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Community Organization and Pattern Change Among North Canadian and Alaskan Indians and Eskimos

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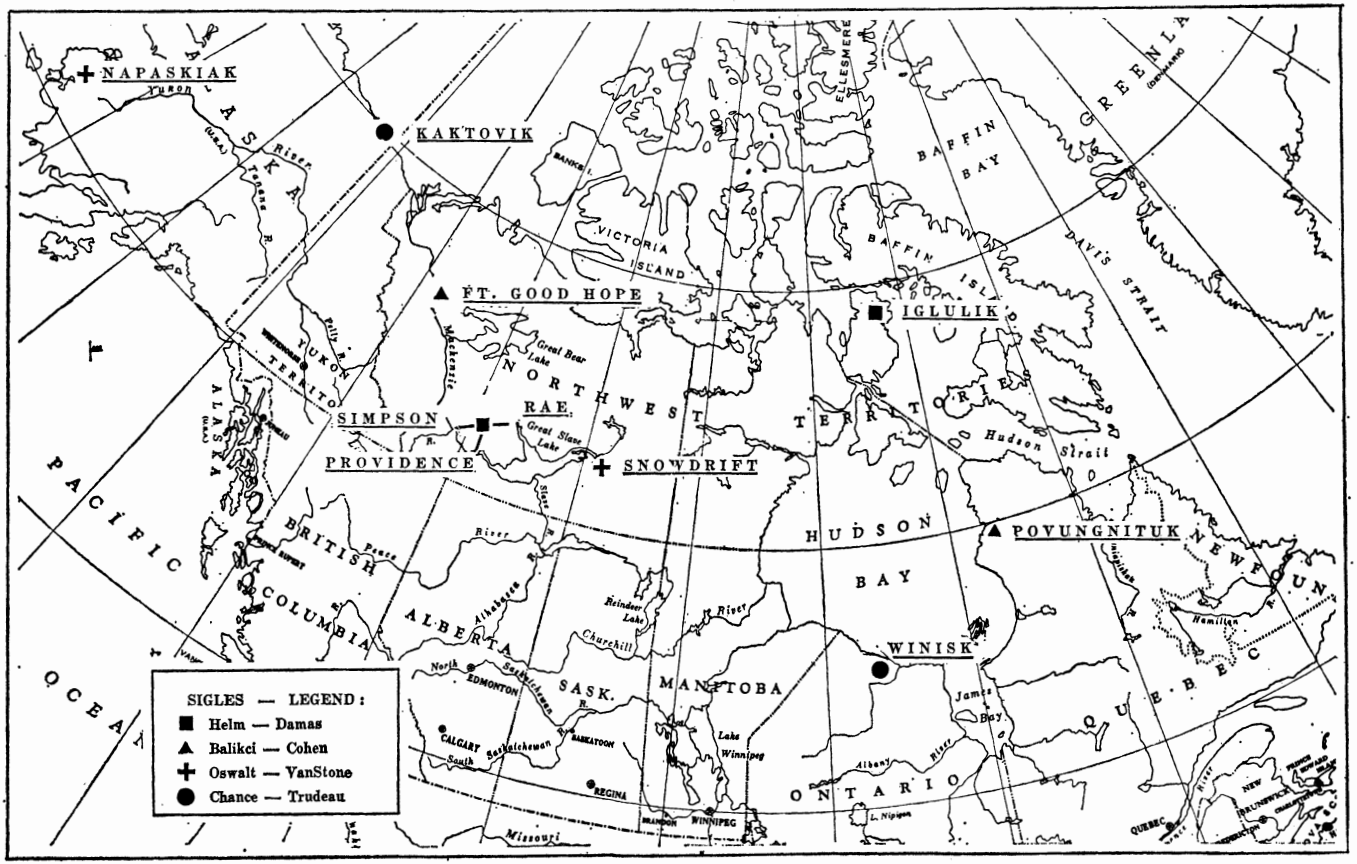
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Community Organization and Patterns of Change Among North Canadian and Alaskan Indians and Eskimos

BY JOHN J. HONIGMANN
Guest Editor

RÉSUMÉ

Les articles contenus dans ce numéro spécial étudient l'évolution socio-culturelle d'un certain nombre de communautés indiennes et esquimaudes du Nord canadien et de l'Alaska. Ces travaux contribuent de façon importante à l'augmentation d'un ensemble de données ethnographiques, et, en cela, ils ont encore leur raison d'être.

Il est temps, toutefois, que les scientifiques qui font des recherches sur les groupes nordiques procèdent à l'élaboration et à la vérification d'hypothèses et de généralisations sérieuses en appliquant la méthode comparative. Il est assez facile, en effet, de déceler parmi ces groupes des constantes et des variantes qui expliquent les différences ou les similitudes de leur évolution socio-culturelle.

Les groupes décrits ici sont classés selon trois types de communautés et se distinguent par la qualité de leur adaptation aux conditions créées par la présence d'euro-canadiens. L'écologie, à elle seule, demeure impuissante à nous éclairer sur le processus de développement de ces types de communautés. Pour accomplir un travail fructueux, il faudra plutôt se placer dans une optique sociale et idéologique.

I

This number of *Anthropologica* had its inception a few years ago when some of us came to the conclusion that it was time to take stock of recent anthropological research in northern North America and for that purpose to bring together persons who had contributed to knowledge of that area. The 1962 annual meeting of the American Anthropological Association seemed to be an appropriate time to accomplish these aims and so, thanks to the efforts of Asen Balikci and Margaret Lantis plus a grant from the Arctic Institute of North America, a small conference

was held in Montreal in the spring of 1962 to outline a program and attempt to find a theme that would give comparability to the contributions. The papers which follow represent results of this planning.

The contributors manifestly possess that sense of history or process which Raymond Firth distinguishes from the kind of literary embalming in which a culture is described as somehow timeless and the anthropologist is more concerned with what has been lost than with positive implications of change (Firth, 1951: 81). Despite remarks disparagingly made to studying "tin-can cultures", the contributors have insisted on studying Indian and Eskimo cultures in terms of what they have become and are becoming. To study these communities as they are today does not appeal to every professionnal anthropologists. To a considerable degree cultural anthropology remains imbued with searching for glamourous or highly exotic phenomena. Only slowly has it gotten down to complementing sociology by studying relatively familiar western cultural forms. The contributors to this number are well aware that any living culture, whether its artifacts are made of sealskin and walrus ivory or blue denim and tar paper, is worth studying. It has information to reveal and can contribute to or help test the growing body of anthropological generalizations.

On the whole, however, northernists have taken little advantage of their data to test rigorously significant generalizations of the sort from which science grows. The North is an area where many factors can be held more or less constant while searching for differences theoretically postulated to exist in key explanatory variables. Such comparative study has begun but it has not been as rigorously pressed as descriptive ethnography, which it nicely supplements. For example, comparison of the Arctic-drainage and Pacific-drainage Athapaskans long ago indicated that ecological variables in the latter region are significant for the greater elaboration of culture. A more precise formulation of this relationship remains to be done. The Atlantic littoral may also turn out to have had a somewhat more complex aboriginal culture than the interior boreal forest. At least one astonishing difference between Eskimo and Indian responses to changing

cultural conditions in the Arctic and sub-Arctic appears in the papers gathered together for this volume. Eskimo social structure turns out to be much more adaptable to white pressures for community organization than Indian. How can this be explained? I think that at this point in development of anthropology we should avoid giving a blanket reason or two and then debating those reasons with examples selectively garnered for and against each point of view. Rather, what we are ready for is to take two specific communities — one Eskimo and the other Indian — and with theoretical justification look for significant differences between their histories, cultures, or sectors within their cultures, like social structure. Any generalizations arrived at by this micro-comparative method should then be tested against a fresh pair of communities to see if the original generalizations hold up, how far they must be rephrased, or if any are to be discarded. Of course, more detailed ethnography needs to be done, on the shoulders so to speak of the ethnographers who have worked in the North before, in order to secure ever more intensive coverage. Ethnography so executed will have comparability built into itself. But in addition, as I have suggested, the time is ripe for another approach as well, an approach that is as integrally part of cultural anthropology as descriptive ethnography, though a part hardly as conspicuous.

Comparative research need not be concerned solely with differences. It may look at similarities of a less than obvious sort and for variables capable of accounting for those similarities. Asen Balikci has not used his Vunta Kutchin data for the paper he presents below. In manuscripts (Balikci, n.d.) he continues his ecological interest by citing organizational changes in Kutchin culture that followed from the fur trade. He describes the instability of marriage, indicated by numerous extra-marital relationship and "lax" premarital sexual standards that verge on promiscuity. Are these traits products of social disorganization (perhaps better stated as reorganization) or are they local expressions of a traditional northern Athapaskan pattern fundamentally similar to Kaska behavior? (Honigmann, 1949: 158-164; 250-257; 287-304) Balikci and I both suspect it may be the latter. Northern Athapaskan culture, it may turn out, gives individuals great leeway with respect to sex as well as a large share of indi-

vidual autonomy. But this is a hunch, one that requires careful testing and more precise formulation, requirements that can come only by some application of the comparative method, including fresh field work instituted with this theoretical problem in mind.

II

At the Montreal meeting contributors decided to center several papers around a typological approach to northern community organization. As a result several papers were written to illustrate three rough types of communities, all representing adjustements to white contact. In the contact-traditional type described by June Helm in published monographs (Helm, 1961; Helm and Lurie, 1961) and in association with David Damas in present number, social life continues to be cut off from immediate day-to-day contact with persons of European descent. That type contrasts with more familiar trading-post communities, such as those examined below by Asen Balikci, Ronald Cohen, James W. VanStone, and Wendell Oswalt. The Indian or Eskimo population segment (sometimes both are present) during at least one part of the year exists in day-to-day interaction with an intrusive ethnic group composed of the trader and his family, missionaries, teachers, police, and, perhaps, other non-indigenous persons. Such a community may be described as being "focussed" around some institutions, like church and store, which give it a large measure of overall unity and solidarity (Honigmann, 1960: 11-12). Communities of the type described by John Trudeau and Norman Chance represent a recent development of the trading-post type. They too are mixed but the focus holding social relations together is different. The Hudson's Bay Company store and mission, although each may still be on the scene, have yielded dominance to a facility like a military air base or radar station which, at least during the construction phase, offers wage employment to the local population. Jacob Fried's paper does not deal with yet another type of community but rather takes the mixed type in Canada and analytically formulates the character of Euro-canadian life, its components, and the interdependence of Euro-canadians with the indigenous local population whose members

have been drawn to the community. His paper brings out very well the focal organizational role exerted by the intrusive population. In all mixed communities the pattern of living depends largely on what foci of organization Euro-canadians provide. To these stimuli native people more or less grudgingly, and with a variety of intended and unintended meanings, respond. In studying those responses the contributors pursue another aim of the symposium, describing patterns of change that have occurred in the Canadian and Alaskan North to foster the native people's adaptation.[1]

Students of social organization who look mainly at the native segments will perceive in both the early type of trading-post community and in its later form, described by Trudeau and Chance, a variant of the composite band to which Julian Steward has called attention (Steward, 1955: Ch. 8; Service, 1962: 63). The mechanism creating "trading-post bands" that are integrated into pluralistic trading-post or military communities is not purely ecological. Hence ecological theory cannot but itself adequately describe the adaptation or organizational dynamics of contemporary northern people. The underlying mechanism is better viewed in social and ideological terms. Social organization and values link the northern people with the wider society and provide them with sustenance drawn from a variety of world areas. Note that I do not deny an acological variable to be at work. There is, of course, but it is not to be observed by looking solely at a northern community and it doesn't explain all that is to be explained.

Charles C. Hughes' concluding observations on change in northern communities integrate the specific papers of the various contributors. His cultural evolutionary treatment organizes the other papers' analytical data into a general and therefore abstract theoretical framework whose key concept is control strategy. His essay provides a dramatic illustration of the power of any high-level theory which abruptly transforms the things we have been

[1] For a similar study involving only Eskimo groups see J.W. VanStone and W. H. Oswalt, 1960.

talking about, transposing them to a new level, and revealing hitherto unknown features they possess.

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The Contact-Traditional All-Native Community of the Canadian North:

THE UPPER MACKENZIE "BUSH" ATHAPASKANS AND THE IGLULIGMIUT

BY JUNE HELM AND DAVID DAMAS

RÉSUMÉ

Cet article traite de villages indigènes du type "contact-traditionnel", i.e., des groupements composés de chasseurs et trappeurs qui ont élevé des habitations permanentes à des endroits fixes. Ces groupes sont formés par des indiens athapascans et par des esquimaux, les premiers situés entre le Grand Lac des Esclaves, la rivière Mackenzie et le lac la Martre, les seconds dans la région de la péninsule Melville et de la Terre de Baffin.

Bien qu'il existe des différences marquées entre les deux groupes, de nombreuses similitudes, basées sur les liens de parenté, apparaissent clairement et permettent de classifier ces groupes selon le type mentionné plus haut.

Introduction

Our purpose is to delineate the all-native community of the contact-traditional horizon in the Canadian Arctic and sub-Arctic as represented in two sub-cultural areas, the Upper Mackenzie Drainage, occupied by Slave and Dogrib Athapaskans or Dene, and that portion of Melville Peninsula and Baffin Island inhabited by the Igluligmiut.[1]

[1] The field work in the Upper Mackenzie River region has been carried out over a ten year period by June Helm, most notably in a "bush" Slavey village on the Mackenzie River (Helm 1961) and the former "bush" community of Dogribs at the south end of Lac la Martre (Helm and Lurie 1961) but includes brief knowledge of four or five smaller bush settlements. Reference to the Dogrib fall caribou hunt is from field data collected in 1962.

The Igluligmiut data come from David Damas, who recently spent 12 months with that group. Since, at the time of preparation of this paper for publication, Damas is in the field and cannot be contacted, the senior author has had to leave his references uncited in the bibliography.

The Athapaskan area considered lies between Great Slave Lake, the Mackenzie River and Lac la Martre and includes the three trading forts of Simpson, Providence, and Rae. This is a land of sub-Arctic coniferous forest and thousands of lakes, many of which are rich fishing waters. The important natural biota of the region include the moose and also the caribou in their seasonal winter migration into the area. The area of the Slavey community includes some of the richest regions in the North for marten, mink and beaver.

The region of the Igluligmiut is the limestone lowland, tundra and gravel plain coastal region of northern Foxe Basin and Fury and Hecla Strait. At the time of the field study the population was distributed among fourteen villages, one of which has been associated since about 1957 with the trading post-mission-school settlement at Iglulik. Other European settlements in the area are a DEW Line site, and a nursing station. Game resources in the Igluligmiut regions include herds of walrus, the seal, small groups of caribou, and, for the market, the white fox.

The "all-native community" contrasts with the types of communities discussed in the other articles of this issue by the absence of white personnel or institutions which act as focal points of recruitment and interest in the community. However, the all-native community is itself oriented toward a focal center of white institutions in the region, commonly a settlement that may be characterized as "Point-of-Trade".

Furthermore, we must distinguish at the outset between what we here refer to as the contact-traditional horizon as against the aboriginal and early contact horizon. The aboriginal-early contact horizon begins immediately prior to first white contact or influence. This horizon extended for the Igluligmiut until about 1930. The end-date for the Upper Mackenzie Dene is much earlier, probably at some period between 1850 and 1900, depending upon particular groups. The prime criterion that we have set for the advent of the contact-traditional horizon is the establishment of all-native communities made up of permanent dwellings — log cabins for the Athapaskans and the *qangmat* or sod, canvas and wood shelters for the Igluligmiut. We consider this physical evidence of significant decline in the

nomadism and cultural independence of the aboriginal and early contact period. These communities of the contact-traditional horizon are perhaps also distinguished by their relatively stable core of personnel.

Mobility and Locale

In the contact-traditional horizon we discern two kinds of societal aggregates. The primary one with which we are dealing is the permanent base community, as identified above. The second kind is a residual category that we term "camps." These represent seasonal and temporary sites and movements of personnel out of base communities. One example of a seasonal camp would be the trapping outpost to which one or a few nuclear families move from the base community for one or more months. This kind of camp is present both in the Upper Mackenzie and in the Iglulik area. Aboriginally, the mobile camp was perhaps the temporally and socially dominant type of local grouping. It appears that the nearest aboriginal equivalent to the contact-traditional base community was the more or less recurrent aggregates of persons, by season, at particular locales for special exploitative activities. An example from the Igluligmiut would be the winter sealing village, large in size, and lasting three or four months in duration. The Upper Mackenzie Athapaskans paralleled this condition at such times as the fall fishery, when large aggregates of people came together for at least several weeks. The overall picture for both the Upper Mackenzie and the Igluligmiut area is one of fragmentation and coalescence of groups by family unit, according to season. Furthermore, among the Igluligmiut evidence is good for movement into or out of a region for a year or more in order to investigate the game resources of that area. Less sure evidence from the Athapaskan area indicates that in the earlier times the same may have held, with small groups of one or two nuclear families exploring an area new to them for its combined fur and game resources.

The factors in the increasing stabilization and sederunty of the base community in both regions have been primarily technological and economic in nature. The prime force was the introduction of the fur trade and the access to new technology that

it permitted. Until the permanent trading post was established at Iglulik in 1947, the Eskimo of the region traveled about 300 miles for trade goods. Nevertheless, by 1930 at Iglulik the increment of items of European technology, mainly the rifle, ammunition, and wooden whale boats, was sufficient to allow accumulation of food reserves to a degree that, together with the introduction of European building materials, made settled winter villages feasible. In recent years, the period of sederunty has increased from six months to nine or ten months.

At Iglulik the new technology, through the intermediation of the fur trade, has to date simply increased and enriched the exploitation of subsistence resources. It is probably true that in early contact times the advent of the rifle was also of primary advantage to the Athapaskan and allowed him, as it does the present day Igluligmiut, to increase tremendously his take of certain game animals, most notably caribou. But this stage of the contact situation among the Athapaskans has probably been gone for at least fifty years. Today, the bush Athapaskan primarily seeks furs in order to obtain money, to buy not only clothing and general equipment but a substantial portion of his food as well.

