radio.

This brief outline gives a poor indication of the fullness and richness of Breuil's life and his contributions to prehistory. Over the sixty years of his career he travelled widely around the world, published enormously (he is credited with over 800 publications, including over thirty major volumes),<sup>1</sup> engaged in many controversies and pumped his own enthusiasm and imagination into nearly every aspect of Palaeolithic research. Although he did his first major work in the Bronze Age of northern France, he was soon attracted into the early Stone Age periods, especially through his friendship with the brothers Jean and Amédée Bouyssonie, his fellow students at the Seminary (who later became famous for their discovery of the Neanderthal skeleton of La Chapelle-aux-Saints in Corrèze), and also by his association with Edouard Piette and Emile Cartailhac in the south of France and the Pyrénées. It was through Piette that he became interested in cave art. At the end of the 19th century, when the controversy over the authenticity of cave paintings broke

<sup>1</sup> A complete listing of his publications up to 1957, with his decorations and honours and a short biography, are given in a volume presented to him by his colleagues, "Hommage à l'abbé Henri Breuil pour son quatre-vingtième anniversaire. Sa vie. Son œuvre. Bibliographie de ses travaux". (Paris, 1957).

out again, Breuil was already a rising young prehistorian, and his rôle in establishing the status of this art was a vital one. Altamira, discovered in 1879, had been dismissed by almost all scholars as fraudulent, and when in 1895 Rivière discovered the engravings in the cave of La Mouthe (Dordogne) they were greeted with the same scepticism. But Breuil was willing to consider them as genuinely prehistoric, and his discovery with Denis Peyrony of the magnificent painted and engraved caves of Font-de-Gaume and Les Combarelles near Les Eyzies (Dordogne) during a single week in September, 1901, brought the matter to the critical point. The climax came in the next year when Breuil went to Spain to examine Altamira with Emile Cartailhac who had rejected the art there years before. After a long and careful study they concluded that the famous paintings on the ceiling were of genuinely Palaeolithic age; Cartailhac wrote his historic capitulation "Mea culpa d'un sceptique" and Palaeolithic wall art came into its own with Breuil, still only in his middle twenties, as its leading champion and student.

Perhaps it is the one subject for which he was, and will remain, best known, for his active interest in prehistoric art, in Africa as well as in Europe and from the Palaeolithic to the Bronze Age, continued right up to his death. His famous classificatory and evolutionary scheme for French and Spanish art styles, which he amended over the years as new discoveries were made, has long been the framework on which most other scholars have built. It will probably be modified in the future, for it contains some serious inconsistencies which Breuil himself recognized and against which many of his contemporaries have protested vigorously especially in recent years. Most Spanish prehistorians, for instance, reject his Palaeolithic dating of much of the art of Mediterranean Spain, and the significance he attributed to such elements as *perspective tordue* is certainly exaggerated. However, it is safe to predict that Breuil's cyclical developmental scheme for Upper Palaeolithic art in France and Spain will never be totally relegated to the position of a historical curiosity. In 1940 he was one of the first on the scene after the sensational discovery of Lascaux Cave in Dordogne, and his study and dating of certain of the paintings is still a matter of controversy.

His analysis of South African rock art leaves many prehistorians unhappy about his historical conclusions, although Breuil had spent much time in the field there making first-hand studies. Near the end of his life, in 1956, he became involved in *l'affaire Rouffignac* and vigorously upheld the authenticity of the paintings in spite of the publicly expressed doubts of many of his colleagues; indeed, it was the weight of Breuil's opinion, more than anything else, that swung the balance in this notorious controversy which for some weeks in the summer of 1956 raged in the newspapers, professional circles and scholarly reviews of France and is still not completely extinguished. Breuil was an excellent draughtsman and copyist, and his reproductions of cave art are often masterpieces. He once calculated that he had spent the equivalent of two full years of his life underground studying and copying the engravings and paintings of the caves, often in very uncomfortable conditions. His great publications (sometimes in collaboration with Peyrony, Capitan, Obermaier and others) on such sites as Font-de-Gaume, les Combarelles, Altamira, Les Trois Frères and many other Spanish and French caves will always be precious classics. His great series of volumes on South African art was still appearing at the time of his death, financed by the Gulbenkian Foundation. He even wrote and illustrated a charming picture book on prehistoric man for children, in English.

Breuil's main archaeological work in the years before the first World War had been in the typology and stratigraphy of the Upper Palaeolithic industries and in the associated cave art. His part in the famous *bataille Aurignacienne* in the years between 1905 and 1908 was a very decisive one when he joined with Cartailhac and Peyrony in proving beyond question that the Aurignacian (including what is now called Perigordian or Gravettian) which had been suppressed by Gabriel de Mortillet decades before, did in fact occur before the Solutrean. Even after a lapse of over half a century, Breuil's spirited onslaughts on the obstinate and even fraudulent claims of the "Old Guard" make fascinating reading. They certainly made him a renowned figure in European prehistory. Breuil's work of this period culminated in the classic paper he delivered at Geneva in 1912 to the *Congrès International d'Anthropologie et d'Archéologie Préhistoriques*, "Les sub-

divisions du Paléolithique supérieur et leur signification", which is one of the great milestones in prehistoric studies. For years it was a kind of Bible for European prehistorians; it was re-published without basic change in 1937 and, although much of it is no longer valid in detail, its general outlines still make it necessary reading for all students of the European Upper Palaeolithic.

After the War Breuil's attention turned more and more to the problems of Middle Pleistocene geology and Lower Palaeolithic archeology in France and England, taking up the work interrupted by Commont's death during the War. Breuil took an opposite position to those geologists and prehistorians who favoured a short chronology for the Pleistocene and the Palaeolithic. His work on the river terraces and loess land of northern France and England, his classification of the Abbevillian (the name he gave to the former Chellean) and Acheulian industries, his setting up of the Levalloisian sequences and his recognition of the significance of the Clactonian and Tayacian industries, were contributions which were regarded as fundamental for years. His famous concept of the parallel phyla of flake and core industries has persisted in some minds and text-books long after Breuil himself abandoned the idea as being inconsistent with the field data. Indeed, it is only since the second World War that the work of a younger generation has succeeded in modifying or replacing some of Breuil's hypotheses. The Abbé fought vigorously against some of these new interpretations, but his attitude was never as unreasonable as those of certain of his disciples. During the last War he pursued in Portugal and East Africa this interest in the Lower Palaeolithic industries and their possible correlations with ancient climates and sea levels.

In 1929 Breuil went to South Africa for the first time, at the invitation of the South African Government, and he became a close personal friend of General Jan Smuts who took a keen interest in prehistory, especially in its philosophical implications. After the outbreak of the second World War Smuts, then Prime Minister of his country, arranged to have Breuil transported from Portugal, where he was then lecturing, by a neutral ship to South Africa. From 1942 to 1945 Breuil journeyed over all the Union as well as in Southern Rhodesia and the Portuguese

territories, studying the aboriginal and prehistoric rock paintings and industries. He returned to South Africa several times after the War to carry on his field work. As in Spain, his interpretations of the art were often in conflict with those of the local professionals. In particular his belief that the famous rock painting in Basutoland called "the White Lady of Brandberg" was due to Bronze Age influence from Crete on the Africans is not shared by most African scholars.

Breuil studied archaeological collections avidly and travelled widely over the world to do so, in Asia as well as in Africa and Europe. In the early 1920's he went to Central and Eastern Europe and published an important synthesis of the Palaeolithic industries there, but he never followed up this work. He also worked briefly in Ethiopia, Somaliland and Palestine, and in the 1920's visited China where he discovered the evidence for the use of fire in the Choukoutien *Sinanthropus* culture and championed the controversial bone and antler artifacts of the industry.

Intellectually and temperamentally, Breuil's leanings seem to have been always in the direction of the humanities and natural history; it is significant that among his first publications were some on entomology and botany, and he kept up an interest in these subjects all his life. One might hazard a guess that in other circumstances his work might have paralleled Kroeber's in American anthropology. He paid little attention to modern ethnography per se (except insofar as it threw light on the behaviour of prehistoric man), to fossils or to linguistics. Like most French scholars, he was influenced little if at all by the doctrines of the contemporary *kulturkreis* school in Vienna, though he occasionally contributed to *Anthropos*. Nor was he much interested in New World archaeology (whose time-depth was considered insignificant during most of Breuil's lifetime, it must be remembered), and his influence on New World archaeology or archaeologists could be described as negligible. As an ardent evolutionist he was deeply concerned in the issues arising from the conflicting claims of science and religion; this may sound somewhat old-fashioned now, but we must recall the atmosphere when Breuil began his career. With his close friend Pierre Teilhard de Chardin he did much to form the official attitude of the Roman



Catholic church towards prehistory in general and to the origin and antiquity of man in particular. There was a philosophical side to Breuil's character, concerned especially with the impact of prehistoric discoveries on social thought, which is not generally recognized, for his views were usually published elsewhere than in the journals prehistorians ordinarily read; some of it is seen in his correspondence with Teilhard de Chardin. He was also a skilful writer in certain topics peripheral to prehistory; a selection of passages published in 1920 from a diary he had kept in Spain before the first World War reveals simultaneously the esthetic side of Breuil's temperament in his descriptions of the Spanish countryside, and his keen sympathy with the isolated peasants and herders of the mountains where he worked.<sup>1</sup>

His personality seemed an amalgam of many elements. He was strong-willed, hot tempered and often impatient and domineering in his personal relationships. He was combative, and engaged in many celebrated professional battles, making some enemies in the process. Yet at the same time he was capable of great spontaneous generosity and kindness, and respected foes who fought as vigorously as he did. His gusto for good cuisine and good wines, and his amazingly retentive memory, were as renowned as the crabbed handwriting which made his letters almost indecipherable. His intellectual energy was stupendous, for any one of the many branches of prehistory he dominated would have provided a lifetime of work for an ordinary man; indeed, the time seems past, in this as in other branches of anthropology, when one man could combine in himself nearly the totality of the field. Physically, too, he was strong and active, and even in his eighties was still scrambling about in the mud of caves and quarries to examine new discoveries. He was not greatly interested in field excavation as such, and he undertook relatively little of it considering his enormous output of publications. He preferred to synthesize and correlate, and in this respect he resembled Childe and Kroeber who also were not particularly enthusiastic excavators. But it should not be thought that he was not a field worker, for he excelled in exploring little-known

<sup>1</sup> Camille PITOLLET. L'abbé Henri Breuil et son Journal d'Espagne. *Hispania*, vol. 3, no. 3-4, 1920, pp. 232-243.

regions, both in Europe and in Africa, and in discovering new sites, paintings, engravings or geological exposures. Breuil's handling of archaeological data impresses one as being subjective, even impressionistic, and he seems to have been uninterested in statistical methods of analysis.

After World War I, and the intellectual set-backs it involved in France, it was in great part because of Breuil's tremendous energy and status that French prehistory remained as productive as it did. Many of the rich collections in the museums of Paris and elsewhere were secured through his efforts. Because of his great professional prestige and his high stature in the intellectual life of France, he was instrumental in interesting the public and political authorities and the universities in prehistoric research, in South Africa as well as in various European countries. His many decorations, degrees and memberships in scientific societies around the world give some indication of the honour in which he was held.

Many of Breuil's methods and interpretations have been severely criticized both within France and outside, and one even hears reproaches that his great influence was not always beneficial to the development of the subject of prehistory in his own country. Some of this criticism is probably true. The field of prehistory in France often strikes outsiders as a jungle of rivalries, and Breuil's attitudes were often partisan. Nevertheless, from another viewpoint Breuil represented, and helped to transmit, some of the best features of French prehistory: the emphasis on the capital importance of accurate stratigraphy and geological dating to situate the archaeological phenomena in time; the insistence of knowing artifacts by handling large numbers of them and even fabricating them; first-hand familiarity with the sites and collections themselves rather than simply with the publications; and an unwillingness to build up grandiose theoretical schemes unless backed by a solid core of data. It is good that, by and large, these traditions are still strong in the best prehistoric work being done in France today. His flexible and pragmatic attitude toward scientific reality is reflected in one of his official addresses to the *Société Préhistorique Française* of which he was Honorary President: "Il y a plusieurs aspects des choses, sou-

vent plusieurs interpretations possibles, et il est rare que dans le point de vue de chacun, une parcelle de vérité n'existe, qui n'ait échappé à quelqu'un d'autre. La Science est un phénomène collectif, où le concours de toutes les bonnes volontés est nécessaire."<sup>1</sup>

Breuil trained comparatively few students in the usual academic sense, partly of course because he was not attached formally to a university faculty for most of his career. However, he had — and has — many disciples, and those he helped train include such foreigners as Burkitt and Garrod from England, Pei in China, Van Riet Lowe in South Africa, Field and Kelley from the U.S.A., in addition to many in France and other European countries. He was extraordinarily sympathetic to young beginners in prehistory when he knew they took their work seriously, and was generous with time and advice when sought out. I first met Breuil in 1957 when I was in France studying European prehistory. A friend introduced us in the gloomy Château at St. Germain-en Laye outside Paris which houses the Musée des Antiquités Nationales, where he was re-classifying some materials in the cases. It was a hot June day and Breuil was in his shirt-sleeves and collarless. I was introduced as coming from Canada. "Ah yes, Canada. Very interesting," he remarked politely; then, with a mischievous twinkle he added, "You know, I have never been in Canada. But then, after all, you don't have any real prehistory over there!" I met him occasionally after that during excavations in Périgord, and in 1959, when I was working in Paris at the Institut de Paléontologie Humaine, he brusquely summoned me to his study to find out what I was up to; his long antennae, which missed little that was going on in the field of prehistory, had picked up echoes of the research I was doing, and although on the point of departure for Portugal he spent several hours pouring out his sixty years of experience with this particular problem while his secretary gesticulated frantically in the background that he would be late for an important meeting. Later, after I had left France, the delightfully blunt letters, peppered with anecdotal asides, which he wrote in response to the

<sup>1</sup> Quarante ans de Préhistoire. Discours de M. l'Abbé Breuil, Président sortant. *Bulletin de la Société préhistorique française*, vol. 34, no. 1, 1937, pp. 52-67.

questions I put to him reflected his characteristic willingness to share his vast knowledge with others.

It is strange to reflect that there will be no more of that stock, stooped figure with the familiar beret, cane and drooping cigarette, his eyes sparkling with sardonic pleasure or glaring with irritation. Breuil was one of those towering personalities whom one feels fortunate to have known, even if only slightly and at the end of his lifetime. Some day — perhaps after the famous Journals which he kept daily for over half a century are made available — a good biographer will show us the many facets of one of the most important and fascinating figures in this field of anthropology.

**Department of Anthropology  
University of Toronto**

---

# Some Aspects of Governmental Indian Policy and Administration \*

BY R.W. DUNNING

---

## RÉSUMÉ

Le but de cet article est de faire l'examen de la politique et de l'administration du gouvernement fédéral vis-à-vis des indiens du Canada. Il est démontré que la conjonction des deux facteurs de la propriété inaliénable des terrains détenus par les bandes et l'administration des indiens par des agents du gouvernement fédéral, contribuent à isoler les indiens des autres citoyens canadiens. De plus, un tel système contraint l'exercice de toute initiative de la part de ces indiens en même temps qu'il tend à développer chez-eux un état de dépendance totale.

Pour remédier à une telle situation, il ne suffit pas d'octroyer biens et services et de donner une direction sage. Il faudrait plutôt, et ceci à titre de suggestions, (1) annuler la position de surintendant d'agence gouvernementale et remettre aux gouvernements provinciaux tout ce qui est de leur juridiction; (2) assurer la soumission aux lois dans les régions en croissance; (3) encourager les instituteurs qualifiés à exercer leur profession dans les écoles indiennes et leur en faciliter l'accès; (4) enrayer les dangers actuels de l'acculturation dans les régions de croissance en amenant dans les centres urbains de classe moyenne des groupes de familles choisies.

The purpose of this paper is to examine the present Canadian Indian situation and its probable development, with special emphasis on the aims of government through both legislation and administration.

### 1. *Governmental policy toward Indian Status persons*

Historically the major basis for governmental disposition of the Indian population in Canada was the belief that the latter would disappear in the total population through eventual and

\* I wish to thank the members of the faculty seminar of the department of Anthropology and Sociology, U.B.C. for helpful suggestions in this paper.



complete assimilation.<sup>1</sup> Perhaps for a number of reasons, not least of which was the creation of allies, control over the Indian population was affected by the establishment of treaties to extinguish the aboriginal land title.<sup>2</sup> By setting up reserves of land the Indians could be concentrated for purposes of indoctrination into the modern world, while at the same time being protected from ruthless frontier exploitation. An Indian Affairs Branch working paper of 1957 summarizes the situation: "From the earliest days it has been found necessary to enact legislation from time to time applying specially to our Indian peoples. After Confederation due to the expansion of European settlement, an increasing amount of legislation immediately affecting Indians was required. This legislation was consolidated in 1876 and, although amended from time to time, it remained the basic Indian law until the coming into force in 1951 of a new Act. This Act was drawn up after a lengthy enquiry of a special committee of the Senate and the House of Commons, and after taking into account the views of the Indians themselves, expressed at a conference held for that purpose. The overriding consideration which shaped the present Act was the desire to promote the integration of Indians into Canadian society".

The ultimate consequences of reserve policy were questioned as early as the 1870's by the Superintendent General of Indian Affairs. He challenged the soundness of the principle of the "aborigines" being kept "in a condition of tutelage and treated as wards or children of the State" (Sessional Papers 1875, p. xiv). Soon the need was recognized for change from protective wardship to legal integration through enfranchisement. In the Superintendent General's 1917 report he says, "Many of the Indian bands are approaching a point of development and progress which renders it undesirable that they should remain in their present status as wards of the government. I would, therefore, strongly

<sup>1</sup> See DRUCKER, *The Native Brotherhoods*, Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 168, Washington, 1958, p. 78.

<sup>2</sup> In Canada's northwest the numbered treaties were negotiated in the 1870's (A. MORRIS, *The Treaties of Canada with the Indians of Manitoba and the Northwest Territories*, Toronto, 1880, p. 25). In the Crown Colony of British Columbia Governor Douglas wanted the lands to be acquired by purchase "...through which native title was extinguished" (DRUCKER, p. 79).

recommend that the Government should at an early date consider the advisability of enacting the necessary legislation for the application of enfranchisement at the sole discretion of the Government to individual Indians or to bands" (Annual Report, Department of Indian Affairs, 1917, p. 20, Ottawa, 1918).

The foregoing suggests that the administration recognized both the fact that consignment to reserves was deleterious to the Indians at least with regard to integration, and secondly, that if given the option some Indians at least would refuse enfranchisement. The latter expresses the most important single difficulty in the contemporary scene.

In the 1940's the climate of opinion was the need for assistance and development toward full citizenship both legally and actually. In the Fourth Report (1948) in Minutes of Proceeding and evidence number 5 of the Special Joint Committee of the Senate and House of Commons this aspect appears: "All proposed revisions are designed to make possible the gradual transition of Indians from wardship to citizenship and to help them to advance themselves" (and recommendation h) "that it be the duty and responsibility of all officials dealing with Indians to assist them to attain the full rights and to assume the responsibilities of Canadians citizenship" (p. 187). In its second and final report in 1961, the Joint Committee of the Senate and House of Commons on Indian Affairs (minutes and proceedings number 16) goes further: "The time is now fast approaching when the Indian people can assume the responsibility and accept the benefits of full participation as Canadian citizens" (p. 605).

Along with the emergence of this Indian state or problem, the Indian Affairs Branch found it advisable to emphasize the fact that Indians were not wards but free agents: "Contrary to widely held opinion, Indians in Canada are *not wards of the Government*. Indians are free agents under law to enter into contractual agreements; sue and be sued. Indians are subject to all laws of general application from time to time in force in any province, *except where such laws are inconsistent with the Indian Act*" (I.A.B. working paper, N. D. 1957; italics mine). There is therefore an awareness that legally and financially the Indians are protected and assisted, but in actuality a stoppage

in the process of integration has occurred. If this were merely a refusal of Indians to be interested in the modern world there would ultimately be no difficulty. However, many Indians have shown a desire for greater economic rewards through wage labour, and perhaps all Indians have accepted the concept of increased use of consumer goods. Present concern therefore stems from a growing awareness on the part of government and the non-Indian citizenry that increased goods and services and assistance do not appear to be effective in the economic development, let alone the integration of the Indians.

In general it can be said that government and administration of the Indians was organized around a protective body of legislation which established a register of Indian Status persons and secured them on selected reserve lands which were communally owned and inalienable. If the *raison d'être* of this legislative organization was the integration of the Indians into Canadian society, the *modus operandi* was their protection from exploitation during the interim period. Following is a brief examination of governmental policy with respect to Indians inferred from the powers of government and Indian superintendent (agent) as defined in the Indian Act. From the standpoint of the Indians themselves the administration hinges upon the superintendent and the agency system.

The Indian Act (1951) defines the powers of the administration from which the superintendent draws his power, as follows: there are three levels of executive power recognized: 1) the Governor in Council, 2) the Minister or his deputy minister or branch director, 3) the Minister with the consent of the band.

*The Governor in Council*, whose powers are as follows:

1. Following an Act of Parliament or provincial legislature Her Majesty in right of a province, a municipal or local authority or a corporation is empowered to take or to use lands or any interest therein without the consent of the owner, with the consent of the G. in C. (Section 35).
2. The G. in C. may determine whether any purpose for which Indian moneys are used or are to be used is for the use and benefit of the band. (61).

3. The G. in C. may by order permit a band to control, manage and expend in whole or in part its revenue moneys and may amend or revoke any such order. (68).
4. The G. in C. may make regulations from protection of animals through weed control to providing medical treatment and health services. (72).
5. The G. in C. may declare by order that the council of the band shall be selected by elections to be held in accordance with this Act. (73).
6. The G. in C. may make orders and regulations with respect to band elections. (75).
7. The G. in C. may set aside the election of a chief or a councillor on the report of the Minister. (78).

*The Minister.* Following is a list of the powers of the Minister or his deputy without the consent of the Band council:

1. The Minister may a) authorize surveys of reserves; b) divide the whole or any portion of a reserve into lots; c) determine the location and direct the construction of roads in a reserve. (19).
2. The Minister may by permit authorize any person for a period not exceeding one year to occupy or use a reserve or to reside or otherwise exercise rights on a reserve. (28/2).
3. Under instructions issued by the superintendent a band shall maintain roads, bridges, ditches and fences within the reserve (34/1) — The minister may cause the instructions to be carried out at the expense of the band.
4. With regard to surrender to Her Majesty of lands (reserve) by a band, the Minister may call a meeting which shall be held in the presence of the superintendent. (39/2 & 5).
5. With respect to deceased Indians, all jurisdiction and authority in relation to matters and causes testamentary, is vested exclusively in the Minister. (42).
6. The Minister may declare the will of an Indian to be void (46) subject to appeal if over \$500.

7. All jurisdiction and authority in relation to the property of mentally incompetent Indians is vested exclusively in the Minister. (51).

8. The Minister may administer or provide for the administration of any property to which infant children of Indians are entitled. (52).

9. The Minister may pay from capital moneys a) compensation to an Indian in respect of land compulsorily taken from him for band purpose b) expenses incurred to prevent or suppress grass or forest fires or to protect the property of Indians in cases of emergency. (65).

10. The Minister may make expenditures out of the revenue moneys to assist sick, disabled, aged or destitute Indians of the band to provide for the burial of deceased indigent members of the band. (66/2).

11. The Minister may order that payments of any annuity or interest money shall be applied to the support of the wife or family in cases of desertion, unjustifiable conduct or imprisonment. (67).

12. Superintendent or peace officer may seize all goods and chattels in relation to which he reasonably believes the offence was committed. (101).

13. Compulsory enfranchisement (108) repealed in 1960.

14. The Minister may appoint persons to be called truant officers. (118).

The foregoing sections of the Indian Act constitute a national system of precise legal control over Indian Status persons. In actuality, however, so rigid a system which is applicable without respect to geographical region, economic development or social differentiation, must allow for a considerable flexibility, as Drucker (1958, p. 58) has pointed out. Moreover with a largely semi-literate population which is both geographically and socially rural and/or isolated, this very flexibility of administration tends to enhance rather than constrain the functions of the local superintendent.



In addition to government policy by means of the Indian Act, there have been a number of developments in recent years. These are reflected in the greatly expanded parliamentary budget of ordinary expenditures for the Indian Affairs Branch:

I.A.B. Budget of ordinary expenditures  
(Taken from I.A.B. Annual Reports)

	<i>Indian education</i>	<i>Total</i>
1949/50	\$ 6,221,792.74	\$12,367,691.00
1954/5	10,464,532.98	18,024,563.00
1957/8	17,158,776.00	27,564,104.00
1960/1	27,746,860.16	46,427,383.85

In addition to this budget there are expenditures on construction, as well as a substantial expenditure on the Indian Health Service of the Department of National Health and Welfare. House construction on reserves is just one aspect of the welfare programme, which is financed jointly from Band Revenue Funds and parliamentary appropriation.

	<i>Houses completed</i>	<i>Houses repaired</i>
1957/8	880	
1958/9	1,344	2,215
1959/60	1,465	2,550

By the end of 1960 approximately 25% of the school population was integrated, that is, were attending schools along with non-Indian students. In the difficult area of federal--provincial co-operation in matters of social welfare, certain efforts have been made. A small number of placement officers in urban centres are working to get selected recruits from the reserves adjusted into positions in the cities. This programme began in 1957 and has eight urban placement appointments operative as well as two appointments to be made for the Mackenzie District and the Yukon in the 1960/1 estimates.

With respect to the reserve people, therefore, there is a bureaucratic structure which places the minister's field representative, the superintendent, in a permanent supervisory position. Having described the legal basis of political and administrative control, founded on the Indian Act, we must turn now to a consideration of the effect of this organization on the local community.

## 2. *Administration*

With respect to the implementation of governmental policy, in so far at least as the Indian status persons are concerned, the administrative decisions which are made, are made by the local superintendent. Occasionally the superintendent may interpret his decisions as ones made by his senior colleagues. Nonetheless in the eyes of the governed people these decisions appear to be those of the local agent alone. For purposes of this paper, therefore, administrative decisions will be taken to be the responsibility of the person in the field with whom the people come in contact.

A second point is the variable nature of the administrative operation. This is more than regional or ecological variation, as it involves the difference in degree of contact or acculturation. Some bands are at present only English- (or French-) speaking and live on reserves close to (in some cases within the precincts of) urban areas, while others are situated in remote areas and see little of the outside world. The analysis does not rest on evidence from any particular degree or area of contact experience, but deals with the subject of administration in general, employing data within the writer's experience from several areas.

There are few formal qualifications required by the government for their superintendents. In 1958 a letter to the writer from a regional supervisor, whose position carries weight in the final selection of his superintendents, stated the requirements to be a familiarity with I.A.B. field office procedure as well as knowledge of the filing system. In addition, experience of living conditions in the area selected as well as technical knowledge of road and bridge building was most desirable. In consequence of this vacancies were not always advertised, as normally persons within the Branch or allied departments would be informed. Educational requirements were stated to be ideally high school matriculation, but in two cases the writer has known of persons without secondary school education being selected, one having Standard 4 in the U. K. system.

The agency superintendent, as local person in charge of administering the Indian Act has certain supervisory powers which require both direction and decision.

1. With regard to band membership this official has the responsibility of discovering the merits of the case of illegitimates and their inclusion to band membership (section 11/E). In the 1959-1960 fiscal year, the inclusion of 148 children was protested by band members. Forty of these were nevertheless allowed, 32 decisions were reversed and 76 are pending (letter from the director, I.A.B. Sept. 21, 1961). In the 1960-1961 year 115 inclusions were protested. A former chief in Southern Ontario referred to the problem of illegitimacy in his band and the new ruling under Section 11/E; "We just about had the problem licked", and the new regulation was "race suicide". A former assistant agent of a Northern Alberta band informed the writer of his decision concerning an illegitimacy case. The band had been given certain powers of autonomy in the administration of relief money from band revenue funds. Their decision was against granting relief and mother's allowances to an unmarried woman who persisted in living in a common-law relationship with a non-Indian. The agent countermanded the band council's ruling by offering relief money to the woman. The agent has the further responsibility of ascertaining the suitability of applicants for enfranchisement. In the 1959-1960 year, 1,123 enfranchisements were approved, there being 63 applications (representing 148 persons) rejected.

2. Concerning both elections and nominations for election to band councils the agent sometimes feels he must veto the nomination of a member whose name has been proposed in the normal democratic process. The writer has observed this in Northern Ontario, the reason of alleged failure to co-operate being given. Information came to the agent in this case from non-Indian residents of the community. This particular rejected person was known to have substantial debt outstanding with the trader.

3. The agent sometimes exercises his powers of supervision over permanent non-Indian status resident son the reserve. The writer has witnessed cases involving reprimands to the trader for unethical use of government welfare funds, and the RCMP constable for lack of discipline. Moreover the agent has on occasion decided to reprimand the band council or chief for lack of co-operation. Implicit in this cautioning was the power to displace the office

holder. Transient persons, casual visitors or persons intent on selling products must in some cases secure the permission of the agent before travelling on or visiting the reserve.

4. The agent has ultimate responsibility for acting in cases of breaches of the Indian Act. At the present time this includes alcohol consumption and truancy on the reserve. In the former case the agent has sometimes felt it necessary for purposes of example to arrest and seek a conviction on the basis of verbal or written evidence from a third party, a non-Indian resident. This power in a small community may be seen as very large and arbitrary.

5. The agent has supervisory control over the distribution of relief and welfare moneys both from parliamentary appropriations and revenue from Band funds. This may involve the choice of personnel when relief moneys are used as wages for road building.

6. The agent exercises considerable power in the administration of education on reserves. Teachers or children may be moved between schools on the reserve. Moreover the agent may recommend the removal of teachers. Teachers rightfully disapprove of the dual supervision by visiting education inspectors as well as the local agent. In addition, other governmental personnel come under the general supervision of the agent, including the RCMP. On one occasion in the writer's experience, however, the local constable felt obliged to discipline his agency superintendent (who was his superior) for continual public drinking on the reserve. He subsequently confined the agent in the jail and required bail before releasing him.

I have dealt with the negative aspects of the agent's administrative position because it is just these negative cases which illustrate the nature of the position as seen by the administered person.

In general the administrative powers of the agent are great. This power is increased by recommendations to the Minister and sometimes ultimately to the Governor in Council over a wide range of areas. The position provides for initiatory, discretionary and veto powers. In terms of future economic development, therefore, the responsibilities in the hands of the agent are con-

siderable. It is through his position alone that government sponsored or encouraged development can take place. He would therefore require above all a perceptive approach towards the possibility of developmental change. Without the latter concept in mind he is like a teacher in charge of a permanent group of students. Unfortunately, sometimes the approach taken by agents is more in the capacity of wardens than that of creative administrators. One Northern Ontario agency superintendent recounted to the writer his conversation with an Ottawa civil servant who asked when he might expect his Indian charges to become a part of the labour force of Canada. The agent's comment to the writer was spontaneous, an uncomprehending laugh.

### *3. Indian Reaction and Interaction*

The I.A.B. representative with his powers by authority of the Indian Act and carrying out procedures based on Civil Service practice presents the Indian status person with a highly organized and foreign administration. Moreover, the I.A.B. personnel administering far from the Branch or even regional supervisor's office adds both prestige and de facto power to the position vis à vis Indian status persons. Furthermore, in some cases, extreme personality or character expressions of individual governmental representatives increases the social distance between office holder and administered persons. Certain isolated actions such as the recent Hazelton case of dental extractions apparently without adequate communication with parents increases the appearance of arbitrariness or authoritarianism of government officials. Elsewhere<sup>3</sup> I have commented on persistently authoritarian behaviour by the marginal type of man who is sometimes found in rural and isolated reserves.

With this concentration of power which is geographically distant from supervisory controls, characteristic reactions of the governed persons appear to be conformity or withdrawal. A few persons initiate and maintain individual client-patron relations with the person or persons in power. Often Indian persons suspect

<sup>3</sup> "Ethnic Relations and the Marginal Man in Canada", *Human Organization*, Volume 18, no. 3, pp. 117-122.



either the integrity of the agent or the usefulness of his suggestions, with the consequence that communication becomes blurred and tends to be limited to accepting orders, while misunderstanding or minimizing exhortative suggestions. In one Southwestern Ontario community persons who have had experience in magistrates' courts advise others to act in a repentant manner and as the magistrate "treats us like children" he will let them off with a mild warning. In the same community however one of the persons was seen to argue with an RCMP constable who had advised him about a forthcoming court case against him for drinking on the reserve. The Indian person was derogatory almost to the point of abusiveness toward the constable, telling him that he would have to get evidence and such as he had already "won't wash" in court. These persons have apparently correctly assessed their positions as dependant persons and further have learned successfully to manipulate to their own advantage the people in power.

With regard to band government the Joint Committee in 1961 was surprised to hear from the director of the Indian Affairs Branch that only 5 bands in Canada had been given autonomy under Section 68 of the Indian Act, while one application was pending. When viewed, however, in the light of their characteristic reaction to government it is not surprising. Theirs is an objective reaction to the reality of the situation. By accepting autonomy in band government the members would be held responsible by I.A.B. for a considerable range of administrative decisions, except of course that many of the latter might be subject to administrative veto, e.g., direction of road and bridge building.<sup>4</sup> By remaining dependent upon the supervision of the agent the people might expect to receive as much or perhaps more in the form of welfare grants and would not be held responsible for any decisions. Moreover, they would be free as individuals to seek what perquisites they could from a properly dependent

<sup>4</sup> F.E. LAVIOLETTE, *The Struggle for Survival*, Toronto, 1961, comments on the "absolute unwillingness of Indian Lorette to become a municipality" as "difficult to comprehend", and "the further one goes with examples the more incomprehensible the whole system becomes" (p. 163).

if not subservient manner toward governmental authority. There appears to be the further advantage to the governed people of being able to rationalize their failure by claiming the government of the agent as responsible. This appears clearly in the matter of government supported higher education and technical training in the cities. Branch officials assured the writer that no one who could benefit from extra training would be refused an opportunity to qualify himself. Persons on reserves sometimes had a different story. In one case in Southern Manitoba the parents of a boy claimed that he had been successful in his senior matriculation examinations and that the boy wanted to be a teacher but government would do nothing for him. Upon investigation it turned out that the student had failed five subjects and the government had enrolled him in a junior accountancy course in Winnipeg. Another case in Southwestern Ontario had a less fortunate ending. One boy in a large family was the best student and both parents were working and trying to get money together to help him go to the university. They did not approach the agent because his claim was that they would have to help with their son's tuition. An obvious breakdown in communication ended in the boy's failing to go to the university. Two of the best students at a large Northern Ontario grade school were sent off to a boarding high school. They returned within a month and apparently nothing was done to investigate the cause of failure.

Doubtless some persons do obtain sufficient education in order to remove to the cities and become economically integrated (but not necessarily assimilated) into the national scene. Mrs. Monkman, chief of the Chilliwack Band claimed that when these persons failed to return to the reserve they left the uneducated on their own. It might seem from this that the small percentage which leaves, does not contribute to the development of natal reserve communities.

A significant aspect of Indian reaction, however, appears to be in terms of individual client-patron relations with the external officials. It is not uncommon to hear an agent speak whimsically or nostalgically about some of his charges as "now he is a character" or "he is an old devil, but interesting". Some of the

Indian status persons speak of an agent as a good person because "you can go and see him in his office".<sup>5</sup>

In general this stoical withdrawal sometimes combined with a strongly conceived sense of independence of some reserve Indian persons has similarities with the present remnant population in the Scottish Highlands. If we assume economic participation rather than increased subsidies to be a legitimate aim,<sup>6</sup> then this kind of behaviour syndromes militates against realistic acceptance of the situation.

#### 4. *The Present Situation*

1. The foundation for or at least perhaps the rationale for Indian policy might be the 19th century colonial policy of the British Government's Indian Civil Service. This appears to have been the raising of the socio-economic level through education and both expert and disinterested supervision by a highly select administrative corps. Without considering the modern world situation, two differences appear relevant however. First, the I.C.S. personnel were selected from the highest calibre of an ambitious upper-middle class group whose individual careers might lead to provincial governorships or higher, and often to knighthoods. Secondly, these men governed dependent territories in which the bulk of the population was uneducated and illiterate in the western world, but whose development reflected the development of the whole country. In Canada, however, due to the paucity of Indian population and its location in remote or rural areas, the lack

<sup>5</sup> An older man who constantly sought out officials on their occasional visits told the surely apocryphal story about one regional supervisor who visited and asked to take back two bushel baskets of cow manure for his garden. The resident jokingly complained to the supervisor that every time he visited all he wanted was "b-----".

<sup>6</sup> This position is surely neutral and less ethnocentric than that of Dr. Oscar Lewis as quoted in Redfield's *The Primitive World and its Transformations*, 1953; "Dr. Lewis suggests that the Tepoztecan would be better off with less magic and more applied science" (p. 158). The point to be made in this paper is not that "our system" is better and therefore the Indian people should have it, but rather that the people have shown a willingness to accept and a desire for modern consumer goods as well as engaging in wage labour occupations to attain these ends. The aim should be then in accord with the direction which the people themselves have already chosen.

of economic development is not very noticeable. The national economy proceeds without reference to Indian economic improvement. In Canada, therefore, a less selective administrative corps would normally be satisfied with a lesser achievement, and particularly when judged against a numerically small dependent group which is both isolated and inarticulate (with some exceptions), the results expected or demanded might be considerably less than would be true for the former Indian Civil Service.

2. In the present situation with which we are concerned, a most important factor is that of population increase. Although approximately one-half of one per cent per annum of the population is becoming enfranchised, the total net increase in population remains at about three per cent per annum. If the present increase is maintained, the population would become doubled in approximately 24 years. Until recent years the population of many interior bush reserve communities numbered upwards of one or two hundred. Today several communities number more than one thousand.<sup>7</sup> These groupings are existing on little more than the traditional subsistence type economy, perhaps supplemented by minor wage labour in extraction industries.

These bush communities are developing under an apparent policy of governmental sponsored education and welfare benefits. The latter in the form of housing, medical services and monetary welfare and relief grants create an atmosphere of permanence.<sup>8</sup> There is a tendency to stay on at traditional summer fishing camps. A typical remark heard was, "It's a nice place, and maybe someday they'll find gold or oil here".

Moreover, in the present situation the perhaps not conscious idea of mediocrity plays a role in the operation of some agencies.

<sup>7</sup> Some larger community Populations

	1917	1960 (from Manitoba Government Department of Welfare)
Cross Lake	549	1,100
Fort Alexander	557	1,600
Island Lake	524	1,800
Norway House	729	1,900 (including local Metis)

<sup>8</sup> Drucker (1958, p. 158) makes this point, especially as an incentive to reject enfranchisement.

In the bush or rural areas where an almost complete lack of industry above that of hunting and gathering obtains, an agent of limited foresight and ability may perhaps unwittingly achieve a degree of concord with his Indian status charges. A perceptive person might understand only too well the economic difficulties of the people whose expressed needs are simply stated as alternative industries for a declining per capita income. Instead, a mediocre agent can busy himself with book work and hence fail to be receptive to queries and requests. There is perhaps also the possibility of his being swayed by a few calculating persons who have mastered the concept of client-patron relations at a grass roots level. It would appear in this situation that some of the more perceptive persons, seeing the difficulties of communicating with the governmental representative resignedly succumb to a passive role. To the extent that this is true, mediocrity among administrators contributes to the permanence of the interaction system, e.g., governed people and administration.

These factors, along with the provincial and federal franchise and the foreseeable adoption of full liquor rights for Indian status persons<sup>9</sup> militates against enfranchisement and the ultimate movement to larger centres where permanent labour possibilities exist and educational achievement can be rewarded.

From these remarks it would appear that the policy and administration of Indian status persons, no matter how sympathetic and benevolent is nonetheless *laissez-faire*. By this is meant that although there has been a considerable increase of goods and services which have been of great humanitarian value, the net effect appears to be protective and hence static.

It would seem further that the present reserve situation, rather than becoming alleviated in time will, on the contrary, grow to larger proportions. This would mean that an increasing (though still small) number of Canadian citizens enjoying both the federal and provincial franchise in addition to certain guaranteed (Indian status) rights, will continue to be governed by the local represen-

<sup>9</sup> On July 1, 1962, the B.C. attorney-general opened liquor sales outlets to members of all bands which had conducted federally-sponsored plebiscites on the question.

tative of a federal government agency. Any who would change the system for local government must cut across the conformity/withdrawal and client/patron patterns of behaviour. This is difficult to achieve as these patterns are in accord with the "agency system". It seems clear that at least in some reserves a change to local autonomy and responsibility would be voted down in favour of the present guaranteed dependency status.

If governmental policy aims at eventual integration of the Indian status persons, then the present policy relying as it does largely upon increased or full educational coverage, health and welfare services and placement officers, will probably fail to "integrate" even in sufficient numbers to take care of population increase. If, however, the aim is to treat the people as well as possible in the humanitarian ethic of the post war II era and let what will happen, then the results might be predicted — a cumulative rise in reserve population, without a concordant increase of the industrial economy. In either case one might predict that a fairly rapidly increasing population whose members showed no interest in integrating would do nothing to resolve the present outgrowth of 19th century protectionism or wardship. In the context of increasing numbers this might prove to be a greater anomaly than at present.

In a sense, therefore, it is perhaps not *The Indian Problem*, a subject of concern at the moment, which should be the focus, but rather that of an interdependent system of Indian status persons and governmental administration. And so long as government takes the view that the provision of personnel and services is as much as can be done, the administration is consequently dealing with only one part of the system. To achieve any significant change in the Indian position, therefore, it would seem necessary to effect change in the total system.

##### 5. *Some suggestions for change*

In consequence of this analysis of the present situation a few suggestions for change might be in order. The following is not intended to be a comprehensive and systematic programme involving fundamental change. It is on the contrary a speculative

sketch of some areas in which change might be considered. The working out of any scheme for important changes of policy would require detailed and explicit planning. In any attempt to present policy changes two factors should be kept in mind. Nowhere is the concept of compulsion of Indian status persons deemed legitimate.<sup>10</sup> Secondly, the idea of economic integration at least, is axiomatic if for no other reasons than the universal acceptance of consumer goods by Indian status persons, and that population increase will eventually necessitate some depopulation of the subsistence-level bush communities and rural-marginal reserves.

1. What has been said here is not new.<sup>11</sup> The emphasis, however, which has not to the writer's knowledge been made explicit before is that the combination of wardship through reserve lands and the supervision by a federal agent together preclude any fundamental change through welfare development programmes. It is the view here that only by removal of the position of agent will it be possible to create a milieu for substantial development. Otherwise increased help in all forms would only contribute to the overall power position of that administrator, while inhibiting initiative on the part of governed persons. It is recognized that in recent years the Indian Affairs Branch has worked for greater provincial responsibility in Indian administration. This appears to be a necessary step in narrowing the gap between citizen and Indian status person. In the writer's opinion provincial responsibility could and would be aided by removal of the office of agency superintendent, placing all possible matters under the jurisdiction of the former,<sup>12</sup> while such federal matters as treaty payments and other economic affairs could be dealt with from Ottawa by correspondence directly with those entitled to the privilege.<sup>13</sup> The concept of provincial citizenship would be meaningful only if the key position of agent were removed. One

<sup>10</sup> Compulsion of here refers to enforcement of behaviour other than is required of normal Canadian citizens.

<sup>11</sup> See *The Indians of British Columbia*, HAWTHORN, BELSAHW and JAMIESON, Toronto, 1958.

<sup>12</sup> I refer here to all matters which for normal citizens come under provincial jurisdiction.

<sup>13</sup> Rights to band owned lands might be dealt with through the courts as would be the case for any citizen with legal rights to property or shares in corporations.

action without the other would not change the present system of separate and different government for Indian status persons. The presence of any local federal government supervisory personnel permits the possibility of a caste-like structure, especially with the incidence of marginal type persons who volunteer to remain in the frontier country.

2. With regard to reserve populations in rural areas, there has been a great deal of exposure to the national society including selective acceptance of aspects of the latter — often at the lowest socio-economic level. For purposes of development this type of grouping would appear to be the most difficult. Indeed it may be possible that no adequate solution of a non-compulsive nature can be found. The change to be advocated here is a minimal one, that of establishing and maintaining law and order. Parenthetically this is the only change suggested which is of a compulsory nature. However, a moment's reflection on the 19th century history of Canadian and American pioneer or frontier towns will reveal that no peaceful and ordered economic growth could be affected until law and order had been created. From experience on several rural reserves in recent years the writer judges that law and order may be somewhat spasmodic. At one place the RCMP would come in answer to a telephoned call for help when a person could or was willing to report an emergency to the authorities. At another place the resident police corporal regularly left the reserve for 48 hours every weekend. Without at least some kind of law and order, it would appear difficult to maintain a reasonable degree of family and community life from which a child is socialized into an acceptance of national standards above the level of lower-class "slum" type behaviour.