There are at least two major corollaries of the introduction of new technological-economic opportunities in these two regions. One corollary that appears to be much more important for the Igluligmiut than it has ever been for the Athapaskans is the stockpiling of game food. With rifle and whaleboat the Igluligmiut are able to kill tremendous quantities of walrus, creating a reluctance to move from a site of their meat cache. In certain regions and seasons the Indians experience some reserve fish and flesh take, but this is minor in comparison to Iglulik. Nor is the cash income sufficient to allow the stockpiling of commercial food to any extent.

The second corollary has been the continual accumulation of goods and gear unknown in aboriginal times — for the Dene canvas canoes and outboard motors, wood burning tin stoves, woolen clothing, steel saws and axes, etc. For the Igluligmiut commercial wood products such as plywood are of especial im-

portance. Through the decades there has been increasing access, financial and other wise, to these goods. Increasing dependence upon them, as part of the rising standard-of-living has kept pace.

In the location of the community upon the land, among the Igluligmiut there has been essentially no change. The older sites (pre-1930) of habitation continue to be occupied but on a more permanent basis than formerly. Population increase has resulted in the establishment of new communities in new locales. The main consideration in the selection of a village site in the Iglulik area is proximity to good sea mammal hunting opportunities.

The situation among the Athapaskans of the Upper Mackenzie is different and more complicated. The bush community of the contemporary contact-traditional period appears often to be established in a different sort of locale than those frequented in aboriginal and early contact times. This is the result of a compromise between the pull of Point-of-Trade and of those areas containing marketable and subsistence resources. The fish lakes of the interior of the Mackenzie region are the most notably rich and reliable in staple food. But these fish lakes are in locales that often do not allow easy travel to Point-of-Trade. The Mackenzie peoples today, therefore, are (if not settled in the trading post itself)[2] with few exceptions settled along the navigable waterways leading to the "fort", rather than in the richest fish, flesh and fur areas *per se*.

Composition of the Community

The building-block unit of the Athapaskan community is the nuclear family household. Occasional variants may include the addition to the core marital pair and immature offspring of the widowed parent or unmarried sibling of one of the spouses, or of a dependent young-married pair, sometimes maintaining a semi-separate but dependent household. The number of independent nuclear families in a base community usually varies between three and ten, with the total community population commonly

[2] The monthly family-allowance payments of the last few years have accelerated the permanent settling in the forts.

ranging from an estimated twelve to eighty persons.[3] The residences within a community are in a compact, cleared area, except in some larger groups where a few dwellings may be scattered a few miles away from the main settlement.

The Dene native community is built up link by link through primary relative ties between marital pairs. Either husband or wife may be the linking member of the pair to one or more other pairs of the community, either in a parent-child or sibling-sibling relationship. Characteristically, unless intervening linking pairs have been eliminated by death, every marital pair of the community will be linked by at least one primary tie into the total chain. The Athapaskan community is neither exogamous or endogamous. Propinquity and convenience operate to encourage marrying in. Too close kinship of many community members encourages the seeking of a mate from beyond the community. More in former times than at present, customs of courtship and temporary uxorilocality, conjoined with small community size, operated to take the newly married male out of his community of orientation. But, past and present, the choice for permanent residence has been essentially bilocal. The relative dominance, solidarity and energy of husband's versus wife's set of male siblings and/or father seem to be an important factor in determining the final residence location of the pair.

For the Upper Mackenzie Athapaskans, essentially only one sort of all-native community has been identified; in the case of the Igluligmiut, it is necessary to differentiate two varieties. Community Type I averages about twenty individuals and three or four marital pairs(range: one to five marital pairs). Type II has as a population average of about fifty individuals with perhaps a dozen marital pairs (range: six to twenty-five marital pairs). The building-block unit for Type I is the nuclear family which combines with a few others into essentially one extended-

[3] This is based on an estimated four to eight persons in a family unit. Population increase within the family is proceeding at such a pace, due to the decline of infant mortality and deaths from infectious diseases, that it is difficult to assess an "average" family size. Some young families in the last decade have swelled to 10 or more immature children. A generation ago, four or five surviving children would be considered a large family.

family household. Type II is comprised of aggregates of Type I plus a periphery of independent nuclear units.

The Type I (extended household) aggregations of the Igluligmiut are reminiscent of the Athapaskan total community in the internal linkage by parent-child and sibling-sibling ties between the constituent marital pairs. But one difference is that the emphasis is virilocal, with father-son and male sibling bonds dominant. In the Type II community, which, as we have indicated, is made up of Type I units, the connections between the constituent extended households are usually of a variety of bilateral, usually non-primary, kin bonds. These generalizations hold true for both aboriginal and contact-traditional horizons. In both past and present a period of bride service somewhat obscures the essential virilocal emphasis. Local exogamy seems to have emerged with increased sederunty and stronger identity of the local grouping .

Among both the Dene and the Igluligmiut there are other considerations that in particular cases intertwine with the basic kinship factors in community composition. For example, ecological factors, such as over-population and over-exploitation of an area, or personal frictions may be involved in individual and unit location and relocation within communities and among communities.

Coordination and Authority

The general tenor of our comparisons is that the Igluligmiut have more organized and systematic patterns of authority, coordination and distribution than do the Dene of the Upper Mackenzie.

Among the Igluligmiut the most important area of coordination, and decision-making is in the realm of subsistence activities, involving three units of cooperation and distribution, with attendant systems of authority, which correspond roughly to the groupings and organizational phases of the seasonal cycle of earlier times. These units today are: (1) the extended family, (2) the whale-boat crew, and (3) the village-whole. The division of cash profits takes place within the extended family. The

summer kill of walrus is divided along the lines of the whale-boat crew; whereas game taken in the winter is, ideally at least, distributed on a village-whole basis.

Kinship considerations are pervasive in each of the three levels but lessen as a prime factor as we move from the extended family to the whale-boat crew and the village-whole. Criteria determining dominance and subordination among kindred are those of sex difference, age differences and the ascendancy of the consanguineal group over in-marrying affines. The extended-family leader is usually heir to that post by virtue of being the oldest male in the male line. Within the whale-boat crew decision-making and coordination is partly regulated by these same sort of kinship directives. In crews made up of representatives of more than one kin group the locus of authority usually resides in the group owning the boat. On the village-wide level the leader of the largest constituent extended family is often the *issumataq* of the village or head man.[4] Today the ownership of a whaleboat in such a family unit is prerequisite for village leadership, but other factors such as personality qualifications and ability in the hunt have always influenced the assumption of leadership to some extent. In matters other than economic, such as marriage and adoption arrangements and the naming of children, the extended family leader usually has the strongest influence, although there are two or three older men whose opinions carry supra-familial and even supra-village weight.

Among the Igluligmiut, relations between kinsmen seem seldom to depart from the ideal definition, although personality qualifications may mitigate dominant-subordinate dyads. Status factors that influence relations between non-kinsmen include relative position within each family, the relative numerical strength of each family, hunting ability of the individual, and the wealth of the family, especially with regard to boat ownership. Also, outside the limits of the particular kindred, some degree of status differentiation within the community is made on the principle of relative age.

[4] This principle applied in all the villages in the winter of 1921-2 (based on Mathiassen's census and native recall information).

For the Athapaskans of the Upper Mackenzie, we can generally say that the picture of authority and coordination that emerges is one significantly less clearly defined than among the Igluligmiut. Lacking the extended family as a functional grouping, the Dene have no kin group beyond the nuclear family that evinces any consistent pattern of authority and coordination. Hard work, reliability and generosity draw respect, and may make a man influential. The distribution of large game kill still obtains, but appears to be community-wide only in smaller settlements. There is no exploitative opportunity comparable to the walrus-hunt that might evoke differentiation of status and labor comparable to the whale-boat crew organization among the Igluligmiut. The fall caribou hunt of the Dogribs, the nearest parallel we can find, is today of more symbolic than economic importance. Some of the men of the old regional groups, extending beyond a single base community unit, tend to cluster together into "crews", with the "boss" for each crew a matter of yearly selection by consensus, based on the individual's personality and good judgment, hard-working qualities, and knowledge of the route to the Barren Lands. In only one bush (Slavey) community, recognized as unique, do resident kinsmen own and operate special equipment (analagous to the Igluligmuit whale-boat) with some differentiation of labor and authority. One area of dyadic coordination not evident among the Igluligmiut but common to many of the Dene groups is the trapping partnership, often between primary kinsmen or brothers-in-laws, ranging from temporary to semi-permanent. Other joint productive efforts are few and are *ad hoc* arrangements between close consanguine or affinal kinsmen.

Among neither the Igluligmiut or the Dene of the Upper Mackenzie do we find that the deliberate and formal impositions and expectations of the governmental and religious structures of Euro-Canadian society have made much penetration and reordering of native life within the all-native community. Some coordinated activity among both the Igluligmiut and the Dene occurs around the expectations of the Christian churches. The Igluligmiut have a nominal leader of religious services within the all-native community. Usually this is the same person as the native-selected headman. In many Dene bush communities Sunday

religious services are a regular practice, with the role of host and/or prayer leader alternately assumed by older, respected men of the community. The structure of authority and coordination in the indigenous Igluligmiut community remain essentially unaffected by Canadian government action. Among the Athapaskans government fiat has created the "tribal" chief, regional headmen or "councillors" and their election. Their social and political role is generally limited to that of intermediary between the Indian individual and/or group and various government offices. The degree of influence and importance that a "councillor" has in his bush community stems from his personal qualities, rather than his official status. On occasion, group policy and goal formulation *vis-à-vis* a particular government requirement is achieved by consensus among the adult men of the community through informal exchange and semi-formal gathering.

Trends and Prospects

The Igluligmiut seem to be on the crest of an economic wave. Their economy is still heavily a subsistence economy, and so far game resources, most notably walrus, have not been outstripped by the food needs of a rapidly expanding population. Native social institutions have had great continuity to the present in spite of important economic changes and growth. In the attempt to perceive future trends in Igluligmiut society it is useful to look at the experiences of other Eskimo peoples. There have been other groups that have enjoyed the florescence of native subsistence activities, usually in the form of increased exploitation of caribou with advent of the rifle. Almost inevitably that emphasis resulted in the local depletion of that animal. Adjustments to these caribou crises have been sought in several directions. One of these was a shift to a more nearly complete sea mammal economy. In some cases this included government relocation of natives into regions in the Archipelago that were well endowed in that respect. At places where marine resources are not abundant, trapping opportunities and government subsidies generally have not been sufficient for most of these groups to maintain an adequate level of living. Sometimes these situations have been alleviated by access to local white wage-labor opportunities. Native industries have developed under government or private

stimulus in other localities. Native authority patterns have usually persisted but on occasions have been insufficient to meet the new economic situations and have been supplemented by white authority.

At Iglulik there is no subsistence crisis at present. On the other hand, even if local games resources were to be more efficiently exploited or if personnel were moved to new areas of sea mammal hunting, the cash needs of the Igluligmiut would not be met by the present modes of income, namely trapping and government subsidies. Wage labor opportunities in the region, such as at DEW Line and government installations, do not promise to absorb many more workers. If other means of livelihood develop, it seems likely, on the basis of comparative data, that native authority and coordination patterns will have to be supplemented by white intervention through governmental or private agencies.

Within the discernible contact-traditional horizon, the Upper Mackenzie Dene have been heavily dependent upon the fur market not only for almost all equipment but for a significant proportion of foodstuffs. The long trend in the last hundred or so years has been to abandon subsistence activities in order to procure more furs for the money and market economy and to retreat from areas rich in subsistence biota for easier access to Point-of-Trade. Only government subsidy through family allowance and old age pensions as well as outright relief has in recent decades allowed the Dene level-of-living to rise. Government subsidy heavily supports the household even of the bush community, although not to the extent that it does the average household of the fort dweller. In recent years the slowly expanding but erratic wage-labor market, mainly in governement enterprises in the North, has been of some economic benefit and is a source of hope to the Indian. All factors, then, continue to operate to remove the Indian from the bush settlement and into the trading fort or white-focus community where opportunity for wage labor and access to white goods, services and subsidies is better. Only if some bush resource becomes exploitable, for example in the development of a lumbering or commercial fishing industry, can we expect the bush population to hold or increase in a particular

region. But it must be recognized that should such resources open they will be organized essentially through representatives and interests of the greater Euro-Canadian society.

Summation

The all-native community has here been considered as a feature of the contact-traditional horizon in the Canadian North. This has been a period of prescribed, stabilized and regularized relations between native and white persons and institutions. The member of the indigenous community goes beyond his own settlement to contact at special locales a few representatives of such standard white institutions as trading posts and missions, which historically have been created for the purpose of creating and promoting those relations. Increasingly, representatives of government offices especially, seek out the native in his home community.

We have suggested that Iglulik in broad outline represents an early phase of contact florescence (due to the introduction of European technology) that was at least approximated at other times and places in the North, although the special local endowments in game at Iglulik have permitted a degree of florescence to the present day perhaps in excess of that generally experienced. The bush Dene have for several generations been in a condition of a stabilized fur trade-*cum*-subsistence production. Government services have allowed level-of-living (and standard-of-living aspirations) to rise without comparable growth in the productive base. Despite observable differences in composition, activity, and coordination in Upper Mackenzie communities as against Igluligmiut communities, both ethnologists discern a common pattern of sentiment and affiliation. This revolves around kinship loyalties in general and the localized kin-community of which the individual is a resident in particular.

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Partially Acculturated Communities: Canadian Athapaskans and West Alaskan Eskimos

BY WENDELL H. OSWALT AND JAMES W. VANSTONE

RÉSUMÉ

Deux villages, l'un esquimau et l'autre indien, sont comparés du point de vue de l'organisation communautaire. Le village esquimau de Napaskiak est situé le long de la rivière Kuskokwim au sud-ouest de l'Alaska, tandis que Snowdrift, un village d'indiens Chipewyan, se trouve à l'extrémité est du Grand Lac des Esclaves. Cette étude met en évidence certaines divergences importantes dans le développement et la structure des deux groupes. Ces divergences trouvent leur source, par exemple, dans le type d'organisation résidentielle propre à chaque population, dans les relations de ces groupes avec les gouvernements américains ou canadiens selon le cas, et dans la qualité du "leadership" indigène ainsi que dans l'influence exercée par les missionnaires.

The purpose of this article is to examine the community organization of two widely separated northern villages, Napaskiak, an Eskimo community on the Kuskokwin River in southwestern Alaska and Snowdrift, a Chipewyan Indian community at the eastern end of Great Slave Lake in the Northwest Territoires.[1] Such an examination will reveal certain significant differences based on such factors as changing settlement patterns, relations with the Canadian and American governments, continuing aspects of aboriginal leadership and mission influences.

Napaskiak, a riverine community on the low, flat alluvial plain of the lower Kuskokwin River, is situated in the midst of

[1] Field research in Alaska was supported by the Arctic Aeromedical Laboratory, Fort Wainwright, Alaska, under contract number AF 41(657)-32, project number 7-7957-4, and by the University of Alaska. The Snowdrift study was carried out with the financial assistance of the Northern Coordination and Research Centre, Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources of the Canadian government.

alder and willow stands which form a zone of transition between the up-river coniferous forest and the open down-river tundra. With a present day population of approximately 180

Making a living in Napaskiak means participating in three According to informants, the people have occupied the present village site, or one within a few miles of the village, for many generations. Although initial contact with western Europeans probably came in 1818, it was not until about 1885 that the Eskimos of this area began to have consistent intercourse with outsiders. It was in this year that the Moravian Church established its mission headquarters at the community of Bethel some seven miles up-stream from Napaskiak. Bethel is the most important administrative, trading, and mission centre along the Kuskokwim River, and it is the primary link between Napaskiak and the outside world.

Making a living in Napaskiak means participating in three major subsistence activities. A man normally fishes for food, hunts or traps muskrats and mink for their pelts and meat, and works for wages. It is around these pursuits that the yearly cycle is organized. Salmon fishing near the village is the primary summer activity, although wage labor at Bethel or one of the Bristol Bay canneries may be an important source of income for some households. Late in the fall most village men prepare to go to their mink trapping camps and after returning to the village in mad-winter, these same camps are used for muskrat hunting. Spring muskrat hunting is a family activity, for by this time the children are out of school and the people are weary of winter confinement in the village.

As far as social structure is concerned, an ethnographic reconstruction indicates that in aboriginal Napaskiak the most important ties between individuals were based on close blood relationships. The residence unit consisted of an extended matrilocal family, but young adult males of such families spent most of their time in the *kashgee*. The *kashgee* served as a workshop, bath house, ceremonial structure and dwelling for most males, and it was the only place where the people of the community cooperated as a cohesive social unit. In recent years this scheme of family life has been subjected to several changes.

The *kashgee* burned down for the last time about 1950 and the households are today usually composed of nuclear or nuclear core families.

One of the most interesting facets of social life centres about the emerging patterns of village leadership and formal organization. In aboriginal times the leading shaman in the village was influential in community activities due to his extraordinary rapport with the supernatural. However, his influence was tempered by village-wide cultural sentiments which limited individual powers and made authority very diffuse. In pre-contact Napaskiak the prestige of the dance leader, who directed ceremonial activities for the community, rivaled that of the leading shaman. When the Russian Orthodox priests came to the settlement in 1906, they selected a dance leader as the "chief". Since that time the "chief" has become an important symbolic leader, but his actual influence has been diluted due to the emergence of three separate institutions: the Orthodox Brotherhood, the village council and the National Guard.

The Orthodox Brotherhood, organized as a mutual aid society in 1931, is the only formal village organization that meets regularly to discuss current affairs; for this reason it has become quite important in guiding community life. It is the obligation of all adult males to participate in Brotherhood functions and most fulfill this obligation. The major function of the Brotherhood is to coordinate activities considered to be of interest to both the church and the village.

The village council was informally organized in 1945 under pressure from the Bureau of Indian Affairs teachers and serves primarily in times of crises. Most meetings have concerned cases of misconduct, the person or persons involved being warned. In the minds of all the villagers, there is a great deal of confusion concerning the duties of the "chief", the membership of the church Brotherhood, and the village council as a result of overlapping secular and religious authority.