3. With regard to education it is to be noted that the federal government has spared nothing in recent years to provide schools, equipment and personnel for every Indian community. A most important aspect of the educational system, and one which is amendable to improvement is the quality of some teaching, particularly on the remote reserves. The suggestion here is to create a system in co-operation with provincial departments of education and urban school boards for the voluntary release of a few of



their best teachers for limited periods (perhaps one year) without loss of seniority or salary to teach on reserves. This would be an opportunity for the better teachers to see at first hand the Indian population and to contribute to the reserves the benefit of first class teaching. Moreover, the Indian status persons would be exposed to educated, satisfied, urban people, e.g., a successful middle-class type of person. It is thought that some Indian students if exposed to good teachers who were neither escaping from their own society, nor dedicating their lives to the backward peoples (in some ways *reverse* discrimination can be even more enervating to the subjects), would gain sufficiently to desire to move ahead educationally.<sup>14</sup>

4. It is true that economic and socio-economic integration of Indian status persons has been going on for a long time. The interest here is not in encouraging this process of movement into, or as LaViolette says "...dropping or drifting into the lowest stratum of the Canadian community" (p. 12). It would seem desirable to eliminate the normal current process of frontier town adjustment through wage labour in extractive industries and miscegenation into an unsatisfactory "poor-white" type of life. The present suggestion aims to bypass the process by means of an experimental pilot project of voluntary and selective integration into the urban middle-class. The latter situation would present least discrimination against the Indian person and a maximum value placed on family living. A very few carefully selected nuclear family groups who are related and whose economic situation creates an incentive toward economic improvement, might be placed in a reasonably good urban neighbourhood. This district might consist of house owners rather than renters, people who were self-conscious about gardening and keeping up their properties. The new comers could be helped to obtain jobs and perceptively helped to find their own way in the new setting. If some of them succeeded and their children succeeded in the

<sup>14</sup> On May 19, 1962, the Vancouver School Board approved the granting of leave of absence to teachers who wanted to teach in Indian schools. This kind of proposal was also made in a paper (mimeo) read by the writer at the Fifth Indian-Metis Conference of the Winnipeg Welfare Council of Greater Winnipeg, February, 1959.

community and school, the effect of this would be multiple among their home band members.<sup>15</sup>

The details would require study. In general, any change in policy directed toward help in the reserve situation, e.g., co-operatives and community development etc., can affect only minor changes at best. Additional personnel on location raises the unsolved problems of the quality of candidates, without which no important development can be achieved. What is required is some policy which can offer a fundamental change in the present wardship and dependence milieu as a basis for development.

### University of British Columbia

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

- ALBERT, ETHEL M.  
1956 The Classification of Values. *American Anthropologist*, 58: 221-248.
- BENEDICT, RUTH.  
1950 *Echantillons de civilisation*. Paris.
- BIDNEY, DAVID.  
1949 *Towards a Psycho-cultural Definition of Personality in Culture and Personality*. Sargent (ed.). New York. P. 31-55.  
1953 *Theoretical Anthropology*. New York.
- BOHANNAN, PAUL  
1960 *Conscience collective and Culture in Emile Durkheim* (Wolff. K. Ed.). 77-96.
- DUFRENNE, MIKEL  
1952 *Cahiers Internationaux de Sociologie*. XII. Paris.

<sup>15</sup> Present selective procedures with placement officers require much time spent in magistrate's courts pleading for lessened sentences and paroles. One of the difficulties with the placement programme at present may be the emphasis placed on the selection of single men who are willing to remove to the city. Lacking a social network of contacts it is easier for a person of this type to drift into the "Main Street" milieu in search of social contacts. The selective process suggested here involves drawing people from less acculturated reserves, senior men with families who have a record for responsible work and who would like to increase permanently their incomes, as well as enjoy the experience of living without supervisory controls.

- DURKHEIM, EMILE  
1914 *Le Dualisme de la nature humaine*. *Scientia* XVI: 206-221.
- DURKHEIM, EMILE  
1951 *Sociologie et Philosophie*. Paris.
- EISENSDADT, S.N.  
1961 *Anthropological Studies of Complex Societies*. *Current Anthropology* Vol. 2, no. 3: 201-222.
- FOUGEYROLLAS, PIERRE  
1959 *Le marxisme en question*. Paris.
- FEIBLEMAN, JAMES  
1946 *The Theory of Human Culture*. New York.
- GOLDMAN, LUCIEN  
1952 *Sciences humaines et philosophie*. Paris.
- GOLDSTEIN, LÉON  
1958 *The two theses of Methodological individualism*. *The British Journal for the Philosophy of Science* 14: 33.
- GRANAI, G. et IDART, P.  
1960 *Itinéraire d'une enquête*. *Cahiers Internationaux de Sociologie* XXIX: 157-173.
- HOEBEL, ADAMSON  
1958 *Man in the Primitive World*. New York.
- KLUCKHOHN, CLYDE  
1943 *Covert Culture and Administration Problems*. *American Anthropologists*. 45: 213-237.  
1951 *Values and Value-Orientations in the Theory of Action*. *In Towards a General theory of Action* (Parsons et Shils). p. 388-433.
- KLUCKHOHN, CLYDE et ALÉI  
1956 *Biological and Cultural Evolution. Some Analysis and Explorations*. *Behavioral Sciences* 1, 1.
- KROEBER, A. and KLUCKHOHN, C.  
1952 *Culture*. *Papers of the Peabody Museum of American Archaeology and Ethnology*. Harvard University XLVIII, 1.
- LALANDE, ANDRÉ  
1947 *Vocabulaire technique et critique de la philosophie*. Paris.
- LÉVI-STRAUSS, CLAUDE  
1950 *In Marcel Mauss, Sociologie et Anthropologie*. Paris, p. IX-LII.

- MAY, M.A.  
1930 A comprehensive Plan for Measuring Personality. Proceedings and Papers of the Ninth International Congress of Psychology. Princeton. pp. 298-330.
- MERLEAU-PONTY, MAURICE  
1960 Signes. Paris.
- MERTON, R.K.  
1957 Social Theory and Social Structure. Glencoe.
- MORRIS, CHARLES  
1956 Varieties of Human Value. Chicago.
- NICOLAI, ANDRÉ  
1960 Comportement économique et structures sociales. Paris.
- NORTHROP, F.S.C.  
1953 Cultural Values. *In Anthropology To-day* (Kroeber Ed.), pp. 668-681.
- PARSONS, TALCOTT  
1954 Élément pour une sociologie de l'action. Paris.
- POPPER, KARL  
1956 Misère de l'historicisme. Paris.
- REDFIELD, ROBERT  
1953 The Primitive World and its transformations. Ithica.
- SOMBART, WERNER  
1920 Weltanschauung, Science and Economy.
- SPIRO, M.E.  
1951 Culture and Personality. *Psychiatry*, XIV: 19-46.
- THEILLARD DE CHARDIN, PIERRE  
1955 Le Phénomène humain. Paris.
- THOMPSON, LAURA  
1956 The Societal System Culture and the Community *in* Toward a Unified Theory of Human Behavior. (Grinper Roy. R.), pp. 70-82.
- VON MERING, OTTO  
1961 A grammar of Human Values. Pittsburg.
-

# Two Malecite Family Industries

## A Case Study\*

BY TOM F.S. MC FEAT\*\*

---

### RÉSUMÉ

Les indiens Malécites de la rivière St-Jean, Nouveau-Brunswick, faisaient corps, culturellement, avec les Abénakis des provinces maritimes et de l'État du Maine. Ils étaient composés de groupes distincts d'organisation sociale plutôt lâche, et ils vivaient le long des rivières et des côtes. Toutefois, leurs embarcations légères, le genre d'habitation et d'ustensils démontrent bien que ces indiens étaient essentiellement adaptés au type de culture "Woodland". Bien que l'agriculture ait été une activité économique assez importante, elle n'a toutefois jamais conditionné un développement de structures sociales stables et complexes. On peut dire qu'à l'époque de contact initial, ou peut-être même avant tout contact, les indiens Malécites envisageaient leur milieu selon deux régions: l'une qu'on peut appeler la *nucleus* où ils résidaient de façon assez stable, l'autre la *périphérie*, une région connue et bien délimitée, servant à l'exploitation.

Les contacts culturels entre les Européens et les Canadiens d'une part, et les indiens Malécites d'autre part, eurent pour conséquence d'altérer le système écologique de ces derniers. Le *nucleus* (qu'on nomme officiellement "réserve") devint plus stable mais aussi beaucoup plus restreint, et la *périphérie* s'avéra de plus en plus inaccessible à l'exploitation.

C'est avec anxiété que les indiens Malécites se sont vus imposer ces restrictions. De fait, la fabrication et la vente de paniers, habituellement en grande demande, ont été grandement réduites puisque l'exploitation du noyer, matière première de cette industrie, se trouvait limitée par l'inaccessibilité grandissante de la *périphérie*. En même temps, ces régions, ces forêts et les produits qu'on en tirait devinrent pour les indiens une des dimensions importantes dans l'expression de leur "moi".

\* This paper is adapted from one given at the Canadian Political Science Association meeting in Montreal in June 1961. Funds for research prior to 1959 were supplied by the Carnegie Corporation and administered by the University of New Brunswick.

\*\* I wish to extend thanks to Dr. Edward Rogers of the Royal Ontario Museum and Mr. William Taylor of the National Museum of Canada for their careful readings and valuable suggestions.

Dans cet article, l'industrie du panier est étudiée comme le moyen par lequel les indiens veulent exprimer l'identité de groupe. Et pour en démontrer la fonction, cette industrie est comparée avec celle du baril qui n'offre pas une telle caractéristique.

## BACKGROUND

The Malecite Indians form part of a culture group of the Abenakis, most of whom are located in Maine, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia. The latter are part of a widespread grouping of Algonkian speakers in Canada, who may be found throughout the eastern Subarctic and Woodlands. They were primarily hunters and fishermen; however, the Malecite and other Abenakis developed a secondary focus on agriculture which they probably derived from the southern Algonkians or from the Iroquois (Speck, 1926: 286).

There has been considerable standardization in many culture forms of Algonkians through Woodland regions (Cooper, 1938, 1938a; Flannery, 1939; Speck, 1915; Waugh, 1919). Everywhere they were a people essentially at home with a wood technology, and they used wood efficiently, especially in the service of mobility. Their most outstanding vehicle was the highly manoeuvrable, light-weight, and portable canoe; seen in relation to the great rivers that mark the area, their mobility makes this widespread standardization reasonable.

A degree of consistency also ran throughout their working with wood: the bark canoe, the bark box, the bark dish and tray, indeed the bark house: all were constructed according to a single principle by which surfaces were created; they thus provide contrast with the technology of Northwest Coast Indians who began with massive wood surfaces which they carved to desired shapes or split to desired plank lengths. The Woodland Algonkian approach to materials was always light and structural, using wood as skeletal material over which a surface was stretched, bending and holding it under stress.

The social organization of the Malecites was based on bilaterally extended families. Kin groups never extended to clans;

they appear to have been absent in all Abenaki groups (Speck, 1935).

A degree of patrilineal emphasis existed, or developed following contact under the influence of the clear definition of the Family Hunting Territorial System (Speck, 1915). Like all Woodland hunters, there was a tendency with the Malecites to develop fluid social forms and usages. Thus, the sizes of families and bands tended to fluctuate with resource patterns, growing small when hunting resources were scarce in one area, and enlarging in another where they had become more plentiful. Correspondingly, rules of residence and marriage preference were not strongly developed, and political organizations were not clearly structured (Hsu, 1959). Band chiefs exist today who have nominal authority over far greater numbers than they could have marshalled under a system of authority during the past century and beyond. The winter community was invariably small and, while larger aggregates existed at other seasons, the Malecite did not come together, as did Plainsmen, to form large and cohesive units. Chiefs were, then, good hunters, arbitrators, tending to be senior but not old, and they commanded little power even within the attenuated range in which it was applicable. Similarly, no priesthood, nor organization of shamans, marked the Malecite or other Abenakis. These absences, coupled with the absence of clearly defined unilinear systems, indicate the lack of influence of their agriculture to stabilize groups, thus permitting them to settle down and to assume cohesive forms. This, in part, can be explained by the geographical disposition of the Malecite in that transition zone of the 100 frost-free days required between planting and maturing corn (Byers, 1946: 11). It is also probable, however, that the early settling of French traders in Acadia was an important factor in maintaining interest in hunting (and its extensions into a system of trapping) rather than in Farming. Contact did, however, stimulate some wheat and vegetable gardening, and a fairly rigid hunting territorial system, based on individual and family holdings, took effect, or at least became clearly defined, in relation to trade with European settlers (Speck and Hadlock, 1946). It is also probable that contact-influenced concepts of ownership and jealousies over territories (reflected here as elsewhere in the Algonkian world in the function of the shaman as

boundary protector) did little to produce the cohesion of groups larger than families with their close kindred.

Three periods can be roughly defined to indicate the extent to which the territorial base of this group has changed during the last two centuries. The first period, corresponding to the mid-eighteenth century, is reflected in the work of Lahontan for the area as a whole including Quebec (1703: 49-64, 90, 339) and in Gyles' report of his extended contact with the Malecite (1736). Held captive at Meductec, below the present Woodstock, Gyles travelled with his captors throughout Maine, New Brunswick, and Quebec in search of migratory game. While evident from his reports that the group took pains to return to its base for planting and harvesting, it is also clear that they travelled extensively and freely. Thus, we gain the conceptions here, as elsewhere, that the whole area involved a *nucleus\** and a *periphery*, the former occupied by the entire group, the latter being traversed by adult men and boys-in-training in search of game, or others collecting raw materials. The peripheries of the area, however, become well-defined with the establishment of the Hunting Territorial System.

A second period marks change that reflects a substantial shrinkage of the peripheral aspects of territories although the Hunting Territorial System was probably still effective, since Speck and Hadlock were able in 1946 to outline family holdings throughout the St. John River. However, it is clear from Moses Perley's survey of the St. John River Indians in 1840 (Perley, 1842) that numerous White settlers had arrived, and were farming. At the same time, some groups, especially those at Tobique Point, had settled down to regular salmon fishing on a large scale, while others had taken up mixed gardening, in which they grew wheat and some potatoes. Evidence from my older informants establishes that the hunting of migratory animals, which normally would carry hunting groups very far afield, had become considerably attenuated. Grandparents of informants, whose ages

\* By nucleus I am referring to the unsegmented community or any extended family group within it. For purposes of discussion, and because of the nature of Woodland Algonkian communities, either may be used.



range from fifty to seventy-five years, were involved in a number of subsistence activities, only one of which was hunting large game; there was greater emphasis on winter trapping and summer fishing. By the middle of the nineteenth century the dispositions of the Malecite at discontinuous locations along the River were further consolidated by Government recognition of such locations as officially Indian reserves. This did not, however, take into account the extensions of these reserves into their peripheries. The locations of the reserves, then, were in part valid in regard to tradition, and in part involved arbitrary cut-off points at the official limits.

The third period of the dispositions of the Malecite is contemporary; this is the Indian Affairs Census of bands and maps of the reserves that may be consulted at agency offices. Here one may discover their specific locations at five major points along the River. These are now clearly delimited, most of them being about one-quarter mile wide, although the northern-most reserve is much larger. At the same time, there is no recall whatever of any family hunting territories even though they are known by ethnologists to have existed.

Today there are about twelve hundred Malecite Indians, most of whom live at five well established locations, or reserves, along the St. John River in New Brunswick. In their homes most speak their own language. Although small in respective numbers, their reserves are well known in the region, and the people of the towns and cities which they are near manifest differing, although generally stereotyped, attitudes toward them. In their turn, the Indians typically orient their economic activities toward the surrounding Canadian or nearby American rural and urban areas. The two southernmost reserves are themselves part of a town and a city; the third is situated in the country, fifteen miles up the river from a city of about 20,000; the fourth is below a town of about 4,000; and the fifth, six miles above a small town. The last two are less than twenty-five miles from an American town and an American city, respectively, in Maine.

Each reserve has an elected chief, and one council member may be elected for each one hundred persons in the band. Chiefs range in age from about thirty-five to fifty, which is within the

modal range of Micmac chiefs in New Brunswick and Nova Scotia; council members are predominantly, but not exclusively, male.

There are varying degrees of political effectiveness of chiefs and councils within contemporary reserves. On the northernmost reserve, which is one of the larger with a population of about four hundred, the office of chief appears to be the most effective, as shown by the number of projects instigated and controlled by the chief and council: the large council hall built from band funds, the several voluntary associations and committees that are sponsored by chief and council or in which members of the council hold executive positions. On the other reserves chiefs tend to act mainly as intermediaries between band members and the agency office.

Kinship is bilateral, tending slightly toward matrilineal clusterings as indicated by some dislocation of grooms rather than brides in between-reserve marriages. Obligations toward kinsmen are marked in many areas of activity, tending to render universalistic orientations difficult to apply, especially when chiefs and councils are required to act in accordance with such orientations. Thus, the principles of political obligation and kin obligation tend to be at variance, but in theory they maintain separate categories of discourse among Malecites.

Men are highly mobile, and women less so. Visiting occurs over a wide range of territory and connects most of the Malecite reserves; even more frequent are visits between the northern Malecite groups and their Penobscot, Passamaquoddy, and Micmac neighbours, roughly in that order of frequency and duration. These visits, involving both men and women, and often whole families, usually are kin-determined, but baseball teams also frequently visit related reserves.

Economic activities are fractionated into a number of discreet spheres, of which most are seasonal. Manifestly seasonal activities are fiddlehead gathering in the spring, seed cutting for potato farmers on the northern reserves, construction work on roads and buildings during the summer, blueberry raking, some raspberry picking during later summer, and potato picking on a large

scale involving all reserves for four to six weeks in September and October. Craft industries are numerous on the middle and northern reserves. Potato baskets come into a large demand by local and American farmers during July and August. Although most active during summer, some potato basket makers continue work throughout the winter, selling at a reduced price. The same conditions apply to the "fancy" basket industry, although it tends to be more continuous during the year and undergoes a considerable upsurge prior to Christmas. There is much overall variation in the patterns of subsistence when one examines the variety of jobs worked at, the relief received, the degree of mobility off the reserve, and the amount of time spent at home. There is also a diversity of attitudes toward the land base, homes, relief, and the proper place of Government in the economy.

### THE PROBLEM

Malecite reserves are communities in the sense that those who reside there do so in more or less continuous face-to-face relations; everyone, that is, is known locally to everyone else. While recognizing themselves to be Indians and Malecites (as opposed to their not being White men or other Indians, such as Micmac or Penobscot), they are conscious of being settled on land and in houses which they claim as their own. Self-identity, however, occurs to these Indians as it does to most others in the East, in terms not only of the space they occupy, but as the result as well of changes that have taken place in their occupation of space through time. They speak of the land they claim in terms of the past as well as the present and future in the knowledge that change has been continuous and always in one direction: toward a nucleus that decreases in size and surrounding space that has become less and less accessible to free movement.

One may suspect, therefore, that in so far as "being Indian" has meaning to these people in terms of space, they also harbour anxiety; certainly they express it. Additions to their properties are nonexistent in most reserves; on the other hand, deeds of surrender have been brought again and again before the bands, whereas in the past land simply had fallen into the hands of

others. Thus, the trend has been the same in the lives of this generation and the last, as it previously was, the difference being only that it has become regulated. Still, it is not only the shrinkage of the domestic land base that appears to have produced anxieties about group survival and identity; the decreasing accessibility of the territory in which the base or nucleus is set has produced the same reactions. When Malecites speak of themselves as Indians, they refer first to the natural environment; the woods, the streams and rivers, and the animals. Several cases have been heard in the courts of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, of Indians accused of hunting or fishing out of season or cutting wood on private lands. The Indian defence has always been the same: a contention that they have never relinquished their claim on the products of the environment. That the locus of their primary identity was the territory occupied has been firmly established by Speck, particularly in his discussion of the game totems (Speck, 1917). Personal and group identity can emerge and be maintained in relation to a number of loci, such as language spoken or racial type. Both of these are relevant to the Malecite. But what is perhaps most general is that concerning location. Thus, one might speak not only of the primary group in the sense of that which has been intrinsic in one's socialization, but the primary group in relation also to a primary place which has depth in both personal histories and ethnic change. The products of a territory provided more than sustenance to Woodland Algonkians — the Malecite included; they were also used in training, and they provided the means by which occupational and kin roles were activated. A man's reputation as hunter, chief, or shaman, and later woodsman and guide, rested upon his ability to relate his activities meaningfully and productively to the land and its products.

If the implicit problem, then, concerns identity, the pertinent questions are the following: How has a shift in self-identity taken place? Is there evidence that it still is taking place? If there is such evidence, *what activities enter into the problem of identity, and in what way?* It will be suggested in this paper that activities pertaining to the basket industry supply such evidence and that activities connected with the barrel industry fail in many

respects to do so. I do not believe the evidence provided by discourse with Indians is alone sufficient, albeit of great importance. But where language as a vehicle of attitudes, beliefs, and knowledge combines with organized and recurrent activities of groups in endeavours which they identify as particularly *Indian*, then I believe such evidence should be viewed in this context.

### *The Background of the Basket Industry*

The splint or plaited basket (usually, but not always, constructed of Black Ash) has displaced the Northeastern bark container. Although the National Museum of Canada owns good specimens of bark containers that were made a half century ago, the craft was even then evidently being lost. This loss, especially of large containers, was undoubtedly, in part, the result of diminishing supplies of broad surface bark from the Silver Birch; but since the construction of small bark boxes also fell into disuse, it is more than likely that the tradition was displaced as a craft by the growth and good cash returns on basket wares. Along with this loss has gone the loss of porcupine quill decorative techniques that are often associated with bark containers and still widely used among Ojibwa and Cree Indians in Canada.

The technique of building Ash baskets diffused to Abenaki groups in Maine and New Brunswick at some undetermined period either from the more southerly Algonkians or the Iroquois (Speck, 1926: 289). Pack baskets and other rough carrying devices became generally useful to the Malecite; early specimens are all large, usually rectangular or rectangular at base and circular or D-Shaped at rim. Twill specimens have not been received from the area until very recently when the design was adapted to the potato basket industry.

During the course of its development, two aspects of the industry appeared — one in “rough” baskets, the other in “fancy” baskets. Today, persons or groups involved in the manufacture of one tend to ignore the other. There is also a distinction within the “fancy” basket industry between utilitarian baskets, such as rectangular “shoppers”, and the delicate circular and varied-shaped containers designed for a number of uses. Those engaged in the “fancy” basket industry produce all their artifacts

— even apple and potato baskets — with such care in their finish as to separate them from the “rough” baskets that are mass produced at a much higher rate of output. It should be noted, nevertheless, that all baskets are today mass produced.

The growth and differentiation of the tradition has been marked in widespread areas in Eastern Canada and the United States. Local usages, however, even during the past century, cannot account for this growth, nor can it account for the introduction of standardizing and mass producing tools, such as gauges and moulds, that have been in use for at least a century. Today, the Basket Maker\* who is the object of this study can, with his wife, produce a dozen finished “shoppers” in a day, complete with rims and handles. He claims his parents may have produced less in a day, but not less by very many. It is clear that the industry is so established as to be capable of very high output; it is also clear that a division of labour has long been established and that the method of marketing wares, though somewhat haphazard, also has a history three generations long and probably more.

The parents of both the Basket Maker and his wife were active in the industry on a regular basis. The female grandparents of both are also reported to have done so on a regular basis. Thus, the industry on the St. John River dates back about a century. An obituary to “Old Molly Molasses” in an Old Town newspaper, dated January 13, 1868, records that,

Those who have ever made their stay in our city at any time since ‘the beginning of days’, have been accustomed to see this aged pilgrim as she passed along our streets leaning on her staff.. A few years ago she might be seen with her pack of baskets on her back playing the merchant of her own wares.

Vetromile reports that Indians in Maine,

...go around the country selling baskets, mats, and such-like articles... The bargain being concluded, on leaving the house or store, the Indians (who generally are two together in selling) laugh amongst themselves... (1866: 101).

\* When capitalized, I refer to a single basket maker.

Older residents of nearby towns on the St. John River have told me that Indians have long been known to travel throughout towns and cities, hawking their wares.

There is no evidence to suggest, however, that this ever occupied the place of a primary industry on reserves; rather, economic activities were varied fifty to seventy-five years ago as they are today. The Indians throughout the St. John River area are reported to have been small farmers, guides, fishermen, servants, and odd job seekers as far back as a full generation and beyond the elders of the present generation. As mentioned above, Moses Perley observed some farming at Meductec in 1840 and extensive salmon fishing at Tobique; some hunting and logging were also reported by him at the northernmost reserves.

Today thirteen families derive a substantial proportion of their seasonal income from the basket industry and five families from various phases of the barrel industry. The two industries thus support nearly one hundred persons for a considerable portion of each year.

Only three closely connected families derive income from the "fancy" basket industry on a large scale, and the nucleus of this group, a man and his wife now in their late sixties, is the primary object of this study. This Basket Maker was himself engaged in many activities other than basket making during his earlier life. He worked in saw mills and logging camps, and on construction jobs as a carpenter. He built a small house as recently as 1958 and claims to have built many of the houses on Indian lands. Nevertheless, together with his wife, he has been engaged in the basket industry for over thirty years. Beginning as a hawker in the countryside and surrounding towns, he also set up shop in resorts during the thirties when large numbers of summer residents became his customers. Other basket makers who went to this area during the period report that the women worked as domestic servants and washerwomen.

What is outstanding in the Basket Maker's reporting of these events is the way in which he embodies all his reminiscences in a context of inter-personal relations between himself (with

his wife) and their Canadian customers.\* These are always cast in a light of being symbiotic; it was here, I inferred from him, that the first extended contacts with Canadian domestic units occurred. Previously he had gone into the world of White men as logger and sawmill hand. The Basket Maker's stories of such events appear always cast in the context of rivalry and semi-aggressive manoeuvring. But it was in the basket industry that they found a place for themselves as craftsmen; it is with reference to these activities that they speak of themselves as satisfying the needs of Canadians. This occurred also in their wanderings throughout the countryside; in this context they emphasize their good relations with farmers who, in the depths of the depression, traded fairly with them, produce in exchange for baskets; this they did without cash, of which there was great scarcity.

At present the Basket Maker and his wife (along with three married daughters) work exclusively from an established shop on the reserve, travelling fifteen miles to town either to take up their regular Saturday morning position at the farmer's market or, less regularly, to sell wholesale at the local hardware stores and gift shop. They also are fairly regularly visited by known customers, and orders come to them through the mails from various points in Canada and the United States.

### *Background of the Barrel Industry*

The background of this industry on reserves is much shorter than that of the Basket Industry, and its development is in most respects quite different. Nevertheless, the roots of its development are similar. The country surrounding the northern reserves supports a large number of potato farmers both in New Brunswick and in Maine. These farmers make use of barrels for which they are mainly supplied by a number of small coopers among Canadians and Americans who own complex machinery for the manufacture of staves, bottoms, and hoops. The coopers also purchase their hoops from local Indians who cut, split, and plane immature stocks of Black Ash, selling them on a unit basis. Indian participation in the barrel industry also occurs, however,

\* The distinction between "Indian" or ("Malecite") and "Canadian" is an ethnic, not a political, one.



in the *repair* of barrels. At this point — and unlike the Indian basket industry — it enters into direct competition with Canadian barrel makers. Repairing barrels involves rebuilding and attaching new hoops. This cannot be done without machinery designed for the task; thus, a good knowledge of the cooper's trade is essential before embarking upon barrel repairs.

The Barrel Maker is occupied almost exclusively in the repair of barrels. This activity is identical with one stage of barrel making and uses the same machinery. The next step — that of manufacturing barrels — is an easy one, and the barrel maker has occasionally entered this field of activity. At present he maintains a large shop on his own grounds which is equipped with three cooper's windlasses and "guillotines" (hoop cutters).

The Barrel Maker's background is in some respects similar to that of the Basket Maker; his occupations have varied, and he has engaged in a personal and self-directed enterprise. But many of his secondary activities were different. He has played competitive games more regularly and early developed a local reputation as a good baseball pitcher. (He is also known locally by a characteristic name, which is unusual among Indians vis-à-vis Canadians.) He also enjoys trading in a way that the Basket Maker does not; that is, he takes delight in recounting stories of how he set out on a journey with a pen-knife and returned several days later with an old car, having gone through a series of barter to achieve the final trade. A value on *competitive barter* distinguishes the Barrel Maker from the Basket Maker who places a value on *complementary exchange*. While the Basket Maker is fond of recounting how generous farmers were in exchanging their produce for his baskets, the Barrel Maker recounts how he traded sharply, and he sometimes laughs at his own ineptness when outsmarted in a transaction — an indulgent laugh which implies this happened not too often.

Beginning his industrial activities twenty-five years ago, the Barrel Maker entered the industry in a way that is common in the area: he collected immature stocks of Black Ash, cutting and planing them for sale to local coopers. In the course of time he did what other Indians failed to do: he became closely acquainted

with one cooper for whom he began to work, and there he learned the trade. Deciding that he needed only the machinery to set himself up in business, the Barrel Maker acquired his machinery second-hand — first one, and finally three windlasses and hoop cutters or “guillotines” At this time he also secured a variable machine planer that received power from an electric motor. He set up shop behind his house, purchased a used truck, and began repairing barrels.

Immediately prior to the Second World War the Barrel Maker moved his operation into town where he occupied a small warehouse. Local coopers, however, began withholding supplies of barrel staves, thus preventing him from manufacturing on a large scale. His only recourse was to secure the cash necessary to buy a barrel stave machine. He claims that a loan was in fact forthcoming for the purchase of such a machine at the time the Nation declared war in 1939, but arrangements for the loan were cancelled. Subsequently, he moved back to his original position, manufacturing barrels when he was able to accumulate sufficient staves, but he spent the bulk of his time in repairing them.

\*  
\*                      \*  
\*

At the time the study was initiated and throughout three seasons of observation, both industries were well established. They both were affected by seasonal requirements, although the Barrel Maker was more inclined than the Basket Maker to fluctuate between periods of inactivity and those involving long hours of hard work. Both were thoroughly committed to working in the interest of a market demand. Both industries required the collection of raw material, some knowledge of the materials with which the artisans worked, a set of tools, a plant, and a work group. And both industries had to face the problem of marketing finished goods.

But so considerable were the differences in their ways of organizing their industries (which reflected, in part, the details of their lives), that it will be necessary, in the interest of our problem, to compare the Basket Maker with the Barrel Maker at major points of analysis, thus emphasizing contrasts in their

relationship with their own people and Canadians in the interest of a market. The points to be compared will be the gathering of raw materials, the plant and the organization of labour, spatial relations of the production unit, and distribution.

### *Gathering Raw Materials*

All New Brunswick Indians who, without some prior arrangement, gather immature or grown stocks of Black Ash on private land, risk prosecution. The increase in that risk during the past generation is reflected in the frequency with which Micmac and Malecite Indians have been required in court to answer charges of trespass. Those who fought their cases argued that theirs was the right to gather the products of the forest "as was their custom" in order to satisfy their needs. During the last 10 years Indians have argued that the treaty of 1725 gave them the right of access to all forest products, and, furthermore, only the Federal Courts could try an Indian concerning matters of treaty (the Federal Government does not agree that there are treaties with Atlantic Provinces Indians.) All recent cases having come to my attention were dismissed but with a warning to the Indian in question not to trespass again. Thus, the courts took the position that this *was* trespass but did not wish to interfere with the livelihood of Indians.

Two positions are generally taken by Malecites on this question. There are those who argue that if one wants Black Ash, he should ask the owner's permission; others, including our Barrel Maker, insist that to request permission is to admit that rights to the products do not exist. The Barrel Maker and the Basket Maker have both frequently pointed out that Black Ash is of use only to them, and to no White man, whether the stocks be young or mature. Among those who hold the conservative position and claim these rights, it has been customary, however, to repay farmers for the raw materials collected by giving them one or two baskets. In point of fact, Indians and farmers are well known to each other, especially in the northern reserves of the St. John River, in part because of the long tradition of Indian basket-hawking through the country, and in part because farmers have for a long time hired Indians as occasional farm hands.

The Basket Maker takes the liberal position. He claims that the system of asking and repaying in kind is good and proper. He does not argue from the point of view of legal rights and is generally disinterested in the subject. But he has not collected his own raw materials during the period I have known him, nor has he done so systematically during the past fifteen years. The Barrel Maker, on the other hand, knows several good locations for collecting Black Ash, all of which are on privately owned land. Some owners are hostile to his entry, while others expect it and apparently take it for granted. Thus, when I travelled with the Barrel Maker on one of his gathering expeditions, he drove his truck to where the farmer was plowing, and they both stopped to talk, first of things in general, subsequently concerning locations of good stands. The farmer pointed to a section of his woods where he advised the Barrel Maker to go, but the Barrel Maker drove to another section, claiming he knew the woods better than did the farmer. Although he appreciated the advice, he told me, he saw no reason to follow it.

The Barrel Maker collects not only for himself, but for the Basket Maker, who is his maternal uncle. Another nephew, who collects for the Basket Maker, also lives on the Barrel Maker's reserve. (These two reserves are fifty miles apart.) On the average of two or three times a month, the Barrel Maker brings his wife and some kinswomen to the small city fifteen miles the other side of the reserve of the Basket Maker (that is, sixty-five miles from his home) where they play bingo. Driving there in his truck, the Barrel Maker sometimes stops at the Basket Maker's home where he delivers Black Ash, charging about two dollars a stock. The average load costs the Basket Maker forty dollars and will allow him to make about three hundred dollars worth of baskets.

Both the Barrel Maker and the Basket Maker know where superior stands of Black Ash can be found. Beyond that point of identification, however, the Barrel Maker's interests in the material need not be extensive; provided he has straight wood and knows how to split it, he will have satisfied all criteria. But all basket makers — and principally those in the fancy basket industry — must look upon the mature log from many points of

view, for materials for standards (vertical splints), weavers (horizontal splints), and rims and handles, all come from different parts of the log. The whitest wood, usually from grains found near the periphery of a log, are selected for an undyed product, but even the slightly darker wood further toward the center must be cut and selected carefully for homogeneity of shading so that the dye lot will result in uniform colour. The Basket Maker is extremely parsimonious in the use of materials as well, and his tools are designed to facilitate this end.

In summary: The Barrel Maker appears to be conservative in holding an opinion that is common to a large number of Indians in New Brunswick; namely, that the land and its products are rightly their own. Like other Indians who hold this position, he quotes treaties at some length and is concerned about their legitimacy. It should also be pointed out that the Barrel Maker is one of the best linguistic and ethnological informants (for reconstructive purposes) on the St. John River.

The Basket Maker does not take a position very forcibly on this question and is content to enter into negotiations with farmers for Black Ash. Nevertheless, he has withdrawn from the activity.

### *The Plant and the Organization of Labour*

Study of the plants fails to support the hypothesis that the two industries may be contrasted on a simple conservative-progressive continuum. If we identify conservatism with the maintenance of personal and group identity, and "progressiveness" with a failure to implement activities in that direction, or with a conscious attempt to invest personal and group identity with an outside reference group, then the two industries are contrastive. While the Barrel Maker appears to be ultra-conservative in his attitude toward the land and its products and in the conservation of raw materials in Indian hands, his plant and his method of recruiting are so patterned as to place him on the "progressive" end of the continuum. The Basket Maker, on the other hand, will be shown to continue his operation on what *has now become* (for the Malecites) a traditional approach to plant and work group.

Spatial separation between the domestic region and the work region appears to indicate acculturative drift; such separation almost certainly began with contact and has continued steadily thereafter. The "folk" model, derived from Redfield (1947) places crafts or cottage industries strictly within the home itself. Also, its output is conceived to be variegated, providing all the material needs of the family for clothing, tools, utensils, containers, and so on. Since the hypothetical group produces what it consumes and consumes what it produces (*ibid*: 354), no problem of distribution arises.

Thus, spatial separation takes place as other changes in industries require it. As industries become specialized by concentration on a narrow range of artifact types, they may be regarded as requiring special facilities, the outstanding mark of which is spatial segregation, and with this the neat production-consumption circle is broken as new patterns of distribution are developed.

The tool kit of the specialist should also be diagnostic. A survey of the literature of basket industries (Butler, 1947; Ekstorm, 1932; Evans and Campbell, 1952; Goggin, 1949; Lyford, 1945; Weltfish, 1930, 1932) discloses little reference to the standardizing and mass-producing uses to which tools may be put, nor is mention made of the fact that the units of construction enter into a type of assembly line. The tools themselves, however, are designed to standardize both parts of the units of production and the units themselves and to facilitate rapid manufacture. This applies to sets of inter-related gauges, the shaving horse, the triangular splitter (*bitotig'n*) and forms or "moulds." Other tools do not reflect this interest directly.

There is a well-defined division of labour in the industry: one person may perform a single operation on a number of units (the basket weave) while he performs different operations on another set of units (rims and handles); a third operation completes the whole unit. One person, on the other hand, may perform a single operation on a set of units while another performs other operations on a second set at the same time, the third operation being performed by a third. There is therefore

in no sense a simple cottage industry of the sort normally associated with crafts, and the rate of production is far in excess of the needs either of family or of community. The high rate of production of the domestic fancy and potato baskets must therefore be explained in terms of accommodation to a market. Indeed, the entire basket industry is organized with respect to market demands.

In the hypothetical folk community there would be no need for a separate and permanent work region away from the domestic region. Work regions may be set out from time to time within the domestic establishment, but they are not by design so constituted. This would occur only as persons became more or less permanently engaged in production. Therefore, the degree of segregation of regions in space does provide for us a satisfactory measure of the essential professionalization of a particular industry. And if we continue to work with the model of the folk community from the points of view of distribution and consumption, we find that this too can be looked upon in relation to space segregation. In the ideal community there is very little problem of distribution; women may, in fact, make baskets only for family consumption. But when the work unit is turning out as many as two dozen baskets a day, a problem of distribution is implicit. Thus, we may assume some orientations on the part of Indians to surroundings that can be defined in terms of that problem.

### *The Spatial Relations of the Production Unit*

Separate space allocations away from the household are general, but not universal, among basket makers. All those considered here, however, separate their craft so as to provide some permanent work area, and all but two maintain a shop where tools and processed materials may be stored as well as used. The exceptions are peripheral in the activity, and they usually try to work with other established units. The Basket Maker has a converted small house in which the entire ground floor serves as a shop; he and his wife are the exclusive occupants. However, in another house on their property, they include a married daughter, her husband, and children in the household. Two other married daughters live with their husbands and families

in nearby houses. The Basket Maker and his wife, along with these daughters, constitute the work group. All daughters work in areas in their households; thus, households have work areas which are used exclusively by women. The work unit as a whole, then, has a nucleus in the shop which provides processed materials for work in the household work areas. The unit radiates from the Basket Maker and his wife to include only women, for the husbands of the daughters do not participate in the Basket Industry. The industry also has extended itself, through women, beyond those closely connected households; in one case, a widowed sister-in-law and her married daughter were included; in another case, the cousin of the Basket Maker (*mosida*) was supplied with processed materials for work. While raw materials were provided for these units, a different criterion of payment was applied to the other households: they were paid a wholesale price upon completion of each unit, whereas the daughters were paid out of a general fund that had no specific relationship to units that were produced. The former system of supply and set payment was made available even more generally, but it failed to take effect, and the more distant kinswomen dropped out of production not long after beginning. The work unit has remained stable where it included husband and wife as nucleus and daughters as the periphery of the range of effective extension.

At this point I shall construct several two-dimensional models designed to represent the basket industry at different points in time and to compare it with the barrel industry. The comparisons will be such as to emphasize the relationships between regions of activity which are characterized in part by their spatial dispositions.

The first, called "Model One," belongs with the hypothetical folk community, where the domestic region (region A) encloses the work region (region B). This is one way of saying that the work region is a differentiated part of the domestic region or that the former derives its character entirely through the character of the latter. The work region, then, is part of the domestic region.

An alternative model may be suggested, however, which includes the community as well. In this, I follow Thurnwald, who



would derive the character of the work region in part from the community:

Any variety of personality implies specialization. Even in primitive society, every person is a specialist in his way. One may be clever at snaring birds, another a deft plaiter of baskets, still another an expert in raising fine crops, the next a brave warrior, a shrewd sorcerer or a convincing orator and so on, in spite of the fact that each one is acquainted with the accomplishments of the others. It is the co-operation, particularly that of the leaders in each branch of pursuit, that builds up the community (1932: 559).

The second model, then, is called "Alternate Model One" and also belongs to the hypothetical folk community, having a direct relationship with it. Thus the region which is the community (region X) encloses the domestic region (region A) *and* the work region (region B), one boundary of which is coincident with one boundary of the domestic region. We would say now that the work region is a part of the domestic region and the community or that the work region derives its character entirely from the domestic region and the community.

Model 2 represents the introduction of a new region of activity (region Y) which is part of the Canadian community. Regions X and Y are now being defined as related to each other only through work or any activities relevant to some aspect or point in the process of any work. In this regard, regions X (the Malecite community), A (the domestic region), and B (the work region, now specifically referred to as a production center for baskets and other crafts) are all related to region Y (the Canadian community) in the same way. *No one region encloses any other region* at this stage of development; region X would enclose both regions A and B if all three did not share boundaries with region Y. Nevertheless, regions X and Y (the Malecite community and the Canadian community) are in different relationships to regions A and B (domestic region and work region), since region B is still part of region A as region A is still part of region X: for either of those regions to become part of region Y, a boundary would have to be crossed; i.e., they would become part of the Canadian community.

Model 3 represents one version of the contemporary relationships of regions, adding a new one. Region C (region of the

shop) is probably the first true differentiation of a work region in Malecite communities. As indicated, the shop has moved out of the household and changed its character in technology, work relations, and distribution patterns in that process. It assumes its character in part from the character of region Y (the Canadian community), but is at the same time continuous with region B which has now also changed its character. Region B is now a domestic work region whose orientation is to the shop. In this respect, region B (domestic work region) and region C (the shop) form *one continuous work region*.

A better approximation for *Model 3* may be one which takes account of changes having occurred in the domestic region as well as work regions. *Alternate Model 3* is designed to reflect such changes. Consider, first, the possibility that in developing a well differentiated work region in the shop, and in removing it from the domestic region, a new relationship to the community has developed. We have seen that the relationship of community to shop does extend the Basket Industry well beyond its own household to others that are closely related; thus, it functions as a nucleus. There are already three such families engaged in this work relation, and there have been experiments in recruiting others. But it also implies, and sometimes permits, the introduction of male recruitment from regions other than that of domestic work regions. Thus, while the shop recruits almost exclusively through the domestic unit, it clearly has other subsidiary functions that could not be present by way of work regions represented in *Model 2* except through closely related women. Here, as perhaps in most small communities, there is a tendency to collect casual visitors. The Basket Maker's shop is occasionally visited by men during working hours. In the evening, there are regular dart, checker, and chess games played within it, and since these games have become universalistic (tending to cut across kin lines), persons other than close relatives enter into interaction in the shop who seldom do in each other's homes. Among the potato basket makers on the northern reserve, there are two who work in shops that, during summers, are open at one end: they, too, attract casual visitors, and one of the shops is visited most frequently during the day by men who are identified with one or

both of the two factions that characterize that community. The basket maker who attracts such a variety of persons, kinsmen and non-kinsmen alike, is himself noted in the community for his impartiality and fairness in speaking on major issues, and he is known not to carry gossip. Thus, a potential forum, or the "town-hall concept," as Reiter identified it, exists here as in other regions of the community. At the same time, some recruitment occurring on a non-kin basis has been noted, although it seldom occurs. This pattern does not lend itself to the development of a large segmented project. (For instance, all the potato basket makers on the northern reserve could, in theory, get together in a single shop, as could all the fancy basket makers and other craft specialists on the middle reserves.) An often spoken-of proposal to extend the industry to the community at large has little relationship, however, to a natural growth from the existing organization. Thus, while basketry and other crafts are clearly defined as "Indian work," the proposal to organize on a community basis has been one envisaging a large winter work-shop where all reserve Indians may be employed at various established crafts, but always with the proviso that this establishment be run and its products marketed by some Government agency and that salaries be paid by the Government for work within it. Clearly, the Malecite basket makers have worked out no way of rapidly extending their operations to segments of the community that cross-cut kinship lines; on the other hand, they have developed a standardized conception of how this should be done. The proposal probably is, from the Government's standpoint, unacceptable in the form described; it remains to be seen if other strategies are to be used.

*Alternate Model 3* also tends to push the domestic unit and the domestic work region (region B) back into the community, not only for recruiting purposes, but with regard to patterns of distribution. This change has been reflected in the contemporary recruiting and distributional patterns described above.

I pointed out in an earlier publication that the activities of the craft industry serve as a vehicle of self and ethnic identity for Malecites; this occurs with regard to those activities the Malecite call "indian work" (McFeat, 1962: 51ff). I examined

the value-orientations that appear congruent with these activities concerning time, space, and relationships. Suffice it is to say at present that the activities are self-generative of that concept; the Malecite regard their activities as peculiarly their own, and, indeed, they are known by surrounding Canadians in that capacity. It is also significant that the Malecite who work in the basket industry identify themselves readily through the locus of work, rather than through shared membership with all Malecites in the area. There was an attempt by an interested Canadian during the early fifties to establish a new tribal identity, giving them what he regarded as their traditional name, the *Wulastook*, a name which refers to the St. John River. This was to have been a pan-reserve organization that he would have the Indian Affairs Branch recognize as their true unit. Even though letterheads were printed with that name, the organization never did elect a superchief, council, or other representatives. Perhaps it is also significant that the one chief who, although the most enthusiastic, had the least success in producing signatures on a petition favouring this organization, was chief of the northern reserve — the one manifesting greatest solidarity and unity. Thus, tribal identity, though real, cannot be given expression in action. It has no genuine shape.

The next possible locus of identity occurs with the community. This level of identity may in the future be realized; at present, however, it is tenuous, and only one of the five reserves manifests effective leadership while at the same time splitting along a single faction on the very issue of local identity; only the conservatives are so inclined to proceed with their policies. However, the presence on this reserve of a community hall and of the various organizations of Boy Scouts, Cubs, Girl Guides, League baseball, Alcoholics Anonymous, etc., all of them absent in the other reserves, testifies to the growth of a community on the northern reserve.

Craft activities, however, of which the basket industry is an outstanding example, are unambiguously placed by the Malecites within the context of Indian activities. They have continuity with the past, are organized mainly on a kin basis, and they describe a well-defined tradition in technology. Further consider-

ation of the contact between basket makers and consumer will be dealt with below under Distribution; in the meantime, I will confine discussion to the spatial aspects of the production unit and the domestic establishment.

### *The Barrel Maker*

The outstanding characteristic of the Barrel Industry is its lack of a tradition of technology that covers all phases of production. Although gathering raw materials for hoops is intrinsically related to similar activities in the basket industry, and the processing of hoops involves the same tools as the tools of the basket makers, the production unit is essentially different. Nevertheless, gathering and processing of rough materials are almost identical; they involve leaving the reserve in search of Black Ash on private or crown land; cutting, transporting, and pounding (for the basket makers), and splitting (for the barrel hoop makers), and they both are concerned only with male work. (It might be added that various Malecite potato basket makers also collect the Ash for, and process, barrel hoops.) But it is beyond this the two industries diverge, the basket industry toward an organization that always includes women, the barrel industry toward an organization that never does.

Without long historical background and with no background whatever in the "folk" culture of Abenaki Indians, the barrel industry cannot be analyzed developmentally. Therefore it will be expedient to compare its organization of space with that of the Basket Maker. Let us then consider two models, *Alternate Model 3* (Basket Maker) and *Model 4* (Barrel Maker). The first point of obvious difference is in the use or non-use of a differentiated sub-area of work within the household or a group of related households. Its total absence in the barrel industry supports other differences, the most outstanding of which is the fact that its work force is entirely male. Thus, while both shops exist on the home property and are therefore intimately connected with the family — in space if in no other obvious way — the fact of their relative potentialities for separateness is of great significance to this analysis. In point of fact, the basket makers' regions B and C (domestic work region and shop) are a single work region.

The fact that B is enclosed by regions A and C together (household on the one hand and the shop on the other) may be viewed as a safeguard to the *integrity of region B* (the domestic work region). It also guarantees the continued work co-operation between men and women, specifically those who are related to each other. Region C (the shop of the basket makers), on the other hand, is welded to the domestic unit through this common enclosed region of production within the domestic unit.

As far as can be determined, the barrel industry is organized on the reserve in a way similar to its organization among local Canadian coopers. The machinery in both is the same: a windlass, a "guillotine," hammers, nails, and so on. Local coopers have probably made an adaptation in the use of Black Ash hoops, thus introducing local Indians to one phase of the industry. But the coopers have larger storage facilities than those of the Barrel Maker, and they possess the complex machinery for manufacturing staves without which a cooper cannot proceed on a mass-production basis. This machinery the Malecite Barrel Maker does not have.

The limitation on storage and the seasonal demand for barrels (late summer and early autumn) necessitate a high degree of mobility and a maximum short-time working force in the Malecite barrel industry. The Barrel Maker must maximize turnover during the period available to him for finding outlets. It is thus in the distribution of barrels, as opposed to the distribution of baskets, that problems of special interest are raised in comparing the Barrel Maker and the Basket Maker.

### *Distribution*

The immediate problem, then, is to extend models so that the two industries may be compared in terms of patterns of distribution. In *Models 5* and *6* regions have been added by way of extension. First, the region E represents specific distributional activities. These include taking baskets to the Saturday market in the nearest city where a corner is occupied by the Basket Maker and his wife; the daughters — that is to say, those working in the domestic work areas — seldom accompany them. The Basket Maker also sells wholesale to stores in that city; this

practice he does alone. He dislikes selling wholesale, in part because of the lower return in cash relative to retail (a loss of about 25%) and in part because of the nature of "hawking." However, he can sell wholesale throughout the year, whereas his retail selling is curtailed during the winter, except before Christmas. Ideally, then, the Basket Maker travels and sells with his wife.

The northern potato basket makers have three methods of distribution. That which is most usual is to sell wholesale to a local Malecite entrepreneur who is equipped with a truck and has regular customers among the potato farmers. The reduction for wholesale is similarly about 25% of the retail price. By this method basket makers need not move from their shops, and for the majority this is the ideal method, for most of them do not own vehicles. A second method is by direct selling from the shop. Farmers, both from New Brunswick and Maine, occasionally visit the reserve and pay retail cash prices for potato baskets. This practice is objected to by the Malecite entrepreneur who claims obligations of loyalty from the basket makers, since he buys from them throughout the slow winter months as well as in summer. The third method, used by two basket makers, is to move raw materials, tools, and family across the border to Maine where residence is assumed with a relative in the potato farming area; here, again, farmers come to the basket makers. All told, therefore, distribution methods among the basket makers *are calculated to minimize the separation between husband and wife and other family members*, and they make use of the kin network when movement is required. The domestic work unit, especially that aspect of it including the efforts of women in the home, maintains a continuous influence over all phases of the basket industry except in gathering raw materials. Thus I have represented region E in Model 6 as connected to region X (the Malecite community) along its boundary.

The Barrel Maker's distribution methods contrast with those of all basket makers. As I pointed out above, his approach to distribution is essentially competitive (or symmetrical), whereas those of the basket makers (and especially the Basket Maker) tend to be complementary. (Nor do basket makers like competition

among themselves; they try to fix prices and disapprove of those who cut them. Their only competition is covert: they will not disclose to each other their best sources or new finds of Black Ash stands. Otherwise, they do not want to be in competition, in part because it inevitably involves their women and families.) The product is from their point of view unique to Indians; so there is no outside competition. This is especially true of the Basket Maker whose attitude toward his customers is one of the reciprocal need satisfaction of the exchange that can only include Canadian and Indian.

The Barrel Maker is well aware of the displacement function of his activities; so, too, are the local Canadian coopers. While he is careful to produce or repair a barrel to meet high standards, he has no sentimental attachment to the product itself. His concern rests in improving techniques both of production and distribution. In the interest of the former, he constantly innovates, and his back yard is full of machinery of one sort or another that he has purchased or traded for in the interest of faster and better production. He recently experimented in the mass production of potato baskets, making use of machinery which he attempted to adapt to the task.

In summary, then, first contrast occurs in the relation of household and shop. The barrel industry manifests no overlap with a household work region. Nevertheless it is connected — meaning, in this case, that male recruitment of labour derives from the household, in the Barrel Maker's sons. Both work regions are polarized to Canadian consumers, and out of the community, and thus tend to resist influences toward recruitment from the community. This is so in part because there are no significant consumers within either community. Consequently, the relationship of the shop to the community is in either case conditioned by the relation of the shop to the household, and this is expressed through the availability of workers from the household. There is, however, no intrinsic connection between the Barrel Maker's shop and the domestic unit (or other close units) as there always is between basket makers' shops and domestic units. The drying up of the source of labour in the basket industry would bring about its end, for without women



it could not exist. On the other hand, the source is good, since the nucleus, or shop, is able to work through the kin network to other household work areas. The sons of the Barrel Maker have various occupational interests other than in barrel production, but loss of this source from the domestic unit does not put the Barrel Maker out of business; it only decreases his output.

The second contrast occurs through distributional activities. It might be said that orientation and movement toward the market automatically become orientation and movement *away from* the domestic unit. If one simply follows the Homans hypothesis that interaction and positive sentiment are positively correlated (Homans, 1950: 111), then he could assume that they lead toward group formation and group consolidation. This is expressed in part by the activities of the Barrel Maker — his continuous movement among his customers, his bargaining and arranging, his personal acquaintance with the actual needs of farmers, and his competition with other barrel makers. He is, as I have pointed out, well known in town; he has played baseball on the town team; he is an active member of a local association. The basket makers remain aloof and arrange their transactions in such a way as to minimize interaction with Canadian consumers unless those consumers come to them to make special requests; they do so frequently, especially to the Basket Maker who takes special orders. The Barrel Maker not only maintains a high rate of interaction in this region, but he does so without including other members of his kin group. His activities in this region are exclusive with regard to all other regions; hence, his physical and apparently permanent move into the Canadian community — lock, stock, and barrel, so to speak — issued in the possibility of his isolation from all other groups on the reserve and, possibly, all other Malecites. The inherent separability of his activities was in the end checked because kin and community relations might have been in danger of severance.

It seems, on the whole, that there is value in regarding the activities from gathering raw materials, to processing, manufacturing, and marketing as a *single region of activity* for the basket makers whose integrity is maintained by the intrinsic connection between shop and domestic unit, but this is not the case regarding

the activities of the Barrel Maker. The Barrel Maker was at one time able to move his entire shop into town, at another time to mount his windlass and "guillotine" on his truck and take his operation to the farmers in the surrounding country. From the points of view of technology and work, this should have been successful. Malecites, as well as other Indians of New Brunswick, are frequently away from home for extended periods of time, sometimes for months, or even permanently, returning only for vacations. The Barrel Maker was only three miles away from home when he set up shop in town; he returned most nights when he had his equipment mounted on the truck. But his whole operation and the quality of contact with Canadians was different not only from those of all basket makers, but from the contacts set up by most other Malecites who leave reserves for work outside. The difference is manifest in his ability to form significant group relations in both spheres — in the Canadian community and in the Malecite community. That the two are mutually antipathetical is suggested in the course of events that followed those attempts by the Barrel Maker.

## SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

Two questions are pertinent to this study, one specific and one general. First, to what extent has cultural continuity been maintained in the two industries, and what significance should be attributed to their differences with respect to continuity?

I attacked this problem first by dealing with the total space of the Malecite as characterized by *nucleus* and *periphery* in their area and as far back as observation could be trusted — to about the middle of the eighteenth century. It was clearly stated, especially in the Gyles report, that a principle of organization existed in which the nucleus of family (and the unformalized community) established a relatively stable base surrounded by country that was exploited by men who returned periodically to co-operate with women in various tasks. Within this nucleus the family unit, especially women, were conceived to participate in the construction of most containers and other light artifacts

on a "folk" basis, supplying the needs of their own group and possibly to some extent the community.

By the middle of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, significant changes had taken place in both the nuclear area and its surroundings. The evidence was clear that Malecite groups were permanently settled and that changes had taken place both in the nucleus and in the periphery. The gradual shrinkage of the community — by this time defined as a reserve — was continuous, while the peripheral regions were becoming increasingly inaccessible to exploitation; at the same time general orientations to Canadian communities were active. Work in the traditional hinterland was sponsored by Canadians in logging, guiding, saw-milling, and so on.

It is probable that during this period the basket industry began to take its form as a market activity, aimed at Canadian consumers. It is well established that mass production and standardizing tools were used generally by the turn of the twentieth century and probably were in general use for twenty-five or thirty years before. All of the gross raw materials for the basket industry continued, however, to be procured in the hinterland, collecting and initial processing being done by men who worked in ultimate co-operation with women, the traditional basket makers. Specific group composition was, of course, undergoing change, and the activities relative to both the hinterland and the household were themselves radically changed; still, the *spatial relations* between nucleus and periphery remained the same, as did the composition of occupational roles as organized on a sex-differentiated basis. While it would be unwise to contend that this is an ancient pattern, those two aspects of it have undoubtedly remained unchanged for a long time.

Growth of the basket industry took place by developing a new domestic nucleus in that spatially segregated region known as the Shop, which brought men and women of the same narrow-range kin group into continuous working relations with each other. The domestic establishment meanwhile maintained its integrity as a work unit by keeping a work region inside the domestic unit, or by maintaining such close proximity between the two regions on the home property that women could work regularly

while, at the same time, attending to domestic routines. Thus the two regions perpetuated the character of being a single continuous work region. Distribution was handled in such a way as to place minimal stress on this region.

The point of congruence between the basket industry and the barrel industry occurs only in the hinterland, where they all gather raw materials. It is in this spatial context that a high intensity of feeling has been generated among the Malecites and other New Brunswick groups I have temporarily designated "conservative" regarding their own sense of personal and ethnic identity. While even the most conservative have little detailed knowledge of earlier methods of adaptation to the hinterland, the conservatives unanimously regard this as an integral part of their earlier home. It is frequently said, "Give me a crooked knife and an axe, and, come what may, I'll get by in the woods. When the Government has sold us out, that's where we'll live." The fact is, of course, that a large number of Malecites still use the hinterland as an occupational periphery, and in making this region continuous with all other work regions in the basket industry they have in fact segregated this industry from other activities and made of it a cohesive, well defined tradition of technology. This the Barrel Maker — in spite of his being conservative relative to the hinterland — has been unable to do and (it appears as a result) *has forced apart regions of activity which have no continuity and belong in separate traditions*. Thus his conservatism does not show appreciation of continuity back to a finite point in time as does that of the basket makers who express it in their work, but it refers to a timeless past before White men arrived on the scene.

In all respects other than the one mentioned, the two industries are deeply contrastive. Not only are the technologies different in all phases of manufacture, but so too is recruitment for work, the complement of the work group, and the pattern of marketing. They represent, among other things, two very different ways of regulating contact with Canadians.

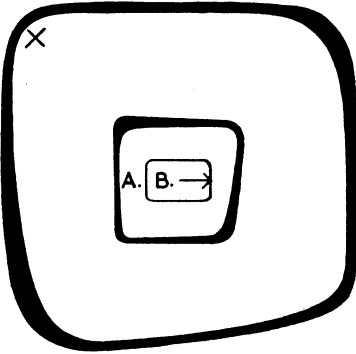
In a sense, the specific question asked above has its more general form: "What is an Indian?" If this case study is to be used in answer, then the following general statements of both

structure and process seem warranted. Regarding structure, *it is necessary for the group to have some concept of its identity as a group or as an ethnic entity.* The concept of "Indian," as expressed among the Malecites, is present and widespread, and has remained as such because of certain enduring conditions that tended to support the concept in spite of change. The process of identity-maintenance is built-in, so to speak, because reserves are themselves real spatial entities, held in place by legislation, by tradition, and in part by centripetal group dynamics: interaction generates not only positive sentiment, but further interaction as well. Change itself does not take place unnoticed; as the native language tends toward disappearance, as racial differences from Canadians become less marked with each new intermarriage, as dress and the activities of Malecite youngsters become increasingly identified with those of Canadian youngsters, as radio, television, the Reader's Digest, and Life are increasingly apparent on reserves, the swamping effects of massive one-way diffusion not only diminish the basis for a concept of what is "Indian," but *it is noticed that they do.* Nativistic adaptations are not indulged, although a reaction specifically to these influences is discernible, particularly in the tendencies of some reserves to fractionate along a single boundary between "friendlies" and "hostiles," or "liberals" and "conservatives," relative to the question of whether or not they should do anything about maintaining or revitalizing identity.

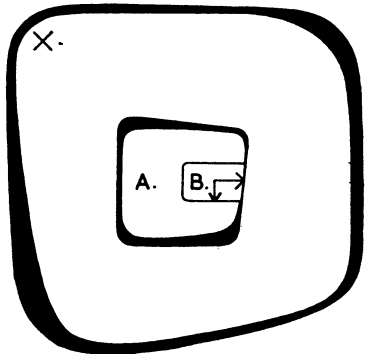
It is also necessary to express this concept of Indian identity in some form of social action. This the Malecite do, but in varying ways which have effects on different sorts of institutional behaviours. Thus, opposing school integration is one form, spreading diffusely across all the reserves' "conservatives." Casting a "conservative" vote in reserve elections is another form which, while defining one clear issue in the community, tends to make it a cohesive unit to an extent greater than is possible on reserves that do not split this way; in this manner, reserve identity becomes a reality that cuts across kin lines. But many activities generate the concept of self and ethnic identity simply because they exist in organized form. One of these applies to the contact of kinsmen between reserves of the same or different Indian groups and

RELATIONSHIPS AMONG REGIONS OF ACTIVITY OF  
MALECITE BASKET AND BARREL INDUSTRIES.

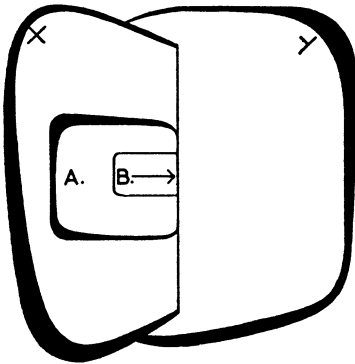
Model One.  
(Basket Industries)  
The Folk Community....



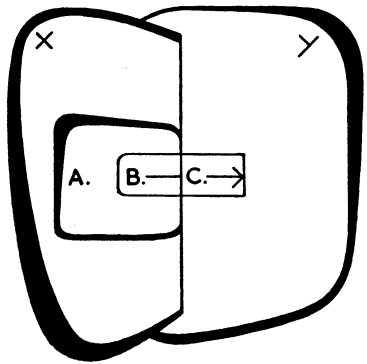
Alternate Model One.  
(Basket Industry)  
The Folk Community.



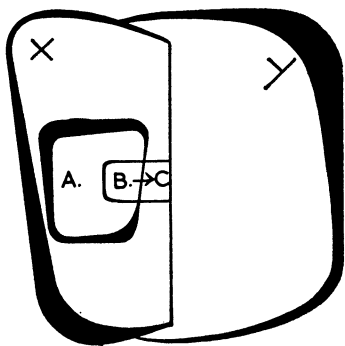
Model Two.  
(Basket Industry)  
Early Contact.



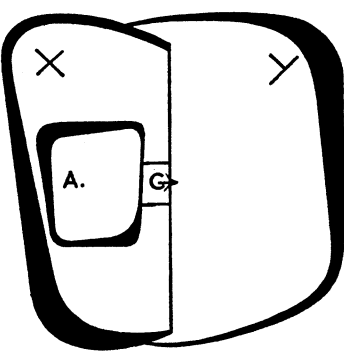
Model Three.  
(Basket Industry)  
Late Contact.



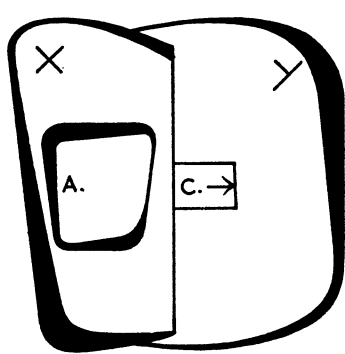
Alternate Model Three.  
(Basket Industry)  
Late Contact.



Model Four.  
(Barrel Industry)



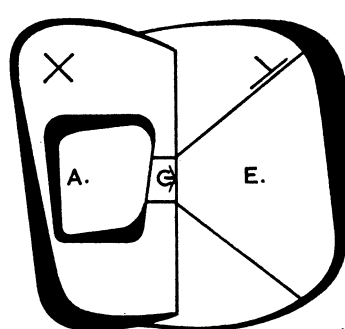
Alternate Model Four.  
(Barrel Industry)



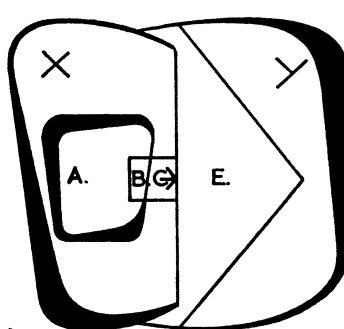
— REGIONS —

- X=MALECITE COMMUNITY.
- A=DOMESTIC REGION.
- B=WORK REGION.
- =ORIENTATION OF EFFORT.
- Y=CANADIAN COMMUNITY.
- C=REGION OF SHOP.
- E=REGION OF DISTRIBUTION.

Model Five.  
(Barrel Industry)



Model Six.  
(Basket Industry)



Derived From Model Four...

Derived From Model Three (ALT.)

involves widespread visiting; another applies to the newly organized Alcoholics Anonymous on one of the reserves and the interest it has generated in its spread to reserves in Maine, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia. These activities are not self-consciously Indian, but they activate interaction and a concept of groupness, and embody concepts that apply only to their own forms of organization.

Regarding process, it is clear that while many forms of behaviour have disappeared altogether, some (while being obviously different from their earlier manifestations) are still present. It is in this context, not in terms of its economic significance, that the basket industry is important. It is not the context of sentimentality about the industry that is important. What preserves the character of the industry, while at the same time fixing the concept of "Indian work," is the fact that *through time a regular series of shifts in pattern have taken place* in technology, in spatial relations, in the man-woman close kin work group, and in the regular inter-ethnic contacts that are expressed through distribution.

Out of these activities a set of value-orientations have emerged. These were dealt with elsewhere (McFeat, *op cit.*) and are not relevant to this study. What is relevant and constitutes the second and most general yet unanswered question is this: To what extent have the expression of value-orientations that have been "worked through," so to speak, in the concrete action of the basket industry, diffused out of this industry to become applicable in other contexts in Malecite and Eastern Algonkian culture?

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

BAILEY, A.G.

- 1937 *The Conflict of European and Eastern Algonkian Cultures. A Study in Canadian Civilization.* Publications of the New Brunswick Museum, Monographic Series, No. 2.

BUTLER, E.L.

- 1947 *Some Early Indian Basket Makers of Southern New England.* Archaeological Society of New Jersey, Research Series, 1.



- 1948 Algonkian Culture and the Use of Maize in Southern New England. New Haven, Bulletin of the Archaeological Society of Connecticut, Vol. XXII.
- BUTLER, E.L. and HADLOCK, W.S.  
 1957 Some Uses of Birch Bark in Northern New England. Cambridge, Bulletin of the Massachusetts Archaeological Society, Vol. XVIII.
- BYERS, D.S.  
 1946 The Environment of the Northeast. In Johnston, F., ed., Man in Northeastern North America. Papers of the Roberts S. Peabody Foundation for Archaeology, Vol. 3.
- CHAMBERLAIN, M.  
 1904 Indians in New Brunswick in Champlain's Time. *Acadiensis*, IV.
- COOPER, J.M.  
 1938 Snares, Deadfalls, and Other Traps of the Northern Algonquian and Northern Athapaskans. Catholic University of America, Anthropological Series, Vol. 5.  
 1938a Land Tenure Among the Indians of Eastern and Northern North America. Pennsylvania Archaeologist, Vol. 8.
- EKSTORM, F.  
 1932 The Handicrafts of the Modern Indians of Maine. Lafayette National Park Museum, Bulletin 3.
- EVANS, G.L. and CAMPBELL, T.N.  
 1952 Indian Baskets. Memorial Museum, Texas.
- FLANNERY, REGINA  
 1939 An Analysis of Coastal Algonquian Culture. Catholic University of American Anthropological Series, Vol. 7.
- GOGGIN, J.M.  
 1949 Plaited Basketry in the New World. Southwestern Journal of Anthropology, Vol. 5.
- GYLES, JOHN  
 1869 Memoirs of Odd Adventures, Strange Deliverances, etc., In the Captivity of John Gyles, etc. Written by Himself. Originally published at Boston, 1736. Printed for William Dodge, Cincinnati, 1869.
- Hsu, F.L.K.  
 1959 Structure, Function, Content and Process. American Anthropologist, Vol. 61.
- DE LAHONTAN, THE BARON  
 1703 New Voyages to North-America (1703). Edited by R.G. Thwaites. A.C. McClurg & Co., Chicago.

## LATOUR, A.

- 1952 Textile Crafts of the North American Indians. *Ciba Review*, No. 90.

## LEWIN, HURT

- 1936 Principles of Topological Psychology. New York, McGraw-Hill.

## LYFORD, C.A.

- 1945 Iroquois Crafts. United States Indian Service.

## MAILLARD, A.S.

- 1758 An Account of the Customs and Manners of the Micmakis and Maricheets Savage Nations, Now Dependent on the Government of Cape-Breton. Printed for S. Hooper and A. Morley at Gay's Head, near Beaufort-Buildings in the Strand, London.

## McFEAT, T.F.S.

- 1962 Museum Ethnology and the Algonkian Project. National Museum of Canada, Anthropology Papers, No. 2.

## MECHLING, W.H.

- 1958-59 The Malecite Indians, With Notes on the Micmacs. *Anthropologica*, Vols. 7 and 8.

## PERLEY, MOSES

- 1842 Reports on Indian Settlements, etc. Published by Command: Extracts from Mr. Perley's first report respecting the Indians on the St. John. Dated 12th August, 1841. Fredericton, New Brunswick. Printed at the Royal Gazette Office. April 30th, 1842.

## REDFIELD, R.

- 1949 The Folk Society. In Wilson, L. and W.L. Kolb, *Sociological Analysis*, New York.

## SPECK, F.G.

- 1915 Eastern Algonkian Wabanaki Confederacy. *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 17.
- 1915a The Family Hunting Band as the Basis of Algonkian Social Organization. *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 17.
- 1917 Game Totems Among the Northeastern Algonkians. *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 19.
- 1926 Culture Problems in North America. *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, Vol. 65.
- 1935 Abenaki Clans — Never! *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 37.
- 1939 The Significance of the Hunting Territory Systems of the Algonkian in Social Theory. *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 41.

- SPECK, F.G. and HADLOCK, W.S.  
1946 A Report on the Tribal Boundaries and Hunting Areas of the Malecite Indians of New Brunswick. *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 48.
- THURNWALD, W.  
1932 The Psychology of Acculturation. *American Anthropologist*, n.s., Vol. 34.
- VETROMILE, REV. EUGENE  
1866 The Abenakis and Their History or Historical Notices on the Aborigines of Acadia. Published by James B. Kirker, 599 Broadway, New York.
- WALLIS, W.D. and R. S.  
1955 The Micmac Indians of Eastern Canada. Minneapolis.
- WAUGH, F.W.  
1919 Canadian Aboriginal Canoes. *The Canadian Field Naturalist*. May, 1919.
- WELTFISH, G.  
1930 Prehistoric North American Basketry Techniques and Modern Distributions. *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 32.  
1932 Problems in the Study of Ancient and Modern Basket-Makers. *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 34.
- WHITFORD, A.C.  
1941 Textile Fibers Used in Eastern Aboriginal North America. *Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History*, XXXVIII.
-

# Remarques sur les concepts de vision du monde et de totalité

PAR MARCEL RIOUX

---

## RÉSUMÉ

The author examines the notions of world view and totality and tries to establish that they correspond to objective phenomena which are worth studying by the sociologists and the anthropologists. He tries to refute some of the objections that have been made against such studies by various authors. In a limited way, these notions could bridge some of the gaps between marxists, sociologists and cultural anthropologists on the one hand, and more orthodox social scientists on the other.

Il semble bien que dans les sciences humaines, l'antinomie la plus générale qu'on puisse observer, c'est celle que décelait Mikel Dufrenne et qu'il formulait ainsi: "Au vrai, dit-il, la sociologie [on pourrait aussi dire l'anthropologie] est partagée entre ces deux tendances dont l'une vise à déshumaniser le social pour le saisir dans sa spécificité et le soumettre à une physique sociale, et l'autre à réintroduire l'humain dans le social, pour le saisir comme vécu" (Dufrenne: 27). D'un certain point de vue, on a pu penser que cette différence s'était cristallisée entre sociologie et anthropologie, entre la discipline qui axe ses études sur la société et celle qui les centre sur la culture, mais il n'en est rien. La ligne de partage se fait plutôt entre l'étude d'une certaine objectivité et celle d'une certaine subjectivité, entre l'étude de la réalité comme elle apparaît à l'observateur et l'étude de la réalité comme vécue par une collectivité et codifiée par l'observateur. On pourrait peut-être même affirmer que la ligne de démarcation passe entre ceux qui, d'une part, emploient le concept durkheimien de "représentations collectives" — ou tout autre concept équivalent — et, d'autre part, les anthropologues qui envisagent la culture comme un construit analytique et les sociologues qui étudient les aspects formels des structures et des systèmes sociaux. Ces deux

points de vue sont complémentaires et ne s'excluent pas, loin de là. Nous essaierons de montrer que chez Durkheim ils coexistent dans la même perspective et que, celui qui voulait traiter les faits sociaux comme des choses, a aussi créé les concepts de représentations et de conscience collectives qui servent de pivot aux études qui veulent saisir le social comme vécu. L'étude des visions du monde est résolument tournée vers cette perspective.

Depuis quelque temps, on note une convergence de préoccupations, de points de vue et même de conceptualisation dans plusieurs secteurs des sciences de l'homme et dans certaines philosophies: on s'intéresse aux sociétés globales, à l'homme total, aux faits sociaux totaux, à la signification, à l'intentionnalité, toutes notions qui concourent à l'élaboration d'une anthropologie compréhensive. Les remarques qui suivent ne veulent qu'essayer de cerner une notion, celle de vision du monde, qu'anthropologues et philosophes emploient pour désigner un phénomène qui dévoilerait une certaine totalité, une certaine unité de la société et qui serait à la charnière de l'objectivité et de la subjectivité. Commentant les travaux de Mauss et de Lévi-Strauss, Merleau-Ponty écrit: "Il importe de ne jamais couper la recherche sociologique de notre expérience de sujets sociaux( qui comprend, bien entendu, non seulement ce que nous avons éprouvé pour notre compte, mais encore les conduites que nous percevons à travers les gestes, les récits ou les écrits des autres hommes), puisque les équations du sociologue ne commencent de représenter du social qu'au moment où les corrélations qu'elles résument sont raccordées l'une à l'autre et enveloppées dans une certaine vue unique du social et de la nature propre à la société considérée, et devenue en elle, même si elle est assez différente des conceptions officielles qui y ont cours, institutions, principe clandestin de tout le fonctionnement manifeste" (Merleau-Ponty: 127). Ces expressions "...certaine vue unique du social et de la nature... devenue principe clandestin de tout le fonctionnement manifeste" forment très heureusement l'une des préoccupations majeures de l'anthropologie contemporaine. Clyde Kluckhohn dont les travaux font figure de pionniers dans ce domaine écrit: "L'étude que les anthropologues font de la culture a changé, elle est passée de l'étude des "artifacts" et des coutumes directement observables

à celle des concepts et des prémisses caractéristiques de chaque culture. Ces caractères sont censés constituer un système de plus petits dénominateurs communs à l'intérieur d'une culture et dont les éléments observables sont les expressions. Il est ainsi possible d'isoler des éléments d'analyse plus fondamentaux et par conséquent plus stables. De tels éléments font montre d'une remarquable stabilité malgré que la population entière de ceux qui les manifestent soit remplacée à quelques décennies d'intervalle" (Kluckhohn, 1956). Kluckhohn et ses collègues comparent ces phénomènes culturels aux phénomènes biologiques: au complexe génétique qui détermine la structure et les fonctions de l'organisme correspond ce qu'ils appellent le génotype culturel, la culture implicite — clandestine pour employer le mot de Merleau-Ponty — c'est-à-dire la structure culturelle. Un dernier exemple nous suffira pour indiquer la convergence des points de vue. Dans un récent article, Granai et Idart discutent d'une enquête qu'ils ont faite dans un village français et où la connaissance approfondie des objets culturels ne leur apprenait rien de la communauté. De démarche en démarche, ils en sont arrivés à se rendre compte que *sujets* et *objets* devaient être appréhendés par une expérience médiate les uns des autres. "Et paradoxalement, écrivent-ils, cette expérience médiate, parce qu'elle est dialectique se révèle plus authentique que l'expérience immédiate: en effet, référés aux produits ou objets qui les concernent, les *sujets* y sont connus comme sujets, affrontés dialectiquement à leur monde, alors que la psychologie sociale ne peut que les *objectiver* pour les étudier; de même les produits ou objets sont connus dans leur rapport au *sujet* qui les *conceptualise*" (Granai: 160). Dans les sciences de l'homme il y a un double dialectique qui va des sujets aux objets et de ceux-ci à ceux-là: et c'est de ce double mouvement que l'enquêteur doit tenir compte. Comme le dit Theilhard de Charin en parlant de l'observateur et de son objet: "Objet et sujet s'épousent et se transforment dans l'acte de connaissance" (Theilhard: 49). Dans les sciences humaines, cette transformation se fait non seulement entre l'observateur et l'objet mais aussi entre les sujets et les objets que l'enquêteur étudie.

L'étude des visions du monde s'insère dans le courant de recherches les plus contemporaines, non seulement parce qu'elles

sont situées à la charnière de la subjectivité et de l'objectivité mais encore parce qu'elles font appel aux notions de culture globale, de totalité, de mécanisme de totalisation. C'est au sujet de la totalité que l'opposition entre les deux courants de la sociologie et de l'anthropologie, dont il a été question plus haut, devient la plus évidente; les "objectifs" voient la totalité comme une impossibilité tandis que les "subjectifs" la recherchent. C'est ainsi, par exemple, que Granai et Idart, dans l'article déjà cité, sont à la recherche d'une méthode "susceptible de nous livrer l'unité et la totalité concrète du vivant..."; ils veulent "introduire dans un ensemble concret de *faits correctement observés* l'unité susceptible de nous livrer l'accès d'un groupe "comme totalité". On connaît, par ailleurs, l'extrême fortune dans la sociologie et l'anthropologie de l'expression de Mauss, *faits sociaux totaux*, expression reprise par Gurvitch et Lévi-Strauss. Nous nous abstenons d'élucider ici ce que ces auteurs entendent par cette totalité qu'ils recherchent; tout ce que nous voulons indiquer c'est qu'ils admettent qu'on puisse y parvenir. Il faudrait indiquer que Marx et ses commentateurs font aussi une grande consommation du concept de totalité.

D'autre part, il est une autre tradition anthropologique qui refuse la totalité. En commentaire à un article de J.N. Eisensdadt, qui porte surtout des œuvres d'anthropologues sociaux britanniques, J.H.M. Beattie critique "l'assertion de Eisensdadt à savoir que la plupart des études anthropologiques modernes expliquent les schémas du comportement social à partir d'une analyse des sociétés totales..., ce que les anthropologues sociaux analysent dit Beattie, ce sont des institutions sociales et ils essaient de démontrer qu'il existe des relations fonctionnelles entre ces institutions. Ce qu'ils ne peuvent pas faire c'est de les relier à une entité qui serait la société "totale" parce qu'il n'existe pas de pareille entité... C'est l'erreur globaliste qui veut que les sociétés peuvent, d'une façon ou d'une autre, être appréhendées comme totalités et qu'une telle appréhension soit un outil analytique valable" (Eisensdadt: 219). Après avoir lu les remarques de Beattie, Eisensdadt fait amende honorable: "Je suis d'accord avec Beattie pour déclarer qu'une société totale ne peut jamais constituer un objet légitime d'analyse" (Eisensdadt: 220). Or, comme l'étude des visions du monde et le concept de vision du

monde font appel à l'idée de totalité, nous nous proposons d'examiner plus en détail le concept de vision du monde; nous nous demanderons quelle totalité il vise et s'il est possible de concilier cette totalité et les objections que certains font à ce concept.

Bien que la notion et l'étude des visions du monde soient relativement récentes en sociologie et en anthropologie, quelques auteurs — philosophes surtout — ont déjà écrit à ce sujet-là. Il est bien évident que dans toute la tradition philosophique de Hegel, l'idéalisme, qui vise à expliquer la société par son Geist, son esprit, nous rencontrons les mêmes préoccupations. Plus particulièrement, quand on parle de vision du monde, on ne peut pas ne pas penser au terme de "Weltanschauung" auquel Dilthey a plus spécialement attaché son nom. Selon H.H. Hodges, un spécialiste de Dilthey, une "Weltanschauung" se compose de trois éléments structurellement liés; le premier se compose des croyances au sujet de la nature et du monde empirique; le deuxième élément, bâti à partir du premier est un système de goûts et de dégoûts exprimés sous forme de jugements de valeur; le troisième, résultant des deux autres, est un ensemble de désirs et d'aversion, d'obligations, de fins, de règles pratiques et de principes. D'après Hodges, la notion de "Weltanschauung" s'applique à l'individu. Sombart, de son côté, définit ainsi cette notion: "...la totalité de nos interprétations du monde et de notre vie dans ce monde, aussi bien que la totalité des valeurs par lesquelles nous vivons" (Sombart: VIII). On peut retenir que pour ces philosophes la notion de vision du monde fait appel à l'idée de totalité et de structures des significations.

D'autre part, chez Marx et les marxistes, on note tout de suite une ambiguïté quand il s'agit de vision du monde. Le marxisme, se donnant lui-même comme un système complet d'explication du monde, se propose lui-même comme vision du monde dans sa partie philosophique et comme technique d'analyse des visions du monde dans sa partie sociologique. Le normatif et l'empirique sont toujours inextricablement liés chez Marx. "Doctrine totale, Weltanschauung, c'est-à-dire conception ou mieux intuition du monde, le marxisme a été longtemps l'objet d'analyses partielles condamnées à ne pas en saisir l'essence" (Fougeyrollas: 10). Lukacs et Goldman ont utilisé l'expression de vision du



monde dans leurs analyses des œuvres de Goethe, de Mann, de Pascal et de Racine, par exemple. Il s'agit essentiellement chez ces auteurs marxistes d'un problème de sociologie de la connaissance, c'est-à-dire de l'étude des déterminants existentiels du savoir. Lukacs et Goldman partent de la thèse de Marx à savoir que ce n'est pas la conscience de l'homme qui détermine sa manière d'être et que c'est sa manière d'être sociale qui détermine sa conscience. La sociologie de la connaissance étudie l'influence de la position structurelle des individus dans la société sur leur savoir, sur ce que ces auteurs appellent leur vision du monde. Dans le système marxiste, l'élément structurel privilégié est évidemment la classe sociale; ici, l'appartenance à une classe sociale détermine la vision du monde, entendue au sens général de connaissance. "Depuis la fin de l'antiquité et jusqu'à nos jours, écrit Lucien Goldman, *les classes sociales constituent les infrastructures des visions du monde...* ce qui signifie: "...Que chaque fois qu'il s'est agi de trouver l'infrastructure d'une philosophie, d'un courant littéraire, nous sommes arrivés, non pas à une génération, nation ou Eglise, à une profession ou à tout autre groupe social, mais à une classe sociale et à ses relations avec la société..." (Goldman: 102). En plus de se rattacher plus directement à la sociologie — qui n'est d'ailleurs pas sans relations avec l'étude anthropologique des visions du monde — les travaux des auteurs marxistes s'attachent exclusivement à l'étude de la culture intellectuelle et artistique; c'est dire que leurs analyses veulent déterminer en quoi les œuvres dont ils s'occupent sont conditionnées par la position de leurs auteurs dans la structure sociale de la société dont ils font partie. Nous verrons que la notion anthropologique de vision du monde est plus restreinte en ce qu'elle n'englobe pas tout le savoir mais certaines prémisses, certains postulats qui conditionnent ce savoir; de plus, la notion de culture (une culture historique) est plus centrale en anthropologie que celle de classe sociale.

Parmi les philosophes contemporains, Feibleman est probablement celui qui s'est intéressé le plus aux problèmes de la culture et des valeurs; certains de ses concepts, plus particulièrement celui d'"ontologie implicite dominante" se rapprochent de ceux que l'anthropologie culturelle a élaborés. Pour lui, l'ontologie implicite dominante est la croyance subconsciente de la majorité

des membres d'un groupe social au sujet de la nature ultime de la réalité; c'est leur philosophie, plus particulièrement leur ontologie, dont ils ne sont que partiellement conscients... on peut aussi dire que l'ontologie implicite dominante constitue un ensemble plus ou moins cohérent de prémisses logiques au sujet de la nature ultime des choses...; les croyances, les outils et les pratiques qui en découlent constituent la culture (Feibleman: ). "La philosophie dominante d'un peuple est ce qui le différencie des autres. Ce que les peuples prennent pour acquis et ce dont ils ne prennent pas la peine d'explicitier est ce qui les détermine de la façon la plus inexorable; c'est ce qui colore leurs pensées, leurs sentiments et leurs actions et qui leur fait choisir des fins sociales subsidiaires. L'ontologie implicite dominante est sans doute l'élément le plus puissant qui existe à l'échelle sociale" (Feibleman: 82). Spengler, Unamuno et Whitehead émettent certaines idées qui se rapprochent de celles de Feibleman sans être aussi explicites que sa conception.

Selon Bidney, la thèse fondamentale exprimée par Northrop dans *The Logic of the Sciences and Humanities*, c'est que la philosophie de la science naturelle, qui est présupposée par les adhérents d'une culture, détermine en grande partie le caractère particulier de leur idéologie culturelle et de ses manifestations pratiques et empiriques" (Bidney, 1953: 170). Dans un autre essai, Northrop émet à peu près la même idée: "En bref, la cohérence interne, d'une société peut être déterminé objectivement quand les anthropologues et les sociologues ne se contenteront pas d'observer sur le terrain autant de faits que possible mais qu'ils découvriront la philosophie dont se servent les individus de la culture à l'étude pour conceptualiser ces faits" (Northrop: 696). Bidney lui-même dans le volume qu'il a consacré à l'anthropologie théorique, écrit: "Une des tâches importantes de celui qui étudie la méta-anthropologie, c'est de trouver les postulats fondamentaux concernant la nature du monde et de l'homme qui ont cours dans un système culturel donné" (Bidney, 1953: 168). Depuis quelque temps, ce problème a cessé d'en être un de méta-anthropologie pour devenir tout simplement un des centres d'intérêt de l'anthropologie.

On peut relier à Sapir et à Benedict les études contempo-

raines sur les visions du monde. Pour Sapir, les cultures qui sont décrites minutieusement dans les monographies d'anthropologie ne sont pas entièrement des phénomènes objectifs: elles sont plutôt des configurations d'idées et des modèles d'action qui prennent une infinité de significations différentes pour les individus. Sapir voulut réintroduire les individus dans la culture; l'école super-organique de Kroeber et de Boas en voulant considérer la culture comme un tout impersonnel, qu'on pouvait étudier en lui-même sans référence aux individus, s'était coupée d'un des pôles d'interprétation: les individus, porteurs de cette culture.

Benedict devait reprendre l'idée de configuration émise par Sapir: elle se range avec Malinowski pour critiquer les écoles préfonctionnalistes dont les travaux sont "comme des dissections post-mortem d'organismes que l'on ferait mieux d'étudier en plein fonctionnement vital" (Benedict: 61). Mais elle veut dépasser le point de vue fonctionnaliste de Malinowski, qui, selon elle, se contente de mettre l'accent sur des traits qui trouvent un contexte vivant dans la lecture dont ils sont une part, et au fonctionnement de laquelle ils contribuent". Pour sa part, elle veut étudier la culture comme un tout, comme une configuration et dépasser ainsi l'étude des parties de ce tout. Benedict croit que toute la culture s'organise autour d'un foyer dominant qui rend compte de l'unité de la culture. L'unité culturelle la plus significative n'est ni le trait culturel, ni l'institution mais la configuration culturelle.

L'influence de Benedict et de Sapir sur les travaux de "personnalité et culture" fut immense; on peut leur rattacher les études de Mead sur le caractère national, d'Opler sur les thèmes culturels et de Kluckhohn sur les visions du monde. Ces concepts, et les travaux qui en découlent, se recoupent et il y aurait lieu de se demander en quoi ils diffèrent les uns des autres et en quoi ils contribuent à l'élaboration d'un point de vue commun sur la réalité socio-culturelle. Nous ne voulons ici n'examiner qu'une des pistes que les études de Sapir et de Benedict ont contribué à ouvrir: celles de Kluckhohn et de ses disciples. Dans un texte plus ancien, il reprend l'expression même de configuration qu'avait employée ses devanciers: "La configuration culturelle, écrit-il, peut se définir comme un principe de la culture implicite

(covert) — soit une façon de faire une variété de choses (un moyen) ou une fin (un but défini culturellement). Comme les configurations font partie de la culture implicite, elles sont des prémisses non-énoncées. On est tenté de dire que les configurations sont des principes culturels dont la plupart des membres d'une société ne sont pas conscients, d'une façon systématique et continue..." (Kluckhohn, 1943: 218). Plus récemment, Kluckhohn s'est arrêté au concept d'orientations aux valeurs qu'il définit ainsi: "Il est convenable d'employer le terme d' "orientation aux valeurs" pour caractériser ces notions de valeur — qui sont a) générales, b) organisées et c) incluent des jugements existentiels. Une orientation aux valeurs et un réseau de propositions qui comprennent à la fois des éléments existentiels et de valeur" (Kluckhohn, 1951: 409) Talcott Parsons adopte à peu près le même point de vue; Bourricaud écrit: "C'est un ensemble de normes, standards et critères de sélection qui orientent les acteurs vers un commun système de valeurs que plus brièvement M. Parsons appelle "orientations aux valeurs" (Parsons: 18) Laura Thompson de son côté, parle de valeurs fondamentales (core values) qu'elle définit ainsi: "...les valeurs fondamentales sont des postulats de base ou encore des conceptions d'une culture au sujet des problèmes-clés de la vie, c'est-à-dire, de la nature, de l'univers, de l'homme, des animaux, des plantes et de leurs relations entre eux" (Thompson: 73). Hoebel, d'autre part, distingue nettement entre deux sortes de postulats, existentiels et normatifs, dont la combinaison constitue la vision du monde d'une culture. "La sélection des coutumes qui concurent à former une culture n'est jamais faite au hasard. La sélection se fait dans le cadre d'un ensemble de postulats quant à la nature de l'existence, appelés postulats existentiels. Il existe aussi des postulats qui indiquent quelles choses et quels actes sont bons et doivent être valorisés et quels autres sont mauvais et doivent être évités. Ces postulats normatifs et existentiels sont des points de repère qui affectent la vision des choses et qui orientent les individus envers le monde et leurs semblables. Ces postulats fondamentaux sont le cadre de la Weltanschannung d'un peuple ou de sa vision du monde" (Hoebel: 158-159) Hoebel énumère les postulats fondamentaux des Ifugao et des Ascanti; il dénombre seize postulats fondamentaux et treize corrolaires chez ceux-ci et six postulats

et seize corrolaires. Il est difficile de déceler le principe de classification de ces postulats puisqu'ils ne portent pas sur les mêmes aspects de la culture; le niveau de généralité de ces postulats n'est pas le même dans les deux cultures ni pour tous les postulats. De là l'importance d'une théorie et d'une technique qui permettront des études trans-culturelles.