The National Guard organization is an outgrowth of the Alaska Territorial Guard unit formed in the village during World War II as a scouting branch of the U.S. Army. In recent

years, older men have been replaced as leaders in the National Guard unit by young Eskimos highly indoctrinated in military protocol. The agressive behavior of these individuals, encouraged by the military, runs counter to local ideas of leadership. The temporary result has been for older men to drop out of the organization and to view with distrust their aggressive sons and nephews while concurrently attempting to strengthen their own positions through the church and its organization.

By way of summary concerning emerging leadership and formal community organization in Napaskiak, it can be said that in aboriginal times there were no extra-familial institutions for political action, but under pressure from the American government and the church, certain organizations are developing and playing an increasingly greater role in community life. Nevertheless, the school representatives, rather than the village council, are still the formal monitors of contacts with the outside world. The persisting familial orientation of each individual means that any form of collective community action is unusual and takes place only in crisis situations.

The Chipewyan Indian community of Snowdrift is located on the southeastern shore of Great Slave Lake in a region that is entirely within the area of pre-Cambrian rocks. The eastern end of the lake has an extremely intricate shoreline with large numbers of bays and innumerable islands. The country around the village is characterized by wooded, rolling hills from 500 to 1000 feet above sea level and many lakes of varying sizes dot the area; the vegetation and fauna is essentially subarctic in character.

Snowdrift, with a population of approximately 150 individuals in 1961, is a village whose physical existence in its present form goes back no more than ten years. However, the area has been a focal point for residents of the surrounding region since 1925 when the Hudson's Bay Company established a post at the site of the present community. Prior to that time the population at the eastern end of Great Slave Lake consisted of an unknown number of Chipewyan families who hunted, fished and trapped throughout the area and moved about the country as single families or in groups of families. Most

of these families traded at Fort Resolution, a long established post on the southwest shore of the lake, and considered that community to be their trading centre. When the Snowdrift post was established many of these families, together with some who had traded at posts to the south and southwest on Lake Athabasca, shifted their centre of activities to the new post. Factors responsible for the recent concentration of a permanent population around the post are not, however, specifically connected with the fur trade. They include (1) the increase in government services that have reduced reliance on income derived from trapping, (2) the recent establishment of a federal school in the village, (3) improved housing, and (4) wage employment.

The yearly round of subsistence activities at Snowdrift includes fall fishing near the village, winter and spring trapping for marten, mink, white fox, beaver, and muskrat, a certain amount of hunting throughout the year for moose and caribou, and some wage employment during the summer. Winter and spring trapping keeps the men away from the village for varying periods of time, usually not more than two weeks at a time. The late summer and early fall run of caribou usually takes many families to the extreme northeastern sector of the lake for a period of about two weeks to a month during late August and early September. Wage employment, in the form of commercial fishing and tourist guiding, is of growing importance and there is also a government-sponsored road-way clearing project that takes many young men away from the village during January or February.

All historical sources indicate that leadership was poorly developed among the aboriginal Chipewyan and this appears to be directly related to the very rudimentary form of political organization that existed beyond the nuclear or expanded family. After trading posts were established in Chipewyan territory, the traders endeavoured to appoint "chiefs" or to reinforce the authority of those who traditionally commanded respect as a result of hunting prowess in order to encourage trapping and as a convenient method of dealing with the Indians for furs. Once the Hudson's Bay Company had secured a

monopoly throughout the western area of Chipewyan territory, the ritual associated with "chiefs" gradually declined and whatever leadership existed continued to be vested in the skilled hunters and trappers.

Today Snowdrift is in the area covered by Treaty No. 11 signed with the Canadian government in 1921. By signing the treaty the Indians gave up the rights to their land in return for the various services provided by the Indian Affairs Branch of the Department of Citizenship and Immigration. For purposes of administrative convenience, all Indians living within treaty areas are grouped into bands. Residents of Snowdrift are now members of the Yellowknife "A" band following a reorganization which took place late in 1960. Band organization consists of an elected chief and two councillors. The policies of the Indian Affairs Branch are administered by an Indian agent who, for the Snowdrift area, is resident at Yellowknife, an urban trading and administrative centre at the northeastern end of Great Slave Lake. He visits the community about once every two months and usually calls a meeting of the band several times a year. The chief and two councillors at Snowdrift act in a liaison capacity with regard to relations between the villagers and the Indian agent.

At band meetings nearly all comments and questions by the Indians take the form of specific requests for help and there is a minimum of interest in general village improvement. The people generally believe that the agent has complete control over largesse to be distributed to the village and can obtain anything he wants simply by asking his "boss" in Ottawa. Thus any objections to requests by the villagers are interpreted as pure stubborness on the agent's part. Neither the chief nor the councillors can be said to have any authority over the daily life of the people. The ideal of a good chief is one who does not interfere with the lives of individuals yet stands up to the Indian agent and helps the villagers to obtain as much as they can in the way of assistance from the Indian Affairs Branch. It is not surprising, then, that the relations between the chief and the Indian agent tend to be complicated by the fact that neither understands the power and authority of the other.

Because the authority of elected officials in the village is limited to dealings with the Indian agent and other Euro-Canadians, formal community organization almost never operates with regard to strictly local situations involving various individuals living within the community. The residents of the village recognize their tie with the community next to their kinship ties, but the formal leaders can seldom organize activities for the general welfare of the village. Money can be collected for an occasional feast, a dance or two may be organized during the course of a summer, and band members can be assembled for a meeting, but this is as close as the community ever comes to functioning as a unit.

It will immediately be noted that the pattern of emerging leadership and formal community organization in the two villages under discussion is significantly different and for a variety of reasons that are inherent in ecological adaptations and the historical process of change in the two areas. It is important to note that initial European contact took place much earlier in the western Chipewyan area than along the Kuskokwim River. However, the intensity of such contact with missionaries, traders and government personnel in the Chipewyan area has been less until recent times, due to the nature of settlement patterns during the historic period. Although the Roman Catholic Church was established in the Great Slave Lake area more than a century ago, it has not had the same effect on village life that has been noted for the Russian Orthodox Church in Napaskiak. There are no church organizations at Snowdrift and the activities of the priest, who is not a full-time resident of the community, are confined almost entirely to the perfoming of church services. Similarly, the people of Snowdrift have not been subjected to persistent and prolonged government pressures to the same extent as have the Napaskiak Eskimo. Until recently, the only governmental official to visit Snowdrift was the Indian agent. This official is largely responsible for the small amount of community organization that has developed. We have seen too that the basic reason behind the election of chiefs and councillors has been, for the most part, the expedition

of governmental business rather than the encouragement of community cohesiveness. A federal school was not constructed at Snowdrift until 1960; thus this institution, which was instrumental in the organization of the village council at Napaskiak, has not had an opportunity to function in a similar manner in the Chipewyan community. It may be that the school at Snowdrift, which is already beginning to serve as a community focal point, will play a larger role in developing future community cohesiveness.

It is obvious that the most important factor to be considered here is the effects of changing settlement patterns and aboriginal concepts of leadership. It seems likely that the people of Napaskiak are able to respond more favorably to outside attempts to institute formal community organization because their sense of identification with the community is greater, even though there were no aboriginal mechanisms for dealing with problems on a community basis. The people of Snowdrift, on the other hand, persist in being strongly individualistic as a result of their aboriginal structuring along family lines. Since these Chipewyans have only recently become sedentary community dwellers, the various agents of contact and change in the area have not been able to affect them to the extent that has been possible among the more sedentary people of the lower Kuskokwin River.

Current administrative policy of the United States Bureau of Indian Affairs is to strongly encourage local autonomy and to divest the Bureau of its paternalistic functions. This pattern for the future means that the people of Napaskiak must be prepared to assume more responsibility for their own affairs without direct Bureau guidance. Village-wide leadership through the National Guard seems undesirable due to the authoritarian nature of this organization and to the transient nature of military needs. Fostering leadership through the Russian Orthodox Church would not seem compatible with the ideals of American government, but developing village council authority and power would be an acceptable avenue to autonomy. Increased power could be created in the council through formal Bureau recognition and by formally channeling business with the outside world

through the council rather than through the Bureau of Indian Affairs agents.

At Snowdrift, in spite of the fact that formal organization is minimal, a sense of community can definitely be said to exist. There is a definite idea that "Snowdrift people" form a group distinct from the inhabitants of other villages and this concept, mentioned in many different contexts by informants, takes precedence over tribal ties. It might be said, therefore, that continuity of location and kinship ties, together with a developing community identity, could in time create a firm foundation for a formal community organization that would be meaningful in terms of the activities and interests of the whole community. It is doubtful, however, whether viable community leadership can develop out of the existing community organization which is so closely tied to the benefits to be derived from the Indian Affairs Branch.

For both villages the necessity of developing leadership and forms of community organization that will keep pace with other aspects of changing culture is of paramount importance. This is particularly true since contacts with the outside world involving the communities as units are certain to increase. There is a growing tendency in both southwestern Alaska and the Great Slave Lake area for the two governments involved to think in terms of community welfare rather than individual or family welfare. If providing for the needs of communities comes first in the minds of administrators, emphasis must be placed on the development of leadership roles that are adaptable to the changing socio-cultural setting.

University of California
Los Angeles

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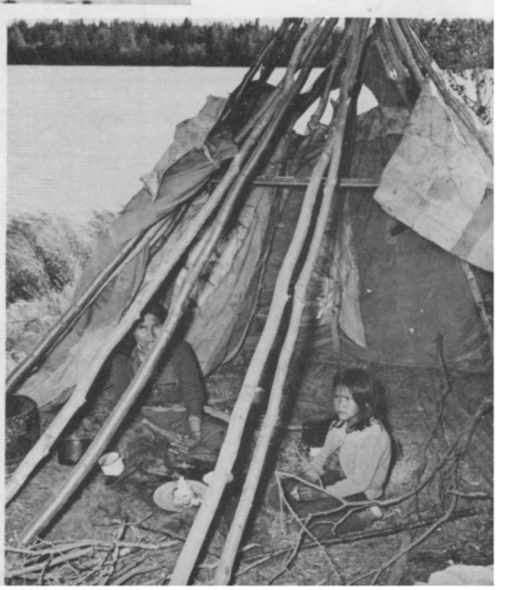
Photos: 1 - 4
(O.N.F.)
Contact-
Traditional
Indians and
Eskimos.

3



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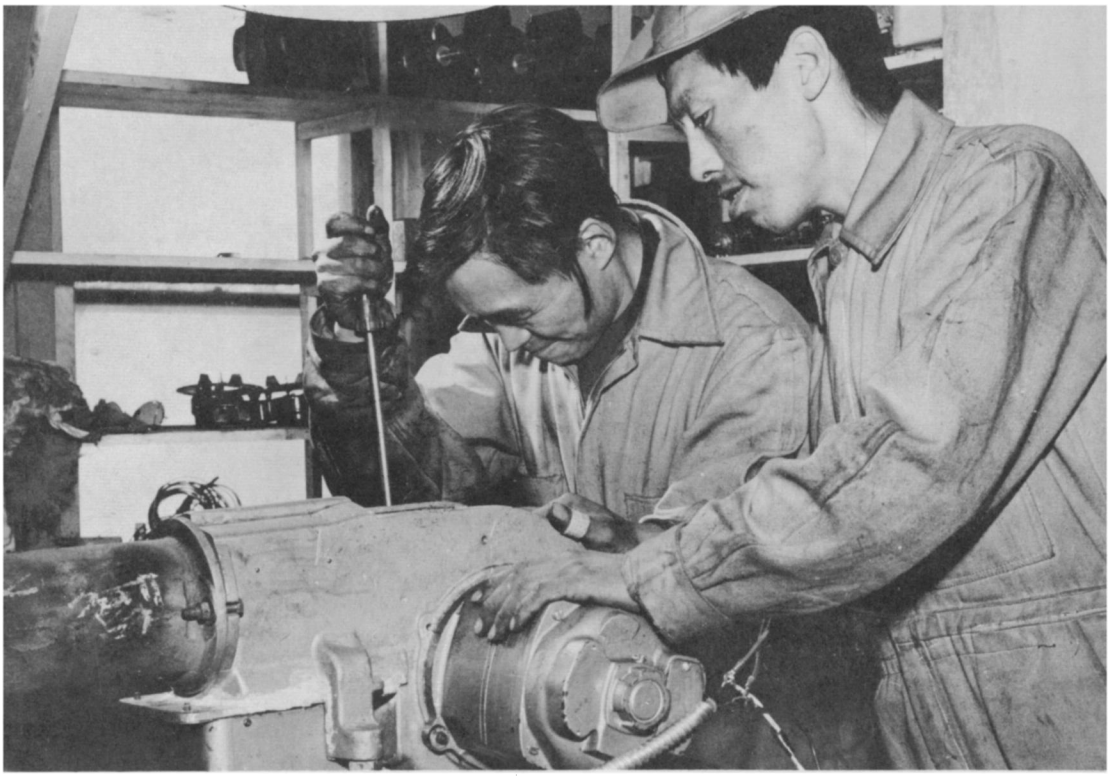

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Partially Or Fully Acculturated Eskimos

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MAGAZINE

Community Patterning in Two Northern Trading Posts

BY ASEN BALIKCI AND RONALD COHEN

RÉSUMÉ

Dans cet article les auteurs comparent les conclusions de leurs recherches sur l'acculturation des esquimaux de Povungnituk et des indiens athabascans de Fort Good Hope. Sous le régime du commerce de la fourrure, ces deux groupes indigènes du Canada septentrional avaient connu un système d'organisation socio-économique largement identique: le piégeage d'animaux à fourrure était mené parallèlement à la chasse et à la pêche; la famille demeurait la seule unité socio-économique d'importance; les camps d'hiver étaient restreints, contrairement aux camps d'été; le commerçant euro-canadien était devenu le leader véritable de la communauté, remplaçant ainsi les chefs indigènes; le poste de commerce constituait le trait d'union entre la communauté indigène et le monde extérieur.

Durant la période d'après-guerre des tendances divergentes se firent jour dans les deux communautés. A Fort Good Hope se constitua un groupe d'ouvriers salariés indigènes, ce qui scinda la population en deux catégories occupationnelles. On y remarque également l'absence d'organisations communautaires formelles. Le contraire se produisit à Povungnituk: la sculpture de figurines en stéatite pratiquée par tous les indigènes assura une certaine homogénéité occupationnelle et servit de base à la création de deux coopératives.

The present article attempts to outline the ecological and social features of an Eskimo and an Athapascan trading post community in the Canadian Arctic. For purposes of this discussion, community refers to a grouping of persons in an area whose normal activities bind them to a definite locality, and whose political and economic activities are to some extent analytically separate from outside influences (cf. Beardsley et al. 1956: 133). By community patterning we mean the organization of economic, social, political, and/or ceremonial interrelationships within a community (cf. Beardsley et al. 1956: 134).

The authors have attempted to summarize briefly the history and development of the most significant elements of the community patterning for each of their respective cases, and from these, to draw some comparative conclusions. It should be noted that because of quite different problem orientations, each writer has viewed the community pattern from a different perspective based on his own fieldwork experience. Povungnituk, the Eskimo locality is seen from the point of view of the Eskimo family unit, and the roles played by Eskimos in their everyday lives. Thus the community pattern is seen from the native point of view. Fort Good Hope, on the other hand, is seen as a group of social units including the Athapascan as only one among several segments, and these segments are defined on socio-economic grounds. Despite these differences in approach, the writers feel that a number of the most determinative elements operating in each community have emerged from this collaboration.

POVUNGNITUK

The Povungnituk Eskimos (Balicki 1962) inhabit the barren coast of northeastern Hudson Bay. During the last quarter of the 19th century, these Eskimos seem to have established trade relationships with the posts at Fort Chimo (Turner 1894: 179) and Little and Great Whale rivers (Lewis: 139; Low 1906: 141 and 152) where they obtained guns, fish nets and steel traps. Breathing hole sealing was gradually abandoned and replaced by the more efficient technique of ice-edge hunting, while in summer seals were shot from kayaks. The collaborative pattern of traditional caribou spearing was replaced by individual shooting. With guns the Eskimos could kill scores of caribou anywhere, at any time, not just along the caribou migration routes, and the fish net had the effect of regularizing the fish supply until early winter. Trapping was a marginal activity at this time. The annual cycles of the Povurniturmiut at the beginning of this century reveal a long winter journey to the trading post and increasingly deeper penetrations of the tundra in summer following the gradual disappearance of the caribou herds in the coastal areas. Both migrations were group movements.

The establishment of trading posts in Povungnituk in 1910 and 1927 introduced further changes, characterized mainly by the intensification of trapping, acquisition of whaleboats, and increased dependence of the Eskimos on imported food and clothing. By the early 1950's the local Eskimos were distributed in five main winter camps at the mouths of the larger rivers. In most cases, the camp consisted of a small number of consanguineally related kinsmen, their wives and children, together with some affinally related men.

While winter sealing at the ice-edge was conducted individually as before, summer sealing was transformed following the acquisition of motor-powered canoes and whaleboats. The operation of the larger vessels required the cooperation of several men: pilot, engine repairmen, hunters, and a captain who controlled the use of the boat and organized the seal hunt. Further, the purchase of a whaleboat was often a group enterprise, with two or three close relatives making a common investment. The captain of the boat, usually the best of the hunter-trappers, acquired a special position of leadership and authority in the camp. The meat of the sea mammals was shared throughout the camp.

Caribou hunting was a secondary activity at that time. Fishing continued to be intensively practiced in all seasons, although it did not give rise to communal sharing. Waterfowl on the other hand was shared equally among all the households in the camp.

White fox trapping was the most important activity in winter. From December until April the trappers took a number of trips out on the trapline. Young trappers "inherited" their traplines in stages from older relatives, including affinals. Boys began by accompanying older trappers: a father, an elder brother, an uncle. They owned their personal traps and placed them alongside the traps owned by the principal trapper. With time the young man extended the trapline, using only his own traps, or he occupied a whole section of the old line. When the father was too old to travel, his son set his traps for him. Animals caught in the father's trap belonged to the father.