Dans un article très documenté sur le système de valeurs des Navaho, Ethel M. Albert parle de "prémises aux valeurs" qu'elle définit ainsi: "Les prémisses sont définies comme les conceptions les plus générales, des modalités, des moyens et des fins désirables et indésirables de l'action; elles incluent la place des humains dans l'économie du monde — la signification et la direction de l'histoire, les croyances au sujet de la signification de la vie et de la nature du bonheur, les conceptions au sujet de la valeur morale — des définitions du bon et du mauvais, du juste et de l'injuste, en un mot, les premiers principes de sa conduite... Ces prémisses aux valeurs, étant la base d'un système de valeurs sont des énoncés existentiels qui définissent ce que sont les valeurs, où elles se trouvent et postulent des valeurs ultimes. Les prémisses incluent aussi des orientations aux valeurs, c'est-à-dire des énoncés qui incluent des éléments normatifs et existentiels" (Albert: 225).

C'est à Clyde Kluckhohn et à son groupe de l'Université Harvard que revient le mérite d'avoir les premiers étudié sur le terrain tous ces problèmes et mis à l'épreuve les hypothèses élaborées en laboratoire. Dans un récent volume dont la matière première a été recueillie dans le cadre du projet de Harvard, Otto Von Mering discute des phénomènes dont il a été question jusqu'ici et qu'il appelle valeurs existentielles. Selon lui, le processus d'évaluation, donc la valeur, est strictement du domaine de l'individu. La société ne peut offrir que des possibilités et des probabilités de valeur. "Une valeur probable est une valeur possible qui a de fortes chances d'apparaître dans la conduite et les énoncés normatifs d'un individu" (Von Mering: 73). Selon Von Mering, toute action a tendance à se dérouler dans le cadre de trois sphères de l'expérience humaine: 1) les valeurs existentielles (culturelles ou universelles); 2) les valeurs normative et 3) les valeurs idiosyncratiques ou projectives. Les

valeurs existentielles, ou "prémisses aux valeurs" comme Albert les appelle, "ne se rapportent pas directement à l'action mais établissent la validité possible des jugements qui ont trait aux choses et aux événements qui existent... Ces valeurs, dit-il, définissent la nature et les propriétés essentielles de l'homme et de l'univers, la place de l'homme dans l'univers et la relation de l'homme et de l'univers. Ces prérequis existentiels minimaux ou postulats ont tendance à être systématisés plus ou moins explicitement dans la théologie, la cosmologie, la philosophie politique, la science et la mythologie" (Von Mering: 75). Il ajoute: "Comme telles, ces valeurs peuvent et souvent représentent la quintessence des aspirations humaines ou de l'idéal qui dominent l'enseignement des délégués culturels, les parents et instituteurs, le clergé, les hommes de science et d'autres, mais ils ne sont que rarement perceptibles dans la vie de tous les jours" (Von Mering: 76). On pourrait mettre en relief l'autre facette de l'action de ces prémisses: étant diffuses dans toute la culture, les délégués culturels les incorporent dans leur vision du monde; ensuite ils les rediffusent dans la culture par leur enseignement et leur exemple. Il y a, semble-t-il, un double mouvement qui va de la culture aux porte-parole de cette culture, et des porte-parole à la culture.

Une autre tentative pour cerner ce problème des visions du monde, c'est celle de Charles Morris et plus spécialement les résultats d'une vaste enquête qu'il a publié dans "Varieties of Human Value". Morris a construit treize façons idéales de vivre d'après les valeurs qui sont privilégiées dans chacune; d'après lui, ces "façons de vivre" (ways of life) sont des fragments ou aspects de ce qu'on a appelé "visions du monde", "philosophie de la vie" ou "orientations aux valeurs". Les enquêtes se sont surtout adressées aux étudiants d'université de quelques pays, notamment des Etats-Unis, de la Chine et de l'Inde. Non seulement s'est-il intéressé aux différences entre les cultures, mais aux différences intra-culturelles: sexe, somatotype, tempérament, statut économique et densité écologique. Le résultat de ces analyses prouvent "que les différences entre les cultures étudiées ont tendance à être plus importantes que les variations à l'intérieur des cultures" (Morris: 186). Comme dénominateur commun, on peut dire que ces définitions postulent l'existence dans toute société

d'un certain nombre de jugements — dont le contenu varie avec les définitions qui influent sur le système de valeur et la conduite des individus. Dans la terminologie de Durkheim, on peut dire que ces prémisses, ces postulats sont des *représentations collectives*, c'est-à-dire, des catégories, des idées, des sentiments qui sont transmis de génération en génération et qui influent sur le comportement des individus. Le concept même de "représentations collectives" ne présente pas de difficulté puisque la plupart des auteurs y voient un persque équivalent du concept de culture que l'anthropologie américaine a développé. Kroeber et Kluckhohn vont plus loin que la plupart des anthropologues en suggérant que "culture" et "conscience collective" s'équivalent presque. "A un degré considérable (bien qu'incomplètement), le concept anthropologique de culture, celui de superego psychanalytique et en vérité celui de *conscience collective* de Durkheim sont construits à partir des mêmes matériaux et possèdent plusieurs implications théoriques qui se chevauchent" (Kroeber: 114).

Cette interprétation est assez unique chez les anthropologues puisque si la plupart acceptent le concept de "représentations collectives" ils rejettent celui de "conscience collective". La raison de ce rejet, c'est que la plupart ont vu entre représentations et conscience collectives une relation de sujet à objet, alors que chez Durkheim il ne s'agit que d'un seul processus où les deux sont unis. Dans un volume collectif consacré à Durkheim, l'anthropologue britannique Paul Bohannan suggère l'interprétation suivante de deux concepts que Durkheim a employés: selon lui, pour l'auteur des *Formes élémentaires de la vie religieuse*, une représentation collective n'est pas seulement une chose perçue (apprise consciemment ou qui s'imprègne inconsciemment dans les individus) mais un agent conscient ou inconscient qui perçoit la réalité. Durkheim aurait donc uni dans un même processus, percevant et perçu, et pour lui, c'est cette liaison qui rend compte de la spécificité des représentations collectives. D'ailleurs, Durkheim a conservé au mot conscience les multiples sens qu'il possède dans la langue philosophique et courante. Lalande dans son *Vocabulaire* (Lalande: 167-168) énumère quatre sens à ce mot: a) intuition qu'a l'esprit de ses états et de ses actes; c'est le *consciousness* anglais b) sanctions intériorisées; c'est la conscience morale des philosophes, le surmoi des psychanalistes c) ce que

saisit la conscience; "l'ensemble des faits psychologiques appartenant à un individu ou à un ensemble d'individus en tant qu'ils ont un caractère commun". d) un être conscient. Bohannan appuie sur le fait que Durkheim a toujours lié les sens c et d, c'est-à-dire le perçu et le percevant qu'il envisage comme un processus unique. Cette interprétation est confirmée par Paul Fauconnet qui note dans le Lalande: "Durkheim a employé l'expression "conscience collective" pour désigner deux faits: 1 - que des représentations et des sentiments sont élaborés en commun, et par suite, différent des états qu'élabore une conscience isolée; par suite aussi, sont en quelque mesure extérieurs à chacune de ces consciences individuelles prises isolément. C'est ici la conscience, en tant que sujet conscient, qui est dite collective... (donc le percevant) 2 - que, par leur objet, ces représentations et sentiments peuvent également être collectifs lorsque c'est le groupe lui-même ou ce qui se passe en lui qui est confusément perçu... [donc le perçu]. Et c'est ce qui fait la richesse de Durkheim qui s'intéressait, au-delà, des problèmes de structure sociale (liaison des individus entre eux) et de culture (idées, sentiments, modèles qui influent sur le comportement des individus), au problème de la connaissance. Et dans ce processus qu'il étudie, c'est la perception qui l'intéresse, c'est-à-dire la relation entre percevants (individus) et perçu (culture). Les successeurs de Durkheim ont eu tendance à dissocier les deux; les sociologues se sont occupés des percevants (structure sociale) et les anthropologues du perçu (culture). Les deux disciplines restaient objectives. Or la liaison des deux, ré-introduit la subjectivité et un espèce de totalité que les études dites "objectives" laissent échapper. C'est le mode de perception qui établit la spécificité du socio-culturel. "La perception, dit Bohannan, si l'on me permet de paraphraser ce que je crois être la position ultime de Durkheim là-dessus, peut-être de deux sortes: la relation entre la conscience (consciousness) et la chose perçue et la relation du subconscient et les catégories qui y sont imprégnées..." Il ajoute: "Pour les fins de la communication, la perception se divise en "représentations". Les représentations sont des images (communicables) qui sont dans l'esprit ou bien des catégories (linguistiques et dans ce sens communicables) dont l'esprit se sert pour classer les choses. Les représentations renvoient soit aux objets matériels ou à des



catégories d'objets matériels d'une part et aux prévisions du comportement, d'autre part. Les représentations sont, pourrait-on dire, un reflet de la culture: c'est la culture en tant que perçue en images et catégories communicables" (Bohannan: 81). La conscience collective, c'est donc la totalité des représentations dont la structure équivaldrait à ce que certains anthropologues appellent le "style" d'une culture. Cette interprétation de la conscience collective permet d'asseoir théoriquement la perspective dialectique des *sujets* et des *objets* dont parlent Granai et Idiart.

Depuis un certain nombre d'années, des anthropologues se sont intéressés au problème de refaire le lien entre ce que les continuateurs immédiats de Durkheim avaient dissocié: la culture (le perçu) et la personnalité (le percevant), ce qui donna lieu aux études connues sous le nom de "culture et personnalité". Le postulat de toutes ces études c'est que la culture influence la personnalité, entendant donc que deux phénomènes distincts et sui generis entrent en contact et que le phénomène A (culture) agit sur le phénomène B (personnalité). Certains auteurs ont été amenés à adopter une position qu'on désigne quelquefois sous le nom de "réalisme culturel" et qui veut que la culture soit extérieure aux individus, qu'elle constitue l'héritage d'une société et un ordre propre, le supraorganique. Cette culture réifiée peut agir sur la personnalité qu'on définit en termes purement psychologiques, Linton par exemple, définit ainsi la personnalité: "L'aggrégat organisé des processus psychologiques et des états qui caractérisent un individu" (Linton: 84). D'autres soutiennent que la culture consiste en modèles et normes qui constituent un des déterminants du comportement; la culture, pour les tenants de l'idéalisme, n'est pas extérieure aux individus mais est partie de l'organisme: elle existe comme idée dans l'esprit humain. Les idéalistes ont tendance à définir tout autrement le phénomène personnalité, et soulignent son caractère socio-culturel. Mark A. May la définit ainsi: "La personnalité est la valeur du stimulus social de l'individu" (...is the social stimulus value of the individual) (May: 298). Bidney, par exemple, dont la définition de la culture tend vers le pôle idéaliste donne la définition suivante de la personnalité: "Une personnalité est un unité (pattern) psycho-culturel d'action et de réaction, explicite ou implicite, typique ou caractéristique d'un individu (ou d'une organisation

d'individus) dans l'accomplissement de son rôle socio-culturel à un stade donné de son développement" (Bidney, 1949: 49). Il ajoute que la personnalité est un attribut de la personne qu'il définit ainsi: "On peut définir une personne comme le sujet ou l'agent d'interaction psycho-culturelle reconnu socialement". Bidney revient à la conception de Durkheim exprimée dans un article sur le dualisme de la nature humaine selon laquelle dans tout individu il y a deux ego: l'ego psychobiologique qui le relie à la nature et l'ego socioculturel qui le relie à une société et à un système culturel" (Durkheim: 206). On arrive ainsi si nous suivons le idéalistes, à rapprocher les deux notions de personnalité et de culture; si la culture se compose d'idées et si ces idées constituent la personnalité on est bien près de la conception de Durkheim. Sur la conscience et les représentations collectives, son disciple Bouglé note justement en défendant Durkheim de l'accusation de matérialisme qu'a fait peser sur lui son invitation à traiter les faits sociaux "comme des choses": "Durkheim est au contraire un de ceux qui insistent le plus sur ce fait que la société est "avant tout un ensemble d'idées". Il dira lui-même que la sociologie doit porter son attention non pas seulement sur des formes matérielles mais sur des états psychiques et parce qu'elle est au total une étude de l'opinion. C'est par leurs consciences que les hommes sont liés. Les croyances collectives sont le nœud vital de toute société" (Durkheim, 1951: 14).

Dans le même ordre d'idées, Spiro a publié, il y a quelques années, un long essai soutenant que culture et personnalité présentent une fausse dichotomie: "Le développement de la personnalité et l'acquisition de la culture ne sont pas deux processus différents mais sont un même processus, celui du "learning"; et la structuralisation de la culture et celle de la personnalité ne sont pas des processus différents mais constituent un seul et même processus, celui de l'intégration" (Spiro: 42).

La culture, au sens idéaliste, n'est donc pas seulement l'héritage social envisagé en dehors des individus comme quelque chose de figé, de statique mais comme une réalité transmise, appréhendée, conçue, vécue, agie par un groupe d'individus; ce sont les représentations collectives telles que perçues par des individus. Une société, c'est donc avant tout une conscience. C'est bien

ainsi que l'entendent les grands théoriciens des sciences de l'homme. "Ainsi, dit Parsons, Durkheim parvenait avec Freud et G.H. Mead à cette proposition que nous tenons pour fondamentale: les normes et les valeurs qui définissent l'ensemble des relations en quoi consiste la société, sont intériorisées, et de ce second point de vue fournissent aux membres de la dite société la structure de leur personnalité. En généralisant cette vue, il était conduit à soutenir que la société est une conscience. Cette découverte fournit selon moi une solide base à toute recherche sociologique et psychologique" (Parsons: 5).

Il nous reste à traiter de cette notion de totalité que les tenants d'une certaine anthropologie, qu'elle s'inspire de Mauss ou de Marx, croient atteindre et étudier. Ceux qui s'opposent avec le plus d'acharnement aux notions de totalité, de conscience collective dérivent surtout leurs arguments du grand philosophe des sciences, Karl Popper. Il écrit à ce sujet: "De même la théorie bien connue de l'existence d'une *conscience collective* ou d'une âme collective, en tant qu'elles portent des *traditions*, bien qu'elle ne soit pas nécessairement un élément de l'argument historiciste est étroitement lié à la conception totaliste" (Popper: 17). Derrière cette critique de Popper, il y a une position méthodologique dite individualiste et qui combat une autre position qualifiée par Popper de totalisme méthodologique et que Léon Goldstein explique ainsi: "Il existe... une thèse méthodologique classée sous la rubrique "individualisme méthodologique" qui soutient que dans les sciences sociales toute explication doit être individualiste. Ce qui veut dire que souvent nous sommes obligés de reculer l'explication pas à pas jusqu'à ce que les explications sociologiques se soient transformées en explications psychologiques" (Goldstein: 6). A défaut d'accepter cette explication individualiste, les sociologues sont acculés à une espèce d'ontologisme, c'est-à-dire à la création d'êtres de raison qui seraient envisagés comme des causes réelles ou à la création d'agents non-humains dans l'histoire. Ce n'est pas à la deuxième objection que Durkheim serait vulnérable mais bien à la première. D'après Goldstein, la position de Durkheim n'a nullement besoin des entités dont l'existence est postulée par le totalisme méthodologique de Popper pour se justifier. On présume, dit-il, que dans la théorie de Durkheim, les sentiments, valeurs, modes de représentations

émergent des expériences que les hommes partagent; et l'homme n'est pas envisagé comme s'il était aux prises avec quelque étrange et monstrueux être dont le développement déterminerait le cours de l'histoire". La totalité dont il est question dans l'étude des visions du monde, quand nous disons que cette optique vise à dévoiler une certaine totalité, est celle qu'appréhendent les individus. "Le fait social total, dit Lévi-Strauss, en commentant Mauss, se présente donc avec un caractère tridimensionnel. Il doit faire coïncider la dimension proprement sociologique avec ses multiples aspects synchroniques; la dimension historique, ou diachronique; et enfin la dimension physio-psychologique. Or, c'est seulement chez les individus que ce triple rapprochement peut prendre place. Si l'on s'attache à cette "étude du concret qui est du complet" on doit nécessairement s'apercevoir que ce qui est vrai, ce n'est pas la prière ou le droit, mais le Mélamésien de telle ou telle île, Rome, Athènes" (Lévi-Strauss: 25). La totalité que vise l'étude des visions du monde, étant subjective, ne donne pas prise à cette objection-ci de Popper: "...il serait toujours facile de signaler des aspects qui ont été négligés, aspects qui peuvent être importants dans tel ou tel contexte" (Popper: 81). Ce qui importe justement de connaître c'est la façon dont les individus de telle ou telle société appréhendent ce tout et quels sont justement les éléments qu'ils privilégient. Un élément qui peut apparaître à l'observateur comme important, peut être absolument négligé par les individus de telle ou telle société. C'est cette perspective, cette dialectique entre les sujets et les objets qui rendra compte de la spécificité locale du socio-culturel. "Ici, totalité et individualité vont de pair, et l'on pourrait presque dire que penser la totalité est un moyen de penser l'unicité... ce propos invite à penser la culture, mieux que *par* une personnalité, une certaine unité de la société. Poursuivons l'analyse de la critique de Popper: "Il y a une ambiguïté fondamentale dans l'usage que fait du mot "tout" la littérature totaliste récente. On l'emploie pour dénoter a) la totalité des propriétés et des aspects d'une chose et spécialement des relations que soutiennent ses parties constituantes et, b) certaines propriétés spéciales ou aspects de la chose en question, à savoir celles qui la font apparaître comme une structure organisée plutôt que comme un "simple amas" Popper rejette le totalisme au sens (a) et l'accepte au sens (b).

Il semble bien que le sens (a) de Popper s'applique au postulat fonctionnaliste de l'unité fonctionnelle de la société. On se reportera à ce sujet aux commentaires de Merton là-dessus (Merton: 25-30). La totalité dont il est question ici est d'une autre nature et en un certain sens se rapprocherait plutôt du (b) de Popper en ceci qu'elle est subjective; mais c'est une totalité appréhendée et non perçue (par les sens, comme dans la Gestalt). C'est une totalité appréhendée par la personnalité et non par la personne, comme dans la Gestalt. En somme c'est une vue totalisante de la nature, de la société et de la culture que les individus vivent. Il y aurait peut-être lieu de reprendre la distinction de Spiro sur la culture envisagée comme héritage social et la culture envisagée comme hérédité sociale. L'héritage social c'est la culture, au sens des réalistes, qui existe et peut-être étudiée en dehors des individus; l'hérédité sociale c'est l'héritage social tel qu'intériorisé et vécu par les individus. Or, cette totalité peut-être étudiée comme une personnalité (Dufreme: 27). On rejoint ici la thèse de Durkheim et Spiro sur la culture et la personnalité, sur la solidarité du percevant et du perçu.

On peut se demander si cette résistance de certains auteurs anglo-américains envers le concept de totalité ne serait pas plus simplement culturelle, c'est-à-dire qu'ultimement elle dériverait non d'une espèce d'individualisme philosophique mais d'une valeur existentielle, pour employer l'expression de Von Mering, qui privilégierait l'individu et qui donnerait naissance dans d'autres domaines, à l'individualisme social et économique. Réduite à sa plus simple expression, l'opposition entre Popper et ses disciples anglo-américains d'une part et les marxistes et les sociologues et anthropologues "totalistes" pourrait se résumer ainsi: pour les premiers, les tous qu'on veut étudier sont construits à partir de l'analyse des parties individuelles; pour les autres, il faut d'abord connaître les tous, telle forme de société, telle classe sociale, tel groupe; ce n'est qu'à partir de la connaissance du tout qu'on peut connaître les individus qui en font partie, non pas comme des entités abstraites détachées, mais comme des éléments qui manifestent les propriétés des systèmes sociaux concrets. Chez les spécialistes anglo-américains la société globale est toujours curieusement absente; pour les totalistes, société globale et cul-

ture globale sont deux concepts complémentaires. Selon Nicolai "la société globale est, sommairement décrite, le minimum de groupe humain nécessaire à l'actualisation de l'ensemble cohérent des rapports sociaux (et des comportements) spécifiques d'un système social total" (Nicolai: 116). C'est là la dimension sociologique de la totalité. Quant à la dimension plus proprement anthropologique, celle qui intéresse les visions du monde, Redfield la décrit ainsi: "Si par culture on entend comment l'anthropologue appréhende la façon de vivre d'un peuple, la "vision du monde" désigne la façon dont chaque chose apparaît à un peuple, c'est-à-dire qu'elle désigne l'existence envisagée comme un tout" (Redfield: 85-86).

**Faculté des sciences sociales,  
Université de Montréal.**

---

# Le Transfert culturel: Fondement et extension dans le processus d'acculturation

PAR MARC-ADÉLARD TREMBLAY

---

## RÉSUMÉ

The author has undertaken a number of empirical studies on the Acadians of the Maritime provinces. In this article, he constructs a theoretical frame of reference in order to study and measure the process of acculturation of individuals of french and mixed ancestry in the bi-cultural semi-urban center of Portsmouth. In a first section, the author defines the concept of acculturation and related concepts taking into account recent theoretical and empirical developments. In a second part the different phases of the process of cultural transfer are examined, giving special attention to the foundation and the extension of the transmission. In a concluding section, the functional relationships between social desintegration and cultural confusion are spelled out. Very briefly toward the end of this theoretical development the author establishes a diagnosis as to the operational use of such a framework. This lead to the building of an acculturation scale which is described and used in a piece of work described in a previous issue of *Anthropologica*, cf. Vol. III, No. 2, 1961, pp. 202-251.

## POSITION DU PROBLÈME

Depuis quelques décennies déjà les anthropologues culturels ont entrepris de nombreuses études sur les changements culturels et l'acculturation. Il suffit de consulter les bibliographies systématiques sur l'un ou l'autre de ces deux concepts (Keesing: 1952 et Siegel: 1955) pour se rendre compte qu'ils furent l'objet privilégié des tentatives les plus diverses. D'ailleurs un rapide coup d'œil sur ces travaux révèle les intentions des auteurs. Les uns veulent constituer un guide pour l'étude monographique de l'acculturation (Linton: 1940), établir des généralisations d'application universelle à partir de comparaisons transculturelles (Cotten:

1950, Nurge: 1954), ou encore conduire une analyse critique des principaux travaux (Beals: 1953). Certaines études sont le résultat de colloques spécialisés durant lesquels on définit concepts et techniques tout en faisant le point des connaissances théoriques sur le sujet (Redfield *et al.*: 1936, SSRC summer seminar: 1954). Quelques auteurs, enfin, présentent soit des synthèses théoriques sur l'un ou l'autre aspect de ces concepts (Barnett: 1953, Hallowell: 1945, Malinowski: 1945) ou tentent de définir les principaux éléments d'un cadre conceptuel de l'acculturation (Dohrenwend and Smith: 1957).

Tous ces efforts, d'ailleurs remarquables, ont permis aux anthropologistes, théoriciens du changement et administrateurs provenant d'un éventail de disciplines mais responsables d'initier ou de surveiller une "action dirigée" de se tenir à jour sur le développement conceptuel rapide (dans le vaste champ de l'acculturation) et de mieux saisir les influences profondes et l'interjeu de facteurs très variés dans le processus de la transmission culturelle.

Nous n'avons pas l'intention d'effectuer un résumé des travaux antécédents ni même de présenter leurs principales conclusions. Cela fait l'objet des inventaires bibliographiques auxquels nous faisons allusion, il y a quelques instants. Nous ne voulons pas non plus documenter le fait que la croissance et la maturité conceptuelles des études sur l'acculturation sont génétiquement liées à une tradition déjà fermement établie d'études empiriques très nombreuses poursuivies dans divers contextes spatio-temporels et à un rapprochement de l'anthropologie, de la psychologie et de la psychiatrie. Voilà qui est presque une évidence pour les spécialistes de la question. Nous voulons encore moins recueillir et intégrer les éléments nécessaires à l'élaboration d'une théorie générale de l'acculturation. Bien que nous soyons en présence d'un phénomène universel à chaque fois que deux civilisations entrent en contact soit pour des fins antagonistes ou de coopération, la très grande variété des configurations culturelles en présence, de même que le caractère très complexe des circonstances dans lesquelles se produisent les rencontres et l'aspect psychologique du processus sont autant d'éléments qui rendent difficiles les tentatives d'intégration. En d'autres termes, nous n'avons



pas encore atteint le stade qui nous permettrait d'élaborer une théorie générale de l'acculturation qui tiendrait compte à la fois des aspects psychologiques et socio-culturels de ce processus. Il faudra au préalable que certaines exigences méthodologiques et conceptuelles intermédiaires soient réalisées. Nous songeons, en particulier, à la mesure de l'acculturation à l'aide de techniques variées (Broom: 1945) et la validation des lectures ainsi enregistrées par l'utilisation concomitante d'instruments multiples; à une codification plus élaborée des divers mécanismes d'échange et d'intériorisation des normes (Herskovits: 1941); à l'élaboration de théories de moyenne portée; etc... Ce n'est qu'à ce moment-là qu'un effort aussi définitif pourra être entrepris.

Notre intention, quoique très modeste, se situe dans cette perspective. En effet, nous voulons préciser certains aspects du processus de transmission culturelle en reprenant le cadre de référence<sup>1</sup> que nous avons élaboré dans le but d'étudier avec précision le processus d'anglicisation des acadiens d'ascendance française et mixte résidant dans le centre semi-urbain et bi-culturel<sup>2</sup> de Portsmouth.

Ce cadre de référence devait respecter trois conditions préalables:

1. - Il devait s'insérer dans un cadre conceptuel plus vaste auquel il était subordonné<sup>3</sup> (Leighton: 1959 b). Ce schème con-

<sup>1</sup> A notre point de vue, nous devons distinguer entre un cadre de référence et un cadre conceptuel. Le premier établit les frontières de l'étude et spécifie les éléments d'importance à examiner tandis que le second pousse plus loin en indiquant les interdépendances fonctionnelles des divers éléments de culture considérés et en les intégrant dans un schéma explicatif très large, même s'il est conçu comme provisoire.

<sup>2</sup> Portsmouth est un nom d'emprunt d'un village bi-ethnique de la Nouvelle-Ecosse où nous retrouvons parmi les 2,000 habitants les groupes anglo-saxon et acadien catholique dans une même proportion.

<sup>3</sup> Cet article fait partie des études effectuées par le groupe de Recherches du comté de Stirling sous la direction du Dr Alexander H. Leighton. La recherche dans ce comté a été entreprise par l'Université Cornell avec la collaboration du Ministère de la santé publique de la Nouvelle-Ecosse et celle des universités Acadia et Dalhousie. La Faculté des Sciences Sociales de l'Université Laval apporta une aide précieuse. Des subventions furent accordées par la Carnegie Foundation, le Ministère Fédéral de la Santé et du Bien-Etre, le Ministère de la Santé publique de la Nouvelle-Ecosse et le Milbank Memorial Fund. A ses débuts, l'étude reçut l'appui de l'American Philosophical Society, de l'Université Cornell et de la Rockefeller Foundation.

Je veux remercier plusieurs collègues du groupe de recherches, en parti-

ceptuel définit l'ensemble des relations de l'individu à sa culture et documente, entre autres choses, comment les éléments de désintégration sociale du milieu environnant détériorent l'équilibre émotif des individus. Dans ce schéma, l'acculturation — ou la marginalité culturelle — est définie comme un indice de désintégration du système social;

2. - Il devait rendre possible la décomposition du processus d'acculturation en de multiples étapes différenciées; et

3. - Il devait déboucher sur la mensuration. En effet, nous projetions de construire une échelle d'acculturation (dont les intervalles seraient théoriquement équidistants) sur laquelle nous pourrions localiser chacune des unités sous observation (287 adultes d'ascendance française).

Afin de vérifier l'utilité de cet instrument d'observation nous avons choisi le centre semi-urbain de Portsmouth dont les caractéristiques de sa population se prêtaient bien à de telles épérations de recherche.<sup>4</sup>

Le présent article se divise en trois sections. Dans une première partie, le concept d'acculturation est défini et mis en relation avec quelques concepts apparentés; dans une seconde, les différents aspects du processus de transmission culturelle sont examinés, principalement le fondement et l'extension du transfert culturel; dans une dernière section enfin, les relations fonctionnelles de l'acculturation et de la désintégration sociale sont établies.

### *Le Concept "acculturation"*

Dans son introduction à l'œuvre classique de Malinowski sur les changements culturels (1945, Introduction, p. vii) Kaberry définit le concept de changement culturel de la manière suivante:

culier: Norman Chance, Emile Gosselin, Charles C. Hughes, Alander H. Leighton, Dorothea C. Leighton, Allister Miles Macmillan, Jean-Vincent Martin, O.S.B., Robert N. Rapoport et Robert J. Smith.

<sup>4</sup> Un article précédent présente les résultats. Cf. Marc-Adélar TREMBLAY, 1961. Niveaux et dynamismes d'acculturation des Acadiens de Portsmouth, *Anthropologica*. 3: 202-251. Les raisons qui ont motivé le choix de Portsmouth comme unité d'observation sont fournies à la page 245 de cet article et dans la thèse de doctorat de l'auteur (Tremblay: 1954).

"c'est le processus par lequel l'ordre pré-existant de la société, ses organisations, ses croyances et ses connaissances, ses instruments et les biens de consommation sont plus ou moins transformés". Les changements peuvent donc se manifester au niveau de la technique et des équipements (changements technologiques, par exemple) et à celui des attitudes des croyances et des aspirations (changements dans l'organisation sociale et dans les structures mentales).

Une question nous vient immédiatement à l'esprit. Par quels mécanismes s'opèrent ces changements au niveau de la société globale et chez les individus? Quelle est la nature de ce processus? Les changements de civilisation se produisent sous l'influence de facteurs endogènes, comme l'invention et de facteurs exogènes comme la diffusion<sup>5</sup>. Les travaux de l'école historique américaine en anthropologie culturelle ont mis de l'avant l'importance des études "diffusionnistes" dans la reconstruction de l'histoire et de l'évolution d'une société particulière. Ces travaux ont démontré que la diffusion des traits de culture s'opérait surtout par les contacts interculturels<sup>6</sup>, c'est-à-dire, des relations sociales entre individus appartenant à des civilisations différentes. Le transfert des coutumes s'opère surtout par échange et emprunt.

L'acculturation désigne les types de changements culturels qui se produisent dans la configuration culturelle d'un ou de plusieurs groupes lorsqu'ils entretiennent des contacts directs et soutenus (Redfield *et al.*, *op. cit.*: 1936) L'altération se produit lorsque les sociétés empruntent des éléments culturels étrangers en vue de les substituer aux éléments correspondants de la culture-mère. Dans une situation de contact, les groupes en présence n'exercent ordinairement pas le même ascendant l'un sur l'autre. Une culture est considérée comme donneuse tandis que l'autre comme receveuse. C'est le modèle de l'emprunt, au sens strict du terme: l'une des cultures incorpore quelques uns des traits et coutumes de l'autre sans que cette dernière soit influencée de façon visible par la première dans la fixation et l'extériorisation

<sup>5</sup> Pour le cas du "Stimulus diffusion", Voir, KROEBER, Alfred. *Anthropology*, p. 368-370.

<sup>6</sup> C'est d'ailleurs pour cette raison qu'on a appelé cette école historique "interactionnelle" (Voget: 1960, p. 946).

de son genre de vie. Lorsque les deux groupes en présence s'inter-influencent et que l'emprunt s'effectue dans les deux directions, on peut alors parler d'osmose et d'échange véritables<sup>7</sup>. Les cultures qui sont strictement emprunteuses et qui ne réussissent pas à exercer une certaine attraction sur les autres occupent ordinairement un statut minoritaire.

Les emprunts ou les échanges culturels s'effectuent sous certaines conditions préalables, telles que les contacts interculturels, les contacts symboliques entre groupes par la médiation des communications de masse et de la culture de masse et l'urbanisation (Beals: 1951) Attardons-nous à cette dernière condition.

Dans un contexte d'industrialisation et d'urbanisation rapides d'un milieu, la transformation des valeurs autochtones s'opère surtout par l'apparition d'éléments nouveaux de civilisation qui viennent changer les circonstances de vie de l'individu. Les distinctions entre les termes du modèle polaire société traditionnelle — société technologique sont trop bien connues pour les répéter ici. Retenons, toutefois, qu'à la ville, l'individu exerce son métier et vit dans des contextes fonctionnellement liés à la production industrielle (comme le travail à la chaîne et le salaire hebdomadaire). Le mode de vie traditionnel étant plus ou moins transformé, de nouvelles normes de comportement s'imposent avec plus ou moins d'autorité, cristallisant de nouveaux types de comportement que l'on nomme "urbains". Le fermier qui vend sa terre pour accepter un poste dans une usine et venir vivre à la ville accepte par le même truchement les conditions de travail de cette usine et les nouvelles habitudes de vie que ce travail lui imposera. Il perdra son indépendance puisque les ordres viendront d'un contremaître; il exercera très peu de contrôle sur l'objet/les objets qu'il manipulera puisqu'il sera "un anneau dans la chaîne"; le "jour de la paye" deviendra une institution d'importance dans sa vie: ce jour sera régulièrement attendu avec impatience et l'argent transformera les habitudes de consommation, les besoins, les conditions de vie et les aspirations de sa famille.

<sup>7</sup> Dans le cas des contacts à Portsmouth, l'emprunt s'effectue dans une direction seulement. Les valeurs de même que les modèles de comportement de la culture anglo-saxonne influencent l'orientation culturelle et les comportements des Acadiens.

En d'autres termes, l'argent symbolisera des biens et des services maintenant accessibles.

Le concept "acculturation" s'applique ordinairement aux deux premières conditions: a) les contacts interculturels qui résultent d'un réseau de relations sociales directes et continues entre individus et groupes d'individus appartenant à des cultures différentes; et b) les contacts interculturels qui s'établissent par le moyen des communications de masse. Chez les esquimaux de l'Île Saint-Laurent cette prise de contact joue un rôle de très grande importance (Hughes: 1960).

Dans le cadre de ce travail nous voulons utiliser le concept acculturation pour désigner uniquement les changements qui résultent de l'influence directe et indirecte du groupe donateur. Ainsi conçue, l'acculturation est un type particulier de changement culturel (Herskovits, 1949 p. 523 et Beals, 1953, p. 626). Nous laisserons de côté, pour le moment, l'influence de l'urbanisation sur l'individu. Pour déterminer avec précision les apports de cette condition dans le processus d'acculturation des Acadiens de Portsmouth il nous faudrait entreprendre un très grand nombre d'observations à caractère semi-expérimental. Cette absence de contrôle soulèvera des questions d'ordre théorique au moment de la construction d'une échelle d'acculturation<sup>8</sup>.

Dans une étude spéciale exécutée pour le compte du SSRC américain, Redfield *et al.* (1936) ont élaboré une définition de l'acculturation qui est encore d'utilité courante même quelque vingt-cinq ans plus tard. Elle a joué un rôle de premier plan en centrant bon nombre d'études sur les implications socio-culturelles de l'interaction sociale entre groupes à coutumes autochtones différentes. Elle a servi d'idée-maitresse durant les premières observations empiriques sur le sujet. A mesure cependant que les perspectives des travaux sur l'acculturation s'élargissent et apportent des précisions sur les conditions de la transmission culturelle vue comme un processus, de nouveaux

<sup>8</sup> En effet, pour construire cette échelle nous utiliserons comme indice les comportements linguistiques et religieux. Or ces derniers — une baisse dans la solidité du sentiment religieux par exemple — peuvent être vus comme une des conséquences d'un mode de vie urbain.

éléments viennent préciser la conception première de ce phénomène. Nous pensons, en particulier, à: a) l'importance des contacts symboliques à travers les communications de masse dans la communion à la culture étrangère; b) le dynamisme des membres acculturés de l'en-groupe; et c) l'aspect psychologique du processus. Toute définition compréhensive doit intégrer ces divers éléments.

### 1. *Les communications de masse*

Comme nous l'avons affirmé auparavant, l'acculturation n'est pas nécessairement la résultante d'une interaction sociale intime et permanente entre individus s'identifiant à des univers culturels différents. On peut l'observer même lorsqu'il n'y a pas de contact physique entre groupes par la médiation des communications de masse qui agissent comme éléments de structuration. Dans ces circonstances, le contact s'établit au niveau des symboles<sup>9</sup> plutôt qu'à celui des relations interpersonnelles (Hughes: 1957). Lorsque ce mécanisme s'ajoute à l'interaction intime et continue, il accélère le transfert culturel, renforce les emprunts et agit à la façon d'un agent stabilisateur.

### 2. *Les membres acculturés de l'en-groupe*

Les études antécédantes ont beaucoup trop insisté sur la causalité externe dans le processus de la transmission culturelle en se fondant sur les contacts inter-groupes comme étant le seul élément d'influence. C'est entièrement justifiable de considérer ces contacts comme des mécanismes de déclenchement. Ils n'expliquent cependant pas à eux seuls l'ensemble des changements (nature et intensité) qui s'inscrivent dans le profil culturel du groupement en situation de contact. En plus des contacts avec le groupe donateur il faut ajouter les contacts tout aussi significatifs entre les membres de l'en-groupe. Par cette seconde voie d'analyse nous pouvons tenir compte des influences culturelles

<sup>9</sup> Nous ne pouvons nous empêcher de songer ici à l'influence acculturante des films et magazines américains à grand tirage sur la conception de l'amour (romantique) des jeunes canadiens d'expression française qui, pour un bon nombre, n'ont jamais rencontré d'américains. Songeons encore à l'influence des "hit parade" radiophonique dans leur activité de loisirs.

étrangères qui proviennent de l'interaction continuelle entre les membres acculturés du groupe récepteur. Les échanges qui en résultent accélèrent et durcissent les mécanismes d'acculturation.

### 3. *L'aspect psychologique du processus*

Le groupe, en tant que tel, ne s'acculture pas. Ce sont les individus à l'intérieur du groupe qui s'aliènent plus ou moins de leur culture traditionnelle. La transmission culturelle est essentiellement un processus psychologique. Aussi elle est l'objet d'une grande variabilité d'un individu à l'autre. Elle repose sur les mécanismes individuels de perception, d'évaluation et d'acceptation des traits de cultures étrangères. On peut prévoir les lignes de direction sans être en mesure toutefois de prévoir avec exactitude, pour un individu donné, l'endroit d'insertion dans le processus ni l'étendue de son trajet. Nous reviendrons sur ce point plus tard.

En résumé, l'acculturation signifie qu'un certain nombre d'individus à l'intérieur d'un groupe intériorisent des valeurs étrangères soit à la suite de contacts inter-culturels ou à la suite d'échanges avec d'autres groupes par l'entremise des communications de masse. Ainsi, dans cette étude, *l'acculturation* réfère au processus par lequel les Acadiens transforment ou remplacent certains éléments de la culture originelle à la suite des influences directes et indirectes de la culture anglo-saxonne, que cette influence se fasse sentir à l'occasion de contacts de première main, avec la culture "donneuse"<sup>10</sup>, par la médiation de la culture de masse anglo-saxonne, ou encore à la suite de patrons d'interaction à l'intérieur du groupe récepteur<sup>11</sup>. (Acadien)

#### *Le Processus de la Transmission Culturelle*

Il nous est impossible, dans le cadre de cet article, de poursuivre une analyse exhaustive de ce concept. Nous nous intéres-

<sup>10</sup> Voici une liste de termes interchangeable groupe donateur; groupe/culture étranger/e; groupe/culture anglo-saxonne; groupe/culture dominant/e; groupe/culture majoritaire; groupe/culture d'adoption; groupe exogène.

<sup>11</sup> D'autres concepts sont utilisés comme synonymes groupe/culture récepteur/rice; groupe/culture autochtone; groupe/culture traditionnelle; groupe/culture acadien/ne; groupe/culture dominé/e; groupe/culture minoritaire; groupe/culture d'origine; groupe endogène.

sons tout particulièrement au fondement et à l'extension du transfert culturel dans le processus d'acculturation. Nous décomposerons les divers éléments du processus pour le schématiser par la suite et nous examinerons, par après, sous quels dynamismes s'effectue l'emprunt. Autrement dit, nous déterminerons ce qui se produit lorsqu'un individu substitue aux valeurs du groupe autochtone des valeurs d'une culture étrangère.

### 1. *Le processus d'Acculturation*

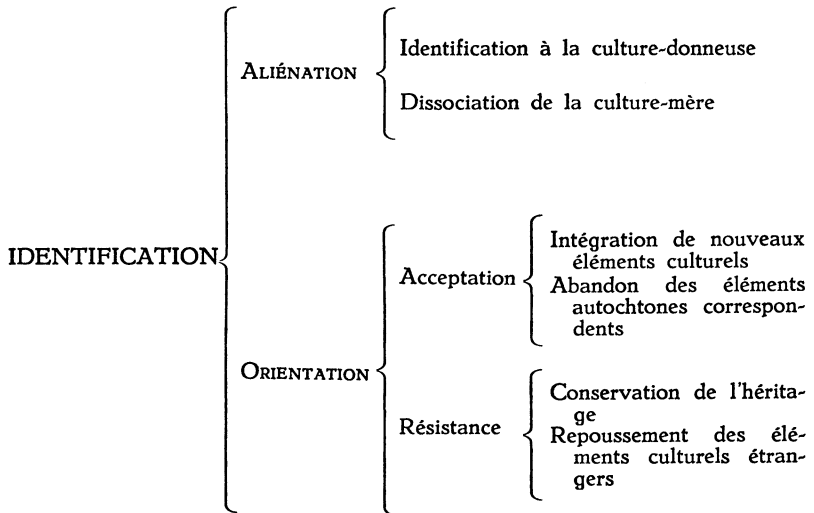
Le processus de transmission culturelle s'opère sur deux plans différents: a) l'individu récepteur; et b) le contenu de l'emprunt (Fortes: 1936, p. 53; Barnett: 1940; Beals: 1953, p. 627 et Herskovits: 1949: 523-541; et Thurnwald: 1932, p. 557).

L'individu récepteur de valeurs nouvelles se déplace sur un axe qui comporte plusieurs degrés d'identification: de l'identification positive la plus complète à la culture d'origine, à la marginalité, et jusqu'à l'identification la plus intense à la culture d'adoption. Du côté du contenu, ou des éléments de civilisation empruntés l'individu en intègre un nombre plus ou moins grand et reconstruit son nouvel univers culturel. Il existe entre ces deux plans, une très forte continuité et interdépendance fonctionnelle. Plus l'identification au groupe d'origine sera puissante, plus l'individu aura tendance à repousser les éléments étrangers. Inversement, à mesure que s'affermie l'identification à la culture donneuse, le récepteur abandonne les modes traditionnels de vie. Examinons plus en détail ces deux plans.

L'identification est caractérisé par deux centres de pulsion: a) l'aliénation de la culture-mère; et b) l'orientation vers la culture d'adoption. Durant *l'aliénation*, le récepteur s'identifie avec plus ou moins d'intensité à la culture donneuse et juge avec faveur certains segments de la culture étrangère. En même temps, il se dissocie de son groupe d'origine et dévalorise certains éléments autochtones. Par rapport à *l'orientation*, le récepteur accepte des éléments culturels étrangers plus ou moins intégralement (il y a toujours une certaine modification) tandis qu'il en repousse certains autres. Dans ce cas, le récepteur dévalorise les modes de vie traditionnels et est prêt à accepter les valeurs correspondantes



de la culture dominante. En même temps, il abandonne les valeurs autochtones correspondant à celles acceptées et conserve certains traits de sa culture-mère.



A l'aide de ce diagramme on peut schématiser les comportements de ceux qui résistent aux pressions de la civilisation antagoniste et les conduites de ceux qui sont en bonne voie de substituer les éléments culturels de la culture dominante à ceux de leur propre culture. Quant aux premiers, ils s'identifient fortement à leur groupe d'origine, valorisent les traits autochtones et maintiennent l'héritage culturel le plus intact possible. Par le même truchement ils rejettent, en les discréditant, les modèles que la culture étrangère propose. Quant aux autres, ils reflètent l'image inversée des premiers. Leur dissociation de la culture indigène est prononcée. Ils discréditent les éléments de la culture originelle et acceptent d'emblée, en exerçant peu de sens critique, les comportements nouveaux qui s'imposent à eux. En même temps, ils abandonnent les traditions de leur groupe d'origine. Dans ce dernier cas, l'identification au groupe donateur est forte et l'emprunt s'ensuit presque automatiquement.

A partir de ces constatations dans le processus de la transmission culturelle on peut distinguer les pressions déterminantes de la culture donneuse et les mécanismes individuels de sélection

consciente des individus en voie de passer d'une culture à une autre. On peut également concevoir différents niveaux d'acculturation qui reposent sur des degrés différentiels d'identification ethnique. À un pôle de l'axe d'acculturation, on retrouve ceux qui sont faiblement acculturés; à mi-chemin, ceux qui choisissent un certain nombre d'éléments nouveaux parmi l'ensemble de ceux qui sont proposés comme modèles; à l'autre extrémité, on verra les individus fortement acculturés qui s'efforcent d'éliminer de leur univers culturel toute trace de la culture indigène. Ils sont en bonne voie d'être assimilés. L'assimilation totale présuppose trois conditions: a) l'identification complète au groupe d'adoption; b) le complet remplacement des valeurs autochtones par les valeurs correspondantes du groupe donateur (cf. Beals: 1953, 627-628); et c) l'acceptation entière et sans restriction de l'acculturé par les membres du groupe majoritaire. Les deux premières conditions sont inhérentes à l'individu tandis que l'autre lui est externe: cette dernière est d'ailleurs difficile de réalisation. En effet, il ne suffit pas qu'un individu ait renoncé ouvertement aux traditions de son groupe d'origine pour les remplacer par celles du groupe d'adoption pour être tenu en haute estime et accepté par les membres du groupe dominant.

Puisqu'il est maintenant possible de découper le processus d'acculturation, il s'agit: 1) d'en définir les principales étapes, et 2) de classer tous les résidents du grand Portsmouth d'ascendance française, selon leurs niveaux d'acculturation<sup>12</sup>. Cette opération de recherche s'avérait périlleuse. En effet, nous avons décidé *a priori*, pour faciliter la mensuration, de construire une échelle d'acculturation à partir d'un nombre très restreint d'items du champ acculturatoire. Les items privilégiés devraient être significatifs par rapport à l'univers des items plausibles et devraient refléter avec grande fidélité le degré de dissociation des individus. Le nombre limité d'indicateurs devrait donc être compensé par leur qualité. Les deux indicateurs choisis — comportements linguistiques et comportements religieux — furent par la suite regroupés

<sup>12</sup> A Portsmouth, ce n'est qu'à la deuxième génération que les Acadiens fortement acculturés réussissent à se faire accepter, par les Anglais. Autrement dit, c'est l'enfant qui naît dans une famille dont l'acculturation est déjà très avancée (perte de la langue, abandon de la foi, etc...) qui a une chance d'être accepté par les Anglais.

pour constituer une seule échelle d'acculturation<sup>13</sup>. Le degré d'acculturation d'un individu — en tant que traduit par sa localisation sur l'échelle — sera appelé *la position d'acculturation*. Ce niveau d'acculturation reflète la qualité de l'identification au groupe d'origine, le genre d'acceptation des normes étrangères, et le genre de rupture des cadres sociaux traditionnels.

L'échelle classe les individus les uns par rapport aux autres à *un moment donné* mais est incapable de déterminer le rythme de l'acculturation — c'est-à-dire le tempo de l'aliénation culturelle. Seule une étude longitudinale (positions d'acculturation d'un individu à deux périodes différentes) introduirait l'élément dynamique. Par l'analyse comparative des niveaux temporels d'acculturation pour chaque individu ou retrouverait chez les uns un avancement, chez d'autres une stabilisation à un plafond, et chez les autres enfin un certain recul. Si on se réfère aux études sur les mouvements "nativistiques" (en particulier Linton: 1943; et Wallace: 1956) on voit qu'en acceptant des postes de leadership les meneurs resserrent et renouent les liens qui les intègrent à leur groupe d'appartenance en rejetant et combattant des idées et des comportements étrangers qu'ils avaient jadis affichés. Ils sont engagés dans un mouvement de contre-acculturation. Certains groupes, se plafonnent d'eux-mêmes à un certain niveau d'acculturation afin d'assurer leur survivance. C'est le cas des Hutterites (Eaton: 1952) et c'est aussi, dans un certain sens, le cas des Acadiens de la Baie Française (Tremblay: 1962).

L'étude empirique que nous projetions de poursuivre ne pouvait pas incorporer de tels recoupements dans son modèle opératoire. L'expérience acquise au cours d'observations antécédantes nous rendait cependant capable d'énoncer quelques hypothèses générales. Il nous semblait improbable, sinon impossible, qu'un individu puisse passer au cours de sa vie d'un faible niveau d'acculturation à un niveau élevé, ou encore, d'un niveau moyen à l'assimilation la plus complète. Les enfants issus de mariages

<sup>13</sup> Cf. TREMBLAY: 1961, pp. 203-206.

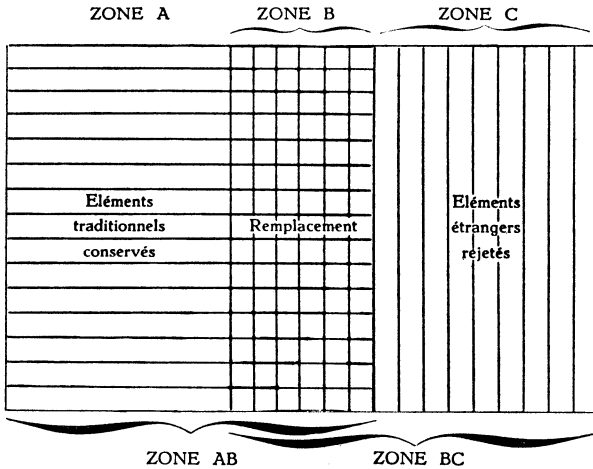
mixtes<sup>14</sup> peuvent abandonner la plupart, sinon toutes, des traditions de leurs parents acadiens, s'identifier exclusivement à la culture anglo-saxonne et réussir, peut-être, à être acceptés par les "anglais". Mais au point de départ, ces enfants parce qu'ils sont les produits de "mariages mixtes", sont déjà situés à un niveau élevé d'acculturation.

Le niveau d'acculturation d'un individu soulève plusieurs problèmes théoriques. Un de ces problèmes retiendra notre attention: c'est celui de l'équivalence des conditions acculturantes. En effet, un individu peut incorporer un nombre plus ou moins grand de caractéristiques étrangères, plus ou moins complètement. Comment comparer, sur une échelle d'acculturation, un individu qui a accepté un très grand nombre de valeurs étrangères superficiellement avec celui qui en a accepté quelques unes seulement, mais en profondeur. L'équivalence n'est certes pas possible. Il faudra pour l'instant accepter cette limitation dans l'étude des conditions d'acculturation.

Les quelques considérations théoriques antécédentes ont peut-être trop tendance à définir la situation d'acculturation comme en étant une où les individus impliqués ont pleinement conscience des éléments en présence. Que les individus en soient conscients ou non, l'apprentissage à un mode de vie nouveau se poursuit selon des mécanismes de préférences individuelles et de sélection. Ces préférences reposent, pour une part, sur des motivations conscientes et inconscientes, et sur des objectifs et projets que les individus désirent réaliser. Mais elles sont aussi la conséquence des centres d'influence qui entourent l'individu et avec lesquels il s'identifie par ailleurs. Cette identification, plus ou moins forte, imposera par ailleurs des prescriptions et des modèles de comportement. Au niveau de la culture-mère quelques éléments sont conservés dans toute leur intégrité tandis que d'autres sont abandonnés plus ou moins rapidement. Au niveau de la culture étrangère, quelques éléments sont acceptés alors que d'autres sont rejetés. Ce transfert culturel peut être représenté graphiquement dans un schéma d'acculturation ou nous reproduisons les différents stages de dissociation de la culture-mère.

<sup>14</sup> On retrouve plusieurs variétés de mariages mixtes à Portsmouth: Acadien catholique — anglais catholique; acadien catholique — acadien protestant; acadien catholique — anglais protestant.-

2. Le Schéma d'acculturation



**ZONE A:** Eléments autochtones plus ou moins inchangés (lignes horizontales).

**ZONE C:** Eléments étrangers rejetés (lignes verticales).

**ZONE B:** Zone de remplacement (lignes quadrillées). Il faut noter deux temps: a) abandon des valeurs traditionnelles; b) emprunt des valeurs nouvelles.

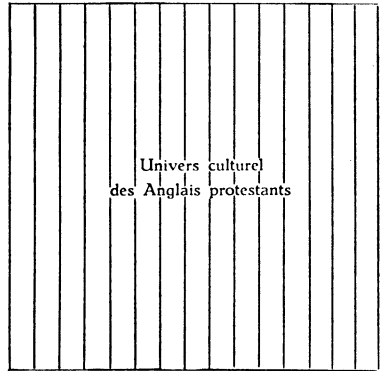
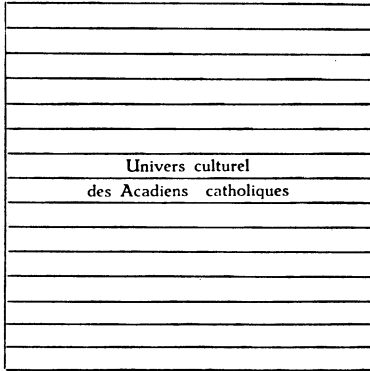
**ZONE AB:** Nouvel univers socio-culturel de l'individu acculturé. Stade intermédiaire, mais nécessaire, à l'assimilation. La plupart des individus représentent des nuances variées de ce statut. Car l'individu ne peut pas toujours s'intégrer totalement au groupe donateur ni se dissocier intégralement de son groupe d'origine.

**ZONE BC:** L'univers culturel étranger. Le segment B représente ce qui a été accueilli avec faveur tandis que le segment C représente les éléments repousés.

A partir de ce schéma essayons de reconstituer les différentes phases d'acculturation. Chacun des diagrammes qui vont suivre ne représente pas le processus individuel d'acculturation mais essaie de conceptualiser ce qui survient aux principaux stages que que nous avons identifiés plus tôt. Le carré ayant les lignes horizontales représente la culture-mère tandis que celui ayant des lignes verticales représente la culture donneuse.

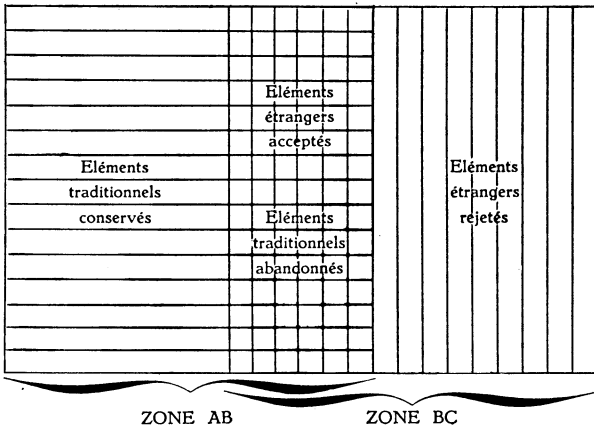
Au moment de la phase pré-contact chacun des univers culturels évolue l'un indépendamment de l'autre. Par voie de

I  
PHASE PRÉ-CONTACT



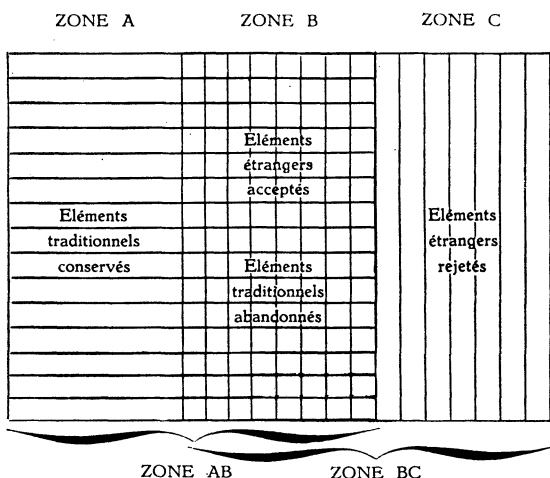
conséquence, il n'existe aucun changement par rapport aux coutumes et traditions autochtones.

II  
BAS NIVEAU D'ACCLTURATION  
ZONE A                      ZONE B                      ZONE C



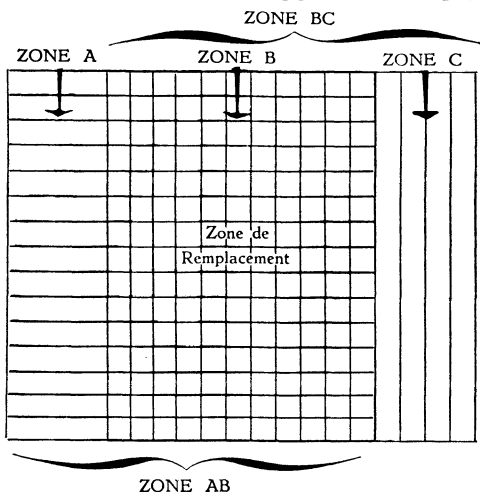
Dans le cas de l'individu peu avancé dans son processus d'acculturation, la zone de remplacement (la zone B) est relativement réduite. L'Acadien conserve alors la majorité des éléments autochtones (zone A) et repousse la majorité des éléments exogènes (zone C).

III  
MOYEN NIVEAU D'ACCULTURATION



Lorsque le degré d'acculturation est moyen la zone de remplacement s'élargit sensiblement: les éléments traditionnels sont remplacés en plus grand nombre par ceux du groupe donateur — alors que se rétrécissent proportionnellement les zone A (qui caractérise ce qui est conservé des éléments autochtones) et B (celle qui caractérise les éléments repoussés). La démarcation entre les deux univers culturels distincts demeure visible.

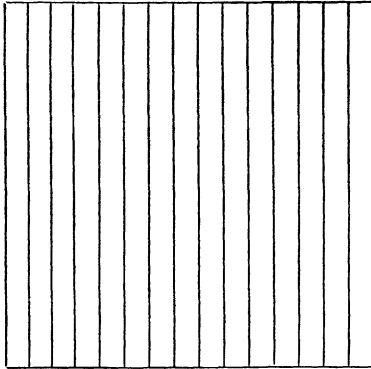
IV  
NIVEAU ÉLEVÉ D'ACCULTURATION



Lorsque l'acculturation est avancée, la distinction entre les deux univers culturels n'existe pratiquement plus (zones AB et BC). L'acculturé a conservé quelques éléments seulement de sa culture d'origine (A). Il a remplacé tous les autres par les éléments correspondants de la culture dominante (zone B). Très peu de traits de la culture antagonistes sont repoussés (zone C).

## V

## L'ASSIMILATION



Au moment de l'assimilation, toutes les valeurs autochtones sont entièrement remplacées par les valeurs anglaises. La zone A est disparue complètement. La zone de remplacement B correspond en tout point à la zone C, celle du groupe donateur. Le processus de la transmission culturelle est terminé par l'adhésion la plus complète aux nouveaux schèmes de comportement.

Ce diagramme, nous en sommes conscients, repose sur une fausse analogie mécanistique. Il postule, en effet, que les éléments autochtones abandonnés sont toujours remplacés par les éléments étrangers correspondants. Or nous savons qu'il n'existe pas de relation de nécessité entre ces deux processus distincts. Nous appuierons notre affirmation sur deux exemples.

Un exemple de remplacement total de l'élément indigène par l'élément étranger est le cas de l'acculturation linguistique (à distinguer du bilinguisme qui est un exemple d'accomodation puisqu'il implique pas la perte de la langue-mère). Dans ce cas



l'Acadien perd sa langue maternelle pour la remplacer intégralement par la langue anglaise.

Un exemple de remplacement partiel, est le cas de l'Acadien qui perd sa foi catholique. Il ne la remplace pas nécessairement par la foi protestante. De fait, dans cette région, la plupart des conversions au protestantisme sont nominales. Il y a abandon du catholicisme d'une part mais une acceptation partielle des valeurs du protestantisme d'autre part.

De plus ce diagramme est statique en ne tenant pas compte des changements continuels qui s'opèrent chez l'individu. Il a aussi le désavantage d'illustrer l'acculturation comme étant un mouvement progressif continu d'un faible niveau à un niveau plus élevé. Dans la réalité il y a des progrès et des reculs, des périodes d'essais et d'erreurs, des demi-rejets et des substitutions mitigées.

En dépit de ces déficiences incontestables, nous considérons ce cadre comme un instrument valide pour préciser les limites et illustrer les diverses étapes du processus de dissociation culturelle.

### *3. L'acculturation se produit sous certaines conditions*

Avant d'examiner quelques-unes des conséquences de l'acculturation sur le degré de cohésion sociale du groupe auquel l'acculturé appartient nous tenterons de préciser la nature des circonstances qui favorisent et accélèrent le transfert culturel ainsi que la nature de celles qui le défavorisent et le freinent. C'est dans l'analyse de ces occasions de contacts interculturels que se précisera l'orientation fonctionnelle de ce cadre de référence. Ces circonstances socio-culturelles sont imposées par les besoins des individus et les démarches institutionnelles et informelles qu'ils doivent entreprendre pour les satisfaire plus ou moins complètement. Elles sont des instruments en vue de réaliser certains objectifs. Si les industries d'un milieu sont contrôlées par les anglais, par exemple, et que la plupart des travailleurs sont d'origine anglo-saxonne la culture du milieu de travail sera anglo-saxonne. Mais les acadiens qui y résident sont eux aussi soumis à l'impérieuse nécessité de gagner leur vie et de se trouver un

emploi. Il devront s'embaucher dans une de ces industries et y subir les influences culturelles étrangères.

Les circonstances qui accélèrent la transmission culturelle dans une situation de contact (cf. SSRC: 1954) sont liées: 1.) à des caractéristiques inhérentes au groupe, telle que l'isolement d'aires culturelles semblables et un statut de dépendance; 2.) à des pressions internes du milieu de résidence, telles que l'école mixte, les communications de masse et les milieux de travail; et 3.) à des décisions personnelles telles le choix d'un conjoint venant de l'autre culture (mariage "mixte"). Les circonstances qui freinent la transmission des traditions exogènes sont elles aussi inhérentes au groupe récepteur telles qu'un réseau de parentage très fortement noué et fermé aux changements, un leadership autochtone dynamique orienté vers les traditions nationales, etc... Cette "dialectique des opposés" (facteurs qui freinent ou qui accélèrent la transmission culturelle) nous permettra d'ailleurs de constituer une image plus complète du phénomène.

Toute analyse de la "situation" doit déboucher sur une analyse motivationnelle en ce sens que les pressions du milieu sont senties et perçues par les individus et que les comportements effectifs traduisent certaines intentions<sup>15</sup>. Si le processus d'acculturation en est un d'apprentissage imitatif comme le suggère Hallowell (1945) ces imitations seront entreprises dans le but d'en retirer certains avantages (Miller et Dollard: 1941, p. 35 et Hilgard: 1956, p. 78) comme la sécurité d'un emploi, l'amitié de ses voisins, etc... Mais cette perspective à elle seule est tout aussi insuffisante que la première. Car si on considère trop exclusivement le transfert culturel comme un geste motivé, il deviendrait alors difficile d'expliquer certains aspects de l'acculturation acadienne. En effet, nous savons que les acadiens — déjà avancés dans leur processus de dissociation culturelle — qui s'identifient à la culture anglo-saxonne ne retirent aucun prestige. Au contraire, ils sont rejetés par leurs concitoyens et risquent de perdre

<sup>15</sup> L'étude des résidents de Portsmouth s'est effectuée dans l'optique de la macro-culture. Nous n'avons pas étudié les motifs des Acadiens dans leurs gestes imitatifs, ni le système prioritaire des valeurs étrangères adoptés. Il aurait fallu entreprendre une autre étude pour répondre à ces questions.

leur identité ethnique. D'autre part, les Anglais ne veulent pas les considérer comme nouveaux membres. Seuls leurs enfants pourront devenir des membres pleinement acceptés du groupe dominant.

#### 4. *L'acculturation et la désintégration sociale*

Tout cadre de référence qui s'intègre dans un cadre conceptuel plus vaste lequel documente l'hypothèse d'une association entre la désintégration de l'environnement et la psychopathologie doit démontrer que la confusion culturelle est un indicateur valable de désintégration sociale. Cette démonstration repose sur quatre considérations théoriques: l'identification au groupe; le degré de participation dans les activités du groupe; l'unanimité des sentiments; et l'efficacité du contrôle social.

##### a) *L'identification au groupe*

En référant au processus d'acculturation nous avons souligné que la dissociation progressive d'un individu d'avec son groupe d'origine impliquait un affaiblissement graduel de ses liens d'identification à son groupe d'appartenance. Ce sentiment d'appartenance favorise la coïncidence entre les intérêts individuels et les intérêts du groupe et la juste perception qu'a l'individu du rôle qu'il doit jouer dans son groupe. De plus, elle lui donne la sensation "de se sentir chez soi" et lui permet la satisfaction de ses besoins essentiels. Cette identification est donc associée à un ensemble de droits et privilèges qui confèrent à l'individu une grande sécurité psychologique et à une meilleure compréhension des idées-maîtresses du groupe.

La confusion culturelle naît du fait que l'acculturé est devenu incapable de s'identifier à son groupe d'origine alors que le groupe dominant ne le reconnaît pas encore comme membre. Il ne participe entièrement ni à l'une ni à l'autre de deux cultures antagonistes et de ce fait n'a pas droit aux privilèges de l'une ou de l'autre. De plus, la marginalité culturelle provient encore du fait que l'individu est incapable d'intégrer entièrement tous les éléments de la culture dominante.

### b) *Participation dans les activités du groupe*

Cette caractéristique est intimement liée à l'identification au groupe d'origine. Selon que l'individu s'identifie plus ou moins intensément à son groupe d'appartenance, il contribuera dans une mesure proportionnée à la poursuite des objectifs du groupe. Cette contribution implique, bien entendu, le sens des responsabilités individuelles dans le groupe, la défense des intérêts et des buts du groupe et une participation dans les activités formelles du groupe.

Les individus qui sont en voie de dissociation ne communient pas aux centres d'information, ne perçoivent pas les responsabilités qui leur incombent et ne se sentent nullement obligés de participer aux objectifs poursuivis. Ou encore leur coopération est si réduite qu'elle est dysfonctionnelle.

### c) *L'unanimité des sentiments*

Tout groupe bien intégré possède des valeurs fondamentales bien définies, unanimement acceptés par ses membres qui les contraignent à agir selon certaines modalités. Dans le cas où il existe des valeurs contradictoires, certains principes doivent entrer en ligne de compte pour les hiérarchiser.

L'individu à la marge de deux cultures se voit en présence de deux systèmes de valeurs qui se concurrencent mutuellement pour régir ses comportements. Cette situation entraîne des conflits d'allégeance. De toute façon s'il existe plusieurs "individus marginaux" dans un groupe, l'unanimité au sujet de la hiérarchie des valeurs tendra à disparaître. Les valeurs seront divergentes. Ou encore, il y aura convergence dans les valeurs, mais divergence dans leur interprétation, ou dans les moyens à utiliser pour les concrétiser.

### d) *L'efficacité du contrôle social*

Une des conditions essentielles à la bonne intégration d'un groupe à son maintien, c'est l'efficacité des mécanismes de régulation des comportements — c'est-à-dire un système par lequel le groupe confère des privilèges à ceux qui se conforment aux

normes prescrites ou punit en les désavouant, les comportements des déviants. Ce système est conçu comme ayant un optimum d'efficacité lorsque l'ensemble des membres se conforment aux normes du groupe. Dans un tel cas ces dernières sont bien perçues et il existe peu de conduites désavouées. Dans le cas contraire, la conformité n'existe pas et les systèmes d'obligations réciproques perdent leur aspect contraignant. L'efficacité du contrôle social est réduite par le factionalisme (il existe deux ou trois systèmes de valeurs opérant) par l'hostilité inte et intra-groupe au niveau des classes sociales et à celui de la structure du leadership et par les conflits inter-générationels. Voilà autant de situations qui sont à l'origine de conduites déviantes et qui sont favorisées par la marginalité culturelle, c'est-à-dire par l'ambivalence dans les systèmes de valeur.

## CONCLUSION

En conclusion, ces liaisons entre la marginalité culturelle et la désintégration sont suffisamment nombreuses (nous sommes loin d'avoir épuisé la liste des relations conceptuelles) et possèdent assez d'intensité pour justifier l'utilité de cette variable dans l'étude de la désintégration sociale. Les autres précisions théoriques apportées pour définir le fondement et l'extension du transfert culturel dans le processus d'acculturation nous permettent maintenant de construire une échelle d'acculturation et de juger sa valeur précise dans les opérations de recherche que nous allons maintenant conduire.

**Département de Sociologie et d'Anthropologie  
Université Laval**

## LISTE DES OUVRAGES CITÉS ET BIBLIOGRAPHIE SOMMAIRE

**BARKER, BERNARD**

1941 Acculturation and Messianic movements. *American Sociological Review* 6: 663-669.

## BARNETT, HOMER G.

- 1940 Culture Processes. *American Anthropologist* 42, I: 33-37.
- 1941 Personal conflicts and culture change. *Social Forces*, 20: 160-171.
- 1953 *Innovation, The Basis of Culture Change*. New York, McCraw Hill.

## BATESON, GREGORY

- 1935 Culture contact and Schismogenesis. *Man*. 35: 178-183.

## BEALS, RALPH

- 1951 Urbanism urbanization and acculturation. *American Anthropologist*. 53: 1-10.
- 1953 Acculturation. In *Anthropology To-Day*, A.L. Kroeber ed., Chicago, Chicago University Press, 621-641.

## BENNETT, JOHN W.

- 1956 Cross cultural education research and the study of national acculturation. Some uses of Anthropology: theoretical and applied. Washington, The Anthropological Society of Washington, 1-22.

## BROOM, LEONARD

- 1945 A measure of conservatism. *American Anthropologist*. 47: 630-635.

## BRUNER, EDWARD M.

- 1956a Cultural transmission and cultural change. *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology*. 12: 191-199.
- 1956b Primary group experience and the process of acculturation. *American Anthropologist*. 58: 605-623.

## CAUDILL, WILLIAM

- 1952 Japanese-American Personality and Acculturation. *Genetic Psychology Monographs*. 45: 2-102.

## COTTEN, MAXIME RENE

- 1950 The Fork in the road: A study of acculturation among the American Kalderas gypsies. Ph.D. thesis, Columbia University.

## DEVEREUX, G. et E.M. LOEB

- 1943 Antagonistic Acculturation. *American Sociological Review*. 8: 133-147.

## DOHRENWEND, BRUCE and ROBERT J. SMITH

- 1957 A suggested framework for the study of acculturation. In *Cultural stability and cultural change*, Verne F. Ray ed. Seattle, Proceedings of the 1957 Annual Spring meeting of the American Ethnological Society, 76-84.

- EATON, JOSEPH W.  
 1952 Controlled acculturation: a survival technique of the Hutterites. *American Sociological Review*, 17: 331-340.
- ELKIN, A.P.  
 1951 Recation and interaction: a food gathering people and European settlement on Australia. *American Anthropologist*. 53: 164-186.
- FORTES, MEYER  
 1936 Culture contacts as a dynamic process. *Africa*, 9: 24-55.
- GILLIN, JOHN  
 1942 Acquired drives in culture contact. *American anthropologist*. 44: 545-554.  
 1944 Cultural adjustment. *American Anthropologist*. 46: 427-447.
- GILLIN, JOHN and VICTOR RAIMY  
 1940 Acculturation and Personality. *American Sociological Review*. 5: 371-380.
- HALLOWEL, IRVING A.  
 1945 Socio-psychological aspects of acculturation. *In The Science of Man in a World Crisis*, Ralph Linton ed. New York, Columbia University Press, 171-200.  
 1950 Values, acculturation and mental health. *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*. 20: 732-743.
- HERSKOVITS, MELVILLE J.  
 1937 The Significance of the study of acculturation for anthropology. *American Anthropologist*, 39: 259-264.  
 1938 Acculturation: a study of culture contact. New York, J.J. Augustin.  
 1941 Some comments on the study of culture contact. *American Anthropologist*, 43: 1-10.  
 1945 The processes of culture change. *In The Science of Man in a World Crisis*. Ralph Linton ed. New York, Columbia University Press, 143-170.  
 1949 Man and His works. New York, Alfred A. Knopf.
- HILGARD, ERNEST R.  
 1956 *Theories of Learning* New York, Appleton-Century.
- HUGUES, CHARLES C.  
 1957 Reference group concepts in the study of a changing eskimo culture. *Proceedings of the 1957 Aaanual Spring Meeting of the American Ethnological Society*. Verne F. Ray ed. Seattle, University of Washington, 7-14.  
 1960 *An Eskimo village in the Modern World*. Ithaca, Cornell Universtiy Press.
- HUMPHREY, NORMAN I  
 1944 The changing structure of the Detroit Mexican family: An index of acculturation. *American Sociological Review*, 9: 622-625.

KEESING, FELIX M.

- 1952 Culture change: An analysis and bibliography of Anthropological sources to 1952. Stanford, Stanford University Press.

KLUCKHOHN, CLYDE and WILLIAM KELLY

- 1945 The Concept of Culture. *In* The Science of Men in a world crisis, Ralph Linton ed. New York, Columbia University Press.

LEIGHTON, ALEXANDER H.

- 1945 The Governing of Men. Princeton, Princeton University Press.  
 1949a Mental Illness and acculturation. *In* Medicine and Anthropology, Iago Gladston ed. New York, International University Press.  
 1959b My Name is Legion: Foundations for a theory of man in relation to culture. New York, Basic Books Inc.

LEIGHTON, ALEXANDER H., and ROBERT J. SMITH

- 1955 A Comparative Study of Social and cultural change. *Proceedings of the American Philosophical society*, 99: 79-88.

LINTON, RALPH

- 1936 The Study of Man. New York, Appleton Century.  
 1940 ed. Acculturation in seven American Indian tribes. New York, Appleton Century. *En particulier*: The processes of culture transfer; *et* The distinctive aspects of acculturation.  
 1943 Nativistic Movements. *American Anthropologist*, 45: 230-239.

MAIR, L.P.

- 1934 The Study of Culture Contact as a practical problem. *Africa*, 7: 415-422.

MALINOWSKI, BRONISLAW

- 1945 The Dynamics of Culture Change. New-Haven, Yale University Press.

MASON, LEONARD

- 1955 The Characterization of American culture in Studies of acculturation. *American Anthropologist*, 57: 1264-1279.

MERTENS DE WILMARS, CHARLES

- 1958 Vers une étude plus systématique des variables psychologiques de l'acculturation. *Revue de Psychologie Appliquée*, 8: 1-23.

MILLER, NEAL E. and JOHN DOLLARD

- 1941 Social Learning and Imitation. New-Haven, Yale University Press.

MOWRER, HOBART O.

- 1960 Learning theory and behavior. New York, John Wiley & Sons Inc.

NURGE, ETHEL

- 1954 Culture change in contact situations: Generalizations in syn-



theses by Malinowski Linton and Barnett. Ph.D. thesis, Cornell University, Ithaca, New York.

REDFIELD, ROBERT

1939 Cultural contact without conflict. *American Anthropologist*, 41: 514-516.

1941 *The Folk Culture of Yucatan*, Chicago, University of Chicago Press.

REDFIELD, ROBERT, RALPH LINTON, and MELVILLE J. HERSKOVITS

1936 Memorandum on the Study of acculturation. *American Anthropologist*, 38: 149-152.

SIEGEL, BERNARD J., ED.

1955 *Acculturation: critical abstracts*. Stanford, Stanford University Press.

SMITH, ROBERT J., ED.

1958 Culture change and the small community. *Social Forces*, 14: 1-66.

SOCIAL SCIENCE RESEARCH COUNCIL SUMMER SEMINAR ON ACCULTURATION

1954 *Acculturation: an exploratory formulation*. *American Anthropologist*, 56: 973-1002.

SPICER, EDWARD H.

1943 Linguistic aspects of Yaqui acculturation. *American Anthropologist*, 45: 410-426.

1961 ed. *Perspectives in American Indian culture change*. Chicago, The University of Chicago Press.

SPICER, EDWARD H., EDWARD P. DOZIER and GEORGES C. BARKER

1958 Social Structure and the acculturation process. *American Anthropologist*, 60: 433-455.

SPINDLER, GEORGES C. and WALTER GOLDSCHMIDT

1941 Symposium on acculturation. *American Anthropologist*, 43: 1-61.

1952 Experimental design in the study of culture change. *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology*, 8: 68-83.

SPIRO, MILFORD E.

1955 The Acculturation of American ethnic groups. *American Anthropologist*, 57: 1240-1252.

STONEQUIST, E.V.

1935 *The Problem of Marginal Man*. *American Journal of Sociology*, 41: 1-12.

TAX, SOL., ED.

1949 *Acculturation in the Americas: Proceedings and Selected papers of the XXIXth International Congress of Americanists*, Chicago, Chicago University Press.

## THURNWALD, RICHARD

- 1932 The Psychology of acculturation. *American Anthropologist*, 34: 557-569.

## TREMBLAY, MARC-ADÉLARD

- 1954 The Acadians of Portsmouth: A study in culture change. Ph. D. thesis, Cornell University, Ithaca, New York.
- 1961 Niveaux et dynamismes d'acculturation des Acadiens de Portsmouth. *Anthropologica*, 3: 202-251.
- 1962 Les Acadiens de la Baie Française: l'Histoire d'une Survivance. *Revue d'Histoire de l'Amérique Française*, 15: 526-555.

## VOGET, FRED W.

- 1956 The American Indian in Transition: reformation and accomodation. *American Anthropologist*, 58: 249-263.
- 1960 Man and culture: An Essay in changing anthropological interpretation. *American Anthropologist*, 62: 943-965.

## WALLACE, ANTHONY F. C.

- 1956 Revitalization Movements. *American Anthropologist*, 58: 264-281.

## WILSON, M.H.

- 1934 Methods in the Study of culture contact. *Africa*, 7: 335-350.

## WAGLEY, CHARLES and M. HARRIS

- 1956 Minorities in the New World. New York, Columbia University Press.
-

# The Strategy of Social Evolution\*

BY RONALD COHEN

---

## RÉSUMÉ

Cet article est un essai de classification des différentes voies de recherche scientifique qui ont été employées dans l'étude du concept de l'évolution sociale. Il y a deux sortes de définitions de l'évolution: (a) celles qui mettent l'accent sur la forme et sur les changements de forme, et (b) celles qui portent en évidence le processus de l'évolution et qui font découler les changements de forme du processus ou des processus impliqués ou explicités dans la définition. En mettant l'accent sur la forme, on en vient à la voie inductive, alors qu'en soulignant le processus, on est conduit naturellement à la voie déductive.

Les études sur l'évolution comportent une autre dimension importante, celle du temps. Dans ces études, les différentes périodes de temps envisagées peuvent se grouper selon trois catégories: (a) les études à grande échelle, portant sur des périodes de 500 années et plus, (b) les études d'échelle moyenne, envisageant des périodes entre 25 et 500 années, et (c) les études à échelle minime qui se limitent aux changements sociaux s'effectuant à l'intérieur d'une période de 25 ans.

A ces trois types de dimension temporelle, on joint les deux méthodes d'approche mentionnées ci-haut, ce qui donne en tout six voies de recherches scientifiques. Chacune de ces voies est illustrée d'un exemple.

Enfin, l'analyse et la critique de ces différentes méthodes de recherches veulent indiquer la direction dans laquelle devront se faire les nouvelles études si on veut en obtenir des résultats positifs.

The expanding interest in evolution within Western anthropology in the last decade has now placed this subject near the forefront of contemporary anthropological thought. In the recent past, symposia and books on evolution have appeared in an almost steady stream; sessions at annual meetings of anthropological

\* The author would like to thank Professor F.W. Voget for helpful comments and suggestions. Responsibility for the final version rests however solely with the writer.

societies have been given over to evolution, and younger writers feel constrained to point out the evolutionary significance of their latest papers, whether or not an evolutionary perspective was contained in their original research objectives. In conversation, a colleague from England has recently pointed out that, although it is often forgotten, Radcliffe-Brown was most definitely an evolutionist.

The reasons for this almost faddish respectability of evolutionary study in social and cultural anthropology, after its half-century of ill-repute are complex. However some of the obvious factors can easily be summarized. The rapid social change in the non-European areas, and the avowed evolutionary goals of the new nations have forced all social scientists to think in more dynamic terms. Anthropology, with its intimate disciplinary connection to biology, and an evolutionary stress within the history of its own development, has been especially prone to turn to the evolutionary method of conceptualizing the contemporary world situation. Furthermore, especially in America where anthropology has maintained a broad eclectic front within the purview of its intellectual outlook, there is a need for some unifying theoretical approach that might bridge the gap between the constantly specializing and differentiating sub-branches of the discipline. Evolutionary theory not only unifies, it is a success, and it is therefore even more attractive as a generalizing and scientific approach which has already produced legitimate results in biology. Indeed proponents of the evolutionary approach go even further and suggest that not just anthropology but all knowledge should be organized around an evolutionary perspective. Huxley (1945: 88) claims that, "All reality is in a perfectly real sense evolution, and its essential features are to be sought not in the analysis of static structures or reversible changes, but through the irrevocable patterns of evolutionary transformation." Jenkins (1959: 102) postulates that all human activities — art, science, and artifacts — are each ultimately and fundamentally adaptive in nature. He assumes man and everything he produces to be subject to evolution.

Ideally then, evolution is a method of coping intellectually with a changing world, and a theoretical framework for synthesizing and unifying disparate and differentiating aspects of knowledge.

What is evolution more precisely? Sahlins and Service (1960) have discussed the problem of definitions and classified these into two varieties. The first and most widely used calls attention to forms and the changes that occur in them. The classic case in point is Darwin's own definition — evolution is descent and irreversible transformation through time. Secondly, writers like White (1960), Harris (1959), Cottrel (1955), Sahlins and Service (1960) and their students, use a processual definition more akin to that used by Julian Huxley (1943) the biologist. These definitions, as far as I understand, them are a postulated reversal of the Second Law of Thermodynamics. This law states that "inorganic evolution proceeds towards a decrease in organization, culminating in homogeneity, and the random distribution of matter and energy" (Sahlins and Service 1960: 7). On the other hand these same authors define organic and cultural evolution as moving in the opposite direction such that there is a continuous increase in organization, higher energy concentrations, and for the most part increased heterogeneity. White (1960: 39-40) assures us that this is not really a contradiction.

If, however, the process of cultural development moves in a direction opposite to that specified for the cosmos as a whole by the second law of thermodynamics, the operation of culture within the system of nature is in perfect accord with the cosmic process. In the process of utilizing the energy that it harnesses, culture reduces it from higher to lower levels of concentration, contributing to a more diffuse distribution of energy in the cosmos. Thus food is transformed and diffused as heat and work and reduced to lower levels of organization, i.e. to inorganic matter. In the burning of coal and oil, energy is transformed from compact, concentrated forms to loose and more diffuse forms. And in harnessing the energy of atomic nuclei, energy in even more concentrated form is released and diffused. Thus *within* the system that is culture, we find a movement and a direction opposite to that specified for the cosmos by the second law. But in relation to the rest of the cosmos culture is but a means of furthering the trend described by this law. The cultural process is therefore but an infinitesimally tiny eddy in the vast cosmic flow of things.

Any implication that the emphasis on form is less processual than the definition put forward by Sahlins and Service (1960) is erroneous at this stage of our knowledge. Both of these definitions view form as the result of process, indeed this is the essence of the evolutionary viewpoint. However the one approach starts

with form and derives process inductively or inferentially from it, while the other starts with what is usually a deductive outline of process and then derives or infers form from the processual principles.

Use of the words inductive and deductive can lead to interminable chicken-and-egg questions about which comes first, and whether these are in fact two different methodological perspectives. It is assumed here that no induction is possible without some deduction and vice versa, but that in any particular instance of research there is always a predominance of one over the other in the methods employed. Since this inductive/deductive distinction is basic to the understanding of current strategy in evolutionary studies, it is clarified below with a few examples.

Most nineteenth century evolutionary writers, such as L.H. Morgan, Sir Henry Maine, and J.F. McClennan arranged their empirical data in order to illustrate a deductively derived process of evolution. To them morphological distinctions in social or cultural data simply illustrated the "law" of evolution. Thus McClennan (1896: 9) states that "the history of human society is that of a development following closely one general law and that the variety of forms of life — of domestic and civil institutions — is ascribable mainly to the unequal development of the different sections of mankind." These early writers ordered their material by arranging it to illustrate their "general law." Later writers have used more sophisticated "laws" but utilize the same technique for presenting their arguments. Thus Ellwood (1927: 76) deduces a principle of cultural evolution which he claims is "applicable to all phases of culture." He argues that cultural evolution is "a process of active adaptation on the part of individuals and groups, carried on by the human brain as an active adaptive organ by means of intercommunication among members of human groups." Using this principle he attempts to show that a similar growth and development has occurred in tool use, food processing, agriculture, war, clothing, bodily decoration, housing, the fine arts, property, the family, law and government morality, religion, and education. The more widely known contemporary writings of L.A. White are based on the same logical techniques. In his most recent book White (1960: 40) states his deductive principle:

As the amount of energy harnessed by sociocultural systems increases per capita per year, the systems not only increase in size, but become more highly evolved, i.e. they become more differentiated structurally and more specialized functionally. We shall see this principle abundantly illustrated as we survey the evolution of culture in general.

White expresses this deduction in a formula  $E \times T \times V \rightarrow P$  — where E is energy, T is technology, V is the environment, and P is the product which can stand for an institution or a whole culture (1960: 49). He then reviews a large gamut of social and cultural institutions showing how his principle actually operates to produce the various forms of social and cultural phenomena.

The most recent application of this method is being carried forward by the followers of White under the leadership of Sahlins and Service. Although they distinguish the general evolution of human culture as a whole from specific adaptations made by particular societies or social forms, they still use the deductive approach. This is provocatively applied by Service in his essay on the "Laws of Evolutionary Potential" (Sahlins and Service 1960: 93-122). He first states his deduction which he says is a simple one, namely that, "The more specialized and adapted a form in a given evolutionary stage, the smaller is its potential for passing to the next stage." Those familiar with biological evolution will recognize the source of this postulate. Service then applies the law to various known cultural sequences such as writing, progress in science, and middle American, as well as old world culture history. After this "validation" he uses the law to analyse the evolution of national states in the modern world. He concludes that both Russia and the West are more specialized than the new countries in older methods of industrial and agricultural production. The new countries will thus, by dint of aid and effort, eventually surpass the older nations through the utilization of more advanced technological innovations developed after industrialization was well established in the older countries.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This assumes that foreign aid and internal efforts in the new countries will equal or surpass capital investment and modernization in the older industrialized countries — a statement that is open to some debate.

Starting with a definition that emphasizes form, the methodological approach is almost necessarily inductive, and usually historical. Here the researcher begins his work with a description of forms arranged in a temporal sequence, and then attempts to construct theories or generalizations to explain the empirically derived progression. Within this approach, evolutionary theory characteristically develops from comparative analysis of different historical sequences, although generalizations can be posed as explanatory hypotheses for one case, then tested later on others.

An early representative of this approach, Buckle (1860), attempted to show that regularities occur through time in history. Under the influence of J.S. Mill and Comte he claimed that "the actions of men being determined solely by their antecedents, must have a character of uniformity, that is to say, must under precisely the same circumstances, always issue in the same results," (in Gardiner 1959: 114) and it is the task of the historian as scientist to explain such regularities. After considering historical regularities, such as the constant murder rate in France between 1826 and 1844, he concludes that climate, food, soil, and the "general aspect of nature" are the main factors which combine to cause the peculiar course of any local historical tradition.

Buckle's work indicates that what we have called the inductive evolutionary perspective has a respectable age. However not many historians have followed his lead. Although Toynbee is more widely known, F.J. Teggart's work is more clearly in the evolutionary tradition. Starting in the early part of the century (Teggart 1916) and continuing through until the late 1930's, he has consistently argued for the examination and explanation of recurrent historical phenomena. This approach is most carefully applied in his book *Rome and China: A study of correlations in historical events* (1939). In this study he isolates all data pertaining to barbarian invasions in the Chinese and Roman empires between 58 B.C. and A.D. 107. These researches lead him to the discovery that "every barbarian uprising in Europe followed the outbreak of war either on the eastern frontiers of the Roman Empire, or in the 'Western regions' of the Chinese," (Teggart 1939: vii). He then attempts to explain this correlation by another one in which he shows that these warlike outbursts were caused



by interruptions of the Chinese trade. From this he concludes that China and its development are a necessary factor in the development of Western civilization.

In anthropology, as Bagby (1958) has pointed out, the culture historians in America have a long tradition of attempting to make inductive generalizations from recurrent diachronic patterns of cultural materials. In English anthropology, this approach is more recent, although certainly the work of Barnes (1954) and that of Smith (1960a) on political history in Africa, and of Worsely (1957) on millenarian movements in the Pacific falls into this same category. Kroeber's study with Richardson (1940) on three centuries of women's dress fashions is a classic example of this particular line of approach. After discovering that the feminine dress styles of Europe alternate between certain definable points on the average of every fifty years, the authors attempt to explain this occurrence by advancing an hypothesis which posits an evolutionary tendency or direction for women's dress in the culture that is broken periodically by unsettling features in the society.

This is not meant to suggest that all culture historians are by definition, inductive researchers. In the early part of the century, Wissler (1907) used the deductively derived age-area theory for obtaining chronology from distributional evidence to reconstruct the rise and elaboration of horse culture on the American plains. Recently Spier (1958) has derived several hypotheses from the literature on habit-channeling and then tested these on tool acculturation among the nineteenth century Chinese of California. His test indicates that habit-channeling, previously assumed to be a constant or least a stable conservative aspect of culture is in fact dependent upon variable and predictable factors in the acculturation situation.

These, then, are the two basic intellectual approaches to the study of evolutionary phenomena. Both are processual, both are, or can be, empirically used. It should be noted that many functional types of study, such as Murdock's (1949) work on social structure in which correlations are used as a basis for evolutionary statements are not historical, i.e. they do not use time as an independent variable and they do not involve irreversible trans-

formations (DeLint and Cohen 1959). If correlation studies meet these requirements, as indeed occurs in Murdock's (1937) work on temporal priority of matrilineal over patrilineal institutions, then they can be included in the corpus of evolutionary research. One further proviso should be made concerning correlational studies since their future looks a good deal brighter than their past. Using the theoretical assumptions of Robinson (1951) and Brainerd (1951) concerning lenticular distribution it is now possible to arrange cultural materials in temporal sequences such that evolutionary hypotheses can be tested. This method has been utilized to great advantage in archeology, and in social anthropology by Driver and Massey (1957) who tested Murdock's hypothesis of evolutionary progression in social organization with positive results. Thus they were able to show that the most probable order of change in kinship is from division of labour to residence pattern, to land tenure to descent, to sister-cousin terms, to mother-aunt terms (Driver and Massey 1957: 434). Another method for testing the validity of causal inferences, i.e. correlations involving the temporal priority of one or more variables over one or more other phenomena, has been suggested by Blalock (1960). However as he himself admits, his method does not preclude other logically coherent causal theories, and temporal sequence is not a resultant conclusion of his method.