Money earned through trapping was considered to be individual property. Imported foodstuffs and clothing purchased

by the trapper were used within the household, usually a nuclear family.

The patterning of the Povurniturmiut in the early 1950's reveals two divergent orientations. The people persisted in their traditional search for local food. Although some ancient collaborative practices have been replaced by individual activities, new cooperative patterns emerged, founded upon the tight kinship composition of the camp unit and the guiding efforts of a camp leader. In these acquisitive and sharing activities the camp people often behaved as a unit. In the field of trapping, however, and in all transactions with the trader where the credit system was applied, a different and more individualistic right prevailed, making the household an increasingly autonomous socio-economic unit.

The Community Pattern (1958)

In 1953 Euro-Canadian agents introduced commercial carving of soapstone figurines in the area. This was a new activity providing men and women alike with a substantial and regular income. In 1953-1954 $1,347 worth of carvings were sold, compared with $49,000 in 1957-1958. Trapping, with all its fluctuations in pelt prices and fox availability became a secondary activity. The Povurniturmiut abandoned their winter camps and settled permanently in the vicinity of the store. The search for meat was continued with the help of new boats acquired with the new carving income. This was done through the establishment of camp accounts. Each of the old winter camp groups opened a collective account at the trading post to which went a fraction of all earnings. Only selected group leaders had authority to spend the funds for collective use. These formal group structures were established under the initiative of the trader. No over-all community organization was envisaged. The camp account system had the advantage of strengthening the traditional economic relations between kinsmen for a practical purpose well understood by the people. In most cases the whaleboat captains became camp account directors. Thus in the camp account system initiated by the local trader appear organizational traits developed

previously which have persisted as a social basis for the new economy.

During the period of intensive trapping the trader occupied a superordinate position in the community. His relations with the trappers were personal and through control of credit he kept his clients at his mercy. The trader's native helper acted as informant on native affairs to his master and frequently managed to take advantage of his position. In recent years, with the increase of government help and new income from carving the credit system has been all but abandoned and the trader-Eskimo relations have become increasingly impersonal. In addition to his usual functions, the trader delivered family allowances and occasional relief. In 1956 a Catholic missionary established a mission in this all-Anglican community. He encouraged some of the better carvers to form a Sculptor's Association, aiming at bettering the standards of these crafsmen and tried to obtain the direct sale of carvings. The missionary also acted as a teacher and gave first-aid help to the community.

Summary of Community Patterning

In summarizing the emerging community patterning of Povungnituk, the following points can be made:

(1) The Povurniturmiut have shown a great willingness to continue hunting and fishing, utilizing more efficient technical means. This has continued the pattern of periodic dispersal of the hunter-trappers.

(2) The Eskimos of Povungnituk easily substituted a new, less arduous, and more regular cash income activity (i.e., carving) to replace the now traditional trapping economy. In accomplishing this change, organizational traits previously developed were applied to the new situation.

(3) Following the decrease of ecological pressure brought on by the new income source, the tendency of these Eskimos to concentrate in larger, more stable groupings around the post becomes fully operative, and the necessities of hunting and trapping become subordinate to it.

(4) Extended kinship alignments developed during the period of systematic trapping tend to persist in the larger settlement around the post, and even acquire new functions.

(5) The changes in the economy and the settlement patterns have not been detrimental to native leadership; on the contrary, they have strengthened it.

(6) Although it is linked to the southern market, the local economy (carving and hunting) has retained considerable organizational autonomy expressed in formal economic structures and minimal contacts with Euro-Canadian agents.

FORT GOOD HOPE

Data for this section of the paper were gathered by Cohen (1962), and by one of his students (Hurlbert 1962) and her co-worker (Sue 1961, 1962). Fort Good Hope lies eighteen miles from the Arctic Circle on the Mackenzie River. Traditionally these Athapascan-speaking Indians moved about the area in small groups hunting, gathering, and fishing in annual cycles. Reportedly, the entire Hare Indian "tribe" gathered together for ceremonial purposes several times a year. Smaller groups forgathered at the fish camps on the Mackenzie in summer, and for regular and sporadic hunts. Leadership on such occasions was based on age, male sex, personal achievement as a hunter, and prognostication of successful access to local resources. In spring and summer most of the Hare were on the Mackenzie River while in winter and part of the fall they broke up into small camp groups of not more than two or three family units spread throughout the bush on both sides of the Mackenzie, north of Great Bear Lake and the Bear River.

The first Fort Good Hope was built by Alexander Mackenzie in 1806. Throughout the early 19th century the Indians were progressively involved in the fur trade. Even at this early date some were hired by the traders as hunters and fishers for the post as well as interpreters. In 1859 the Oblate Order put up a Roman Catholic mission at the Fort and began converting the Hare, introducing education, baptism, and an annual cere-

monial cycle from which emerged three important festivals — Christmas, Easter, and Assumption Day (August). In 1921 government officials signed a treaty with all of the Mackenzie Indians, bringing them into a formal relationship with the federal government. The Hudson's Bay Company monopoly on fur trading was abrogated at this time and a series of free traders began utilizing the Fort as a base of operation. With the rise in fur prices in the 1930's, most of the Indians built houses in the Fort although these were lived in intermittently. By the end of the 1940's this boom had burst; the prices slumped drastically and have never fully recovered. In the 1940's the oil at Norman Wells to the south of the Fort was exploited; its associated construction and maintenance work gave Good Hopers their first taste of wide-scale wage labour. This was expanded in the 1950's when DEW Line construction and the building of the new town of Inuvik (north of Good Hope) gave many of the population high paying jobs. The result of this period can be seen in the work histories of all the Hare Indians. Very few of the adult males have not worked at wage labour at some time during their lives, and only a tiny minority say they would not take up wage labour if given the chance.

In terms of outside institutions represented in the Fort, there are now the Hudson's Bay Company store, the free trader's store, the Catholic mission station, a wireless station, a two-room school house, a nursing station, and an R.C.M.P. constable and his Indian assistant. During the summer a fire ranger from Fort Smith lives in the town.

Present Groupings at Fort Good Hope

The population of the Fort and its surrounding area is split into the two major groupings of Indians and whites. The term "half-breed" is seldom applied; persons of this status being classified for most purposes as Indian. Elsewhere in the Mackenzie area, half-breeds together with non-treaty Indians form a semi-separate group in the community (Cohen 1962). The Indian group can be sub-divided as follows:

(1) Wage Employees — these include the janitors of the nursing station and school, clerks at the Hudson's Bay Company store

and the free trader's store, and the R.C.M.P. Indian assistant. These people receive from $1,000 to $3,000 per annum which allows them to maintain a high standard of living in comparison to other non-white groups.

(2) Semi-Wage Employees — about 15 per cent of the adult male population has fallen into this category for the last five years at least, although the individuals converter vary from year to year. Semi-wage employment includes construction work, both in town and in other larger centres, work on river boats, cooking for construction crews, and fire fighting. For the rest of the year the men are dependent on subsistence activities and government relief.

(3) Subsistence Dependents — these households are entirely dependent upon hunting, fishing, gathering, and trapping. With the decline of the fur prices and a reported scarcity of animals these people are becoming progressively more dependent upon government relief.[1]

As already noted, all Indians would prefer if given the choice, to work as permanent wage employees. The scarcity of such jobs has so far limited their distribution to those whose need is greatest and/or to those with the greatest degree of southern Canadian education.

The white population can be sub-divided in a number of ways, the most obvious of which is length of residence in the community. This applies to all Mackenzie Fort towns. First there are the permanent residents, usually a free trader or white trapper, often married to an Indian or half-breed. In Good Hope the free trader is the only person in this group. He is married to an Indian woman, and is friendly with the Indians, although he keeps to some extent apart. Secondly there are

[1] There is perhaps a fourth category which cross-cuts (2) and (3). These are the Colville Lakers or "Large People" who have set up a new settlement of Hare Indians at Colville Lake, 150 miles northeast of Good Hope as of 1961. Hunting and trapping are (for the present) very good here and a number of Good Hopers have moved. The free trader at Good Hope has set up a branch at the new settlement, and a church is being constructed. So far the Colville Lake people still come down to the Mackenzie for the summer.

semi-permanent whites. These make up about 90 per cent of the white population. They include all the government, Hudson's Bay Company and Mission personnel whose stay in the Fort lasts from two to five years. Their contact with non-whites varies with whether or not their jobs are a social service and to what degree this is so. Thus the nurse has more contact with Indians than the wireless operators. Contacts also vary with the history or tradition of such contact which at Fort Good Hope are minimal, and the attitudes of the whites. That this latter factor is an important one can be seen in the case of the nurse. In 1960 the nurse maintained only formal contacts with the sick who came to the nursing station, while in 1961 the new nurse made a definite effort to contact the Indians, and even gathered important information for the anthropologists studying in the area, during their absence. The third group are the transient white workers and officials who visit for very short periods. These people have only a very peripheral influence on local affairs.

The whites of the community are all, except for the free trader (and even he is to some extent), local representatives of larger bureaucratic organizations. Although the free trader is not an employee of a large firm, his credit and merchandizing relationship with the Edmonton Fur Auction Company links him to the policies of an outside organization. The whites are at the edges of their respective organisations whether these be government or private in origin. For a few, such as the wireless operators, this means they must simply maintain a local installation. For others, however, whether it is trade, aid, police work or religious service, they must implement the policies of their outside organization with reference to the local population. Dunning (1959:117) has suggested that these people are marginal in terms of their attitudes and personality, and indeed this may be so. What is obvious is that they are at the structural margins of their own organizations which demand from them certain kinds of performances and results. Since they cannot deal with subordinate members of bureaucracies in their jobs, there is a built-in potentiality in such a community for authoritarianism. In order to comply with demands made on them by superiors, local whites often find it easiests to bridge the cultural,

social, and economic gap between themselves and the people they must perforce work with, i.e. the Indians, by simply using their valued goods and services as rewards and punishments to obtain the responses they require. Resort to more democratic means can often lead to a lack of success for the local white who must fulfill the long range goals of his superiors. It takes either exceptional attitudes or special training to counter-act such tendencies.

Except for a very poorly organized community club whose meetings are attended by whites only, there i no traditional structure of social action that binds the various segments of the community into one working social organization. The whites organize *Sports Day* at the end of June to which many of the Indians come, and they also put on weekly movies, but these are viewed by all residents as services for Indians, by whites, rather than community projects. Thus it was widely believed that the white person collecting the money for the movie was simply pocketing the money. Indian-white relations are based primarily on the role functions of whites. An Indian individual has separate relations with the traders, the nurse, the missionary, the Indian agent, and so on. These depend on the specifics of personality, acculturation of the Indian, and the situation, and vary enormously through time. The Indians have their own elected chief and counsellors, but these are regarded (a) as intermediaries between the Indians and white government officials and (b) as lacking in authority. As one informant put it, "We don't like a bossy chief."

The emerging community pattern in Fort Good Hope is thus one in which the community decisions are made on an ad hoc basis by the local white residents. The Indians are forced by the economics and traditional patterns of their adjustment to the local habitat to maintain a very low level of integration with the Fort. Until there is a real and tangible economic basis for residential community life in the Fort, or until steps are taken to include the Indians in community decision-making, their participation in community life at Fort Good Hope will remain minimal, and the community will remain what it is, a post or trading centre.

CONCLUSION

The authors feel that prior to the introduction to wage earning at Fort Good Hope, and soapstone carving at Povungnituk, these trading post communities represented a type of community patterning widespread throughout northern Canada. The fur trade led to the development of such communities, and gave to them a common residence and socio-economic pattern with the following basic components:

(a) intensive trapping of fur-bearing animals for trading purposes along with continued dependence on traditional subsistence activities; (b) relatively small, dispersed winter camps consisting of a few, usually related, families; (c) the gathering of families in the vicinity of the post for the summer months and the creation of some permanent dwellings at the post site; (d) the emergence of a trader as a leading figure in the community; and (e) the trading post acting as the chief connecting link between the community and the outside world.

Although both Fort Good Hope and Povungnituk developed these common features by the 1930's, divergent trends have appeared in the postwar period along with the retention of some elements from previous period. In both Fort Good Hope and Povungnituk new income-producing activities were introduced which did not however replace trapping and traditional subsistence activities. Trapping decreased in relation to the extent of new cash income sources — more so at Povungnituk and less so at Fort Good Hope. Partial wage labour at Fort Good Hope led to the formation of occupational sub-groupings and the maintenance of population dispersion. In Povungnituk just the opposite occurred. Carving, practised by all male adults prevented the emergence of occupational sub-groupings; but it did provide the economic basis for the concentration of all the local Eskimos around the trading post.

In Fort Good Hope a growing number of Euro-Canadians took up residence as representatives of various agencies. This produced a white segment in the community of a semi-permanent nature. Euro-Canadian leadership became increasingly specialized

and impersonal. In 1958 no such community segment existed in Povungnituk as a specialized group at the trading post.

In Fort Good Hope, no community-wide social organization exists which unites all the population into a unit. The band organization has been introduced from above and the position of the band chief carries no marked authority; he is instead an intermediary between Indians and whites. In Povungnituk there is also no over-all social organization as yet. However, the camp-account system has led to a strengthening of native leadership and can serve as a structural foundation for the development of a wider and more complex social organization based on the greatly increased stability of the population around the trading post. No such development is at present possible in Fort Good Hope.

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Social Organization, Acculturation, and Integration Among the Eskimo and the Cree:

A COMPARATIVE STUDY

BY NORMAN A. CHANCE AND JOHN TRUDEAU

RÉSUMÉ

Dans cet article, la communauté esquimaude de Kaktovik sur la côte nord-est de l'Alaska est comparée au village de Winisk, peuplé d'indiens Cris et situé sur la côte ouest de la baie d'Hudson. Bien que les deux groupes aient été soumis à des influences à peu près identiques (i.e., une base de radar a été érigée aux deux endroits), les résultats n'en furent pas moins différents. Alors que chez les Cris l'organisation sociale subit un déséquilibre assez profond, chez les esquimaux au contraire, elle s'en trouve renforcie.

The recent introduction of the DEW Line and Mid-Canada Line radar sites to the far north have had an important and dramatic impact on many previously isolated Eskimo and Indian settlements located near these installations. In some instances new and relatively permanent communities have emerged. During the summer of 1958, we made studies of two such communities — one the north Alaskan Eskimo village of Kaktovik, the other the northern Ontario settlement of Winisk — and found strikingly different responses to the establishment of a large radar installation.[1] The Kaktovik Eskimos made a fairly successful adjustment

[1] The data for the Eskimo study is drawn from a long-term project Arctic Studies in Culture Change and Mental Health, supported in part by the Arctic Institute of North America, the U.S. Office of Naval Research and its affiliated Arctic Research Laboratory, and the National Institute of Mental Health, U.S. Public Health Service. In the early phases of the study, help was provided by the American Philosophical Society and the University of Oklahoma Faculty Research Fund. Invaluable aid has also been given by the director, Mr. Max Brewer, and the staff of the Arctic Research Laboratory, the Arctic Health Research Center of the U.S. Public Health Service and the Russell Sage Foundation.

to the rapid changes brought on by the introduction of the radar site whereas the Winisk Cree showed numerous signs of community disruption and conflict. Indices used to measure the degree of post-radar adjustment include an increase in excessive drinking, stealing, broken homes, sexual delinquency (culturally defined), overt aggression within the family, and other measures common to this type of comparison. In each instance the Cree community exhibited many more signs of unresolved conflict than did the Eskimo community.[2]

Furthermore, since there was no formally recognized "community" — in the sense of having a permanent resident settlement — prior to the coming of the military, previous village disorganization could not be considered a factor explaining the differential response of the two groups. Given this fact, we sought our explanation in (1) the traditional forms of social interaction and organization present in the two groups prior to the introduction of the radar sites, and (2) the type and extent of intercultural contact that took place between site personnel and the local resident populations.

Community Profiles

Kaktovik

The village of Kaktovik is located on Barter Island approximately 400 miles northeast of Fairbanks, Alaska, along the Arctic

The sections of this paper dealing with the Cree Indians are based on data gathered at Winisk by Elliot and Harriet Liebow and John Trudeau in the summer of 1958. The study was generously supported by grants from the Arctic Institute of North America and from the Catholic Anthropological Association. We are also indebted to Dr. Charles E. Hutchinson, Chief, Behavioral Sciences Division, A.F.O.S.R., and to Squadron Leader George Moir, R.C.A.F., for arranging our transportation to and from Winisk.

[2] For a more detailed discussion of the changes that have occurred in the two groups following the establishment of the radar bases, reference may be made to the following: Norman A. Chance, "Culture Change and Integration: an Eskimo Example". American Anthropologist 62:6:1028-1044; and Elliot Liebow and John Trudeau, "A Prelimary Study of Acculturation among the Cree Indians of Winisk, Ontario". Arctic 15:3:191-204.

Coast. It is a small community of a little over 100 residents and is one of the most geographically isolated Eskimo villages in all of Alaska. Until recently, all its members had to rely on hunting, trapping, and fishing as their major source of livelihood. While most of the present residents grew up in this part of Alaska, they did not come together to form a permanent village until the late 1940's and early 1950's. Only when the U.S. Coast and Geodetic Survey and the military began hiring local Eskimos for surveying and construction work did Kaktovik become formally recognized as a community. Prior to this time, most of the Eskimos lived in small family clusters scattered along the northeast part of the Alaskan coast and except for infrequent meetings with missionaries, bush pilots, and nearby traders, they had very little face-to-face contact with whites.

Before the late 1940's the basic economic pattern was one of hunting and fishing supplemented by some cash income derived from trapping. The family clusters were composed of coexisting bilateral kin groups, flexible in their composition and not infrequently undergoing minor variations to fit individual needs. The emphasis placed on mutual cooperation and obligation in the sharing of food and labor was much more rigidly defined, however, both in intra- and inter-related family affairs. Furthermore, the Eskimo practice of extending kinship privileges to non-kin by means of formal partnerships frequently enabled other Eskimos in the area to become integrated into the existing cooperative system.