We shall return to an evaluation of the two methodological approaches after considering the problem of scale.

If the evolutionary perspective is to serve any useful purpose as a catalyst in the creation of synthetic theory uniting the various branches of anthropology, then at some point in our discussion we must come to grips with the problem of scale. What kind of theory, with what kind of assumptions, and units of analysis can embrace within its logical confines the work of the comparative archeologists who may wish to use time scales of thousands of years, and the work of the social anthropologist immersed in a community in which transformation may be occurring within the space of a few months or years. In order to review the problem, and to analyze the kinds of contributions to evolutionary knowledge that are possible at varying levels of scale, we have classified varying temporal magnitudes into three categories. Large scaled

studies are those dealing with a time dimension of roughly 500 years or over; middle scaled ones refer to periods from 25 years (roughly just over one generation) to 500 years; small scaled studies deal with periods ranging from only a few minutes to 25 years (or within the compass of one generation). Within each of these scales, studies may be primarily deductive or inductive as these approaches are defined and identified above.

### *Large Scaled Studies*

#### (a) Deductive

As we have pointed out, many of the nineteenth century evolutionists were deductive in their approach. They embraced as much of the temporal dimension as possible hoping to show what were the major phases of social and cultural evolution. These workers thought of themselves as operating within a time span which they referred to as "human history" or "the development of human institutions." There was no attempt except in the case of Sir Henry Maine (1861), to actually date the inception of these various periods, empirically. This hampered their work, since they could obtain no realistic understanding of rates of development. Furthermore, the unilineal quality of their evolutionary deductions combined with the simplicity of their diagnostic features made them an easy prey to later writers who had more data. Thus if a schema had, for example, six periods and only one or two diagnostic features for each succeeding layer, then any demonstration of "higher" traits in a "lower" society or vice versa cast grave doubts on the schema, especially since the early writers usually assumed that societal integration required the same level of development throughout the institutional framework of the society. More sophisticated work has been possible with the larger amounts of archeological data available in the present century. Thus White (1960) and Childe (1954) using simple deductive principles have been able to "explain" large scale evolutionary progressions in human history.

Many of these large scale deductive theories, such as that of Childe (1948; 1954) rest on the validity of the surplus theory of evolution. This is the postulate that given an increase in productive capacity there will be a corresponding increase in

population size, density, and organizational complexity. Harris (1959) has answered critics of the theory (Pearson 1957) by attempting to show that a surplus is measurable in absolute terms while Sahlins (1958) has tried to test the thesis on Polynesian social evolution. Neither of these attempts is totally satisfactory. Sahlins finds it difficult to measure surplus productivity without reference to social stratification and vice versa. In the end, he uses the same social action, namely the chief's redistributive functions as a measure (among others) of both productivity and stratification. Dalton (1960) has criticized the logical and empirical underpinnings of Harris' (1959) approach by suggesting (a) that even if surpluses are measurable they may not necessarily induce social change, (b) the theory is incapable of an empirical test, and (c) it stems deductively from insights into market as opposed to non-market societies.

The strength of large scale deductive method lies in the synthesis of vast amounts of data that writers in this category seem to accomplish. Most obvious in this respect is the work of Childe. On the other hand, there is often the possibility that only those data that confirm rather than disconfirm the deductive principle are being utilized to illustrate the thesis, or that closer examination of each case would lead to a less convincing argument. An example of this is the case of Meggers (1954) and her law of environmental potential. She feels that environment through its effect on agricultural productivity controls the extent to which a culture can develop. By looking more closely at the concepts and using refined categories of analysis on a wider comparative basis, Ferdon (1959: 12) has shown that "there is little, if any, correlation between (agricultural) potential rating and cultural achievement." However it is to Meggers' credit that her "law" was testable.

#### (b) Inductive

Many large scale syntheses in archeology utilize an essentially inductive approach. Thus Willey and Phillips (1955) derive a few descriptive concepts, and then use these to arrange the data of New World archeology into a schema that is partly historical and partly developmental. Although this presentation is caste in

a deductive mode i.e. concepts first then data, the scheme actually emerged after comparative considerations. The authors admit that one of their stages, the Preformative, emerged because there were "so many instances where agriculture and one or more other elements of the Formative had penetrated without affecting any configurational change from the preceding Archaic..." (Willey and Phillips 1955: 790). Evolutionary generalizations are difficult to come by in their study, although certain trends are pointed out. Thus the work neatly discards any simple schema assuming a tight integration such that any single marker registers an evolutionary type. They also show the "lack of celerity of the 'Agricultural Revolution' in the New World" (Willey and Phillips 1955: 792), and posit the influence of trade in inducing the later aboriginal developments on the coast of Ecuador. As these and other generalizations suggest, the evolutionary results are for the most part descriptive rather than 'causal'. Furthermore because of the wealth of historical data used by these writers, widely applicable generalizations about sequential development are not easily arrived at. The best known work by a cultural anthropologist in this field is that of Julian Steward (1955), who compares various phases of development in independent cultural traditions around the world. After demonstrating that there are recurrent large scaled series of cultural "layers", he offers a few hypotheses about the processes which bring about this regularity of development. He suggests that in semi-arid regions, the interaction of a need for irrigation works and a subsequent need for social and political control of these water projects produces a dynamic situation that moves society into a more complex level of socio-political integration. Previous religiosity fore-ordains that the new complexity will be at least in its initial phases a theocracy, and finally increased population pressure and continued trends in social stratification bring forth a tendency for the developing state to expand into an empire at the expense of its neighbours. Leaving aside the validity of this thesis, it has come under criticism recently (Adams 1960; Woodbury 1961), it is inductive and perhaps more importantly, it is a sequential series of stages and is testable on empirical data. Murdock's (1939) establishment of the various time-depth correlates of matrilineal and patrilineal kinship factors is one of the most sophisticated

and conclusive studies ever done in this area. To establish time-depth Murdock uses social and cultural phenomena whose appearance earlier or later in history is already established. He then correlates analytically derived sub-qualities of patrilineal and matrilineal kinship with these in order to get some idea of their temporal relations. This is a method that could be fruitfully applied across a wide spectrum of socio-cultural phenomena, yet very little follow-up has occurred.

The obvious strength of the inductive large scale approach is its strong empirical basis which forces the careful researchers to remain close to the known facts. The method also orders the data of human development for us so that we are today becoming progressively more aware of the general phases and sub-phases of cultural growth from its earliest beginnings to the present in various parts of the world. The basic weakness in the method is the difficulty it presents for obtaining adequate hypotheses for testing. Basically it is a descriptive synthesis that is aimed at, rather than a theory of development whose constituent postulates explain the development being described.

#### *Middle Scale (25-500 years)*

##### (a) Deductive

In this approach writers apply a deductively derived process to a known historical sequence, usually within one phase or stage of evolutionary development. Thus the Wittfogel (1939) thesis can be applied to Hohokam irrigation works, many of which are believed to be within a 500 year span. However Woodbury (1961) suggests that the canals here were probably built without large scale socio-economic organization. It seems likely that the time span is a crucial factor here. Given similar size of irrigation works, long building periods are probably indicative of less complex organization while shorter building periods reflect highly organized works projects. A classic example of this kind of study is White's (1949) analysis of Iknahaton. He reasons that in the evolution of the state there is always power rivalry between any differentiating temporal and ecclesiastic institutions. He then attempts to show how the known facts of

Iknahnton's rule are in accord with this deduction. Meggers (1960) has applied the same kind of analysis to Apache material in order to show that separate groups of these people with different subsistence techniques have correlated differences in social organization. In the realm of kinship, Service (1960) has worked out a deductive schema for the evolution of kin terms. More recently Sahlins (1961) by using a derived principle of adaptation, and data on the range of social solidarity in disputes, has attempted to show that Nuer and Tiv expansionism is a product of their feuding patterns as contrasted with those of their neighbours. This results in a large number of Tiv or Nuer opposing a much smaller group from a contiguous tribe.

The strength and weaknesses of this method stem from the same sources, viz. the adequacy of the historical material. Thus Meggers' (1960) hypothesis was strangely criticized by Opler (1961) for having very little factual basis. It may be difficult to test the Service (1960) schema of terminological development in kinship because of the paucity of full kinship terms through any time-depth for any one cultural tradition. (This may be a case where cross-cultural correlations using relative time-depth as in the case of Murdock (1939) could prove useful). On the other hand, if there are good historical data, then this method can be used to test almost any hypotheses or theory of development which may arise from other research or from armchair thinking. The work of Spier (1958) referred to above is a case in point.

#### (b) Inductive

This is the range of scale usually encompassed in acculturation studies and descriptions of known historical cultural and social changes in time spans up to about 500 years. The work of Kroeber and Richardson (1940) referred to above comes under this rubric as does that of Smith (1960a; 1960b) on Zazzau and Kagoro, as well as that of Worsely (1957) on millenarian movements. Smith's Kagoro study is a dramatic example of this kind of study since he outlines an historically documented transformation from one type of socio-political form to another and then applies an evolutionary generalization to account for the change.

In acculturation studies, beginning with the early statements on this phenomena (Redfield, Linton, and Herskovits 1936; Malinowski et al. 1936) and continuing through to the recent SSRC seminar, general postulates on the nature and result of cultural and social change resulting from contact have been published along with an ever-increasing body of empirical literature. Some of this work has been comparative as in the case of Linton (1940) and recently Spicer (1961). The latter has tried to use very detailed historical analyses and emerge with some improved generalizations concerning culture contact and the transformations it creates. In history, Colbourn's work on feudalism (1956) and its development, although somewhat narrow in the numbers and kinds of cases utilized is an attempt to use this method for purposes of generalization.

This particular strategy is the most accurate factually for documenting case studies of actual evolutionary occurrences at the socio-cultural level. Comparative work using this method should therefore bring forth the most adequate generalizations we have in social science. Unfortunately this rarely seems to be the case, generalizations are usually accurate within the confines of the data but hardly profound. Thus after Smith's (1960b) penetrating analysis of Kagoro social evolution, he brings a generalization from his other work on Zazzau (1960a) to explain the development. He postulates that the evolution of centralized government in Kagoro was in accordance with the processual principle which states that elements of a system under equal pressure to change, change in inverse order to their "significance for the persistence of the system in its current form" (1960b: 149). In other words, if part of a system is very important for the operation of that system it changes more slowly than a part that is less important. Such teleological generalizations are simply too general to provide any insights into other historical sequences, or stimulate an ongoing research enterprise. On the other hand, Spicer (1961) and his seminar group, by going deeply into the details of six American acculturation sequences, found generalizations being refined more and more into specific cases. Thus they distinguish between mission and reservation communities, but then indicate that Pueblo and Yaqui acculturation differed because



of Jesuit-Yaqui contact as opposed to Franciscan-Pueblo ones. However Spicer does at least try to go beyond this impasse by abstracting out three factors, systematic linkage, i.e. the nature of the contacts, role and sanction patterns in the contact situation, and the structural stability of the systems in contact (Spicer 1961: 524-528). These are still far from being an operational set of theoretically interrelated variables, but they seem to be a step in that direction. This brings out the basic difficulty with this particular approach. If inductive work is to bring any results there must be some clearly defined set of widely comparable variables whose interrelationship is posited theoretically such that both comparative analysis, and the detailed description of particular case studies can provide an ongoing refinement and development of the theory. This point is crucial, and we will return to it later.

#### *Small Scale (0-25 years)*

##### (a) Deductive

At this level of evolutionary study the focus is on transformations which occur within the space of one generation. Very few well worked out deductive studies have been carried out at this level of scale in anthropology. In sociology the most controlled area of research, that of small groups, allows for deductive work. Indeed this is almost implicit in the nature of such work, since the experiments must be designed first, and thus systematic theory characteristically precedes observation. Although much of this research is pregnant with evolutionary significance the work of Bales (1949) stands out in this respect. He deduces a general principle of group social process in which social systems are viewed as moving back and forth between theoretical poles; "optimum adaptation to the outer situation at the cost of internal malintegration, or optimum internal integration at the cost of maladaptation to the outer situation (Bales 1955: 128). From this general idea he deduces a number of specific hypotheses about the behaviour of groups and members in groups, as well as a methodology for observation and measurement of relevant variables. The important point for present purposes is that Bales' theoretical and empirical work operates through a

time period in which role differentiation, leadership, and even a kind of "scapegoating" (Bales 1955: 452) actually emerge in the groups. He thus theorizes about and investigates the microscopic conditions of group behaviour which combine to produce ongoing social systems.

Cohen (1962) has tried to illustrate a deductive model of organizational behaviour derived from Frank (1959) which predicts behaviour in a social milieu involving conflict. Here individuals respond to pressures rather than to rules, and there is variation in behaviour resulting from the conflict among enforceable standards of performance. Because individual members respond to superiors in the hierarchy, superiors can act as selective agents, and introduce innovations which are accepted. Thus the hierarchy is seen as a constantly changing entity in which selection acts on variation brought about by inconsistency.

For anthropology, the difficulty with such an approach is the paucity of contemporary theory, and the norms of the discipline itself which create conditions for the continuation of such scarcity. The standardized procedures for doing small scaled research involve an immersion by the worker in a semi-exotic area in which at least part of the task is an understanding of the unfamiliar elements of the native culture. Thus the application or creation of deductive theory is held back because of a lack of control over the nature of the empirical material. Methods by which this difficulty can be overcome will be discussed later, as well as the positive aspects of this particular approach. Suffice it to say here that if larger scaled morphological changes can be shown to articulate with posited and consequently established smaller scaled ones, then deductive theory at the small scale level stands in a causal genetic relationship to the rest of evolutionary study.

#### (b) Inductive

At this level of study, small scaled changes are documented and attempts at generalization are made in order to explain significant regularities occurring in the time period. Almost all of the work in social anthropology dealing with observable changes within one generation come under this rubric. Syntheses of such

work are under way although this is still an underdeveloped area of the discipline. A good example of the research itself and its synthesis can be seen in the recent set of studies of *Social Change in Modern Africa* edited by Southall (1961). In this combined effort a number of scholars report on particular instances of change, and a few namely Southall, Gluckman, and Mitchell attempt to bring together work already done in order to make some generalizations. In his case study of Freetown, Banton shows that urbanization involves a shift from social relations based on kinship to ones based more often on contractual relations. In a more general fashion, Mitchell by reviewing the literature shows that urbanization will increase the divorce rate for traditionally patrilineal groups in Northern Rhodesia. Finally Southall by reviewing a large area of research in both East and West Africa is able to make a whole series of generalizations about change which should serve as a base-line for study in the coming years.

Similar work is going on in other parts of the world, although on an impressionistic basis it seems apparent that Africa is at present getting a relatively higher proportion of attention than almost any other area.

Sociologists have also devoted a good deal of research time to the description and inductive analysis of small scaled social change. An interesting example of such work is the study of changing recruitment practices in the organization of large law firms (Smigel 1960). The writer describes the law firms before the stimulus to change occurred, and gives the criteria for recruitment. He then shows how a shortage developed in the numbers of recruits, and then in a detailed fashion shows how the organizations had to change culturally and socially in order to adapt to the new situation of shortage. Changes once introduced, and adjusted to, provided a basis for role differentiation in the law firms and for changes in the recruitment criteria which bring about cultural changes in the firms in the long run.

The strength of such an approach is its comprehensiveness. Workers dealing with specific cases are usually concerned to obtain adequate understanding and explanation for the changes in their own particular case study. Synthesis thus has a wide body of data from which to extract generalizations. The primary

weakness of the method is its usual confinement within areal and sub-areal geographic regions, and thus theory construction is often tied to limited sets of data. This leads to duplication and less generality than the body of social science literature as it now stands would lead us to expect. The strategy implications of such limitations will be discussed below.

The foregoing has been an attempt to summarize in analytic terms the major strategic approaches to evolutionary problems. It is in no sense a systematic review of concepts and research results. Indeed such a task would take several volumes, since evolutionary study is not a separate, bounded, area of scholarship, but rather a perspective or viewpoint. Thus any study focusing on some kind of change in the form in man's social life comes under the generic classification of evolution. The studies cited in this paper are used simply to illustrate a particular strategy, and each reader can probably think of many more that would fit into any of the six categories which have been delineated. These categories have proved useful to the writer in trying to order the various kinds of evolutionary studies. Recapitulating for a moment, we have suggested that there are basically two types of definitions of the evolutionary process extant at present, one of which implies a deductive, and the other an inductive attack on the data. These two types of research strategies are applied at varying degrees of time scale which we have divided into three magnitudes.

### *Discussion*

Given the heuristic value of this schema, it is necessary to show what, if any, are the relationships between the various categories. Let us start with time scales. In order to do this it is necessary first to overgeneralize somewhat and assume that the classification of units of study given in the following table is a universally applicable strategic approach for each level of scale. Actually, each of these units can on occasion be utilized for other time scales. Oversimplifying in this way will however enable us to see some of the major relationships between varying temporal magnitudes.

*Units of Study in Varying Time Scales*

Scales of Study	Units of Analysis	Example of Units
Large (over 500 years)	Societies as wholes	hunting and gathering society, feudal states, etc.
Medium (25-500 years)	Institutions, long term environmental trends	political organization, the market, warfare, desiccation, etc.
Small (0-25 years)	Interacting groups, short term environmental trends	communities, families, floods, famines, epidemics, etc.

In all large scale studies with which the writer is familiar, any theory of evolution always utilizes dynamic interrelations between units from the other time scales. Thus Steward (1955: 202) in discussing the growth from an Incipient Agricultural stage to a Formative one shows that "a national religion and a priestly class developed because increasing populations, larger irrigation works, and greater need for social coordination called upon religion to supply the integrating factor." Beardsley et al. (1956) discuss the dynamics producing their "simple nuclear centered" type (roughly equivalent to Steward's Formative) in terms of the development of conservational agricultural techniques, a ceremonial and market center which links a number of communities, and a dependable surplus in production. Thus large scale studies can develop no explanatory theory of evolution *sui generis*. Society considered as a unit cannot cause itself to evolve, rather the relationship of its various parts one with another and with external forces bring about whatever developmental regularities we are able to isolate. Large scale evolutionary theory is therefore essentially reductionist. Researchers wishing to understand large scale developmental regularities must familiarize themselves with the nature of causal forces and the interrelationship of units of analysis at the smaller scaled levels.

Middle scaled studies generally arrange institutions into series of chains through time. Sometimes whole societies are treated, but even if this is the case the sequence will be viewed through a series of documented changes in the constituent institu-

tions. Dark (1957) has summarized the kinds of work done here and it would be repetitious to go over it again. Important to the present discussion is the nature of explanation at this level. Factors put forward as determinants of change in institutions range across the entire gamut of variables encompassed by both the middle and small scaled approach. Historians often detail the impact of one institution e.g. "the church" on another e.g. "the monarchy." Social commentators discuss the relationship of the "military establishment" to the "state department" and the result of this relationship for the formation of foreign policy. In anthropology Wedel (1953: 511) has outlined how environmental factors affect the development of socio-cultural types in one area. He claims that the "spread westward of early Woodland hunters and of later maize-growing peoples may have been encouraged by a sustained westward shift of agriculturally favorable climatic conditions, that is, of rainfall zones, only to be discouraged by recurring drought periods." Imbedded in the welter of historical writing on the effects of "great men" on institutional change are many small scale sources for middle scaled transformations. Examined more closely, middle scaled causal forces at this level break down into two major categories. First there are the ideal goals and functions of the institution which tend to influence the behaviour of members of these institutions such that they will act to further these goals even if this means doing so at the expense of the other institutions in the society. Secondly, environmental trends in the situation such as geographical factors, or relations with other societies tend to promote or hinder the advancement of particular institutions or tendencies within these institutions over time within any one society. Small scaled causal factors if continued through time can also bring about transformations at the middle scaled level. Thus, for example, role conflicts within institutions which produce tensions and informal adjustments in short time spans, tend to stabilize or traditionalize the informal system over longer periods (Cohen 1962).

At the small scale level itself the range of possible causal factors is very large. Factors such as demography, social structure, values, scarcity, surplus, conflict, power seeking, status rivalry, personality patterns, and many others have been used

to explain small scaled transformations. What is obvious in both sociology and anthropology is that no satisfactory theory of social change exists at present which could be utilized for evolutionary purposes. Such a theory requires that small scaled changes not only be explained, but that the manner of their articulation with larger scaled changes be predicted as well.

The entire problem can be analogically compared to a set of interconnected gears of varying sizes, each of which, except perhaps the largest, has its own motive power<sup>2</sup>. Revolutions of the smaller gears are more rapid than those of the larger ones, but cause movement throughout the entire system. Our problem is to understand what gives the system its motive power and how this energy is transformed into movement (or evolutionary change) throughout the variously scaled parts of the system.

With these properties of the various scales in mind, let us now turn to the problem of approach or research strategy and see which of our six categories of analysis will yield the best results.

First of all, should the approach be deductive or inductive? Anthropology with its emphasis on field work has always leaned heavily on inductive work. On the other hand, theory development requires more and more refined generalizations which are tested empirically but controlled intellectually *before* empirical research begins so that the investigation is carefully directed towards proving or disproving theoretically derived generalizations. Greater concentration on inductive work will simply turn up more and more undigestible facts for a discipline that is already bursting with literature. This means that a few anthropologists and their students must breakaway from the field-work-equals research axiom of our discipline in order to found a specialist corps of synthesizers who will bring together comparative materials and publish their findings at the various levels of scale. Indeed, this seems to be happening already at the University of Michigan. Such activity is bound to lead to an acceptable taxonomy at the large scale level that can serve as a framework for smaller scaled studies. It should also lead to the

<sup>2</sup> I wrote this paragraph before reading Gray's (1961) article on epicycles, but the similarity is striking. (Cf. Gray 1961: 1015).

development of theories and models of evolutionary process at the middle and the small scale levels such that empirical work will have some guide-lines within which to plan particular case studies.

As we have already said, deductive work requires greater control over the materials being studied. Since this is by definition difficult for anthropologists who often as not must familiarize themselves with the outlines of an exotic culture, methods must be sought for obtaining greater control over what is included and excluded from any particular study. Two approaches already in use seem pertinent in this respect. First there are the Human Relations Area Files, now available in a microfilm series. Use of this research instrument may not give as much depth as a case study, but it does allow the investigator a relatively high degree of control over his comparative materials. Like all mechanical tools the files can be utilized best to test a wide range of relationships conceptually worked out prior to investigation, rather than being used as a source of new relations. As we have seen time scales can be constructed from ethnographic data and answers to a number of questions can be obtained. Secondly, and in a more continuous line of development with previous research techniques, longitudinal studies of limited geographic areas will give anthropologists a chance to (a) observe small scaled transformations as these occur, and (b) give more adequate grounds for testing deductively derived hypotheses, since the exotic quality of the area can be controlled for, by long term association with it.

One more observation about deductive and inductive work should be made at this point. Although progressively more deductive research is of greater value theoretically in the long run, it is obvious that the two are intertwined in any ongoing research enterprise. Theoretical thinking must always be re-adjusted by empirical study and the latter should always be planned with some theoretical motive, if any intellectual progress is to be achieved in evolutionary work.

An even more important question is that of scale. At what level of scale should our primarily deductive attack focus in order to bring the best results. Any theory that eventually develops will have to explain changes that take place at all levels of



scale so that the entire evolutionary process can be seen as a whole. It must be remembered that these scale levels have no objective reality as entities, they are simply taxonomic conveniences. If social evolution is part of the grander evolution of all organic reality then it seems logical to begin our thinking about deductive theory in a way that does not depart, at first from the general theory of evolution used in biology. Later facts may emerge that will force the theory towards a more unique position. But the cosmic view should be dropped. No one in biology working on evolution is directly concerned with the second law of thermodynamics or its possible reversal. Such a cosmic view produces only vague, broad outlines whose time depth is so large that their relationship to human events becomes obscure. For example, the fact that the sun's energy will eventually give out, does not in any conceivable way effect the development of cities, or the growth of specialization and role differentiation in society. No stretch of the imagination can at present logically bridge this gap and place human history into the immense framework of cosmic entropy.

The conceptual bases of evolutionary theory are quite simple. The process can be cut at any point and examined, or viewed over a stipulated time period long or short. Causal connections within the process are interactive and multiple so that in reality there is no beginning or end merely a constant interplay of factors, all having some determinative power in producing the observed effect at any one time. However, as we have said above, for heuristic purposes it is necessary to speak of the evolution of a phenomenon, not all of reality. It is useful to approach the problem from a reductionist point of view and regard the process from the position of an evolving phenomenon. Then factors within the phenomenon are said to interact with one another and with the external world to produce changes in the phenomenon as a whole. In biology the phenomenon is referred to as a population with specific species characteristics; in human affairs the population would be some kind of society having specific structural characteristics. It is not the patterned features of the population that interest the evolutionist, these are simply its identification labels. Evolutionary process is fundamentally a relationship between a group of determinant external forces operating on the

indeterminant or random variations to be found within the population (society). In terms of both biological and social evolution these external forces can operate at *any* scale level. Long term soil depletion can be producing changes in the evolving unit at the same time as a sudden change in technology or a new culture contact. In biology all the forces of change, or selective factors, no matter what their scale, operate on the same phenomenon, the population, at a micro or small scale level. This I believe is a fruitful idea for social evolution as well. What we need is a set of phenomena analagous to the genes. The gene pool is that set of features in a population which determines its characteristics and their variance. Unfortunately we do not have such a neat bundle of variables in social evolution. Nevertheless we do have variance and indeterminacy, but with the intense effort to uncover regularity in social science we often forget that these randomizing factors might have theoretical significance. For example, at the small scale level, the presence in any society of a range of personality types insures a pool upon which new and changing pressures can operate in order to select out the dominant, or most adaptive varieties. Again, the factors of birth, death, recruitment and replacement of roles in society maintain a constant variation in the traditionally patterned character of interpersonal relations in any social structure. No two people act out a role in the same way, and no one is immortal, or even constant during his own life span in his role behaviour. Upon these, and perhaps other natural variations, selective factors such as demography, technology, geography, social structure and ideological forces, all operate to select out the dominant types of adaptive solutions for any particular society in any particular time and place. In other words the problem of scale may be solved when we consider all levels of scale as possible and simultaneous sources for selective factors that operate through small scale processes in society to promote the multiplicity of adaptations that human history has witnessed. Although this is only the barest hint of a "genetic" theory of social evolution, I would conclude that it is within this kind of approach that future work will find its most fruitful growth.

## REFERENCES CITED

- ADAMS, R.M.  
 1960 Early civilizations, subsistence, and environment. *In City invincible*, C.H. Kraeling, R.H. Adams (eds.). Chicago, University of Chicago Press.
- BAGBY, P.  
 1958 Culture and history. Toronto, Longmans Green.
- BALES, R.F.  
 1949 Interaction process analysis. Cambridge, Addison-Wesley.  
 1955 Adaptive and integrative changes as sources of strain in social systems. *In Small groups: studies in social interaction*, P. Hare, E.F. Borgatta, R.F. Bales (eds.). New York, Knopf.  
 1955 The equilibrium problem in small groups. *In Small groups: studies in social interaction*. (Cited above.)
- BARNES, J.A.  
 1954 Politics in a changing society: a political history of the Fort Jameson Ngoni. Cape Town, Oxford University Press.
- BEARDSLEY, R.K., HOLDER, P., MEGGERS, B.J., RINALDO, J.B. and KUTSCHE, P.  
 1956 Functional and evolutionary implications of community patterning. *In Seminars in archeology 1955*. Memoir of the Society of American Archeology, 11: 131-157.
- BLALOCK, JR., H.M.  
 1960 Correlational analysis and causal inference. *American Anthropologist*, 62: 624-631.
- BRAINERD, G.  
 1951 The place of chronological ordering in archeological analysis. *American Antiquity*, 16: 301-313.
- BUCKLE, H.T.  
 1860 History of civilization in England. New York, Appleton.
- CHILDE, V.G.  
 1948 Man makes himself. London, Watts.  
 1954 What happened in history. London, Pelican.
- COHEN, R.  
 1962 The analysis of conflict in hierarchical systems: an example from Kanuri political organization. *Anthropologica*, 4: 87-120.
- COLBOURN, R.  
 1956 Feudalism in history. New Jersey, Princeton University Press.
- COTTRELL, F.W.  
 1955 Energy and Society. New York, McGraw-Hill.

- DALTON, G.  
1960 A note of clarification on surplus. *American Anthropologist*, 62: 483-490.
- DARK, P.  
1957 Methods of synthesis in Ethnohistory. *Ethnohistory*, 4: 231-278.
- DELINT, J. and COHEN, R.  
1960 One factor magic: a discussion of Murdock's theory of social evolution. *Anthropologica*, 2: 95-104.
- DRIVER, H.E. and MASSEY, W.C.  
1957 Comparative studies of North American Indians. *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, 47: 165-456.
- ELLWOOD, C.A.  
1927 Cultural evolution. New York, Century.
- FERDON, JR., E.N.  
1959 Agricultural potential and the development of culture. *South-western Journal of Anthropology*, 15: 1-9.
- FRANK, A.G.  
1959 Goal ambiguity and conflicting standards: an approach to the study of organization. *Human Organization*, 17: 8-13.
- GRAY, C.E.  
1961 An epicyclical model for western civilization. *American Anthropologist*, 63: 1014-1037.
- HARRIS, M.  
1959 The economy has no surplus? *American Anthropologist*, 61: 185-199.
- HUXLEY, J.S.  
1943 *Evolution: the modern synthesis*. New York, Harper.  
1945 Review of *Life in the Past* by G.G. Simpson. *Scientific American*, 189: 88-90.
- JENKINS, I.  
1958 *Art and the human enterprise*. Cambridge, Harvard University Press.
- KROEBER, A.L. and RICHARDSON, J.  
1940 Three centuries of women's dress fashion. Reprinted in part in *The Nature of culture*, A.L. Kroeber. Chicago, University of Chicago Press.
- LINTON, R. (ed.)  
1940 *Acculturation in seven American Indian tribes*. New York, Appleton-Century.

- MAINE, SIR H.J.S.  
1874 Ancient Law. New York, Holt.
- MALINOWSKI, B. et al.  
1938 Methods of study of Culture contact in Africa. International Institute of African Languages and Culture, Memorandum 15.
- MCCLENNAN, J.F.  
1896 Studies in ancient history. London, Macmillan.
- MEGGERS, B.J.  
1954 Environmental limitation on the development of culture. *American Anthropologist*, 56: 801-823.  
1960 The law cultural evolution as a practical research tool. *In Essays in the science of culture*, G.E. Dole, R.L. Carneiro (eds.). New York, Thomas and Crowell.
- MURDOCK, G.P.  
1939 Correlations of matrilineal and patrilineal institutions. *In Studies in the science of society*, G.P. Murdock (ed.). New Haven, Yale University Press.  
1949 Social structure. New York, Macmillan.
- OPLER, M.E.  
1961 Cultural evolution, southern Athapaskans, and chronology in theory. *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology*, 17: 1-20.
- PEARSON, H.W.  
1957 The economy has no surplus. *In Trade and market in the early empires*, K. Polanyi, C.M. Arensburg, H.W. Pearson (eds.). Glencoe, Free Press.
- REDFIELD, R., LINTON, R., and HERSKOVITS, M.J.  
1936 A memorandum on the study of acculturation. *American Anthropologist*, 38: 194-152.
- ROBINSON, W.S.  
1951 A method of chronologically ordering archeologically deposits. *American Antiquity*, 16: 293-301.
- SAHLINS, M.D.  
1958 Social stratification in Polynesia. Seattle, University of Washington Press, for American Ethnological Society.  
1961 The segmentary lineage: an organization of predatory expansion. *American Anthropologist*, 63: 322-345.
- SAHLINS, M.D. and SERVICE, E.R.  
1960 Evolution and culture. Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press.
- SERVICE, E.R.  
1960 Kinship terminology and evolution. *American Anthropologist*, 62: 747-763.

- SMIGEL, E.O.  
1960 The impact of recruitment of the organization of the large law firm. *American Sociological Review*, 25: 56-66.
- SMITH, M.G.  
1960a Kagoro political development. *Human Organization*, 19: 137-149.  
1960b Government in Zazzau. London, Oxford University Press.
- SOUTHALL, A. (ed.)  
1961 Social change in modern Africa. London, Oxford University Press.
- SPIER, F.G.  
1958 Tool acculturation among the 19th century Chinese of California. *Ethnohistory*, 5: 97-117.
- STEWART, J.H.  
1955 The theory of culture change. Urbana, University of Illinois Press.
- TEGGART, F.J.  
1916 Prolegomena to history. Berkeley, University of California Press.  
1939 Rome and China: a study of correlations in historical events. Berkeley, University of California Press.
- WEDEL, W.R.  
Some aspects of ecology in the central plains. *American Anthropologist*, 55: 499-514.
- WHITE, L.A.  
1949 The science of culture. New York, Ferrar, Strauss and Cudahy.  
1960 The evolution of culture. New York, McGraw-Hill.
- WILLEY, G.R. and PHILLIPS, P.  
1955 Method and theory in American archeology. *American Anthropologist*, 57: 723-819.
- WISSLER, C.  
1907 Diffusion of culture in the plains of North America. 15th Session of the international congress of Americanists, Quebec, 1906.
- WITTFOGEL, K.A.  
1939 The society of prehistoric China. *Studies in Philosophy and Social Science*, 8: 138-186.
- WOODBURY, R.B.  
1961 A reappraisal of Hohokam irrigation. *American Anthropologist*, 63: 550-560.
- WORSLEY, P.  
1957 The trumpets shall sound. London, MacGibbon and Kee.

# Facial Flatness and Cheekbone Morphology in Arctic Mongoloids

A CASE OF MORPHOLOGICAL TAXONOMY

BY L. OSCHINSKY

---

## RÉSUMÉ

Le type du mogoloïd de l'arctique se distingue par ce que l'on peut appeler la "trinité" de l'aplatissement facial. Cette caractéristique, à laquelle se joint d'autres traits bien définis, apparaît avec une constance marquée dans une grande partie de la région circompolaire, c'est-à-dire, du Groënland à la rivière Yenesei en Sibérie. Se basant sur la distribution continue de ces facteurs, il semble bien qu'il faille englober les mongoloïds de l'arctique en un seul groupe taxinomique.

Cet assemblage de traits, lequel change de plus en plus rapidement à mesure qu'on s'éloigne du groupe mongoloïd, se retrouve aussi parmi les fossiles de Chou-kou-tien, de même que parmi les plus anciens spécimens d'esquimaux préhistoriques.

La répartition continue de cette "trinité" dans l'espace et dans le temps lui donne donc une grande valeur diagnostique pour la phylogénétique et l'anthropogéographie des mongoloïds.

The history of Eskimo physical anthropological studies includes many interesting methodological varieties and theoretical divergences. In the main there have been two schools of thought in Eskimo researches which have offered explanations of the origin, antiquity and affinities of the Eskimos.

One group represented by Boas (1888), Shapiro (1934), Rink (1887), and Birket-Smith (1930) holds that the Eskimos originated in North America south of the Arctic area and moved north. In other words, they are Indians who shifted their environment from a boreal forest or temperate area to the Arctic area.

The other group represented by Hooton (1918), Hrdlicka (1930, 1944, 1945), Mathiasen (1927, 1930), Jenness (1925,

1933, 1941) and Collins (1951, 1954) believes that the Eskimos or Proto-Eskimos originated in Siberia and then moved East to Alaska, Canada and Greenland.

The considerable literature in ethnology, archaeology and linguistics on these subjects will not be reviewed here. It is mentioned to show how physical anthropological research in the history and evolution of subspecific biological groupings such as races and subraces can contribute to general anthropological problems in historical reconstruction.

It is agreed that there is a distinctive Eskimo culture which has a considerable antiquity, it is found in an Arctic habitat, it has a distinctive language which is surprisingly homogeneous considering its extension over a six thousand mile area, and physical anthropologists have maintained that there is such a thing as an Eskimo physical or racial type.

Some of the questions that shall concern us here are first, is this true, second, do the Eskimo belong to a wider group which might be termed Arctic Mongoloids, third, is there a very big difference between Indians and Eskimos and Siberians, fourth, is there any justification for the term Mongoloid, and its application to the aboriginal inhabitants of the New World south of the Arctic area, and fifth, what is the evidence for the antiquity for these groups?

The next series of questions which must be asked are methodological, namely on what sort of evidence can we decide if there is such a thing as Eskimos in the biological sense? Will the distribution of the various blood groups, or the somatometric data of the anthropometrist or the study of non-metrical morphological characters tell us the answers? Will skeletons tell us more than studies on the living and will heads and skulls tell us more than bodies and post-cranial skeletons?

Since the concept of race has been under fire from various corners we also feel constrained to ask is there such a thing as race or sub-race? It might be simpler to answer this last question first.

All biologists believe that there is such a thing as the species



and since it is the species which evolves it is a necessary concept in evolutionary thinking. Although there are many opinions on what a species is or isn't, some idea of it is maintained in biology.

All botanists and zoologists more or less agree that there is such a thing as a subspecies and, beyond that, geographical races and local races.

This last concept is rejected by some physical anthropologists as either unreal or unimportant. However, the majority of biologists are of the opinion that there are such things as subspecies and geographical races. There are, however, no valid reasons that a study of human variations on the subspecific level is not valuable, if our interest be in racial origins and related questions.

Human variations on the subspecific level have been interpreted in the past in two ways. They can be understood as vestiges of the evolutionary process in the larger (supra-specific) sense or they can be interpreted as immediate adaptations to the various environments in which they are found.

Without understanding these two assumptions the literature on subspecific or racial differences is unintelligible.

In the 19th century it was fashionable to see a phylogenetic sequence in the various contemporary racial groups. Australoids and Negroids were placed at the bottom of the biological hierarchy, Mongoloids were above these and at the top was usually placed the bust of some curly-headed decapitated Athenian, representing the summit of *Homo sapiens*.

Nowadays the interest in racial studies is more to understand how the various racial features such as skin colour, hair form, prognathism, etc. are adaptations to a given environment and also how racial characteristics change in relatively short time (microevolution).

Since the above-mentioned features are polygenetic, their mode of inheritance is not known. Certain researchers have claimed that the study of monogenetic serological factors are more important because their mode of inheritance is known and their gene frequency changes can be precisely computed. The

changes in gene frequency observable in time and space are referred to by these students as microevolution.

The assumptions involved in the above are first, that the ultimate biological subspecific reality is gene frequency and, second, that knowing the mode of inheritance of a feature somehow makes it taxonomically relevant or reliable.

It is evident in biological science that the data of gross anatomy are no more valid than the data of histology or electron-microscopy. Reality is manifest on many levels and these levels are usually instrumentally determined.

In the study of racial differences what we see in the phenotypes are the interactions of the genetic potential with the environment. We deduce the gene or genes from their effects i.e., phenotypes. By stating that the genotype is the ultimate reality we simply beg the question by referring it to a different level of biological reality.

To say that race is the study of gene frequency is as irrelevant as to say race is protoplasm or race is nitrogen, etc. Also to denote as evolution the change in gene frequency within a multiple allelic monogenetic system such as the ABO blood groups is incorrect. Evolutionary change usually involves modifications and specialization of organs in a species which take place gradually over a given period of time.

These changes are irreversible in the narrow sense of the term, as horses' hoofs and seals' flippers, all developing from the original pentadactyl condition. The primate hand has preserved the primitive pentadactyl arrangement and developed prehensility. In all of these examples it is evident that the evolutionary change has been in a given direction in response to a way of life. This is not so in the case of the multiple allelic monogenetic characters which can frequently vary in their mathematic frequency as a pendulum rather than in a definite irreversible trend. Unless some of the alleles are lost by genetic drift or new ones arise by mutation, it is pretentious to refer to the frequency shifts as microevolution unless we are to refer to all biological changes as evolutionary.

These are some of the problems which confront subspecific biological studies.

In dealing with the history of a racial group (or any other subspecific category) which characters will be most reliable in tracing the historical biological affinities (phylogeny) of the group? Part of the problem in tracing subspecific relationships is the constant overlap of characteristics within the species. This is unavoidable and to be expected since we are dealing with a single species. If the differences were all that large they would be supra-specific and the problems would thereby be different and simplified. It is in the interpretation of the significance of similarity and difference that certain pitfalls are to be avoided.

The first pitfall is to assume that any subspecific similarity is automatically an indication of immediate genetic relationship. The second pitfall is to place too much weight on single characters which are supposedly unique to the subgroup. And the third pitfall is to assume that high frequency of a character automatically makes it diagnostic of a subgroup.

Physical anthropologists have given very little attention to the taxonomic theory underlying the choice of characters indicating phylogenetic relationships. This has resulted in a great deal of confusion. The metrical and morphological anthropologists have been severely criticized by the serologists and geneticists for not paying attention to the mode of inheritance of traits among other things.

As has already been indicated above, the writer feels that this is irrelevant to the science of subspecific or racial variation. In the study of the mode of inheritance of monogenetic factors in human populations the main concern is the phenomenon that results between two of three generations. This is in itself interesting but does it really shed light upon the more relevant factors which are indicated by the *mode of variation* (absence of overlap etc.)?

When an attempt is made to search for the phylogenetic relationships of existing geographical races the investigator is given leads in this regard by observations of similarities and differences, frequencies, and absences and presences of certain

TABLE 1

## ESKIMO BLOOD GROUPS (after Laughlin 1950)

Group	Investigator	No.	O	A	B	AB	P	q	r
Aleutian Eskimos									
Laughlin									
West (Attu-Atka)	1948	42	45.24	50.0	2.38	2.38	.303	.018	.673
East (Nikolski-Unalaska)	1949	54	44.44	46.3	7.41	1.85	.286	.054	.666
Interisland (most mixed)		48	58.33	37.5	2.08	2.08	.215	.013	.764
Total		144	49.31	44.44	4.17	2.08	.266	.029	.702
Alaskan Eskimos									
Levine									
Nome Pure	1944	254	43.31	42.52	11.81	2.36	.268	.084	.659
Nome Mixed		68	44.12	42.65	11.76	1.47	.267	.083	.664
Greenland, East Angmassalik region									
(said to be) Pure									
	Fabricius-Hansen	569	23.9	56.2	11.2	8.7	.406	.106	.489
	1939								
Polar Eskimos									
Heinbecker and Pauli									
(North Greenland) Thule	1927	57	70.1	15.8	5.3	8.8	.090	.031	.837
Labrador and Baffin Land									
	Sewall	143	55.6	44.4	0	0	.253	0	.752
Labrador and Baffin Land									
	1939	56	46.5	53.5	0	0	.318	0	.682

biological phenomena in time and space. Phylogeny involves trends in time involving many generations rather than a concern with a frequency change between two generations. One does not attempt to explain all evolution on the basis of embryological evidence neglecting and rejecting the evidence of comparative anatomy and palaeontology.

When we review past work in the area of Eskimo physical anthropology, including metrical data and serological data, we notice certain inconsistencies. For example the cranial indices of the south Alaskan and Siberian Eskimos are mesocephalic to brachycephalic in contrast to the eastern Eskimos, who are dolicho to hyper dolichocephalic; there are also significant differences in head height. Certain of the western groups are low-headed and many of the eastern groups are high-headed (Laughlin 1950).

Hrdlicka (1944, 1945) felt these features were of great taxonomical importance and on that basis rejected the idea that the Aleuts and Koniags are Eskimoids. On the basis of metrical data Hrdlicka pointed out that the Pre-Aleuts and the Pre-Koniags were more closely related to the Sioux and the Algonquians than to the Eskimos. This shows how far afield conclusions can go which are based upon chance overlap between populations that are widely separated geographically.

The blood group data also present certain perplexities. In ABO, Rh and Mns frequency distribution Chown (Chown and Lewis 1961) has pointed out that certain western Eskimos and the Polynesians show a remarkable overlapping although the metrical evidence here is quite different.

The Polar Eskimos, the Labrador Eskimos and the Alaskan Eskimos show quite different ABO distributions which are probably caused by genetic drift (see Table 1).

In two ABO series of Alaskan Eskimos, one denoted as mixed and the other as pure, done by Levine (see Table 1), the ABO distributions are almost identical which means that blood groups do not always indicate that hybridization has taken place or that the concept of what is mixed and what is pure is not clear in the mind of the observer.

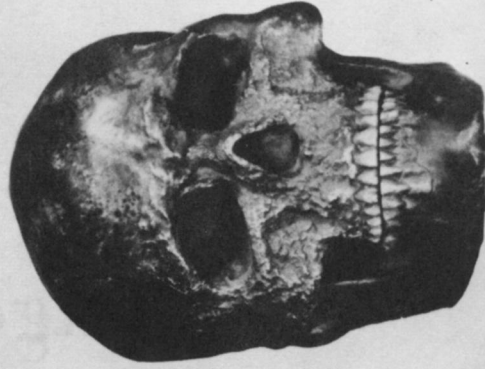
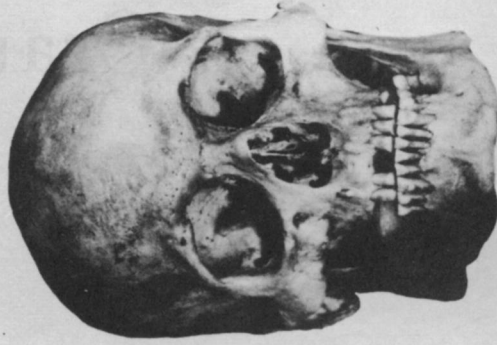
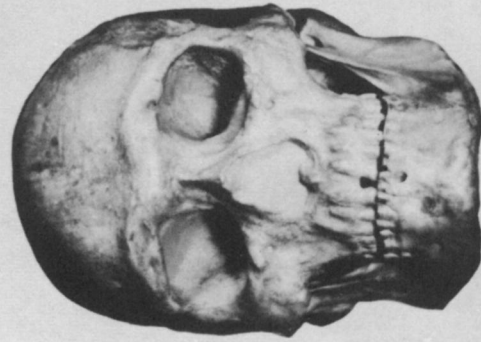
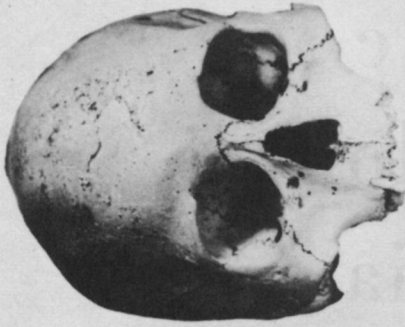
TABLE 2 — Blood Group Gene or Antigen Frequencies Dealing with the Three Great Subdivisions of Man and the North American Indians and Eskimos.

(After Chown and Lewis, 1958)	Caucasoid	Negroid	Mongoloid	Indian	Eskimo
<b>ABO SYSTEM</b>					
Frequency of 'A' <sup>1</sup> .....	20-30%	10-20%	15-40%	0-60%	7-40%
Ratio 'A' <sub>2</sub> / 'A' <sub>1</sub> .....	1:10-3:10	About 4:10	0	0	0
Frequency of B .....	5-20%	5-25%	10-30%	0	0-10%
<b>MN SYSTEM</b>					
Frequency of N .....	30-50%	40-60%	35-50%	10-20%	10-20%
Frequency of MS .....	20-30(25) <sup>2</sup>	7-25(10)	5-30(5)	15-35	6-20
Frequency of Ms .....	30-40(30)	30-50(40)	35-55(50)	35-70	55-60
Frequency of NS .....	5-10(6)	3-12(7)	2-20(4)	0-7	0?
Frequency of Ns .....	30-40(39)	20-60(43)	20-40(36)	4-23	20-40
Frequency of He .....	0	2-12(7)	0?	0?	0?
<b>P SYSTEM</b>					
Frequency of 'P'+ .....	About 75%	About 90%	About 50%	About 80%	About 50%
<b>Rh SYSTEM</b>					
Frequency of r (cde) .....	40%	25%	0	0	0
Frequency of R <sub>0</sub> (cDe) .....	10%	40-80%	10%	? 1%	? 1%
Frequency of D <sup>us</sup> .....	Low	High	Absent	Absent	Absent
Frequency of C <sup>w</sup> .....	About 2%	0	0	0	0
Frequency of 'V'+ .....	Rare	Common	?	?	?
<b>DUFFY SYSTEM</b>					
Common phenotype .....	Fy(a+b++)	Fy(a-b-)	Fy(a+b-)	Fy(a+b-)	Fy(a+b-)

**Arctic  
Mongoloid  
Crania**

a-1. Upper Cave Chou-Kou-Tien. 103.

a-2. Eskimo, Baffin Island.



b-1. Upper Cave Chou-Kou-Tien. 101.

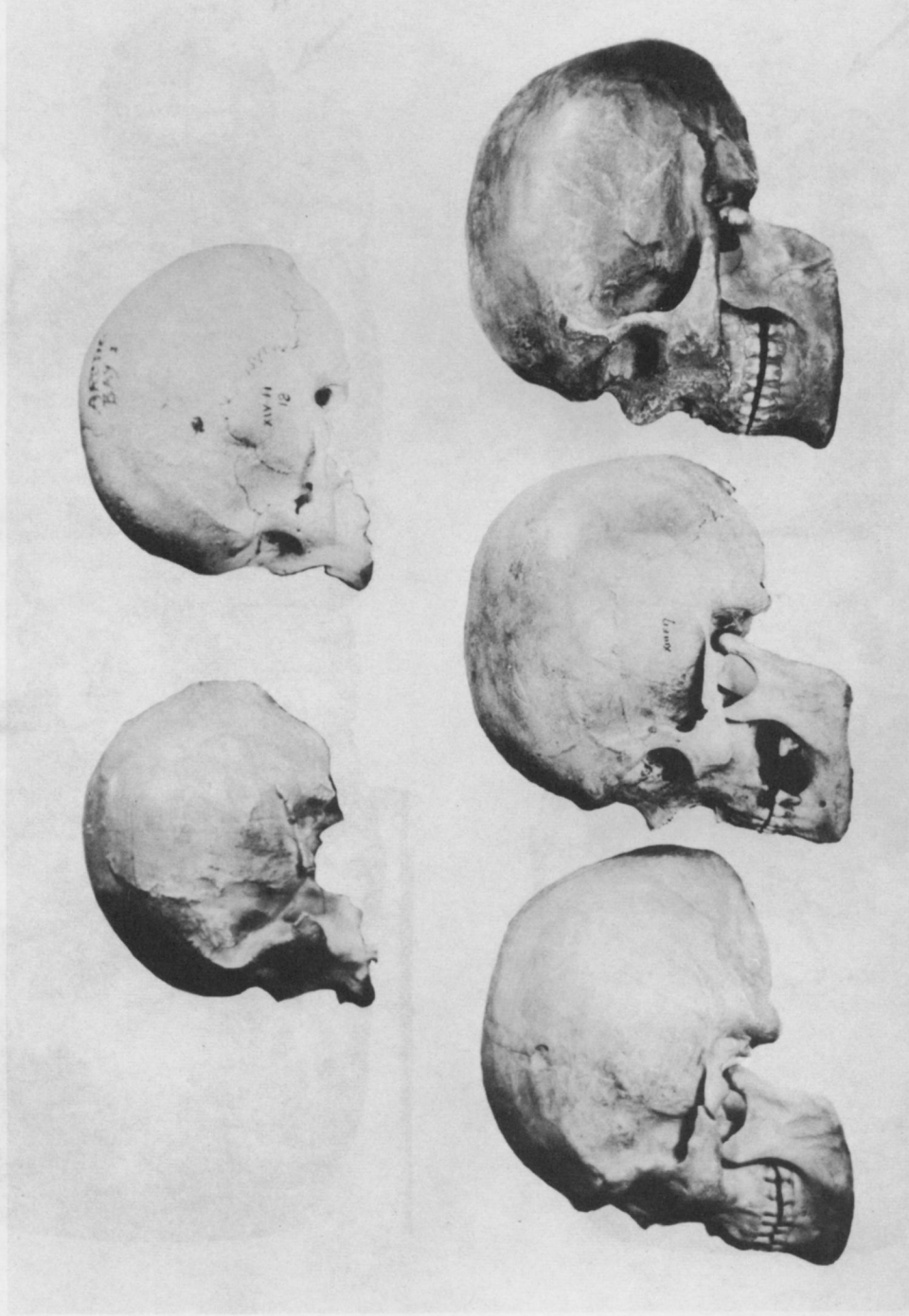
b-2. Cro-Magnon.

b-3. Prehistoric Iroquois.



a-1. Upper Cave Chou-Kou-Tien. 103.

a-2. Eskimo, Baffin Island.



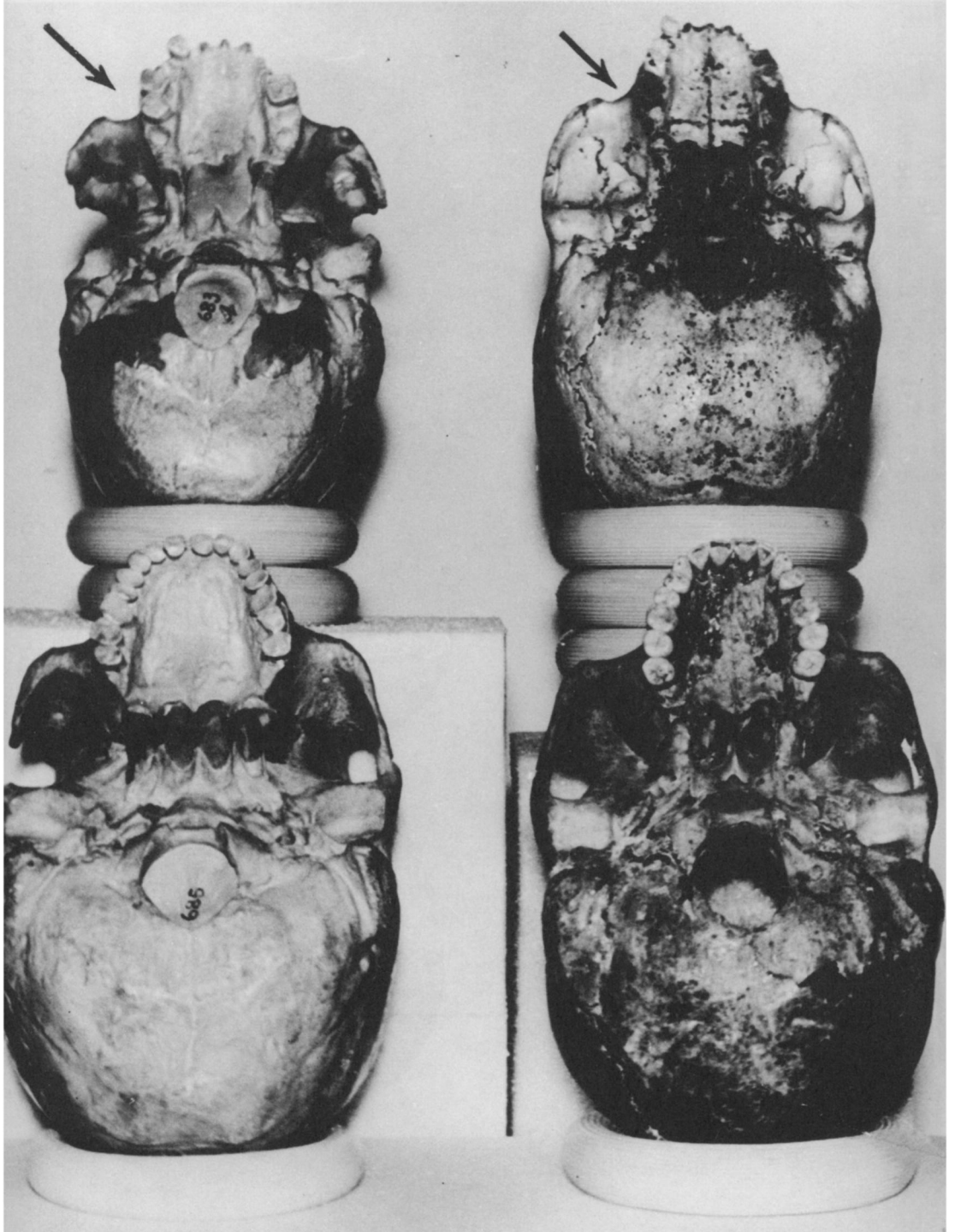
b-1. Upper Cave Chou-Kou-Tien.

b-2. Cro-Magnon.

b-3. Prehistoric Iroquois.

Upper Cave Chou-Kien Skull 103 ♀ Eskimo, Baffin Island.

Arrow indicates infra-maxillary fossa typical of arctic Mongoloids.



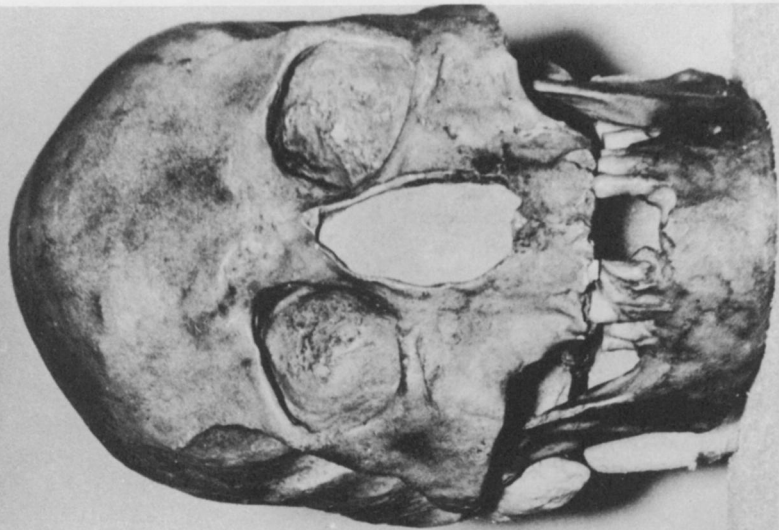
Upper Cave Chou-Kou-Tien  
Skull 101 ♂

Assiniboine Indian...  
Manitoba.

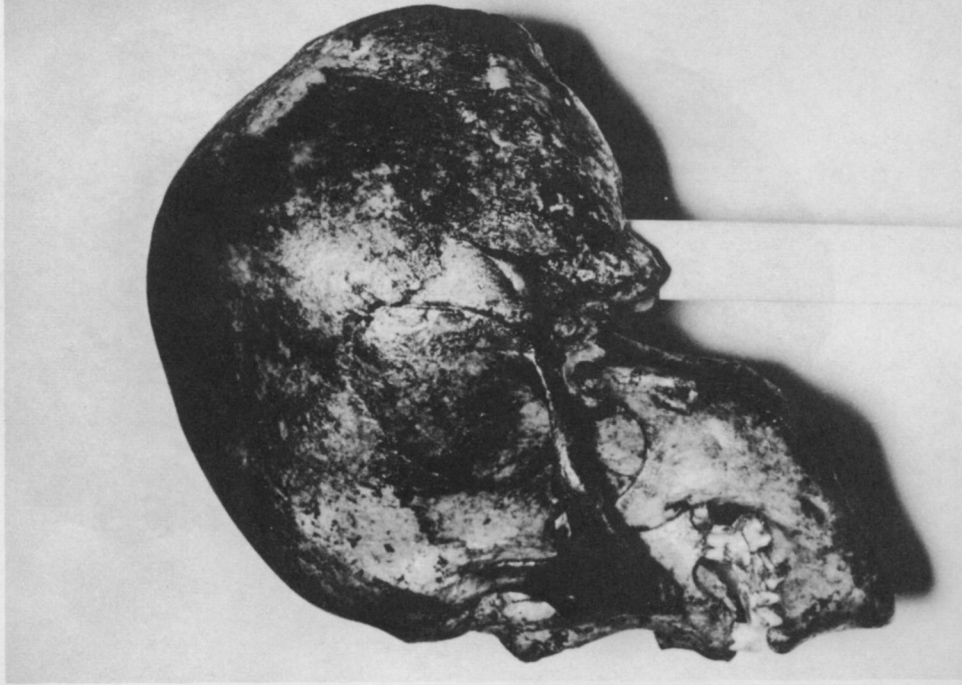
Mac Kenzie Eskimo.



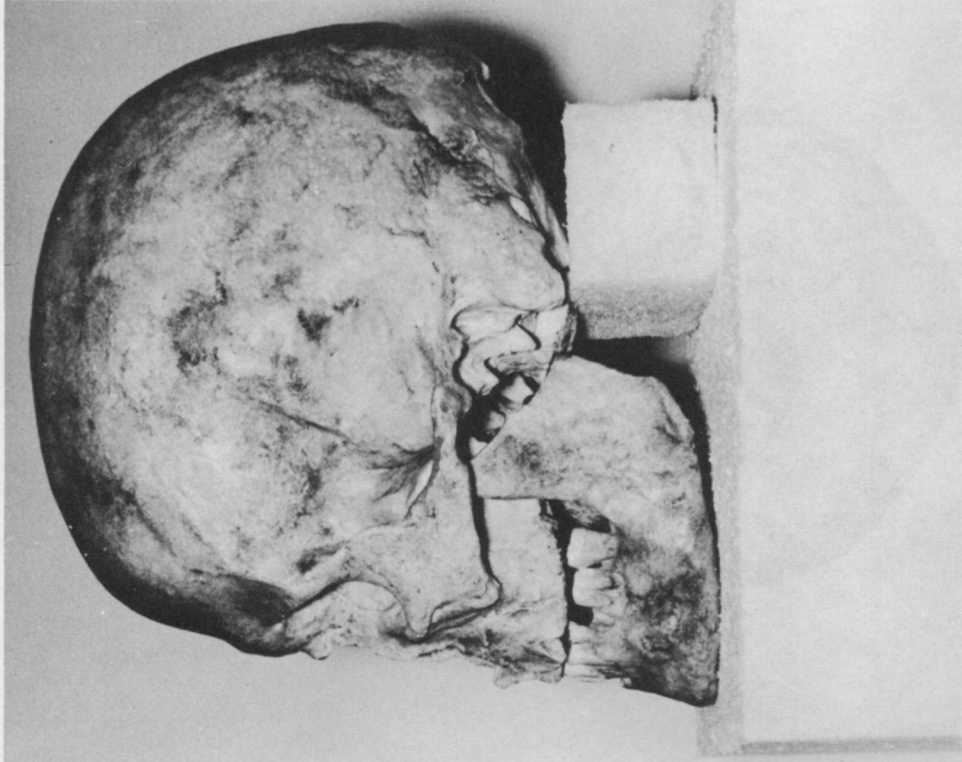
Chancelade.



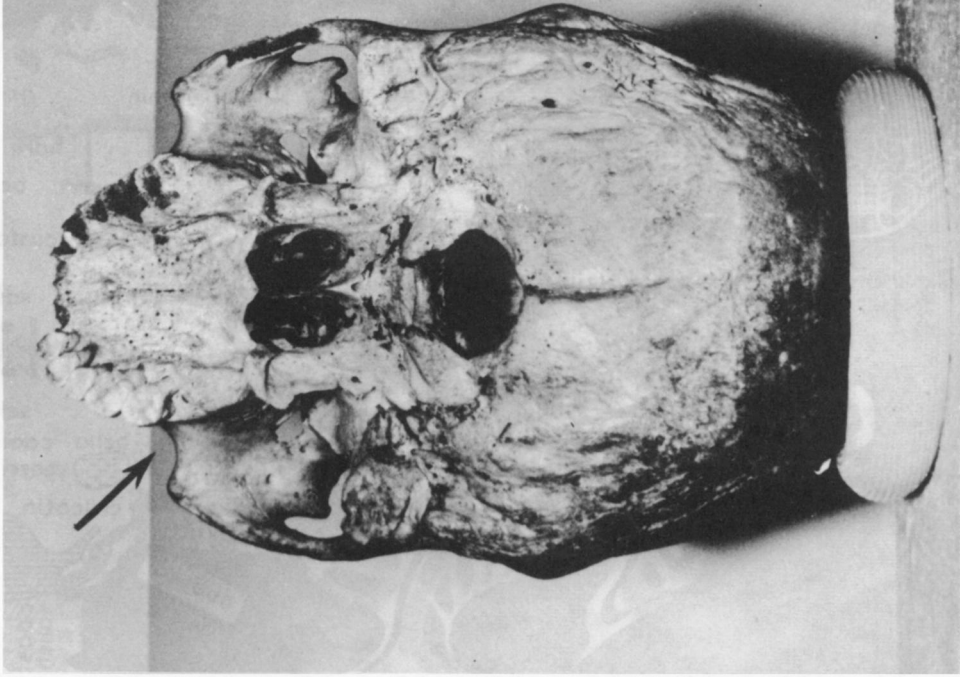
Mac Kenzie Eskimo.



Chancelade.



Mac Kenzie Eskimo.

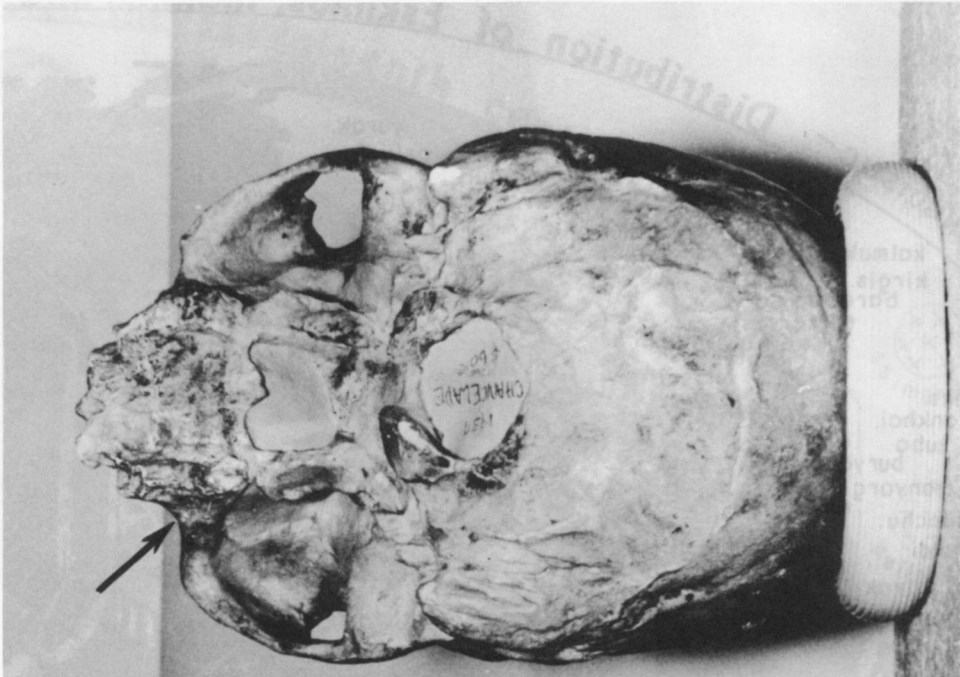


Present.

Infra-Maxillary Fossa.

Absent.

Chancelade.



Present.

Infra-Maxillary Fossa.

Absent.



# Distribution of Eskimos, Indians and Sibe

LINGUISTIC -

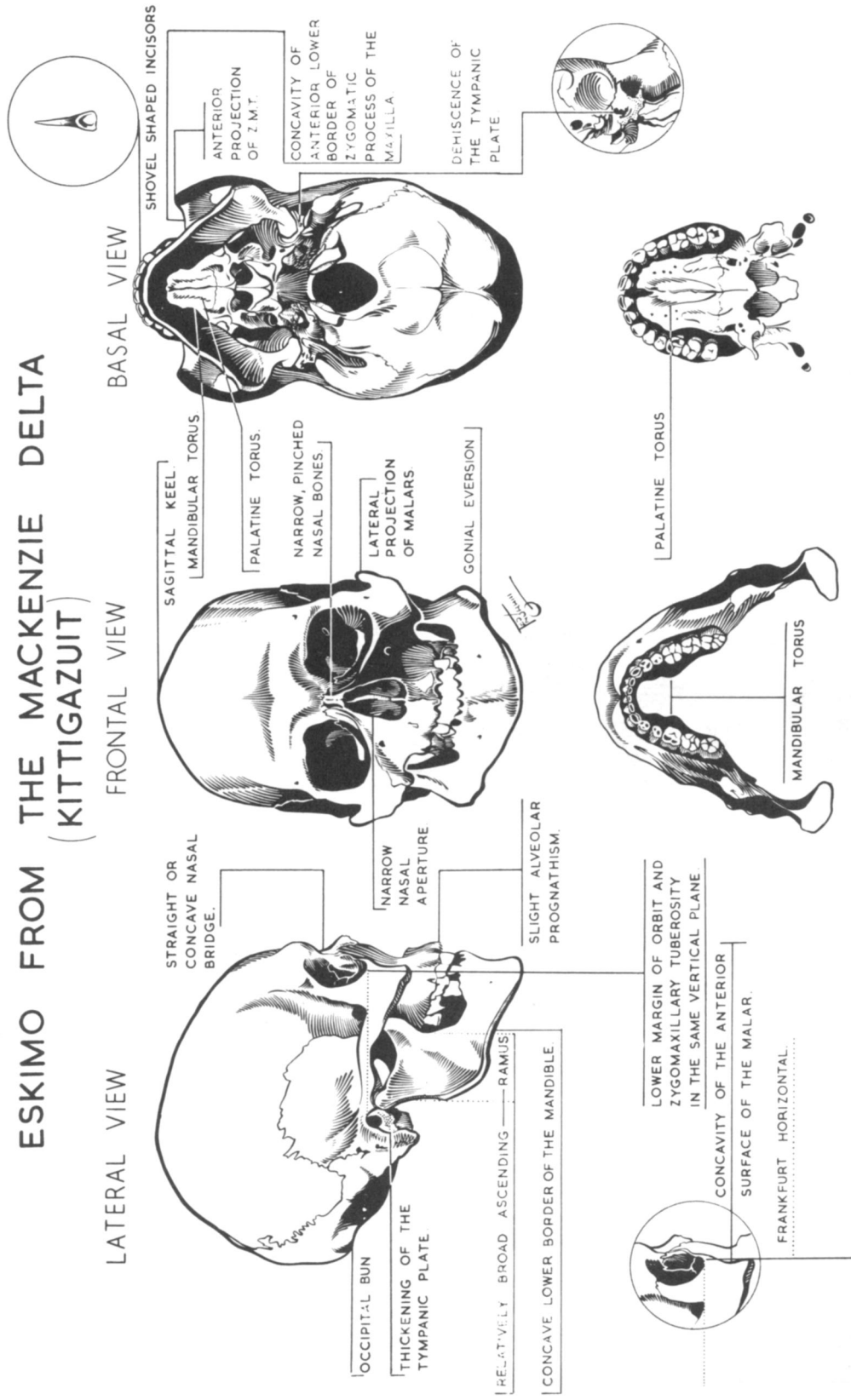


Indians in the seventeenth century...

- FAMILIES



# ESKIMO FROM THE MACKENZIE DELTA (KITIGAZUIT)



LATERAL VIEW

FRONTAL VIEW

BASAL VIEW

OCCIPITAL BUN

THICKENING OF THE TYMPANIC PLATE

RELATIVELY BROAD ASCENDING RAMUS

CONCAVE LOWER BORDER OF THE MANDIBLE

STRAIGHT OR CONCAVE NASAL BRIDGE.

NARROW NASAL APERTURE

SAGITTAL KEEL

MANDIBULAR TORUS

PALATINE TORUS.

NARROW, PINCHED NASAL BONES

LATERAL PROJECTION OF MALARS

GONIAL EVERSION

SHOVEL SHAPED INCISORS

ANTERIOR PROJECTION OF Z.M.T.

CONCAVITY OF ANTERIOR LOWER BORDER OF ZYGOMATIC PROCESS OF THE MAXILLA

DEMISENCE OF THE TYMPANIC PLATE.

SLIGHT ALVEOLAR PROGNATHISM.

LOWER MARGIN OF ORBIT AND ZYGOMAXILLARY TUBEROSITY IN THE SAME VERTICAL PLANE

CONCAVITY OF THE ANTERIOR SURFACE OF THE MALAR.

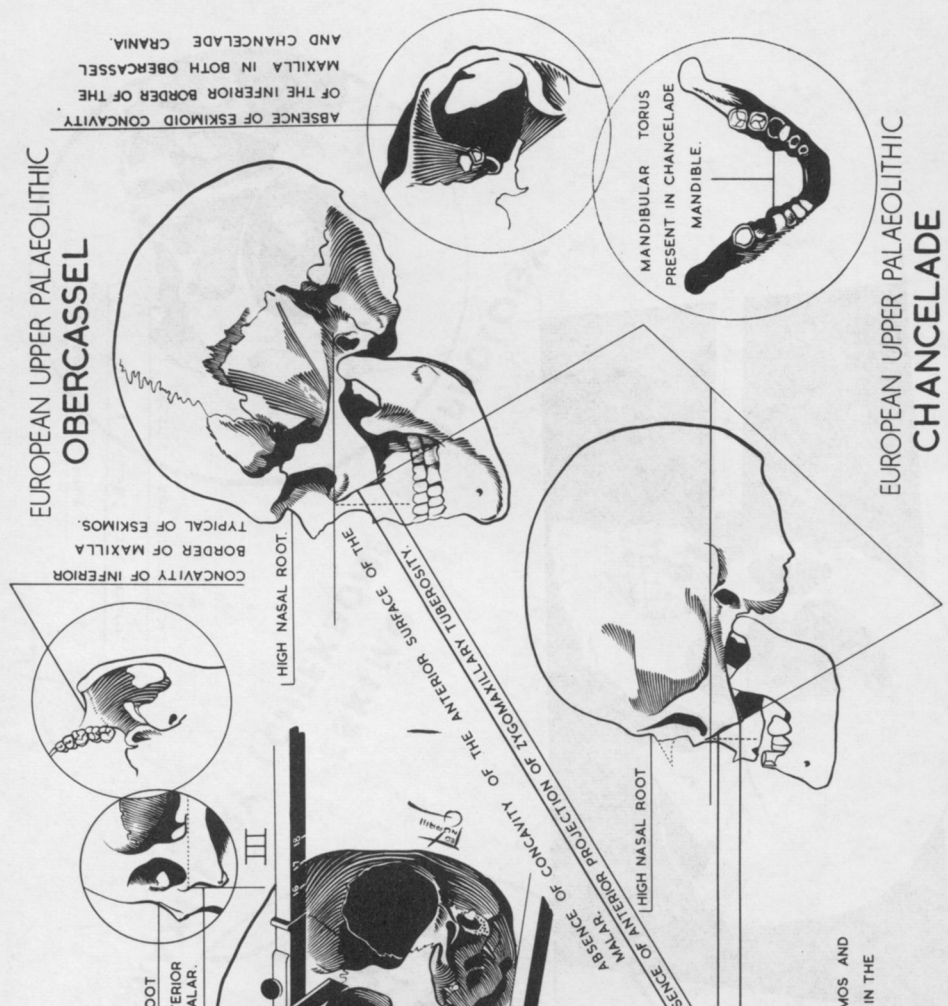
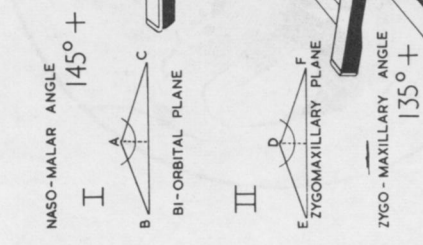
FRANKFURT HORIZONTAL.

PALATINE TORUS

MANDIBULAR TORUS

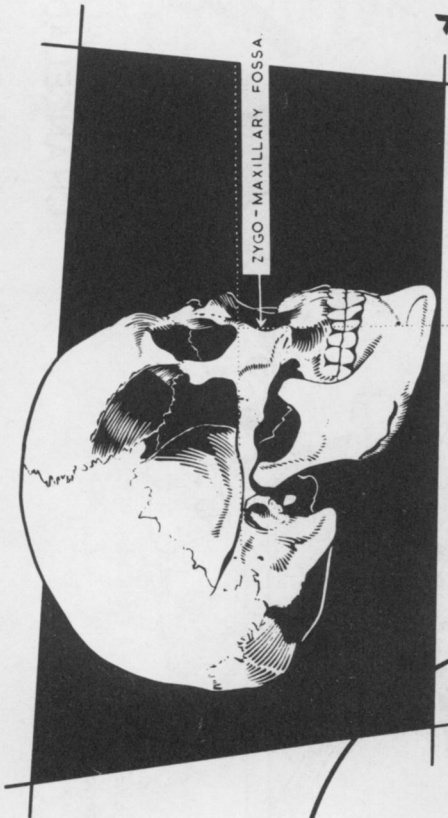


**ESKIMO (MACKENZIE DELTA)**



ESKIMOID TRINITY OF FACIAL FLATNESS = I, II, III.

THE TRINITY OF FACIAL FLATNESS AMONG ESKIMOS AND NORTH EASTERN SIBERIAN MONGOLOIDS IS ABSENT IN THE SO CALLED "ESKIMOID" SKULLS OF THE EUROPEAN UPPER PALAEO-LITHIC. THESE SKULLS ALSO LACK THE TYPICAL ESKIMO ANTERIOR AND INFERIOR MALAR CONCAVITIES.

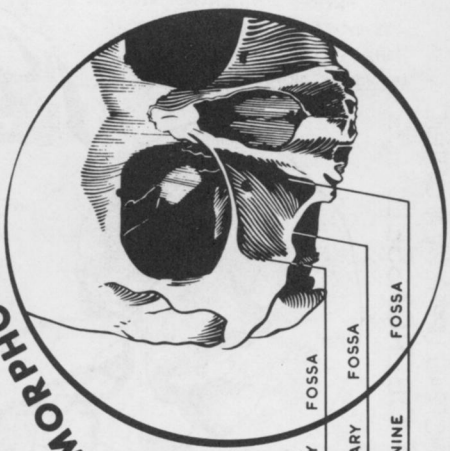


ZYGO-MAXILLARY FOSSA

INFRA-MAXILLARY FOSSA



# ZYGO-MAXILLARY (CHEEKBONE) MORPHOLOGY



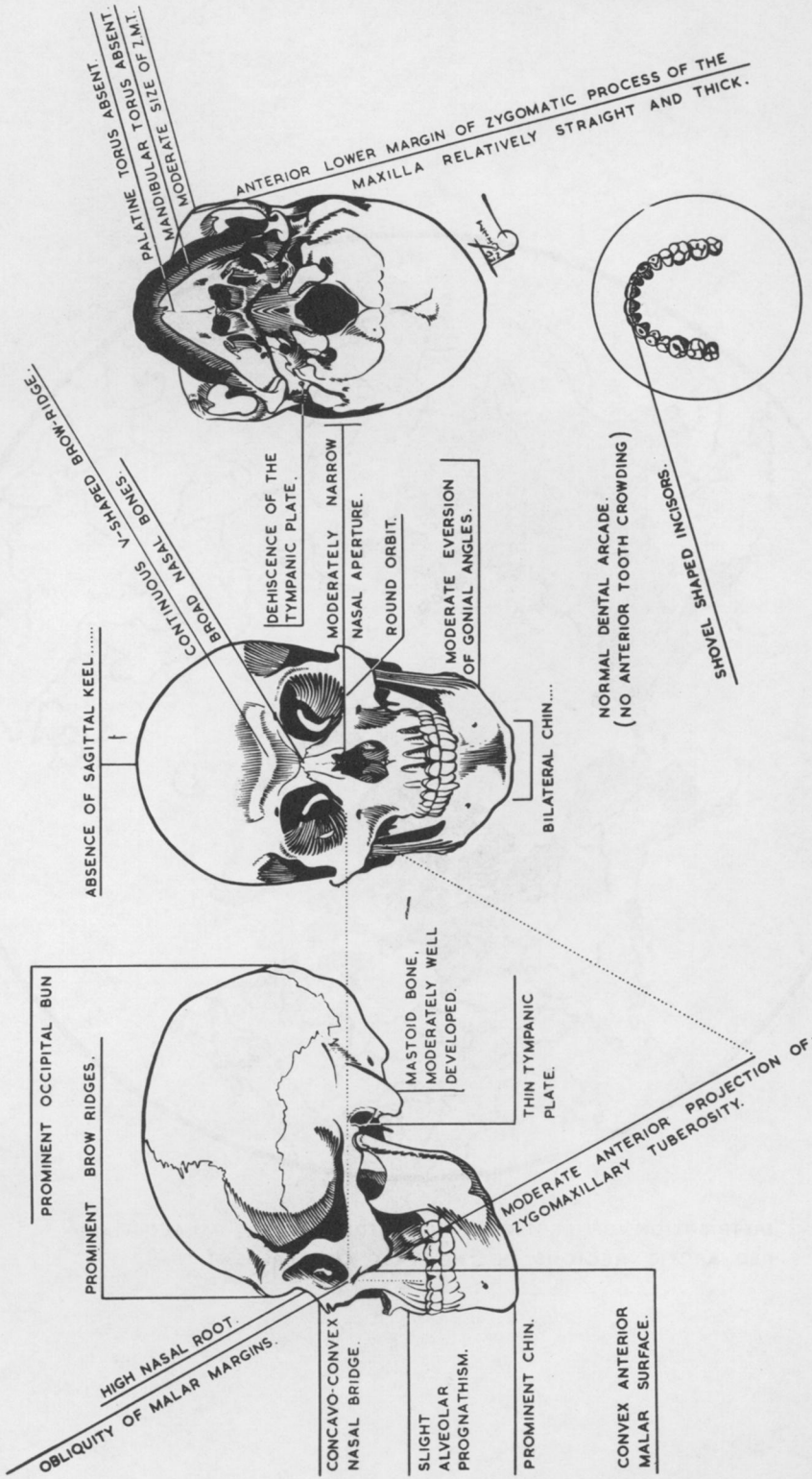
ZYGO-MAXILLARY FOSSA

INFRA-MAXILLARY FOSSA

CANINE FOSSA

*Signature*

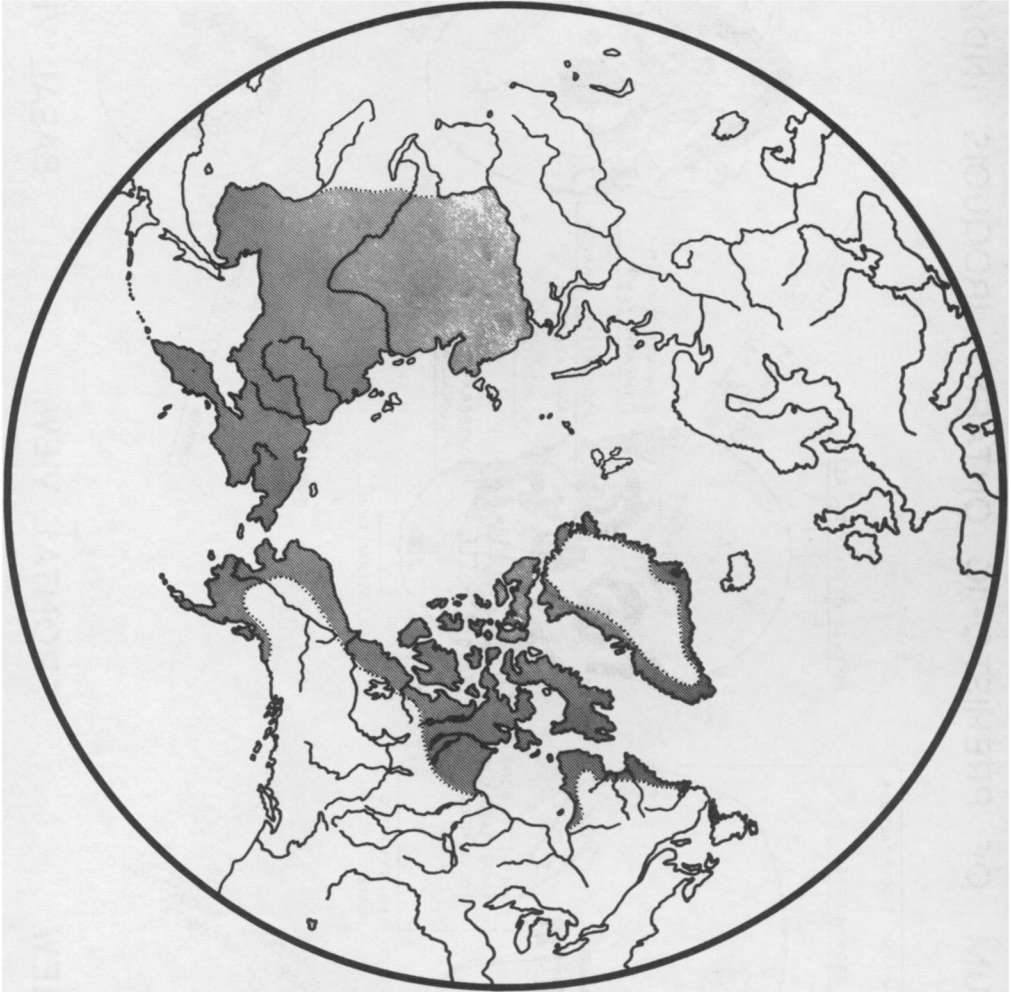
# CRANIUM OF PREHISTORIC ONTARIO IROQUOIS INDIAN.



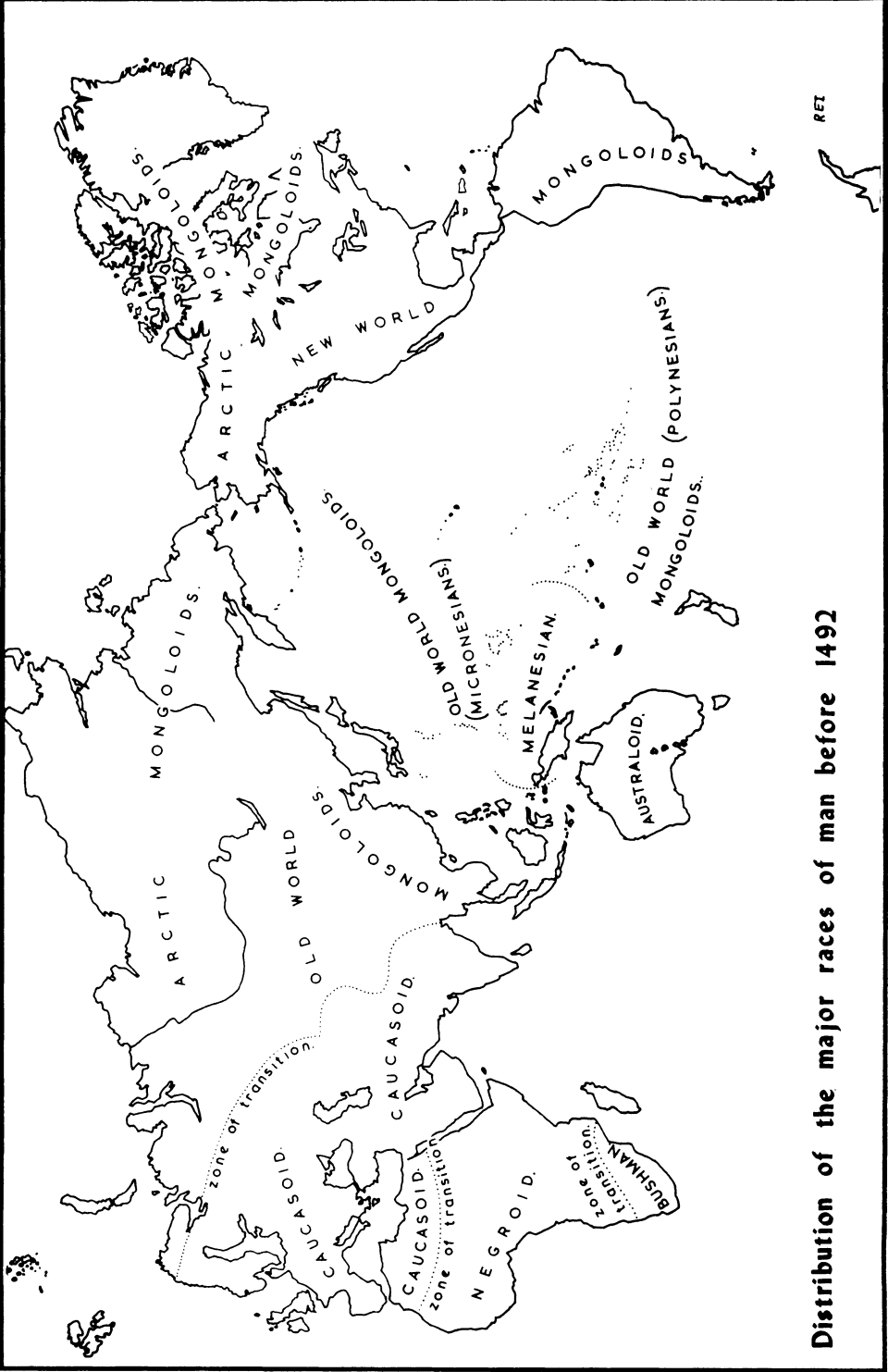
BASAL VIEW.

FRONTAL VIEW.

LATERAL VIEW.



**DISTRIBUTION OF ARCTIC MONGOLOIDS IN THE PALAEO—AND  
NEO ARCTIC REGIONS IN THE PAST AND PRESENT.**



REF

Distribution of the major races of man before 1492



PREHISTORIC ESKIMO ARCHAEOLOGICAL SITES CONTAINING SKELETAL REMAINS

1. UELLEN SIBERIA, OLD BERING SEA CULTURE.
2. GAMBELL ST. LAWRENCE IS., OLD BERING SEA CULTURE.
3. KUKULIK ST. LAWRENCE IS., OLD BERING SEA CULTURE.
4. PUNUK ISLAND, PUNUK.
5. CAPE KRUSENSTERN, IPIUTAK AND BIRNIRK.
6. BATTLE ROCK, WESTERN THULE CULTURE.
7. POINT HOPE, IPIUTAK CULTURE.
8. POINT BARROW, BIRNIRK CULTURE.
9. SOMERSET ISLAND, THULE CULTURE.
10. ALARNEK THULE, DORSET CULTURES.
11. NAUJAN, THULE CULTURE.
12. ARCTIC BAY, THULE CULTURE.

13. IMAHA SITE, PAYNE BAY, DORSET CULTURE.

14. MANSEL ISLAND, DORSET CULTURE.

15. SUGLUK ISLAND, DORSET CULTURE.

16. NEWFOUNDLAND, DORSET CULTURE.

REI

KELL SYSTEM				
Frequency of K	5%	0.2-5%	0	0
LUTHERAN SYSTEM				
Frequency of Lua	4%	0.0-4%	0	0
LEWIS SYSTEM				
Frequency of 'Le' (a+)	22%	23%	10-15%	0
Frequency of 'Le' (a-b-)	5%	25%	?	0?
KIDD SYSTEM				
Frequency of Jk <sup>a</sup>	50%	75%	30%	35-75%
DIEGO SYSTEM				
Frequency of 'Di' (a+)	0	0	5-10%	0-40%(10)
SECRETOR SYSTEM				
Frequency of Sec	50%	50%	100%	100%
				?

<sup>1</sup> A letter in quotes indicates a phenotype; a letter not in quotes a gene.

<sup>2</sup> Figure in brackets indicates most frequent frequency about which the others cluster.

<sup>3</sup> D<sup>u</sup> is not an exact quantity; its apparent frequency depends on the sera used and the method.