Leadership traditionally resided with those individuals who through their skill in hunting, trapping, and in other activities, were able to command respect of the other group members, but was seldom recognized in any formal capacity. The family served as the principal agent of social control although collective action might be taken if the group as a whole was threatened.

In 1953-1954 when construction began on the Barter Island radar installation, the local Eskimo pattern of life underwent a dramatic change. The site was erected within a few hundred yards of the newly emerging village and all available Eskimo men were given employment opportunities at considerably high salaries. Since there were not enough local residents to fill the new posi-

tions, a number of families moved to the village from other Eskimo communities as far away as Barrow and Aklavik. While some were newcomers, quite a few of these new immigrants were actually returning to an area in which they had lived earlier and had many friends and relatives in the community. This influx of new residents was not large enough to seriously disrupt the close kin and friendship ties characteristic of most of the older community members.

During the period of construction, several Eskimos were given specialized training in semi-skilled occupations, and a few even achieved positions as union carpenters and mechanics. The fact that Eskimos were considered an asset by most construction and government personnel kept discrimination to a minimum. Eskimos and whites worked together, are together in the mess-hall, participated jointly in a variety of recreational activities such as volleyball, games of strength, and the like, and in other ways shared many occupational and social experiences. At the request of the lay Eskimo Presbyterian minister, an old building was donated by the DEW Line to serve as a chapel.

Although problems of drinking and sexual misconduct occasionally arose, the government policy enabling Eskimos to set up their own restrictions concerning the admittance of whites to the village kept this potentially disruptive force under control. Those white men who made friends with the Eskimos and participated in their social and recreational life were welcomed by the community members, whereas those who were viewed as a potential threat to the village were discouraged. Any man, white or Eskimo, causing serious problems in the village or at the site, would be fired or sent to another installation.

Positive inter-ethnic relations were also furthered by the congruence of traditional Eskimo leadership traits and those required to articulate with whites. The Eskimo leaders' mental alertness, industriousness, generosity, cooperativeness, and ability to assume new technical skills were attributes also valued highly by whites, thereby enabling the local leaders to maintain their effectiveness and position of importance in both groups. At Kaktovik, the two traditionally recognized leaders worked steadily as carpenters, machine operators, and labor foremen and also

formed close ties with construction and government personnel in the area.

In 1957, major construction of the DEW Line was completed. This did not result in a reduction of jobs, however, since extensive maintenance was still required. During the summer of 1958 approximately 75 percent of the men in the village were earning salaries of six hundred dollars a month. For most of these men this was a full-time relatively permanent occupation. Although unions ceased functioning at the close of construction, and the large majority of salaries no longer differentiated between occupational skills, members of all age groups over eighteen continued to work at the site in preference to their earlier pattern of hunting, trapping, and fishing.

Given the dramatic changes that have occurred in the economic and social sphere of community life, the internal stability of the group did not appear to have been seriously affected. Patterns of cooperation and sharing were still carried out although the items of exchange included guns, tape recorders, western food and clothing, as well as the more traditional ones of native food and labor. Earlier forms of social control remained adequate to resolve internal problems introduced externally. That morale and enthusiasm for the *new* way remained high was evident from the extensive recreational and social activities participated in by almost all members of the village, young and old.

Winisk

The settlement of Winisk, with a population of about 150 Cree Indians, is situated along the west coast of Hudson Bay, 350 miles northwest of the nearest railroad town of Moosonee.

Following the turn of this century when the Roman Catholic missionaries built a church and the Hudson's Bay Company established a permanent trading post in Winisk, the settlement became an annual summer meeting place for the Indians. It was not until 1924, however, that a permanent resident missionary was sent to the area. Before the arrival of the radar base, the only other Cree-white contacts were the annual visits of the

federal Indian agents following the signing of the Treaty in 1930 and, more recently, of provincial government agents.

These early white contacts had relatively little effect on the basic pattern of Cree social and cultural life. Subsistence continued to be based on trapping, hunting, and fishing, the former assuming major importance.

Trapping and hunting activities were generally carried out by the nuclear family. Each family, living in relative isolation from nine to eleven months of the year, was a self-sufficient unit of production as well as the center of social life. Only during the summer, and for relatively short periods, did these small family groups live together at the post in any kind of larger social unit.

A senior member of a family, especially skilled and successful in trapping and endowed with additional social qualities, could assume a position of prestige and leadership outside his immediate family group. However, due to long periods of isolation and the high value placed on individual freedom of action, these leaders were able to exert relatively little influence on the band as a whole. As a result, mechanisms for the maintenance of social control were usually limited to the nuclear family.

With the construction of the Mid-Canada Line radar site in 1955, these semi-migratory groups of Indian trappers were suddenly faced with a totally new situation which drastically changed their whole way of life.

The base was erected across the Winisk River, about five miles from the Cree settlement. During the two years it took to build the site, all the able-bodied Indian males of Winisk were hired along with several Indians from a neighboring post to the north. None of these Indians were seriously trained for any skilled or semi-skilled jobs, and were hired instead as janitors, kitchen helpers and on the general clean-up crews.

The Cree were all paid the same minimum wage of $1.25 per hour. During the two year construction period, the average income for each worker was about $5.000. This form of cash income was entirely new to the Indians who, prior to 1955, had

almost always been paid in kind for pelts and for work completed at the post during the summer.

Although the Cree worked with whites at the base, they were often subjected to discriminatory attitudes and practices. They were refused entrance to the mess-hall and were requested to eat their lunch in huts assigned to them by base officials.

Social contacts between whites and Indian men were fairly limited in contrast to the much more frequent meetings of white men and Indian women. These surreptitious contacts usually took place at, or near the base and settlement and were commonly arranged for purposes of sex and drinking.

Effective leadership, needed to keep Indian-white relations under control, was absent in Winisk. The government-imposed Indian chief was recognized officially but not in practice. The Cree rejected his interventions in their affairs and because of this the whites often by-passed him in matters concerning Indian-white relations.

On the job, the behavior of whites toward the chief or potential traditional leaders did not contribute to the strengthening of indigenous leadership. Although the chief had little or no authority, he held an official position in the village. At the base, however, he was treated like other Indians and was assigned to a general clean-up crew. Moreover, because the chief and other older men were incapable of speaking English or showed reluctance to use the little knowledge they had of the language, the white foremen usually requested young English-speaking Indian men to transmit their orders to the Indian crews. Although this new role did not give the young men real power or authority, it did tend to minimize the chief's position and to suppress the traditional pattern of leadership based on seniority and skill in hunting and trapping.

In 1957, when construction of the radar site was completed and the Indian labor force was cut by approximately two-thirds, a new set of problems arose. During the two years of full-time employment, the Winisk Cree had lost much of their interest in trapping, considering it too difficult and economically unrewarding. Following the major lay-off, which mostly affected the older

married men, many of the unemployed Indians chose to remain at the settlement during the winter in the event that jobs would again be made available. Those who decided to trap left their families behind and spent but very short periods in the bush. A few young men tried to migrate but soon returned to Winisk due to the lack of jobs and funds.

The severity of the situation can be seen in the new problems that appeared with increasing frequency following the establishment of the radar base in 1955: drunkenness, stealing, lying, and perhaps most disruptive of all, the frequent sexual contacts that took place between young girls or unmarried women and white men at the base. The number of marriages between Indians dropped sharply since the young women nourished the hope of marrying white men.

Not only have these conflicts increased in frequency, but they have become more enduring and more pervasive in the group setting. At first, the chief tried to control disruptive sexual contacts by leading girls away from the base but lack of cooperation on the part of the Indians and whites rendered his actions fruitless. The same could be said of inter- and infra-family squabbles. Individuals or families could no longer avoid each other as was possible on the trapline. The chief intervened but there was little he could do on his own and, moreover, he could not shake the apparent indifference of parents or relatives of the persons concerned.

Comparative Analysis

Any explanation of the differential response of the Eskimo and Cree to the establishment of the radar bases must take into account both the pre-radar cultural differences and the type and extent of inter-cultural contact.

While the cultural variations are numerous and include such differences as the presence or absence of a prior cash economy, differences in government policy and its impact on the local population, all of these appear secondary when compared with the degree of inter-family organization present in the two groups.

The social and economic self-sufficiency of the Cree family, the long periods of isolation, and the emphasis placed on intra- rather than inter-family resolution of conflicts did little to prepare the Winisk Indians for the emergence of community life irrespective of the problems raised by later relations with radar base personnel. In contrast, the greater inter-family solidarity, more effective leadership, and willingness to try and resolve problems together as a group provided the Barter Island Eskimo with a much more adequate framework for adjusting to a more restricted community life and to the introduction of the radar base.

Important differences were also noted in Eskimo- and Indian-white relations. Whereas Eskimo-white contacts were in large part based on attitudes of mutual respect and took place within clearly defined limits, white relations with the Cree were more discriminatory resulting in a loss of self-respect for the latter.

Second, the impact of wage-labor favored the development of western-oriented goals and aspirations among Eskimos and Indians alike, but the Cree's means of fulfilling these aspirations were suddenly withdrawn in 1957. This loss of income combined with a new distaste for trapping encouraged strong feelings of frustration with which the newly emerging settlement could hardly be expected to cope.

Finally, the fact that all Eskimo men regardless of age were given an opportunity to participate in this new way of life limited the outbreak of inter-generational factionalism. Among the Cree, however, factionalism quickly developed when in 1957 most of the older men lost their jobs. Young men were suddenly able to act independently of their parents' wishes. In addition, young Indian women, because of their frequent association with whites, felt freer in their relationships with other members of their family and the band in general. These new feelings of independence were valued much more highly than their prior subservient roles characteristic of life on the trapline.

Thus, among the Eskimo, the formulation of new but attainable goals, combined with the reinterpretation of old ones by the group as a whole, were facilitated by their traditional cultural framework as well as by positive interaction with whites. For

the Winisk Cree, the lack of group-feeling coupled with disruptive inter-cultural contacts and limited opportunities which conditioned inter-generational conflicts, rendered delimination of shared goals and the achievement of individual ones impossible.

In conclusion, it should be noted that the picture presented here is a reflection of the two settlements at a given point in time. In Kaktovik, recent study has shown new signs of conflict appearing with the immigration of large numbers of unmarried and unrelated young Eskimo men to the village — men not bound by the traditional family-based mechanisms of social control; and the rise of a new religious sect which has attracted several of the older Presbyterian residents. The Cree, on the other hand, while still lacking in community organization, are at least searching to find new ways of resolving their problems as can be seen by the recent incipient "specialization" in the marketing of fresh meat and firewood. Continuing study of these two groups should provide further information on the long-term effects of rapid acculturation and integration.[3]

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[3] Recent discussion of the relation between culture change and mental health of the Kaktovik Eskimos may be found in the following: Norman A. Chance, "Conceptual and Methodological Problems in Cross-cultural Health Research". American Journal of Public Health 52:3:410-417; Norman A. Chance, "Eskimo-White Relations at Remote Military Installations". Tri-Service Conference on Behavioral Problems of Small Military Groups under Isolation and Stress. Edited by S.B. Sells (Arctic Aero-Medical Laboratory, Fairbanks): 57-61; Norman A. Chance and Dorothy A. Foster, "Symptom Formation and Patterns of Psychopathology in a Rapidly Changing Alaskan Eskimo Community". Anthropological Papers of the University of Alaska 11:1 (forthcoming); and Norman A. Chance, "Cross-cultural Contact, Identification, and Personnality Adjustment among the North Alaskan Eskimo". Paper read at the 1962 annual meetings of the American Anthropological Association (mimeographed).

White-Dominant Settlements in the Canadian Northwest Territories*

BY JACOB FRIED

RÉSUMÉ

Les influences géopolitiques, économiques et culturelles, découlant des types d'agences gouvernementales, militaires ou privées ainsi que de leurs activités respectives, ont amené des changements profonds et rapides tant chez les habitants du nord canadien que dans la région elle-même. Ces changements sont étudiés ici en regard des types de communautés qui s'y sont développés. Une insistance particulière est mise sur le degrés d'intégration sociale et de progrès économique atteint par les indiens ou esquimaux qui sont venus dans ces nouveaux centres pour y trouver du travail.

Les problèmes complexes d'intégration communautaire résultent du fait que la population de ces centres est composée de groupes distincts (indigènes, métis et blancs), ayant chacun des attitudes bien particulières, et aussi du fait que ces centres ne sont, pour les employés des agences gouvernementales ou privées, que des bases d'opération et non des endroits de résidence permanente.

Three major forces are at work in the modern Canadian North transforming the region and its people. The first is geopolitical, the second is economic and the third is cultural transformation of native peoples. Canada's North is politically and militarily a strategic zone of importance in the jet-age; its untapped resources represent a hoped-for new economic horizon, and its native peoples are scheduled to become incorporated into the mainstream of Canadian life.

* The research was carried out as part of the program of studies of northern communities of the Northern Co-ordination and Research Center of the Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources of Canada. The writer is greatly indebted to Mr. Vic Valentine, Chief Research Officer of the Northern Co-ordination and Research Center for his invaluable help in planning and carrying out the research upon which this paper is based.

The recent Canadian northern development program has brought national government and military agencies and also private construction and transportation agencies into the North where they have set up headquarters in new settlements or in older ones. The old frontier settlement with its miners, trappers, and natives has been overrun by a bewildering variety of government civil servants, military and technical personnel and small-business men who represent a southern Canadian population.

Thus there is no "typical" northern community today, nor is there any longer a simple three-way populational breakdown into northern White, Metis and Native.

This article discusses the complex problems of community integration that results from the fact that a variety of government and private organizations use these settlements as bases for their specialized personnel, and from the variety of populational elements, native, white, southern Canadian and old timer whites who are resident there.

For the native Indians and Eskimos who have flowed into these new settlements and become dependent upon wage labour, we shall examine to what extent they are achieving social integration and making economic progress.

All the data and ideas herein set forth have resulted from a year's field trip in the Canadian Northwest Territories (June 1961 - May 1962). A major objective of the research was to determine the nature and variety of communities that are emerging in the Canadian North. In this research examples of distinctive settlement types were selected ranging from technical and military stations to various kinds of frontier towns. A thumbnail community study was made of each such settlement.

General Remarks on Community Organization

The 20th century frontier area in the North is a rather remarkable place, for in it the most modern as well as traditional kinds of technologies, social and political orders coexist in various ways. There are ultra modern military bases and technical stations and even southern Canadian type "suburbias" on the one extreme,

and on the other are shack towns, construction camps, squatter neighbourhoods and even tent cities. Sophisticated southern populations live in close physical proximity to rugged old-timer northern whites, metis and natives. In the same settlement some men go to work in modern office buildings while others tote their rifles into the arctic wastes to hunt for meat and furs.

Government bureaucrats, small-business men, drifters and semi-nomadic whites and natives are all represented. The sections of a settlement containing government departments are highly organized socially, while other neighborhoods of whites, metis and natives are simply amorphous frontier agglomerations of families and single men.

The modern settlement, therefore, in this neo-pioneering stage, is a mosaic of government departments, private corporations, business men, and white and native wage workers. Some of this population represent stable residents while others are transient or semi-transient. It is much too early to expect social integration to be achieved in such a polyglot society. However, it is true that the government tends to polarize, at least economically, all other elements about itself. The government reprensents the most certain source of wealth, planning and organization: in a word, jobs, money and security.

Insofar as in some settlements the most important tasks today are to establish and provide administration, communication, welfare and education services for the new region, government departments such as the Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources, the Department of Transport, and the Northern and Indian Health Service are the key agencies (cf. Fort Smith or Inuvik). Here where private enterprise exists it acts in an auxilliary role. The political structure of such settlements takes its form from the nature of the government agencies that are based here. Thus, various large government departments, each with its own bureaucratic staff, its own personnel, equipment and areas of jurisdition, co-exist. However, if one government agency is especially important, such as the Department of Northern Affairs in Inuvik, it is in fact the dominant political force in the settlement.

In contrast to the settlements whose main raison d'être is government business and work is carried out through the agency of government departments, there are some settlements in which private enterprise has scope to develop; for example, Yellowknife and gold mining, or Hay River and fishing or transportation activities. These two communities have a civic machinery of the elected mayor and council variety. However, even in such more politically advanced settlements, only a small percentage of the white population is politically active and this interest is limited to the members of the business sector. The ordinary white job-holder and certainly all of the metis and natives are politically inert.

Finally, as regards settlement neighbourhood and residence patterning, we find the government civil servants living in special high standard housing enclaves and the other whites, metis and natives living interspersed in a more frontier, haphazard fashion. In some settlements the government has initiated housing projects for natives, thus, in effect, creating special neighbourhoods for them. In general, the business whites and better paid white workers occupy housing closer to government neighbourhoods and the natives and metis live either amongst the poorer whites or in outlying neighbourhoods.

Populational Elements

As we have seen, there are three vital populational components in the larger northern settlements: (1) government civil servants and other, private agency sponsored, southern Canadians; (2) non-government northern whites; and (3) native Indian, Eskimo and Metis groups.

Let us analyze each component now: The government civil service and private company personnel are an extremely heterogeneous group. They come from every province of Canada, represent small town and large cities and even rural or isolated Maritime villages. Some are recent immigrants from England, Germany, Scandinavia or the United States. Depending upon whether their positions are administrative, scientific or technical, skilled or unskilled, their educational attainments vary from

advanced university training to simple grade school levels. They are mostly persons recruited from the existing agencies in the south to do the same or similar jobs in the north. A lesser number are attracted into joining a government agency by the desire to be posted north. For many, their motives reflect an interest in higher pay or more prestigeous positions rather than in adventure and the "challenge of the north". Few have had a previous northern experience. It would appear that the physically healthy, the willing and the "available" of all sorts simply accumulate at any given settlement. The north no longer seems to demand a special type of rugged, adventurous personality to fill skilled or semi-skilled positions in the security of a modern settlement.