NOTE: Antigens reported in Causasoids only:

'C<sub>w</sub>', 'C<sub>x</sub>', 'C<sub>v</sub>', 'E<sub>w</sub>', 'E<sub>u</sub>' all of the Rh System. Only 'C<sub>w</sub>' has an appreciable frequency.

Negroids only: 'He', 'Hu', 'Su' all of the MN System.

Mongoloids only: 'Dia'. The systematic position of 'Dia' is not clear.

Table 2 by Chown and Lewis (1958) shows clearly the problems of overlapping in blood group frequencies between racial groups. For instance, the frequencies of 'A' are not dramatically different in all the races of mankind; in the frequency of N, Indians and Eskimos show an identical frequency; in the frequency of MS, Caucasoids, Negroids, Asiatic Mongoloids and Indians are very similar; in the frequency of NS, Caucasoids, Negroids, Asiatic Mongoloids and Eskimos are similar; in the P system, Negroids and Indians have similar frequencies; in the Duffy system, the Mongoloids, Indians and Eskimos are identical; in the Kidd system, Asiatic Mongoloids and Indians are somewhat similar; in the Diego system, Asiatic Mongoloids vary from 5% to 10%, Indians from 0 to 40%, and it seems to be absent among Eskimos. The frequency of Diego (a+) seems to be limited to Mongoloids but all Mongoloids do not have it and its distribution is geographically distributed in an irregular manner.

As is evident from the irregular permutations and combinations of the various systems in relation to the racial groups it would be impossible to reconstruct the racial groups on the basis of the frequencies of the various systems.

Caucasoid, Negroid, Mongoloid, Indian, and Eskimo are morphological categories, not serological.

As Chown and Lewis (1960) themselves say: "From this Table it appears that the Indian and Eskimo pattern is closer to the Mongoloid than to the other great divisions but that each has an individuality that sets it somewhat apart. It is not a sharply focused picture, not a close-pointed survey, yet it is surprisingly clearly defined considering how few points out of the theoretical thousands have been used in the delineation. The picture is bound to become sharper in time as other genes such as those for the hemoglobins and the blood protein fractions are studied in population genetics and still other, simply-inherited genes come to light."

Chown and Lewis (1961) in a later paper express some doubt on the special validity of monogenetic serological factors. This is most welcome after the overstatements of Boyd (1950), Spuhler (1951) and others in this area.



Chown and Lewis state their case as follows: "Evidence is beginning to accumulate that some blood group genes are subject to selection. All this raises the question of how much we can rely upon gene frequencies of unilocular, Mendelian traits such as the blood group antigens in anthropologic studies."

"Such frequencies are reliable over the short haul, but how short or how long is 'short'? They also give evidence of large geographic similarities without saying what those similarities mean. It is an error to use them to the exclusion of, or to insist upon their superiority over, other anthropologic evidence. It has been held that the evidential value of anthropometric characters must be heavily discounted because they may be altered by the environment. Environment alters blood group gene frequencies, and it is the frequencies we make use of in anthropology."

They have some interesting ideas on the relationships between the Eskimos and Polynesians to which we have already alluded above. "For all but the Lewis and secretor systems these turned out to be more similar to those of present-day Polynesians than to those of any other ethnic group for whom comparable data are available."

There is no doubt on the morphological basis that the Polynesians are partially Mongoloid but there is very little evidence that they are especially closely related to Eskimos.

With reference to cheekbone morphology, mandibular morphology, facial flatness, palatine and mandibular tori, nasal morphology, thickness of the tympanic plate, hair texture, stature, weight, odontology, etc., the Polynesians are at the opposite end of the range of morphological variation of the Mongoloids.

The morphological and metrical data in Tables 3, 4 and 5 show a much more consistent variation as would be expected since race is a morphological concept. It is particularly noticeable in Table 5 that these features are stable over periods as great as 20,000 years as well as large areas of space, e.g., from Angmagassalik, Greenland to northern end of Baikal.

Collins (1954), Laughlin (1956), Jørgensen (1956), and the writer (1960) have maintained that such morphological fea-

TABLE 3 — MALAR BONE, VERTICALITY

*Legend:* (a) Frequency distribution by grades.  
 (b) Combinations of last three categories.  
 (c) Figures given in percentage form.  
 V Verticality.  
 O Complete absence of verticality.  
 \*\*\* Vertical.  
 \*\* Less vertical.  
 \* Much less vertical.

Series	Sex	n	(a)			(b)			(c)			
			O	*	**	***	O	V	O	V	O	V
MONGOLS	▲	69	1	14	21	33	1	68	1	99	1	99
	●	50	4	10	15	21	4	46	8	92	8	92
	Totals	119	5	24	36	54	5	114	4	96	4	96
KONIAGS	▲	34	0	0	5	29	0	34	0	100	0	100
	●	36	1	0	5	30	1	35	3	97	3	97
	Totals	70	1	0	10	59	1	69	1	99	1	99
BURIATS	▲	13	0	0	4	9	0	13	0	100	0	100
	●	10	0	1	5	4	0	10	0	100	0	100
	Totals	23	0	1	9	13	0	23	0	100	0	100



tures as mandibular torus and palatine torus, pinched narrow nasal bones, etc., are distinctive of Arctic Mongoloids in that they show a very high frequency and a minimum of overlap with other groups.

Hooton (1918), Debetz (1960), Laughlin (1956), and Jørgensen (1956) pointed out that Scandinavian Nordics such as Medieval Islanders and Greenland Vikings and the Lapps have a high frequency of some of these traits as well. This has led Debetz to suggest the possibilities that these traits may in some way or other be determined by the Arctic environment.

TABLE 4

COMPARISON OF THE NEOLITHIC SKULLS OF CIS-BAYKALIA WITH THE ANCIENT AND PRESENT-DAY CRANIOLOGICAL SERIES OF SIBERIA (Facial angles) (Males) (after Levin 1950 and Debet 1959).

Skull series	Naso-malar angle	Zygo-maxillary angle
Afanasyevo population	136.1 (8)	126.2 (25)
Andronovo population	139.2 (18)	128.1 (18)
Cis-Baykal Neolithic	145.3 (15)	138.5 (13)
Isakovo-Serovo stage		
Cis-Baykal Eneolithic	144.8 (30)	137.9 (28)
Glazkovo stage		
Cis-Baykal Neolithic and Eneolithic, summarized.	145.7 (56)	138.0 (49)
Reindeer Tungus	149.1 (28)	141.6 (28)
Negidals	148.6 (16)	142.3 (16)
Yukagirs	148.7 (18)	137.0 (17)
Baykal type, summarized	148.7 (62)	140.5 (61)
Trans-Baykal Buryats	145.5 (45)	140.9 (42)
Mongols	146.4 (80)	138.4 (76)
Tuvins	146.6 (44)	141.3 (42)
Central-Asiatic type, summarized	146.2 (169)	139.8 (160)
Southeastern Eskimos	146.2 (89)	135.6 (84)
Coastal Chukchi	147.8 (28)	137.4 (27)
Arctic type, summarized	146.6 (117)	136.0 (111)
Ipiutak	146.6 (33)	135.8 (31)
Tigara	146.5 (113)	133.9 (108)
Yukaghirs	148.7 (18)	137.0 (17)
Tungus	149.1 (28)	141.6 (28)

Aleuts	145.5(30)	138.1(28)
Kwakiutl	143.0(27)	131.3(27)
Arikara	140.1(33)	126.8(33)
Georgians	138.0(28)	125.6(27)

TABLE 5 — FACIAL ANGLES OF VARIOUS PREHISTORIC  
ESKIMOS, INDIANS  
AND UPPER PALAEOLITHIC HOMO SAPIENS †

Skull series	Naso-malar angle	Zygo-maxillary angle
Upper Cave Choukoutien 101 ▲	143	130 (measured from cast)
Upper Cave Choukoutien 103 ●	150	139 (measured from cast)
K-1, Early Ipiutak* ▲		
K-3, Middle Ipiutak* ▲	147	155
K-2, Birnirk* ▲	147	136
K-4, Birnirk* ●	149	136
BR-1, Western Thule* ●	149	134
BR-2, Western Thule* ▲	148	138
Arctic Bay Thule ▲	151	142
Dorset ▲	147	145
Donaldson ▲	143	134
Kant ▲	133	125
El Risco ▲	141	132

† Facial angles calculated by E. Arima.

\* These skulls were found in Alaska in 1960 by the Brown University Field Party. The author wishes to express his gratitude to Dr. J.L. Giddings for permission to study these specimens which are now in the collections at the Haffenreffer Museum of the American Indian, Bristol, Rhode Island.

TABLE 6 — FACIAL ANGLES OF UPPER PALEOLITHIC AND  
AND NEOLITHIC HOMO SAPIENS FROM CHINA

(after Wu Xin-Zhi 1961; Yen Yin, Liu Chang-Zhi, Gu Yu-mm 1960;  
Ju-Kang Woo 1959)

Skull series	Naso-malar angle	Zygo-maxillary angle
Liukang Upper Paleolithic ▲	143	138
Upper Cave Choukoutien 101* ▲	135*	128* (measured from cast)
Upper Cave Choukoutien 102 ●	130	125 (measured from cast)
Upper Cave Choukoutien 103* ●	148*	131* (measured from cast)
Bao Ji Neolithic ▲	144(12)	137(12)
Bao Ji Neolithic ●	143(9)	139(6)

\* These values differ from those of the author (see Table 5).

Except for this embarrassing overlap with Scandinavian Nordics the morphological data are distributed consistently among the Arctic Mongoloids, i.e. Eskimos, Northeastern Siberian Mongoloids.

These traits are in general absent among most New World Mongoloids excepting those living on the Eskimo frontier, e.g. Northern Athabaskans, Northwest Coast Indians, etc. (Oschinsky and East).

In the Old World, however, the peoples of South Siberia and East Asia still have a high frequency of these traits but not as high as among the Arctic Mongoloids, e.g., Buriats, Mongols, Japanese, Chinese, etc. In the New World the distributions change dramatically; the Algonquians, the Iroquois, the Plains and all Indians south of them show a sudden drop in the frequency of these features (Oschinsky and East).

Is this above morphological evidence really indicative of the morphological and taxonomical unity of the Arctic Mongoloids?

It is certainly evident that the geographical distribution of these features is more consistent than that of the blood group or anthropometry and craniometry, and since these features are relatively stable polygenetic features we can understand their consistent variation, except for the overlap with the Scandinavians. They fulfil all the requirements of subspecific taxonomy as the author understands them, namely, they have a high frequency in the various populations in question, they are not found in high frequency outside these populations except for the Scandinavians. They are distributed without interruption in a geographical continuum.

At this point we might ask the question: are there no other morphological features which are as consistently or more consistently distributed (in the geographical and numerical sense) than the above-mentioned ones?

Debetz and Levin (1946, 1947, 1949, 1950, 1959, 1960) in a number of publications, have pointed out that Arctic Mongoloids have the flattest faces as indicated by naso-malar, and zygo-maxillary facial angles. These show a very consistent distribution

geographically except that the zigo-maxillary angle is sometimes affected by prognathism giving them a lower reading than would be expected on the basis of the cheekbone morphology. This led the writer to investigate the cheekbone morphology of the Arctic and other kinds of Mongoloids to see if this showed any interesting variations to the above-mentioned facial angles and other morphological characters.

The author found that among Eskimos and Chukchee the zigo-maxillary tuberosity projects in such an extreme manner that two distinct fossae are created in two distinct areas on the zygomatic process of the maxilla.

Also, when a perpendicular is erected to the vertical surface of the zigo-maxillary junction at the tuberosity, it crosses the Frankfort horizontal at right angle. This situation is present in over 95% of the 3,000 Eskimo and Arctic Mongoloid crania examined by the writer.

In non-Arctic Mongoloids the zigo-maxillary tuberosity projects forward but in a lesser degree so that the two above-mentioned fossae are usually absent. When the cheekbone is viewed in the norma lateralis the lower margin of the orbit and the tuberosity are in an oblique plane with reference to the Frankfort horizontal. In the Greenland Vikings this plane is extremely oblique as is typical of Caucasoids.

An important general feature of the Mongoloid zigo-maxillary complex is that the zygomatic process of the maxilla is considerably long relative to the length of the zygomatic arch. This is most apparent when viewed in the norma basalis and is the cause of the relative lack of obliquity of the zygomatic arch in Mongoloids.

When the skulls of non-Arctic Mongoloids are viewed in the norma basalis the zigo-maxillary junction appears as a 90 degree angle rather than the beaklike formation present in the Arctic Mongoloids.

It is interesting to note that this intermediate zigo-maxillary protrusion is an ancient *Homo sapiens* character and is found in almost all of the specimens of *Homo sapiens fossilis* ("Cro-

magnon man"). Specimen 101 from the Upper Cave of Chou-kou-tien shows this condition which is practically identical with the Cro-magnon types of France and Germany, as well as the Mesolithic individuals from North Africa (Afalou-bou-rummel) (see plates 1-6).

The only specimen to show the extreme Arctic Mongoloid zygo-maxillary tuberosity projection from the upper Paleolithic is specimen No. 103 from the Upper Cave of Chou-kou-tien which Weidenreich (1939) quite correctly designated as Eskimoid but not precisely for this reason.

It seems that although all the specimens of upper Paleolithic *Homo sapiens* from Asia, Africa, and Europe resemble each other in enough features to be considered one subspecies, e.g. continuous brow ridges, rectangular orbits, large mastoid processes, prominent chins, similar cheekbone morphology, they also begin to foreshadow modern racial populations. The specimens at Chou-kou-tien are ancestral Mongoloids; the Mesolithic skulls from Elmenteita in Kenya are the ancestral Negroids and the Wajak skulls from Java are the ancestral Australoids. The descendants of these various groups have preserved some of the chief diagnostic features of their upper Paleolithic ancestors but in different combinations and intensities.

This seems to indicate that the modern races have had a polyphyletic origin dating from the upper Paleolithic. The ancestral Mongoloids have intensified the upper Paleolithic type of cheekbone and transmitted it to their descendants among whom it has become a fundamental racial character (see plates 1-6).

The zygo-maxillary tuberosity projection among Negroids and Caucasoids has undergone considerable reduction. Although the Mongoloids are as varied as any other group in nature some degree of zygo-maxillary tuberosity projection is always present. It is hard to understand why Mongoloids have maintained and intensified the upper Paleolithic cheekbone morphology while the other subgroups of *Homo sapiens* have lost it.

It is probably isolation which has preserved this feature as a part of the distinctive phylogenetic mosaic, which comprises the Mongoloids.



To sum up, the Arctic Mongoloids, e.g. Eskimos, Chukchee, Tungus, etc., are characterized by the "trinity" of facial flatness, i.e., large naso-malar and zygo-maxillary angles, and verticality of the malar (caused by pronounced anterior projection of the zygo-maxillary tuberosity) (see figure 2, 3, 4).

The geographical distribution of these traits is the circum-polar area from Greenland to the Yenesei River in Siberia (see map, figure 6). In conjunction with these features there is a high frequency of narrow, pinched nasal bones, thickening of the tympanic plate, palatine and mandibular tori. It is this situation of high frequency in an uninterrupted geographical continuum which defines the Arctic Mongoloids as a taxonomic morphological entity.

Metrical data and blood group data may indicate interbreeding and relationship in more limited areas but are not useful in higher taxonomic categories and phylogenetic reconstruction because of the phenomena of interracial overlapping and genetic drift.

Certain morphological features as the sagittal keel and gonial eversion are guilty of interracial overlapping and for that reason are less useful. Although Eskimos have a high frequency of sagittal keel and gonial eversion these traits turn up in too many other groups, e.g. Melanesians, Iroquois, etc., to be diagnostic of Eskimos or Arctic Mongoloids (Oschinsky and East).

As we proceed south of the Arctic in the Old and the New World the Arctic morphological complex changes rapidly (more rapidly in the New World than in the Old World).

The Iroquois, the Algonquians and all Indians south of them show an incidence of malar verticality of less than 10% whereas the Buriats and Mongols of Urga show it in about 40% to 50%. The other traits such as the two tori and the thickening of the tympanic plate also decrease at roughly the same rates (Oschinsky and East).

When we investigate the frequency of these traits phylogenetically we notice that many of these features are present in the Upper Cave Chou-kou-tien specimens, the Siberian Neolithic,

and the earliest prehistoric Eskimo specimens in the Old and New Worlds. It is interesting that facial flatness, as measured by the two angles (Debetz 1959) and the morphology of the zygomaxillary tuberosity, is so consistent in its distribution and frequency in time and space (Oschinsky and East). It is, therefore, of great diagnostic value in Mongoloid phylogeny and anthropogeography.

As new finds are made in Siberia, China, and the Arctic New World these characteristics will be of great usefulness in unravelling Mongoloid history.

### ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The author wishes to thank Dr. J.L. Giddings, Dr. Frank Banfield, Dr. D.R. Swindler, Dr. J.E. Anderson, Mr. J.V. Wright, Mr. E. Arima, Dr. J. Balslev Jørgensen, Dr. R.S. MacNeish, Dr. and Mme. R. Gessain, Dr. G. Debetz, Dr. H.B. Collins, Dr. T.D. Stewart, Mr. J.A. Dellaire, Miss A. Dawe, Mrs. P. Trunles, Dr. Clifford Evans, and Dr. M. Newman for advice and other services rendered.

**National Museum of Canada.**

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

ALEXEEV, V.

- 1960 Le Peuplement de la Sibérie Méridionale à la Lumière de la Paléoanthropologie. Communications de la Délégation Soviétique au 6<sup>e</sup> Congrès International des Sciences Anthropologiques et Ethnologiques. Moscou.

ANDERSON, J.E. and C.F. MERBS

- 1962 A Contribution of the Human Osteology of the Canadian Arctic. Royal Ontario Museum, Art and Archaeology Division, Occasional Paper 4.

BARNETT, S.A. ED.

- 1958 A Century of Darwin. London.

BIRKET-SMITH, KAJ

- 1930 The Question of the Origin of Eskimo Culture: A Rejoinder. *American Anthropologist* 32:4:608-624.

- BOAS, FRANZ  
1888 The Eskimo. Proc. and Trans. Royal Society of Canada 1887, 5:2:35-39.
- BOULE, M. and H. VALLOIS  
1957 Fossil Men. New York.
- BOYD, W.  
1950 Genetics and the Races of Man. Boston.
- BRIGGS, L.C.  
1955 The Stone Age Races of Northwest Africa. Harvard University. Peabody Museum, American School of Prehistoric Research.
- BUNAK, V.V., G.F. DEBETS and M.G. LEVIN  
1960 Contributions to the Physical Anthropology of the Soviet Union. Harvard University. Russian Translations Series of the Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology 1:2.
- CAIN, A.J.  
1954 Animal Species and Their Evolution. London.
- CAIN, A.J. and G.A. HARRISON  
1960 Phyletic Weighting. Proc. Zoological Society 135:1:1-31.
- CHOWN, BRUCE and MARION LEWIS  
1960 Blood Groups in Anthropology: with special reference to Canadian Indians and Eskimos. National Museum of Canada Bulletin 167. Contributions to Anthropology 1958.  
1961 Blood Groups of the Eskimo. Tenth Pacific Science Congress (Hawaii). Abstracts of Symposium Papers.
- COLLINS, H.B., JR.  
1945 Review of Anthropology of Kodiak Island, 1944; The Aleutian and Commander Islands, 1945 by A. Hrdlicka. American Journal of Physical Anthropology 3:4:355-361.  
1950 The Origin and Antiquity of the Eskimo. Smithsonian Institution. Smithsonian Report for 1950. Washington, D.C.  
1954 Arctic Area. Instituto Panamericano de Geografia e Historia, Comission de Historia. Mexico.
- DARWIN, C.  
1866 On the Origin of the Species by Means of Natural Selection. London.
- DEBETZ, G.F.  
1946 Contribution to the Anthropology of the Chukchi: Preliminary Report. Institut Etnografii, Akademiia Nauk SSSR. Kratkie Soobshcheniia 1:63-64 (In Russian).  
1947 Contributions to the Anthropology of the Eskimo: Preliminary

- Report. Institut Etnografii, Akademiia Nauk SSSR. *Kratkie Soobshcheniia* 3:59-61 (In Russian).
- 1949 Anthropological Investigations in Kamchatka: Preliminary Report. Institut Etnografii, Akademiia Nauk SSSR. *Kratkie Soobshcheniia* 5:3-18 (In Russian).
- 1959 The Skeletal Remains in the Ipiutak Cemetery. *Actas Del XXXIII Congreso Internacional de Americanistas*. San Jose.
- 1960 Problems of Physical Anthropology in Arctic Regions. Circumpolar Conference in Copenhagen 1958. *Acta Arctica* XII:61-65.
- 1960a Summary of Paleo-Anthropological Investigations in the U.S.S.R. Selected Papers of the Fifth International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences. Philadelphia.
- 1962 Certains Aspects des Transformations Somatiques de l'Homo sapiens. VI<sup>e</sup> Congrès International des Sciences Anthropologiques et Ethnologiques. Paris.
- DOBZHANSKY, T.
- 1951 *Genetics and the Origin of Species*. New York. 3rd ed.
- 1955 *Evolution, Genetics, and Man*. New York.
- FISCHER-MØLLER, K.
- 1937 Skeletal Remains of the Central Eskimos. Report of the Fifth Thule Expedition 1921-1924, 3:1.
- 1938 Skeletons from Ancient Greenland Graves. *Medd. om Grønland* 119:4.
- FROMAGET, I. and E. SAURIN
- 1936 Note préliminaire sur les formations cénozoïques et plus récentes de la Chine Annamitique septentrionale et du Haut-Laos, etc. *Bulletin Serv. Géol. de l'Indo-Chine* 22:3:1-46.
- FÜRST, CARL M. and FR. HANSEN
- 1915 *Crania Groenlandica*. Copenhagen.
- GIDDINGS, J.L.
- 1961 Cultural Continuities of Eskimos. *American Antiquity* 27:2:155-171.
- HARP, ELMER, JR.
- 1961 The Archaeology of the Lower and Middle Thelon, Northwest Territories. Arctic Institute of North America, Technical Paper No. 8.
- HOOTON, E.A.
- 1918 On Certain Eskimoid Characters in Icelandic Skulls. *American Journal of Physical Anthropology* 1:1:53-76.
- 1930 *The Indians of Jecos Pueblo: A Study of Their Skeletal Remains*. New Haven.
- 1933 *Racial Types in America and Their Relation to Old World*

- Types. *In* The American Aborigines, Their Origin and Antiquity, D. Jenness, ed. Toronto.
- 1937 Apes, Men, and Morons. New York.
- 1946 Up from the Ape. New York.
- HRDLICKA, ALES
- 1930 Anthropological Survey in Alaska. Smithsonian Institution. 46th Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology. Washington, D.C.
- 1930a The Skeletal Remains of Early Man. Smithsonian Institution. Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections 38:3033. Washington, D.C.
- 1940 Mandibular and Maxillary Hyperostoses. American Journal of Physical Anthropology 27:1:1-68.
- 1942 Crania of Siberia. American Journal of Physical Anthropology 29:4:435-481.
- 1944 The Anthropology of Kodiak Island. Wistar Institute. Philadelphia.
- 1945 The Aleutian and Commander Islands and Their Inhabitants. Wistar Institute. Philadelphia.
- HUXLEY, J.S., ED.
- 1940 The New Systematics. Oxford.
- HUXLEY, T.H.
- 1908 Man's Place in Nature. New York.
- INOSTRANTZEV, A.A.
- 1882 L'Homme Préhistorique de l'Âge de la Pierre sur les Côtes du Lac Lagona. St Petersburg (In Russian).
- JENNESS, D.
- 1925 A New Eskimo Culture in Hudson Bay. Geographical Review 15:3:428-437.
- 1933 The Problem of the Eskimo. *In* The American Aborigines, Their Origin and Antiquity, D. Jenness, ed. Toronto.
- 1941 Prehistoric Culture Waves from Asia to America. Smithsonian Institution. Annual Report 1940.
- JEPSEN, G.L., G.G. SIMPSON and E. MAYR, EDs.
- 1949 Genetics, Paleontology and Evolution. Princeton, University Press.
- JØRGENSEN, JØRGEN BALSLEV
- 1953 The Eskimo Skeleton. Medd. om Grønland 146:2.
- KEITH, A.
- 1925 The Antiquity of Man. London.
- 1925a Was the Chancelade Man Akin to the Eskimo? *Man* 25:116:186-189.
- 1931 New Discoveries Relating to the Antiquity of Man. London.

## LAGUNA, FREDERICA de

- 1932-33 A Comparison of Eskimo and Paleolithic Art. *American Journal of Archaeology* 36:4:447-551; 37:1:77-107.
- 1934 *The Archaeology of Cook Inlet, Alaska*. Philadelphia, University Museum.
- 1947 *The Prehistory of Northern North America as seen from the Yukon*. *Memoirs of the Society for American Archaeology* 12:3:2.

## LARSEN, HELGE and F. RAINEY

- 1948 *Ipiutak and the Arctic Whale Hunting Culture*. *American Museum of Natural History, Anthropological Papers* 42.

## LAUGHLIN, W.S.

- 1950 *Blood Groups, Morphology and Population Size of the Eskimo*. Cold Spring Harbor (New York). *Cold Spring Harbor Symposia on Quantitative Biology* XV:165-173.

## LAUGHLIN, W.S. and J.B. JØRGENSEN

- 1956 *Isolate Variation in Greenlandic Eskimo Crania*. *Acta Genetica et Statistica Medica* 6:3-12.

## LAUGHLIN, W.S. and W.E. TAYLOR

- 1960 *A Cape Dorset Culture Site on the West Coast of Ungava Bay*. National Museum of Canada, Bulletin 167. *Contributions to Anthropology* 1958.

## LE GROS CLARK, W.E.

- 1926 *The Chancelade Skull*. *Man* 26:82.
- 1955 *The Fossil Evidence for Human Evolution*. Chicago.
- 1958 *History of the Primates*. London, British Museum (Natural History). 6th ed.

## LEVIN, M.G.

- 1949 *Craniological Types of Chukchi and Eskimo (in Relation to Problems of Ethnogenesis in Northeastern Asia)*. *Akademiia Nauk SSSR. Sbornik Muzeia Anthropologii i Etnografii* 10:293-302 (In Russian).
- 1950 *Anthropological Types of Siberia and the Far East (Contribution to the Problem of the Ethnogenesis of the Peoples of Northern Asia)*. *Akademiia Nauk SSSR. Societskaia Etnografiia* 2:53-64.
- 1958 *Physical Anthropology and Ethnogenetic Problems of Peoples of the Far East*. Academy of Sciences of USSR. *Trudyinstituta Etnografii N.N. Miklukho-Maklaya* Vol. 36.
- 1960 *Problems of Arctic Ethnology and Ethnogenesis*. Circumpolar Conference in Copenhagen 1958. *Acta Arctica* XII:47-60.

- LIPTAK, P.  
 1959 The "Avar Period" Mongoloids in Hungary. *Acta Archaeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 10:251-279.  
 1961 On the Problems of Historical Anthropology (Palaeoanthropology). *Acta Biologica (Szeged)* 7:3-4:175-183.
- MACNEISH, R.S.  
 1960 Problems of Circumpolar Archaeology as seen from Northwest Canada. Circumpolar Conference in Copenhagen 1958. *Acta Arctica* XII:17-26.
- MANSUY, H.  
 1931 *La Préhistoire en Indochine. Exposition Coloniale Internationale. Paris.*
- MANSUY, H. and M. COLANI  
 1925 Contribution à l'étude de la préhistoire de l'Indo-Chine, No 7. Néolithique inférieur (Bacsonien) et Néolithique supérieur dans le Haut-Tonkin. *Mémoires du Service Géologique de l'Indo-Chine (Hanoi)* 12:3.
- MATHIASSEN, THERKEL  
 1927 *Archaeology of the Central Eskimo. Report of the Fifth Thule Expedition 1921-1924, Vol. 4.*  
 1930 The Question of the Origin of Eskimo Culture. *American Anthropologist* 32:4:591-607.
- MATIEGA, J.  
 1934 *L'Homme Fossile de Predmost en Moravie: Les Crânes. Académie Tchèque des Sciences et des Arts (Prague) Vol. 1.*
- MAYR, E.  
 1942 *Systematics and the Origin of Species. New York.*
- MAYR, E., ED.  
 1957 *The Species Problem. American Association for the Advancement of Science Publ. No. 50. Washington, D.C.*
- MONTANDON, GEORGE  
 1926 *Craniologie paléosibérienne (Néolithiques, Mongoloïdes, Tchouktchi, Eskimo, Aléoutes, Kamtchadales, Ainou, Ghiliak, Négroïdes du Nord). L'Anthropologie* 36:209-296; 447-542.  
 1927 *Au Pays des Aainou. Exploration Anthropologique. Paris, Masson.*
- MORANT, G.  
 1926 *Studies of Palaeolithic Man. The Chancelade Skull and its Relation to the Modern Eskimo Skull. Annals of Eugenics* I:III-IV:257-276.  
 1930-31 *Studies of Palaeolithic Man. A Biometric Study of the Upper*

- Palaeolithic Skulls of Europe and Their Relationships to Earlier and Later Types. *Annals of Eugenics* 4:109-214.
- 1937 A Contribution to Eskimo Craniology Based on Previously Published Measurements. *Biometrika* 29:I-II.
- OETTEKING, BRUNO
- 1908 Ein Beitrag Zur Craniologie der Eskimo. *Abhandlungen und Berichte des Königlichen Zoologischen und Anthropologischen. Ethnographischen Museums zu Dresden* 12:3.
- 1930 Craniology of the North Pacific Coast. *Memoirs of the American Museum of Natural History* 15:1-391.
- 1931 Contribution to the Physical Anthropology of Baffin Island. *American Journal of Physical Anthropology* 15:3:421-468.
- 1934 Skeleton Material from Cook Inlet and Prince William Sound. *In The Archaeology of Cook Inlet, Alaska*, F. de Laguna, ed.
- 1945 Skeletal Remains from Prince William Sound, Alaska. *American Journal of Physical Anthropology* III:1:57-96; 2:177-205; 3:277-311.
- NEUMANN, G.K.
- 1952 Archaeology and Race in the American Indian. *In Archaeology of Eastern United States*, J.B. Griffin, ed.
- OKLADNIKOV, A.P.
- 1959 Ancient Population of Siberia and its Cultures. Harvard University. Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Russian Translation Series 1:1.
- 1960 Archaeology of the Soviet Arctic I and II. Circumpolar Conference in Copenhagen 1958. *Acta Arctica* XII:35-36.
- OSCHINSKY, LAWRENCE and D.A. EAST
- n.d. Arctic Cranial Morphology. National Museum of Canada. Unpublished manuscript.
- 1960 Two Recently Discovered Human Mandibles from Cape Dorset Sites on Sugluk and Mansel Islands. *Anthropologica (Ottawa)* 2:2:212-227.
- PENROSE, L.S.
- 1959 *Outline of Human Genetics*. London.
- RENSCH, B.
- 1960 *Evolution above the Species Level*. New York.
- RINK, HENRY
- 1887 The Eskimo Tribes. *Medd. om Grønland* 11:1-24.
- ROMER, A.S.
- 1959 *The Vertebrate Story*. Chicago.
- SALLER, K.
- 1925 *Die Cromagnonrasse und Ihre Stellung Zu Anderen Jung-*



- Palaeolithischen. Langschädelrassen. *Zeitschrift für Induktive Abstammungs und Vererbungslehre* 39:2.
- 1927 Die Menschenrassen im oberen Paläolithikum. *Mitteilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien* 57:81-105.
- SERGI, G.  
1901 *The Mediterranean Race*. London.
- SHAPIRO, H.L.  
1934 Some Observations on the Origin of the Eskimo. *Proc. 5th Pacific Congress 1933 (Victoria and Vancouver, B.C.)* 4:2723-2732.
- SIMPSON, G.G.  
1949 *The Meaning of Evolution*. New Haven.  
1951 *The Species Concept*. *Evolution* 5:285-298.  
1953 *Life of the Past*. New Haven.  
1953a *The Major Features of Evolution*. New York.  
1961 *Principles of Animal Taxonomy*. New York.
- SINNOT, EDMUND W., L.C. DUNN and THODOSIUS DOBZHANSKY, EDs.  
1958 *Principles of Genetics*. New York. 5th ed.
- SOLLAS, W.  
1924 *Ancient Hunters*. London.  
1925 The Chancelade Skull. *Man* 25:98:157-161.  
1926 The Chancelade Skull. *Man* 26:40:68-69.  
1927 The Chancelade Skull. *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 57:89-122.
- SPIHLER, J.  
1951 Some Genetic Variations in American Indians. *In The Physical Anthropology of the American Indian*, W.S. Laughlin, ed. Viking Fund Publications. New York.
- STEWART, T. DALE  
1933 The Tympanic Plate and External Auditory Meatus in the Eskimos. *American Journal of Physical Anthropology* 17:481-496.  
1939 Anthropometric Observations on the Eskimos and Indians of Labrador. *Field Museum of Natural History, Anthropological Series* 31:1.
- SULLIVAN, LOUIS R.  
1924 Relationships of the Upper Paleolithic Races of Europe. *Natural History* 24:6:682-696.
- SWINDLER, DARIS R.  
1962 A Racial Study of the West Nakanai. *In New Britain Studies*, W.H. Goodenough, ed. University of Pennsylvania, Museum Monographs. Philadelphia.

- SZOMBATHY, J.  
1925-26 Die Menschenrassen im Oberen Paläolithikum insbesondere die Brux-Rasse. Mitteilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien 56:202-219.  
1927 Die Menschenrassen im Oberen Paläolithikum. Bemerkungen zu Dr. K. Sallers Abhandlung, Mit nachwort von K. Saller, Mitteilungen der Anthropologischen Gessellschaft in Wien 57:106-113.
- TESTUT, L.  
1889 Recherches anthropologiques sur le squelette quaternaire de Chancelade (Dordogne). Bull. Soc. Anthropol. Lyon 8:131-246.
- VALLOIS, H.V.  
1941-46 Nouvelles Recherches sur le Squelette de Chancelade. L'Anthropologie 50:165-202.
- VERNEAU, R.  
1906 Les Grottes de Grimaldi. Anthropologie (Monaco) 1:1.  
1909 Les Crânes Humains du Gisement Préhistorique de Pho-Binh-Gia (Tonkin). L'Anthropologie 20:545-559.
- VERWORN, M., R. BONNET and G. STEINMANN  
1919 Der Diluviale Menschenfund von Obercassel bei Bonn. Wiesbaden.
- VON BONIN, G.  
1931 Zur Kranologie Ost Asiens. Biometrika 23:84-85.  
1935 The Magdalenian Skeleton from Cap-Blanc. Urbana.  
1935a European Races of the Upper Palaeolithic. Human Biology 7:196-221.  
1938 Indian Races in the United States: A Survey of previously published measurements. Biometrika 30:94-129.
- WEIDENREICH, F.  
1939 On the Earliest Representatives of Modern Mankind Recovered on the Soil of East Asia. Peking Natural History Bulletin 13:3:161-174.  
1939a The Upper Palaeolithic Man of the Upper Cave of Chou Kou Tien and his bearing on the problem of the provenance of the American Indian. Proc. of 6th Pacific Congress.  
1943 The Skull of Sinanthropus Pekinensis; a comparative study on a primitive Hominid Skull. Palaeontologia Sinica, New Series D. No. 10 (Whole Series No. 127).  
1946 Apes, Giants and Man. Chicago.  
1949 The Shorter Anthropological Papers of Franz Weidenreich published in the period 1939-1948. Compiled by S.L. Washburn and Davida Wolffson. New York.

## WOO, JU-KANG

- 1959 Human Fossils found in Liukang, Kwangsi, China. *Academia Sinica. Vertebrata Palasiatica* 3:3:109-118.

## WOO, T.L.

- 1937 A Biometric Study of the Human Malar Bone. *Biometrika* 29:113-123.

## WOO, T.L. and G. MORANT

- 1934 A Biometric Study of the Flatness of the Facial Skeleton in Man. *Biometrika* 26:196-250.

## WU XIN-ZHI

- 1961 Study on the Upper Cave Man of Chou Kou Tien. *Academia Sinica. Vertebrata Palasiatica* (Vol. and No. not given in English).

## YEN, YIN, LIU, CHANG-ZHI and GU YU MIN

- 1960 Report of the Skeleton Remains from the Neolithic Site at Bao Ji Shensi. *Academia Sinica, Vertebrata Palasiatica* 4:2:103-111.
-



*The Processes of Ongoing Evolution.* G.W. LASKER, ed. Wayne State University Press, 1960, 122 pp. \$3.75.

These are six essays most of which deal with the "micro-evolution" of monogenetic serological factors. By this is meant frequency changes of these factors in populations caused by mutation selection, hybridization and random genetic drift. Evolution is usually understood as a gradual trend in a series of biological changes in a species in time that is irreversible in the narrow sense of the term. To apply the term micro-evolution to pendulum frequency changes of multiple allelic monogenetic serological factors seems pretentious.

Evolution is evident in gradual polygenetic morphological trends in time as is seen in the paleontological record. It involves many generations. It is not evident in two generations in what is thought to be a trend in monogenetic serological variation. It is the mode of variation of characters which is important in evolutionary studies not the knowledge of the mode of inheritance.

L. OSCHINSKY  
*National Museum of Canada*

\*  
\*                      \*

*A Racial Study of the West Nakanai.* D.R. SWINDLER. Museum Monographs: New Britain Studies, W.H. Goodenough, Editor. Philadelphia: University Museum, University of Pennsylvania, 1962. 89 pp., 9 plates, 21 tables. \$2.00.

This monograph is the result of the author's research in New Britain on physical anthropology of the West Nakanai. It includes observations on a sample of 269 individuals. These observations include anthropometric data, skin colour, eye colour, Pilous system, palmaris longus, peroneus tertius, and serology.

The anthropometric data are analyzed in detail according to Penrose's size and shape analysis. In addition to the very complete study of the Nakanai pheno-type, variability, and Melanesians problems in general, there is also included a very interesting chapter on Melanesian racial history. The bibliography is an exhaustive compilation of the relevant works on the area.

This study is most excellent of its kind in that the author has analyzed his data most comprehensively. He has well used a variety of data, i.e. morphology, somatometry, and serology, and he has not drawn far fetched conclusions beyond the evidence presented.

The format, plates, tables and maps indicate the same care and painstaking typical of the other parts of this work.

L. OSCHINSKY,  
*National Museum of Canada*

## Notes bibliographiques - Book Notes

*Contribution to Anthropology, 1960. Part I.* National Museum of Canada, Bulletin No. 180 (Anthropological Series No. 57). Ottawa: National Museum, 1962. VI-190 pp.

Ce volume groupe les travaux d'Archéologie et d'Anthropologie physique entrepris par le personnel du Musée au cours de l'année 1960.

*El Moro* by Hale G. SMITH, with Historical Background Section by Ricardo Torres Deyes. Notes in Anthropology Vol. 6. Tallahassee: The Florida State University, 1962. VIII-97 pp. Illustrated

Rapport de l'Auteur sur les travaux d'excavation du fort El Moro (Puertorico) en vue d'une restauration de ses ruines.

*The Fort at Frederica.* Albert C. MANUCY. Notes in Anthropology Vol. 5. Tallahassee: The Florida State University, 1962. VI-150 pp. Illustrated.

Etude archéologique des ruines du fort Frederica (Floride).

*General Semantics and Contemporary Thomism.* Margaret GORMAN R.C.J. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1962. XV-196 pp. \$1.25.

Etude critique de la Sémantique générale au regard de la philosophie thomiste. L'Auteur définit d'abord les termes pour montrer ensuite les relations de la Sémantique aux autres branches de l'étude du langage. La partie principale du livre est consacrée à l'exposition des théories fondamentales de la Sémantique générale comparées à la philosophie thomiste. En conclusion, l'Auteur montre l'implication de ces théories aux différents niveaux de l'éducation.

*Gopalpur, A South Indian Village.* Alan R. BEALS. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1962. XII-100 pp. \$1.25.

Ce livre présente les résultats d'une étude de certains aspects de la vie au village indien de Gopalpur.

*The Human Skeleton: A Manual for Archaeologists.* J.E. ANDERSON. Illustrated by Tom Munro. Ottawa: National Museum of Canada, 1962. V-164 pp.

Ce manuel a été conçu comme instrument de travail pour l'étude en laboratoire du squelette humain. Il servira aussi de guide compacte pour ceux qui font des fouilles archéologiques.

Les huit premiers chapitres décrivent l'anatomie du squelette, tandis que les dix derniers introduisent à l'analyse ostéologique.

*Marriage in Tribal Societies.* Edited by Meyer Fortes (Cambridge Papers in Social Anthropology). Cambridge University Press, 1962. VIII-157 pp. \$1.25.

Il s'agit d'un symposium sur divers aspects du mariage dans les sociétés tribales. Il comprend les quatre essais suivants: Séparation et divorce chez les Gonja de Ghana (Esther N. Goody); La dote et les relations d'affinité chez les Tahitiens du Kenya (Grace Harris); Le mariage et les relations d'affinité chez les Gisu (Jean La Fontaine); Filiation et mariage chez les Tropicbriands (Marguerite Robinson).

*Prehistoric Art of Nevada and Eastern California.* Robert F. HEIZER and Martin BAUMHOFF. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1962. XVIII-412 pp. \$8.00.

Ce livre donne le résultat de trois années de recherches dans le Nevada et la Californie orientale. L'Auteur y fait d'abord l'inventaire et la classification des données pétrographiques, puis, tente d'en déterminer la signification. Abondamment et clairement illustré.

*Primitive Song.* BOWRA, C.M., London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1962. \$8.00.

Ce livre se présente comme une interprétation humaniste de certains phénomènes (chants, poésies, mythes et rites) des sociétés primitives; il vaut surtout par l'abondance des matériaux rassemblés et par les catégories d'analyse utilisées; il n'est pas sûr que les conclusions puissent toujours se substituer à celles plus modestes des structuralistes et des fonctionnalistes; la confrontation des deux optiques serait intéressante à conduire.

*Traditional cultures and the impact of technological change.* Georges M. FOSTER, New-York: Harper and Brothers, 1962. \$4.75.

Ce livre qui se veut d'anthropologie appliquée plutôt que théorique me semble extrêmement utile; il remplira une lacune laissée par les études éparses sur ce sujet. Quoique préoccupé de problèmes pratiques, l'auteur s'appuie sans cesse sur une théorie solide et facilement maniable sur le terrain. Après avoir discuté de changement technique dans le cadre des cultures traditionnelles, l'auteur s'étend sur la dynamique du changement, envisagé sous l'angle des quatre variables: culture, société, personnalité et économique; il discute des obstacles et des stimulants au changement. Les derniers chapitres s'adressent plus particulièrement aux anthropologues et autres spécialistes qui ont pour mission d'aider à la réalisation de certains changements.

# ANTHROPOLOGICA

---

N.S.

Vol. IV

1962

---

## Table des matières — Contents

- Power in Complex Societies in Africa*  
by Ronald Cohen 5
- L'accord de clientèle et l'organisation politique au Burundi*  
par A.A. Trouwborst 9
- Power in Ruanda*  
by Helen Codere 45
- The Analysis of Conflict in Hierarchical Systems: An  
Example from Kanuri Political Organization*  
by Ronald Cohen 87
- The Development of Local Government in a Nigerian Town-  
ship*  
by Simon Ottenberg 121
- Accommodation and Conflict in an African Peri-Urban Area*  
by Peter C.W. Gutkind 163
- The Abbé Henri Breuil and Prehistoric Archaeology*  
by Philip E. Smith 199
- Some Aspects of Governmental Indian Policy and Adminis-  
tration*  
by R.H. Dunning 209
- The Malecite Family Industries: A Case Study*  
by Tom F.S. McFeat 233



*Remarques sur les concepts de vision du monde et de totalité*  
par Marcel Rioux 273

*Le transfert culturel: Fondement et extension dans le processus d'acculturation*  
par Marc-Adélarde Tremblay 293

*The Strategy of Social Evolution*  
by Ronald Cohen 321

*Facial Flatness and Cheekbone Morphology in Arctic Mongoloids*  
by Lawrence Oschinsky 349

*Recensions — Book Reviews* ..... 175, 379

*Notes bibliographiques — Book Notes* ..... 193, 381

## AUX COLLABORATEURS DE LA REVUE

Les manuscrits: texte, citations, notes, bibliographie, doivent être dactylographiés à double interligne, sur papier 8½ x 11 pouces. Les notes doivent être numérotées consécutivement et incluses sur une feuille séparée à la fin du texte. La bibliographie doit énumérer les ouvrages dont il est fait mention dans le texte; elle doit inclure la liste des auteurs par ordre alphabétique, et par ordre chronologique pour chaque auteur. Dans le texte les renvois bibliographiques sont mis entre parenthèses en indiquant l'auteur, l'année et la page (Mauss, (1939: 176). Les recensions et critiques d'ouvrages doivent donner: le titre, l'auteur, le numéro de la série de la monographie s'il y a lieu, l'endroit de publication, l'éditeur, la date, le nombre de pages, les illustrations et le prix de la publication recensée.

---

## INFORMATION FOR AUTHORS

Authors are requested to submit all manuscripts on standard 8½ x 11 inch paper, double-spaced, and typed on one side only. This refers to all material submitted, including footnotes, which are to be numbered consecutively throughout the manuscript and submitted on a separate sheet of paper. All references to other works should be placed in parentheses within the text, indicating the author's proper name, with the year of publication and page references (Jenness, 1954: 151). The bibliography must also be presented, double-spaced, on a separate sheet and in alphabetical order according to authors. Works of the same author should be listed chronologically. Book reviews are expected to include: title, author (monograph, etc., if required), place, publisher, date, pagination, figures, plates and maps. price.

IMPRIMÉ AU CANADA  
PRINTED IN CANADA