The second group, the northern whites, are similarly a fascinating varied group, but covering an entirely different spectrum of personality and social types than the government or agency personnel. They include: (1) all of those restless, adventurous whites who were resident in the Northwest Territories for many years before the big development drive began — the trappers, prospectors, and all-around bush-living whites; (2) those who had previously been employed by the Hudson's Bay Company, the mines, or the various transportation companies that plied the Mackenzie River system; (3) persons previously employed in construction work in northern settlements or military installations and who had somehow remained; and (4) the few hardy business men trickling into the north in seach of a hoped-for untapped economic frontier.

The third group, the Indian, Eskimo and Metis, who have poured into the larger settlements of the north such as Frobisher Bay, Inuvik, Fort Smith, Churchill, Yellowknife and Hay River represent a spectrum of acculturation. At one extreme we find persons who until recently have lived by hunting and trapping, speak a native language and act and think in essentially traditional modes; at the other extreme, are young men and women of 18 - 35 who now have some schooling, know no native skills and are incapable of living off the land. However, both are thoroughly committed to a settlement life. Most of the younger persons appear to have already passed beyond the point of no return as

far as readaptation to the older aboriginal mode of life is concerned.

Inter Group Relations in Settlements

1. *Government Civil Servants and Local White Residents*

Two fundamental issues tend to arise out of the confrontation of southern Canadian civil servants and local northern whites. Civil servants and the executive staffs of large supporting private agencies can command far richer resources in salaries, housing, food and facilities than the independant local whites. Jealousy is therefore inevitable. Also, because civil servants and agency personnel are basically job holders their status in the community as settlers tends to be suspect by the northerners who have seen them come and go.

In terms of economic adaptation, the more adaptable and energetic northern whites quickly seize small business opportunities in retail or service trades, or find their way into good positions as auxilliary local help in some government or private agency. Only the occasional congenial personality with social talents finds his way into acceptance in some government centered social circle, for most real frontier, individualistic types are not at home in more normal southern Canadian circles. Some old northerners have married native women and this certainly accounts for some of the lack of rapport between such families and the government-centered social group in which southern Canadian wives control important avenues of acceptance. In some cases earlier friendships between single southern Canadians and northern whites may dissolve as wives begin to appear in the settlement, and new types of social activities transform the social scene; for example, the cocktail party and curling.

The group with least contact with the government-agency world naturally enough is the marginal fringe of whites who socially and economically begin to shade into the native or metis world. These include ex-trappers, ex-prospectors, transportation and construction workers, casual laborers, drifters and lone wolves; in sum, the flotsam and jetsam of the northern frontier.

2. *Married Persons and Single Persons*

As we are dealing with the opening phases of regional development, work in isolated, rugged outposts requires the use of single males. The white population at first was represented by construction workers and agency personnel charged with building or establishing offices, shops, homes and in general creating facilities for others yet to come. Much of this early work was done by persons who came for summer seasons only. Even though in the succeeding phase, roughly after 1954, when family groups now existed in large numbers, many single persons still remain in these settlements. The rough, unskilled and semi-skilled construction workers who arrive for summer work live in isolated barracks or special camps removed from the core of the settlement itself. The local drinking establishment is their only acknowledged preserve in the settlement itself and their local social contacts are often limited to native peoples. In some places, they are today not permitted even these contacts: native neighbourhoods being "out of bounds" for them (this is a case of barring the stable door after the horse has bolted). However, there are also large numbers of teachers, technicians or clerks who are unmarried, and these in their own way must seek their society from amongst the social category of the "unmarried," for the married southern Canadian families tend to form tightly cohesive social circles and exclude all persons who cannot share in the basic social activity of party-making. Feminine society revolves about the coffee visiting round, and for this activity the right kind of home is needed. Married society, at least for most of the southern Canadian sector, features intense social cliques based on reciprocity of the host-guest roles for which expensive facilities are necessary. It tends to exclude not only the unmarried men and women but also those married persons who refuse to play the social game.

3. *White and Native Intergroup Relations*

The culture contact situation can be conveniently divided into two phases. In the early phase of post World War II settlement building activities, 1947-1954, very large numbers of transient single men flowed north and these had direct and at times very inti-

mate contacts with natives. In 1956 another wave of construction workers passed over the Eskimo region during the quite fantastic DEW Line construction period. This contact period introduced young natives, especially those brought in to work and live among these whites, to peculiar or specialized aspects of southern civilization such as would be displayed by transient workers and single men away from home (these include language, drinking and gratification patterns in general, attitudes towards spending money, treating women, etc.).

In the second phase, when white families began to appear even in outlying posts as the dominant social element, contact between whites and natives changed in character. This new influx of whites was better equipped to carry on a more "normal" southern style of social life and they began to form exclusive social ingroups. The social, cultural and economic distances are today so painfully apparent to whites and natives that the drawing apart into two social worlds could hardly be prevented.

4. *More Acculturated Natives and Less Acculturated Natives*

In both Inuvik and Frobisher Bay where large numbers of natives have been drawn from widely dispersed areas, a veritable melting pot of natives has occurred, but mainly within the confines of special native neighbourhoods. The native elements contain a spectrum of less to more acculturated Eskimos, depending upon the type and intensity of contact with whites. In general the western Arctic received its culture shocks much earlier than the eastern zone, but today in both areas a whole new generation of quasi-acculturated neo-native or neo-Canadians (depending upon the semantic acrobatics preferred) has arisen. This is the age group of 18 - 35 alike among Eskimos and Indians who now have some formal schooling and a fair grasp of English; many are semi-skilled workers and all are clearly no longer aboriginal native in outlook or skills. This group is now generationally set off all over the north from their post-traditional hunting or trapping parents, who themselves are once or twice removed from their pre-mining, trapping or whaling era ancestors. This new younger generation has established some cross-cutting identity and seems to have evolved its own "devil-may-care" social

style with the drinking party as the meeting place. The older generation clings to narrow kinship or regional affiliations. It is difficult to establish social or political cohesion among these ingathered persons from widely scattered points for whom permanent residency in a single community is a novel experience.

Conclusions

1. All northern settlements are composites of three populational components: a civil servant and government sponsored personnel who represent recent arrivals in the region; a non-government northern white population; and a spectrum of natives in various stages of acculturation — Metis, neo-Metis, and conservative Native.

2. The community structure of northern settlements is a balancing of two types of societies: a) a modern, highly organized occupational community made up of discrete autonomous agencies in which the population consists of job holders, not true settlers, and social organization is supplied by job organization; and b) a more traditional frontier society made up of independent whites, metis and natives showing amorphous social ties.

3. Problems of community integration between the three basic populational components arise from very marked disparities in social, economic and cultural standards of living. That is, today these groups have very little in common to encourage "togetherness."

Finally, this is a period when the Eskimos and Indians are being exposed to new cultural influence by southern whites. This time instead of miners, trappers, whalers and missionaries, the agents are government employees charged with direct tasks of assisting native peoples to reach a better economic and social way of life. The 19th century produced the Metis — a marginal backwoods variant peripherally adapted to the world of white miners and trappers. In the post Wolrd War II settlements we seem to be seeing the creation of another kind of Metis — one with a grade school education, a semi-skilled worker with modern tools, but one who as a person is still socially peripheral to the dominant white social elements of the community.

Two conditions must be changed in order to prevent yet another group of natives in transition from becoming frozen into marginal men:

1. A change in the existing social structure of settlements that makes for a static division of persons into government sectors, non-government white sectors and a shadowy social world of metis and natives.

2. A change in the economic structure whereby peripheral niches in the economic scheme of things are filled by natives. In the past this was largely caused by sheer prejudice and lack of education on the part of natives, but today it is to a large part due to an underdeveloped local economy which is based heavily on direct and indirect government aid rather than on local resources.

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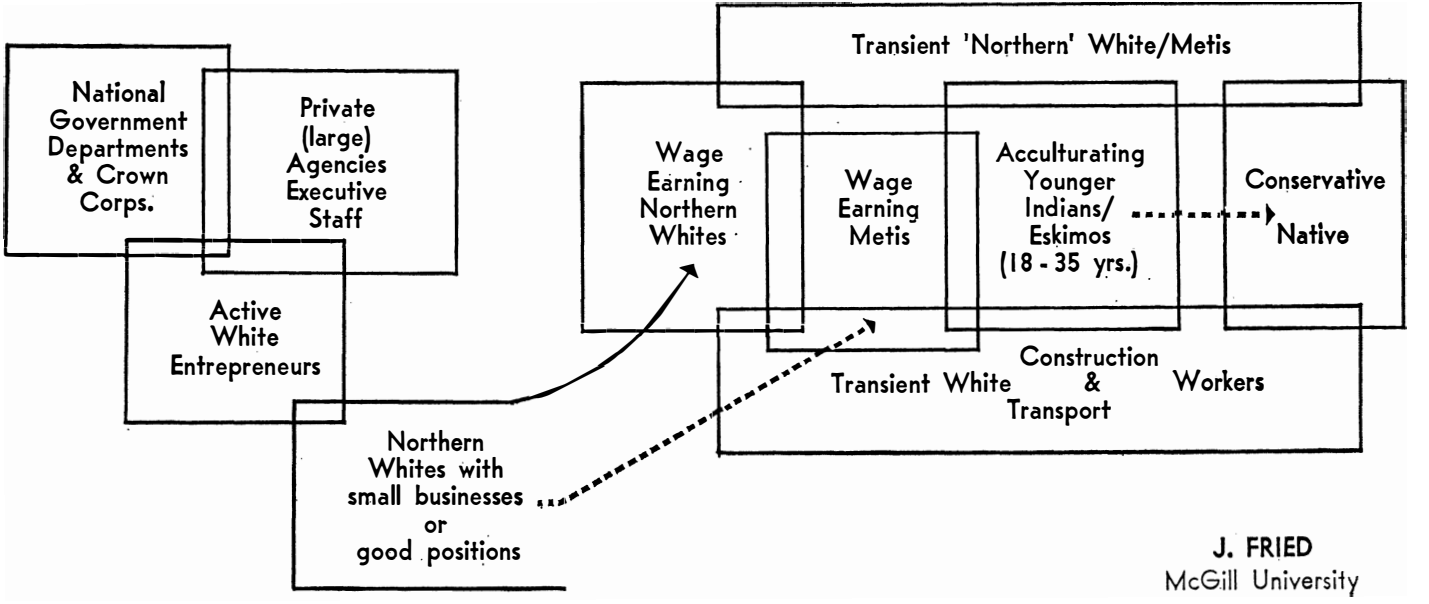
SCHEMATIC REPRESENTATION OF SOCIAL DISTANCE BETWEEN POPULATIONAL COMPONENTS IN LARGER SETTLEMENTS IN THE NORTHWEST TERRITORIES — CANADA

— 1961-1962 —



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Observations on Community Change in the North: An Attempt at Summary

BY CHARLES C. HUGHES

RÉSUMÉ

Dans les travaux précédents, des groupements ou des types communautaires précis nous ont été décrits. Ce présent article tente de ramasser en un schéme théorique quelques-unes des données mentionnées plus haut. L'acquisition d'assez grosses sommes d'argent, rendue possible par le travail rémunéré, est un élément nouveau et fondamental dans la vie d'un grand nombre d'indiens et d'esquimaux du nord canadien. L'argent nous est présenté ici comme un instrument permettant à l'homme de contrôler son milieu. C'est ainsi que les esquimaux et les indiens l'auraient envisagé, bien qu'inconsciemment. Ils ont donc accepté de façon générale ce moyen qui leur permet maintenant d'exercer un pouvoir de contrôle sur un milieu qui jusque là les avait assujettis, pour ainsi dire, à ses caprices et à ses limites.

The articles in this issue have dealt with several types of arctic communities. Insofar as we could find examples, these have differed from each other with respect to a variety of axes: one, the Indian as contrasted to the Eskimo cultural background; second, the Canadian as against the United States sociopolitical context; and third, the relative isolation from, or depth of involvement in, the new world of the north created by the intrusion of the sociotechnological civilization of the United States and Canada. The illustrative communities have been examined in terms of their history of contact, types of relationship to the outside, relative impermanence or sedentariness, ethnic characteristics, economic change and diversification, social segmentation,

control and leadership institutions, kinship and family patterns, and other aspects which can be fractionated out as relevant to the functional whole summarized by the concept, "community."

A number of questions have been raised and considered by the authors of the papers, questions having relevance beyond the problems of the Arctic. These include the persistence of certain cultural forms under conditions of change, as well as the loss of others; the conditions under which breakdown of the extended family occurs, or those in which there is a continuity or even strengthening of kinship bonds; the alteration of basic socio-economic units in the change from a subsistence to a money economy; the successes and inadequacies of attempts at combining these latter two types of economy. In an overall sense, the influence of economic base on settlement patterns has been examined. There has been reference to problems of intra-community social control and cohesion under new circumstances; to the question of adequacy of indigenous forms of leadership to meet problems arising from the more intensive contact situation and wider scope of decision implication; to the existence of many multi-group communities, those having native, mixed, and white populations, and to some of the problems of intergroup relations thereby created, such as deviant behavior. In several ways the discussion has pointed to problems of social segmentation within the native group itself brought about by new elements in the contact situation, such as education and the ability to speak English. The "revolt of youth" and the up-ending of traditional authority patterns has been a frequent result, and this is often underscored by the possession of money and the greater earning power which education sometimes brings. In a larger sense, one of the questions implicitly examined has been that of the community and individual effects of a rapid and massive change, and the concurrent conditions under which on the one hand this may be stressful and disruptive or, on the other, be accommodated sucessfully from a community and personal point of view. Such rapid change is of course dramatically illustrated by the DEW Line or Mid-Canada Line construction opportunities, with their sudden florescence and then sharp decline in many communities across the North.

In terms of my particular predilections the most fruitful way to view these phenomena is to point to the much-changed behavioral environment (e.g., in Hallowell's phrase) that has been created for the native peoples of the north over the last two decades. Now, with settlement patterns tending toward permanent residence in a given place, and with the population usually composed of diverse groups, a new psychosocial field of action has been created. This is one that spawns and encourages cultural change to an extent never before possible, through creating a "conjunction of differences" (as Barnett, 1953, would put it) stimulating daily self-appraisal and question about received forms — a situation relevant to the rubric of the "sociology of knowledge." The new "reference culture," as I termed it elsewhere, which prior to World War II was only segmentally represented in the local community, has now become ubiquitous. In a place such as Frobisher Bay it is indeed a caricature rather than an accurate sample of the culture of the south.

The task of summary of so many diverse observations is a difficult one, and that of finding common patterns as well as suggesting explanations for divergent responses a large one, certainly going beyond a short paper. But perhaps a beginning can be made, at least in terms of pulling out a few common threads from a particular problem area. Toward this end I wish to suggest several relevant considerations.

The most obvious thing we can say about recent *community* change in the North is that we now speak of "communities" in terms that have much more of a ring of stability and permanence about them than was the case 20 years ago. In the last two decades there has been an unparalleled growth in size and relative permanence of these points of population residence. Stability of settlement is not especially new for most of the Alaskan Eskimo coastal villages, but even there the trend has been markedly increased. And among the Canadian indigenous groups it has been nothing short of dramatic over the last 20 years.

Reasons for this population concentration have been many and diverse, and some of the structural and psychological implications have been adumbrated above. Much of what has lain behind it can be traced to the convergence in space and time of several

sets of factors. These include the world-wide political concerns of the United States and Canada and their survival imperatives as nation states. Others can be traced to the demands of the market and the whims of fancy (e.g., the popularity of "primitive" art such as stone or ivory carvings). Still others have their roots in particular historical and cultural circumstances, both of the local populations and of the environing complex societies. An example is technological developments in transportational facilities, which create the mechanical means for intrusion into the North on a massive scale to an extent impossible before now. Some are of an ecological, or, more properly, "socio-ecological," nature, in that they are the result of man's role in changing the face of the earth.

Illustrating the functional interrelatedness of his last type of factor one may look at the increased use of outside material culture and technology. From the earliest contact days, of course, firearms and more efficient animal-harvesting equipment have been highly prized trade objects. Through over-killing, use of repeating rifles has undoubtedly been one of the main factors in the catastrophic depletion of the caribou herds of both the Ungava Peninsula and the Barren Ground, the latter occurring in the last decade and a half. This increased firepower has also had detrimental effects on sea mammal resources in many areas, although there are exceptions, such as the Melville Peninsula. This in turn has added to the subsistence stresses of native populations and undoubtedly been important in the trend toward concentration in population centers, where welfare support can be found. But the depletion of the caribou herds has also contributed to increased unreliability of fox-trapping as an income activity, for without caribou carcasses, an important food source for the fox population and for fox bait is lacking.

In many cases the population concentration has been influenced by government or private agency directive through the centralized provision of schooling, medical help, food and clothing relief, or missionary assistance. These have acted as magnets, drawing people and linking them into new institutional relationships originating in the outside culture rather than the indigenous forms. Unquestionably the most powerful attraction, however,

has been that of *the job,* or, more fundamentally, of money. Aside from the family allowance, welfare payments and relief support (which do not of themselves necessitate population concentration), the most far-reaching form this has taken has been that of wage-work in some industrial or construction enterprise — the selling of labor rather than material product. The mining operations at Ranking Inlet illustrate one type of such activities, while the formerly extensive DEW Line construction jobs illustrate another. Throughout the north, sometimes quite explicitly but always at least implicitly, the hope of participating to a greater extent in the apparent economic abundance of the outside world has seemed to underlie much of the population movement.

Thus, looked at broadly, and without the narrowing vision of "disciplinary" frames of reference, what has occurred in the north is a fundamental change in the behavioral environment in which people act — both the environment as it *is* (as in depletion of the caribou herds or other game animals) and the environment as it is *conceived to be* (as in new orientations and sentiments relating to the world). To a large extent, the people of the north, in coming into population centers for jobs that will yield money, have taken steps to acquire what appears to be the most efficient tool for adapting themselves to some of the salient features of the new environment that has been thrust upon them.

There is, of course, nothing new in pointing to money as a medium of exchange and repository of economic value. But phenomenologically it is much more than that. *It is an instrument of control* (and I do not use this in the restrictive psychoanalytic sense). Given the operation of a system of certain assumptions and understandings, the manipulation of this symbol is a cogent and effective way to achieve interpersonal and private goals of many kinds. It can make a person or group more effective in terms of resources, skills, and knowledge for meeting the demands of particular types of environment. But it can also help create that very environment — perhaps the supreme expression of control and adaptation in the constant transaction between organism and surroundings that is the life process.

For years introductory texts in anthropology have spoken with admiration of the Eskimos' adaptive ingenuity in harsh and bitter surroundings. Many aspects of that environment have now radically changed, but I would suggest that the nature of the "culturally compulsive" response has not. Through direct contact with white men as well as the multiple working experiences northern peoples have had over the last decade, it would seem that the lesson has been clear: money is an inherently compact and transposable *instrument of social action,* far more versatile than traditional adaptive techniques. It is an almost protean tool, translatable into all types of objects and capable of transforming many situations. Given the difficult nature of the setting in which both the Eskimos and Indians live, and the high prevalence of subsistence and survival anxieties, it can be argued that any instrument or adaptive device which promises greater effectiveness will be readily adopted.

Obviously there are a number of motivational factors involved in the population concentration — self-preservative reactions to high morbidity rates or threat of food shortage, opportunities for sociableness, etc. I suggest we re-adopt for the moment, however, an essentially Darwinian framework and consider man the animal appraising his environment, seeing how it changes, what moves it, what tools or strategies are effective. Moreover, there is reason to ascribe a functionally autonomous status to such a pragmatic orientation, and not derive it from other motivational sources. This is not to say, of course, that all actions succeed or contribute to adaptational flexibility, for many misfire and get subverted by misperceptions of the environment, especially those structured and transmitted "misperceptions" which we conceptualize as "values," "sentiments," etc. But striving, synthesizing, mending, building — the active mode interpreted subtly — is the prime defining characteristic of the life process, especially that of man. Even symptoms of psychiatric disorder most fruitfully are viewed against the background of attempts at adjusting what is perceived as an undesirable state of affairs.

If one thus argues concerning salient motivational aspects of this population concentration, it would be congruent with some of the considerations advanced by the psychologist R.W. White,

who speaks of "effectance motivation" and the concept of *competence* as a primary motive in behavior. In his comprehensive recent article surveying motivational research from animal studies to psychoanalytic ego psychology, White speaks in terms congenial to much dynamic psychiatry in noting that a

> ...concept such as competence, interpreted motivationally, [is] essential for any biologically sound view of human nature. This necessity emerges when we consider the nature of living systems, particularly when we take a longitudinal view. What an organism does at a given moment does not always give the right clue as to what it does over a period of time. Discussing this problem, Angyal (1941) has proposed that we should look for the general pattern followed by the total organismic process over the course of time. Obviously this makes it necessary to take account of growth. Angyal defines life as 'a process of self-expansion'; the living system 'expands at the expense of its surroundings,' assimilating parts of the environment and transforming them into functioning parts of itself. Organisms differ from other things in nature in that they are 'self-governing entities' which are to some extent 'autonomous.' In the course of life there is a relative increase in the preponderance of internal over external forces. The living system expands, assimilates more of the environment, transforms its surroundings so as to bring them under great control. 'We may say,' Angyal writes, 'that the general dynamic trend of the organism is toward an increase of antonomy... The human being has a characteristic tendency toward self-determination, that is, a tendency to resist external influences and to subordinate the heteronomous forces of the physical and social environment to its own sphere of influence.' The trend toward increased autonomy is characteristic so long as growth of any kind is going on, though in the end the living system is bound to succumb to the presence of heteronomous forces.
>
> Of all living creatures, it is man who takes the longest strides toward autonomy. This is not because of any unusual tendency toward bodily expansion at the expense of the environment. It is rather that man, with his mobile hands and abundantly developed brain, attains an extremely high level of competence in his transactions with his surroundings. The building of houses, roads and bridges, the making of tools and instruments, the domestication of plants and animals, all qualify as planful changes made in the environment so that it comes more or less under control and serves our purposes rather than intruding upon them. We meet the fluctuations of outdoor temperature, for example, not only with our bodily homeostatic mechanisms, which alone would be painfully unequal to the task, but also with clothing, buildings, controlled fires, and such complicated devices as self-regulating central heating and air conditioning. Man as a species has developed a tremendous power of bringing the environ-

> ment into his service, and each individual member of the species must attain what is really quite an impressive level of competence if he is to take part in the life around him (1959, p. 324).

It is unfortunate that White avoided using the term "culture" when discussing man's material alterations of the environment. The development and transmission of a coherent body of adaptive knowledge is one of the central ideas in most definitions of the concept of culture.

Further, it is of great importance, it seems to me, to make a qualitative differentiation between techniques of adaptation. White approaches this in one phrase when he speaks of man making changes in the environment so that it will "serve our purposes rather than intruding upon them." This distinction is basic, for there are different sorts of problems created and responses generated depending upon whether a person (or a group) interacts with environment predominantly in terms of *responding* to situations which *it* recurrently creates — that is, operates mainly with *"reactive control" techniques and strategies* — or is capable of what I shall call "pre-active" or *creative control strategies,* those which bring about many of the very conditions themselves in which life will be carried on. Obviously, I do not here use "creative" in a narrowly "sophisticated" sense, but rather with the connotation of inherent mastery and power, apprehended subjectively. The difference can be illustrated by pointing to curative and preventive medicine, curative medicine being an expression of reactive control of a portion of nature — responding when nature creates the imperative; and preventive medicine the implementation of pre-active or creative control strategies — bringing about desirable environmental settings through application of control techniques. This is not a hard and fast distinction but rather one of degree. Nonetheless it has widespread implications for group as well as individual adaptation.

A dramatic example of extremities in these two types of control strategies is found in the northwestern corner of Greenland near Wolstenholme Fjord, well within the Arctic Circle and formerly the site of the northernmost human habitation of recent historic times. The contrast here is between the way of life — the culture, the set of control strategies — practiced by

the small band of Polar Eskimos, and the way of life of the huge Thule U.S. Air Force base established in the same place in the early 1950's.

What has happened, of course, is that within the very same geographic area is exemplified the contrast between a group depending for its survival and perpetuation mainly upon reactive control techniques in relating to the environment, and a group which through an astonishing development in the mechanical-technological area of its culture relates almost overwhelmingly with creative control techniques.

Each of these dominant strategies has its own set of sub-problems to contend with, which are linked in a system and derived from different sources. The reactive techniques are obviously more closely tied to the types and quantity of natural resources at hand than is true of the creative strategies. But this is not the only feature, nor, probably, is it the most important. Skills and knowledge are what make most of the difference between these two control strategies — as illustrated by the growth of culture and application of technology. Of great importance also are properly trained and functioning personnel in roles necessary for translating the skills into socially and personally useful ends.

A constant problem involved in implementing both strategies is that of allocation among priorities, of selecting *which* goals of action are to be sought rather than others, and in what sequence. In societies living close to the margin of survival, however, this problem *per se* does not loom so large, for the overshadowing problem is that of basic survival itself, not "survival under what alternative conditions." The more immediate goals of nutritional and physical need press in upon the group and have an imperative quality in demanding satisfaction, allowing little leeway for experimentation in allocating the society's productive energy.

But in groups which have crossed the threshold and are advancing into a stable foothold in the area of creative control, the problems of charting, defining, and selecting among goals of action become more acute. How to choose in the midst of

plenty? This depends on and demands skills, knowledge, values (perhaps even the old fashioned concept "wisdom"). Particularly important is knowledge of human resources — of human potentials and motivational capabilities as well as limitations. Not only what *can* man or corporate group do, but what *should* they do now that they have the realistic ability to accomplish most of what they want to do? The engineering problems are rapidly being solved; the allocative ones remain, a note which Galbraith stresses in his book, *The Affluent Society.*

Many of the factors influencing the way a people will utilize new opportunities are rooted as much in their particular security systems as in their attainment of and confidence in skills and control strategies for meeting unfamiliar challenges. Techniques of reactive control developed in the traditional situation are often grossly inadequate in a setting demanding those of creative control and decision-making — where *creating the conditions of life* becomes a problem of more moment than just responding to outer directives. In a sense nature with its stern demands for survival has long been man's crutch, for within broad limits it indicated the proper response. But increasingly this is no longer the case even for many peoples of the north who, having discovered the power of this new adaptive device, money, have not at the same time acquired the skills in using it effectively, neither with broad nor delicate brush stroke.

A lack of allocative skills may also lie at the root of much of the anxiety, rootlessness, bewilderment, and social division found in many northern communities and graphically illustrated elsewhere on various American Indian reservations following sudden receipt of natural gas or oil revenues, or money as a treaty adjustment. No matter the relative means, the lack of both obvious and subtle articulation, of gearing into each other, between means and perceived goals engenders disruption of an "essential physical condition," as one theorist puts it, often serious enough to predispose the individual toward the development of psychiatric symptoms as a readjustive expression (cf., Leighton 1959). Increasingly, with the predicable movement of the outer world into the North, the problems have become more those of deciding among alternative "goods" rather than those of making

the relatively simple decision to opt for the good over the bad, or those of responding to stark survival needs rather than those having equal valence. The increased availability of money as an adaptive and creative control device in many ways engenders more rather than fewer problems — at least in the short run.

It is the ceaseless attempt to becomes as fully as nature permits the master of events — to move from a predominance of reactive patterns to one of creative patterns — that lies at the root of these two contrasting types of control strategies. In a recent article, Eiseley recalled Sir Francis Bacon's early vision of man's long struggle. In speaking of "the advancement of learning" Eiseley noted that what Bacon "sought was no more nor less than an education which would give men power over their own destiny. 'For the world,' Bacon said, 'is not to be narrowed till it will go into the understanding (with has been done hitherto), but the understanding to be expanded and opened till it can take in the image of the world... Then, and only then, admonished Bacon, shall we no longer be kept dancing within little rings, like persons bewitched, but our range and circuit will be as wide as the compass of the world.' "

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Recensions - Book Reviews

Point Hope: An Eskimo Village in Transition. J. W. VANSTONE. The American Ethnological Society. University of Washington Press, 1962. x, 177 pp. $5.25.

The book consists of a compact community study of Tigara village at Point Hope, Alaska, based on a year's residence beginning in September, 1955. A factual summary of the geography and history of the area includes mention of the adjacent archaeological site which produced the well-known remains of Ipiutak culture. Then the usual categories of culture are covered, from food through religion, with the expected emphasis on subsistence activities. A final ten pages is devoted to conclusions and "the village of tomorrow". There is a nominal index, and twelve pages of plates besides three maps and three figures.

Previous to the publication of this monograph, two remarkable studies of communities in northwest Alaska had already appeared, and a comparision of certain points shows how different such works can be. In 1933, Robert Marshall published his volume on Wiseman. (*Arctic Village.* New York, 1933). He offers no rationalization for his intellectual curiosity about the people of the upper Koyukuk River area, unless it is to verify his impression that they are exceptionally happy. His method was that of a participant-observer who did a great deal of verbatim reporting of what was publicly said. He also spent several hundred hours in private with his informants, a group into which he obviously tried to draw everyone (p. 6). He presents an intimate and personal account which never loses touch with the human beings about whom he writes with unsurpassed sympathy and frankness. His volume also contains the best photographic illustrations.

Charles Hughes in a volume on Gambell village devotes many pages to a resumé of the "psychobiological" approach which he says lies in the foreground of his attack on the problem of sociocultural change (HUGHES, C.C. with J.M. HUGHES. *An Eskimo Village in the Modern World.* Ithaca, N.Y. 1960. p. 34). The Hughes used sixteen principal key informants and ten secondary ones, carrying their typewriters into the people's homes and amassing what may be a record in the volume of notes for a single year of such research (pp. 24-26). They are sociologically and exactingly normative in utilizing their great amount of data, and they bring into sharp contrast the Eskimo ways of life on St. Lawrence Island in 1940 and in 1956.

James VanStone states that his study is "functional and acculturational rather than historical" (p. 4). He seems to have been relatively informal in his research, relying mainly on "participant observation" and using a

small notebook for information which at convenient times he transferred to punch cards (p. 6). The over-all impression of his work is one of an ethnography, and a reconstruction at that. He does not achieve his intention of producing a functional and acculturational study or, at least he does not achieve it very well. Indeed, on occasions, it is difficult to know exactly what period VanStone is referring to. His account for the most part comprises impersonal, objective generalizations about the culture, although individuals are mentioned. The information is interesting, and we can only regret that there is not a great deal more of it.

To conclude our comparison, we would say that VanStone has given us the broadest range of cultural data, while the Hughes have demonstrated a new and intellectually sophisticated technique. As for Marshall's *Arctic Village,* although unlisted in the bibliographies of either the Hughes or VanStone, anyone might be proud to have written it. Together, the three volumes are invaluable to the anthropologist concerned with the methodology of the community study, and certainly no less so to the non-professional reader who wishes to learn about present day Eskimo culture in Alaska. To the latter, we would recommend enjoying first the simple and broadly instructive work of VanStone.

Cornelius OSGOOD
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Artists of the Tundra and the Sea. Dorothy Jean RAY. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1961. XII, 170 pp., 113 ill. $5.75.

One of the most persistent characteristics of Eskimo material culture has been the technological skill with which objects were fashioned. The Eskimos justifiably are ranked as outstanding craftsmen among primitive men. An inventory of Eskimo artifacts inevitably leads to mention of ivory working abilities, and nowhere in the Arctic has it greater antiquity and sophistication than among the inhabitants of the Bering Strait region. Here the tradition of working ivory is as old as clearly identifiable Eskimo culture, and here it continues most persistently today. A book on Eskimo ivory work is a welcome addition to the fields of art, technology, and Eskimo culture. Dorothy Ray's study deals with the Bering Strait Eskimos' ivory carving tradition and its current manifestations. The book focuses on two separate topics: the prehistory and history of carving, and the products of the modern craftsmen.

The textual discussions and appendix on ivory carving among prehistoric Eskimos of the Bering Strait region deals primarily with the best local sequence: Okvik, Old Bering Sea, Punuk, Western Thule, and the post-Thule developments. This background material provides the reader with a general

understanding of the known roots of the tradition which extend back in time some two thousand years. The anthropologist with an interest in the Arctic will not be impressed with Ray's treatment of the archaeological finds. A reasonably satisfactory summary is presented, but the discussion of prehistoric ivory working offers neither new interpretations nor a thorough consideration of old problems. Additionally, there are remarks of questionable validity. For example, in the discussion of Okvik carvings it is stated that sexual characteristics are absent and there are "not even rudiments of a fertility cult." Ray questions whether the "Okvik Madonna" has female sexual organs represented; however, Froelich Rainey in the original Okvik site report writes of this carving that "the female sex organ is clearly represented." The presence of sexual symbolism in Okvik is suggested further in an ivory figure which Reiney considered as possibly phallic. There is also the Okvik male and female sexual organs represented. Ray's evaluation of this and other points of archaeological interest are not as precise as the author would have the reader believe.

When writing about modern Eskimo ivory carvers and their recent predecessors, the author is more lucid and her contribution in this area is significant. Initially it is demonstrated clearly that nineteenth century northern Alaskan Eskimo graphic representations are aboriginal, and from this immediate background emerged the developments seen today. The biographical sketch of the first important modern carver, Angokwazhuk or Happy Jack, is highly informative. This man copied the scrimshaw of the whalers, as well as printed reproductions; his decorated ivory cribbage boards led to a departure from the largely utilitarian carvings of old and introduced an item designed for the non-Eskimo market. Other specific new forms are discussed along with their innovative background; included are the famous billiken, various bracelet types, and a dove. Interpretations of these innovations are penetrating, and the carvers emerge as less imaginative and original than might be expected. The Eskimos appear as able craftsmen but rarely as artists.

The descriptions of contemporary carving and the discussion of the actual processes of manufacture apply largely to the craft products from Diomede and King islands. It is this reviewer's opinion that the detailed presentation of the modern ivory carver at work is clearly the best section of the book. This careful reconstruction of the manufacturing details is unique and rewarding for the interested reader. Among the pertinent topics illuminated are the qualities of ivory as a carving medium, the tools used, and the thoughts that the carvers expressed concerning their products. While it is the carvers of Diomede and King islands that are discussed in greatest details, we find significant gaps in the presentation of their works. It is, for example, perplexing that only passing reference is made to group sculptures since dog teams and hunting scenes are standard products and among the most complex carvings produced by the Bering Strait Eskimos.

The descriptive details of this book concentrate upon the Bering Strait carvers, but there are additional remarks on ivory and wood carvings from

elsewhere in western Alaska. Mention is made of the sculptured ivory from Nunivak Island; the grotesque character of animal representations and the elaborateness of the masks from the region between the Yukon and Kuskokwim river mouths; and the human figures of wood from St. Lawrence Island. These references are scattered so that no coherent view of the carving complex may be reconstructed for beyond Bering Strait. A map designating the ivory carving areas of Alaska is presented but not defended.

This volume contains numerous excellent photographs of carvings and carvers, as well as line drawings of various design motifs which are ready guides for the reader. However, the following caption errors, known to the reviewer, should be mentioned. The Ipiutak object in Figure 29 is not from Cape Prince of Wales but from Cape Spencer. The mask in Figure 85 is not from Nunivak Island and neither was it collected about 1940; it is from Hooper Bay Village and was purchased in 1950. Furthermore, all of the wooden figures from St. Lawrence Island (Figures 59, 60, 61) illustrated and discussed are presented in a definitive article on the subject by James VanStone, which is unacknowledged by the author. Additional errors and omissions could be cited, but those already mentioned reflect the general quality of the research for this book.

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The Eskimo Community at Port Harrison. William E. WILLMOTT. Northern Co-ordination and Research Centre 61-1. Ottawa, Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources, 1961. viii-197 pp., 11 tables, 9 fig., 22 photographs.

In the summer of 1958 Mr. Willmott carried out a study of the Eskimos of Port Harrison (east coast of Hudson Bay) as part of the research program of the Department of Northern Affairs, Northern Co-ordination and Research Centre. These Eskimos are now undergoing their second round of heavy influence from Euro-Canadian civilization. The first contact period in the Eastern Arctic area in which fur trapping became an important economic activity, created a partial dependence on external white agents for such commodities as flour, tea, tobacco, guns, etc. Nevertheless, it left the still isolated Eskimo groups, socially and politically, essentially autonomous. But this second era of contact, the post World War II period, has introduced into the Eskimo's physical and social environment, the permanent settlement with a nucleus of important white agents representing various government and private agencies (Department of Northern Affairs, Department of Transport, in addition to the traditional Hudson's Bay — Mission — R.C.M.P. constellation). These new settlements now bring to the Eskimo the challenge of

a totally new mode of life; one based on wage labor, dependency on outside "southern" Canadian agencies, and quickly introduce new modes of valuing and behaving. Here Eskimos can observe the culture carriers themselves and not just the traded products of a temporate civilization; whites now are part of their everyday environment.

Willmott's report shows us how the Eskimos are reacting to this highly dynamic situation. At Harrison, he found two groups of Eskimos representing opposing responses to the development of a Euro-Canadian outpost settlement. One group remains on the land and is essentially traditional Eskimoan in its subsistence-oriented, mobile, hunting and fishing economic base. Trapping activities are still basically subordinated to the food quest. Thus, this group represents the first phase of adaptation to white contact. The second group is made up of settlement-dwelling Eskimo families almost entirely dependent upon wage labor for their livelihood, and for whom hunting, fishing and trapping are minor supportive (or even recreational) activities. Hence Willmott's contrasting polar types emerge as *camp Eskimo* vs. *settlement Eskimo.*

Willmott's analysis of two Eskimoan adaptation stances is a dramatic situation that is by no means to be found in such "pure" form in all other Eastern Arctic settlements. In the Port Harrison area the camp-oriented Eskimos live physically separate from the settlement in several camps up to 50 miles away. Only those with steady employment in the settlement are permitted to reside in it, all others can only remain for short visits. The situation in Sugluk or Povungnituk, where the various local groups have already been drawn into the settlement as their permanent base, does not produce a clean cut breakdown into polar, but contemporaneous acculturation stances: native vs. Euro-Canadian. Here one finds a considerable mixture of characteristics of both trends spread throughout the population within the settlement somewhat haphazardly.

However, this does not invalidate the usefulness of the concept, especially as applied in the Port Harrison situation, and which, I believe, would also prove instructive in the Cave Dorset, Baffin Island, community. Adaptation to settlement life, of course, will necessitate in any case serious acculturation toward Euro-Canadian standards.

By examining the socio-economic and cultural characteristics to be found in the camp environment and in the settlement, striking differences easily emerge. For example, the camp shows community organization based on wide ranging (bilateral) kinship ties, while the settlement Eskimo lacks this unity based on kinship. Politically, the camp as a local group shows cooperative organization with hunting and trading activities under strong leadership. The settlement Eskimo as wage employees of white agencies (Hudson's Bay Co. or government) have no political autonomy and no kinship-based modes of cooperative activity, and no real leadership at all.

Because of this dramatic contrast in way of life the camp Eskimo and

settlement Eskimo have now developed mutual antagonism of the "country" vs. "town" variety. The superior resources of the wage-labor based economy also creates a "have" versus "have not" trend in inter-personal relations between these groups.

Many issues are briefly raised (though, of course, it was not within the scope of this research report to do more than this) in the concluding section; issues fundamental throughout the north. If the basis for the changes now going on in the north come from a settlement-based way of life what will happen to Eskimo culture? Can it preserve any real integrity apart from its nomadic, small kin-based local group underpinnings? If wage labor produces much more of the valued commodities of life than can hunting, trapping or even the new handicraft activities, what will happen in a community where jobs are scarce and only a favored few will have them?

Another fundamental problem could be added to Willmott's list, and that concerns the nature of the white community itself. Does not such a community of transient job-holders, whose roots are in the south, really only introduce the Eskimos into a specialized version of a southern, temporate based culture, rather than encourage a locally viable new form?

Willmott points out that under present conditions the relations between Eskimos and whites in the settlement are inevitably caste-like, a condition which limits the flow of many cultural features that require close sustaining social contacts. How much further will the settlement Eskimo continue to acculturate in the Euro-Canadian direction given the limitations of these communities in size, economic absorbtive capacity, and the nature of cultural distance between white and Eskimo?

Willmott's report is required reading for all who are studying northern communities for comparative purposes. His statistics on population, income from trapping, wage labor and government aids, camp membership, and adoption are precisely those data needed in detail from all settlements. Those interested in kinship will find his genealogical charts and list of kinship terms valuable.

As this is a research report based on a single summer's work, its treatment of some subjects is naturally limited to impressions and a few exemples, e.g. child rearing, recreation, role of the church, changing value orientations, etc.

Future studies will have to be undertaken to add materials to the understanding of just how Eskimos and whites interact in the settlement.

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Foodways in a Muskeg Community: An Anthropological Report on the Attawapiskat Indians. John J. HONIGMANN. Ottawa: Department of Northern

Affairs and National Resources, Northern Co-ordination and Research Centre NCRC-62:1, 1961. iv-216 pp., 41 tables, 2 figs.

This study of the Cree Indians of Attawapiskat, Ontario, was part of a larger project aimed at finding out the health and nutritional conditions of two Canadian Indian groups. To achieve this, the Canadian government requested the services of an anthropologist, Dr. John J. Honigmann, "to discover the social problems underlying the health needs and to find ways of coping with them" (*The Health of the Northern Canadian Indians. A plan of Study*. National Commitee for Health Studies. Typescript. Toronto, 1947. Cited by Honigmann, p. 1). Honigmann undertook his research with a triple purpose in mind: "first, to show the extent to which the people's food habits are determined by social and environmental factors; second, to outline some of the paths which a planned development program could follow in an attempt to improve the native diet and make the Indians more self-sufficient, and, third to present a body of information that would be useful to government officials charged with administering the Attawapiskat and other, culturally related, Indian group" (p. i). Honigmann fulfilled his purpose to this reviewer's satisfaction.

Fieldwork, on which this report is based, lasted about nine months, from July to November of 1947, and again from February to June 1948. Although interpreters were used extensively, Honigmann learned enough Cree to conduct simple intreviews on his own.

The monograph is divided into five chapters and one appendix. The first section discusses the scope and aim of the study, the working conditions of the anthropologist, and the methods he used, while background material — demography, description of the physical environment, etc. — is given in the second chapter. The third part, dealing with the "Community, Family, and Individual", is an important one, especially for an action program, since leadership, channels of communication and other pertinent material are clearly described. The bulk of the study, 134 pages in length, is to be found in the fourth chapter, "Food and Economy", where the annual cycle, seasonal diets, the sources of food (government assistance programs, marketing, food-getting activities), the cost of living and eating habits are extensively treated. In the final chapter, Honigmann lists 12 specific problems such as mortality rate, attitudes, mental health, education, and interaction between segments of the community. To these problems, he offers 13 possible solutions "directed toward the end of *developing Indian life ways* toward greater nutritional and adaptive efficiency" (p. 2). Finally, a brief appendix on the language and a bibliography conclude the report.

This reviewer, who has visited Attawapiskat last summer, is generally in agreement with Honigmann's material as presented here. It should not be forgotten, however, that this report deals with a situation found in Attawapiskat some 15 years ago. The situation observed in 1962 was naturally quite different and most of this reviewer's remarks have to do with these changes.

Honigmann mentions a fact, in passing, which is becoming more and more obvious to me. He notes that while he could hardly obtain the co-operation of the Indians at the beginning of his fieldwork, he was much more successful on his second visit, that is, after an absence of one to two months. I found this to be true also in Winisk. A "return to the field" could very well become an accepted method of research, at least among the Cree Indians of James Bay, especially for those who plan to spend a year or so in the field. Rapport seems to come easily then, and information flows in at a much faster rate.

The missionaries and the Roman Catholic religion are said to give to the Indians some kind of security (see also LIEBOW, Elliot and John TRUDEAU. A Preliminary Study of Acculturation Among the Cree Indians of Winisk, Ontario. *In* Arctic 15:3:198) and partly because of this, the missionaries have enjoyed a high degree of prestige and authority among the Indians. But, as Honigmann predicted, "the diffusion of new ideas into Attawapiskat will cause the people to question the authority of the priests and perhaps, to disbelieve some of the religious teachings" (p. 41). This prediction was certainly fulfilled in Winisk, and is also in the process of being fulfilled, although to a lesser degree, in Attawapiskat. With the coming of whites in northern Ontario and because of easier communication with the outside world, the expectations of the Indians have changed and many of the roles the missionaries had previously held had to be relinquished. These roles, however, were not necessarily filled by other whites, or, if they were, no clear-cut expectations have been formulated. As a consequence of this state of affair, many social problems have arisen.

From an ethnographic as well as from an action program standpoint, Honigmann makes several pertinent remarks in regard to chiefship. He clearly shows the inadequate authority held by the chief, his lack of preparation for his role and the absence of a reward system which would presumably reinforce his position and make it more appealing (p. 47). The same situation exists today. It does not seem however, that the Indians are thoroughly "familiar with the value placed on leadership and that they themselves now want to realize this value" (p. 49). What Honigmann describes here is probably the *ideal* pattern, the *real* one being quite different. And it is the latter that should be kept in mind if an action program is to succeed. The same could also be said of the chief being "...expected to help and guide others for their good". The latter expectation might be *real* if the guiding and helping were done in a very general way. Inasmuch as it applies to a particular situation, especially to a trouble-case, the *real* pattern is more often of the mind-your-own-business type.

It is true, however, that the chief is shown some kind of respect. This was very apparent in Winisk when the missionaries decided to start a housing project for the Indians. The chief did not agree with the missionaries, and the Indians, who had previously spoken in favor of the project, offered a great deal of resistance. In view of what has been said above, clarity would

be gained by making a distinction between the *role* and the *status* of the Indian chief. The chief's *status* seems to be respected by members of the community and, to some degree, it might even be desired, but his *role* is generally rejected. As a consequence, there is very little pleasure derived from being chief (p. 48).

There is one final point I would like to make in view of the changes that are happening today among the Indians of the area. Honigmann mentions that a program emphasizing wage-labor "would run into serious opposition and enjoy little chance of success" (p. 133); that trapping and hunting activities "are more resistant to change, less likely to be driven out of existence" (p. 163); that trapping is not unpleasant (p. 90); and that successful hunting for meat and fowl "has strong symbolic significance", being one of the criteria for obtaining prestige (p. 167). All these statements undoubtedly describe the situation as observed by Honigmann in the late 40's, but today some of them would have to be altered to be applicable to all members of the community. For instance, young men or young couples now have a strong inclination to "go out", and it is clear from the drop in population that many of them have done so. In 1948, Honigmann reports a population of 468 Indians (the official Census of 1947 gave 645) while in 1962, it fluctuated between 350 and 400 people. Moreover, if Winisk (the post to the north of Attawapiskat) can be said to be a picture of Attawapiskat 5 to 10 years from now, most of the statements quoted above would not be applicable.

In Winisk, hunting and trapping have lost much of their significance. Although the Indians might say that they prefer trapping to working for wages, very few, in any, will refuse to work whenever a job is offered to them. Wage-labor, more probably the regular pay-cheque and permanent residence in the vilage, is not only accepted, it is highly valued, much more so than trapping. (LIEBOW & TRUDEAU p. 202). This is certainly true of the younger generation in Attawapiskat in regard to working at Moosonee, and of most of the Indians of Winisk. This sudden shift in values is probably due to what Honigmann refers to as the guarantee of quick-returns and, also, of security. As one Indian said "You work for an hour [at the base], you get $1.25. When you trap, maybe you work for two days and you get nothing and maybe you get $100. You never know." For members of a community that is said to live in "widespread anxiety" and "economic insufficiency" (p. 206), wage-labor and its consequences, such as permanent residence and intensification of social life, is almost certain to be well received.

These remarks offered here are meant as complements to the situation observed by Honigmann in 1948, and they certainly do not invalidate this important and commendable report. This much awaited ethnography of the Cree Indians of Attawapiskat fills a gap in our knowledge of the Indians of the James Bay area, and Honigmann must be congratulated for publishing it. Moreover, it is a good example of how anthropology can serve as a basis for an action program. There is little doubt that the hospital, the

school and other changes introduced in Attawapiskat since 1948 are due to some extent to Honigmann's study and recommendations. It certainly is a credit to his informative and scientifically sound report.

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Band Organization of the Peel River Kutchin. Richard SLOBODIN. National Museum of Canada Bulletin No. 179, Anthropological Series No. 55. Ottawa: The Queen's Printer, 1962. iv, 97 pp., ill. $1.00.

The Peel River Kutchin, most nearly identifiable in officialese as the Loucheux Band Number Seven of Fort MacPherson, are an easterly group of the Kutchin peoples whose combined lands straddle the Pacific and Arctic watersheds along the Arctic Circle from the Chandalar River of Alaska to the Mackenzie Flats of the Northwest Territories of Canada. Slobodin's work, based on eighteen months in the field in 1938-1939 and 1946-1947, has yielded substantial advances in Kutchin ethnography. The material in the present study comprehends, in the author's words, "an inquiry into the structure of Peel River Kutchin social groups in the light both of ecologic considerations and of the particular history of this northern Athapaskan people..." (p. 5).

Beginning with the proto-contact period of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the author presents in several compact chapters an historical survey that stresses those changing conditions and contacts that altered, directed, and redirected the course of livelihood and social organization of the Peel River people, in severalty and as a total group. Among the more notable periods of alteration and expansion of the oecumene of the Peel River folk are the Klondike gold-rush days that drew most of the band into the Dawson area in the summer, provided new and varied summer occupations, and stimulated through contact with westerly Kutchin a limited potlatch revival. As with other Athapaskans of the North, the demands and fluctuations of the fur trade have dominated the deployment and economy of the Peel River Kutchin through the first half of the twentieth century.

In his precise delineation of the kinds of extra-familial groupings of the Peel River people and of the ecologic bases and structural principles that underlie them, Slobodin has made a worthy contribution not only to the ethnology of the subarctic but to the fields, potentially allied, of primitive social organization and of small-group interaction. The six kinds of groups of the Peel River folk are summed up in a dual classification derived from G. Homans. Viewed in terms of "external system", comprehending the group's behavior as an adaptive response to environment and the problem of survival,

the *local group* as a small-scale community concerned with over-all problems of living stands in contrast to the *trapping party, meat camp, fish camp,* and *trading party,* all of which function as occupational groups. The sixth type of group, the *band assembly,* is held apart from this classification as a distinctive case.

Classification of the groupings in terms of "internal system" — "the elaboration of group behavior that simultaneously arises out of the external system and reacts upon it" (p. 75), places the trapping party and the local group in one category in their structural comparability to bilateral extended families led by a prestigeful kinsman. On the other hand, the meat camp, fish camp, and trading party, although segmented into constituent families, are cross-cut by stratifying distinctions as to sib, wealth-rank, and age-group. The correspondence of type of internal system to size of group is noted, the latter, larger groups being organized "in terms of relatively impersonal relationships" while the two small groups, the trapping party and the local group, find their internal orientation through kin ties and sentiments.

Although physiographically within the arctic drainage, the Peel River Kutchin reflect their heritage from the culture area of the Pacific Drainage Athapaskans in the institutions, albeit attenuated, of sib, wealth-ranking and age-grouping. In the attributes of the chief of the band assembly, however, the author discerns an authority which stems "from another system ... of a kind which is classic for American Indians: [the chief] is the focus of responsibility in the band ... a kind of senior responsible kinsman..." (p. 77). This quality of chieftainship among the Peel River Kutchin is homologous to that of the "strong" chief among the Arctic Drainage Athapaskans proper, when and wherever he appears.

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Social Networks in Great Whale River, Notes on an Eskimo, Montagnais-Naskapi, and Euro-Canadian Community. John J. HONIGMANN. Ottawa: The National Museum of Canada Bulletin 178, 1962, VI, 110 pp., IX Plates, 2 Figures.

During the summers of 1949 and 1950, Dr. John J. Honigmann undertook ethnographic investigations in the community of Great Whale River located on the southeast coast of Hudson Bay. Here lived approximately two hundred Eskimos, nearly as many Indians and a few Euro-Canadians. The present study focuses attention on the interactions manifest within each group and between each group although the primary emphasis is on the Eskimos and Indians.

Honigmann's report is divided into seven sections with an Appendix by Mrs. Frances N. Ferguson. The first section is background, covering

such topics as the numbers of individuals according to age and sex and data on morbidity and summarizing the prehistory, history and environment of the area. The second section, "The Social Network", discusses the basic distinctions between the Eskimos and Indians and the limited interactions that transpire between them, as well as with Euro-Canadians. The third and fourth sections are concerned with the social organization of the Eskimos and Indians respectively. Section five surveys recreation and here note is again made of the interaction between the Eskimos and the Indians. The next section covers religious observances and beliefs of the two groups showing the breakdown in the native belief systems and the adoption of Christianity with its attendant repercussions in the case of the Belcher Island Eskimos. Finally, in section seven the various concepts held by the Eskimos and Indians regarding the world about them are given. Mrs. Ferguson in the Appendix analyses Rorschach protocols obtained at Great Whale River from nine Eskimos; four adults, four children and one adolescent. This reviewer is not qualified to comment on this part of the paper. It can be said that it appears to be a cautious approach to a very difficult subject.

This study tends to stress the Eskimos of Great Whale River but as the author says, "My major effort in Great Whale River was devoted to Eskimo culture" (p. 27) and therefore this emphasis is to be expected. Whenever the opportunity presented itself, he worked among the Indians and in spite of less time spent he collected pertinent data and put on record information about a group hitherto hardly known.

There are two points of note that cannot be stressed too greatly regarding this monograph. First is the amount of raw data which has been presented — demographic, listings of tent occupants, tabulations of country foods secured (Eskimo only) and goods purchased from the Hudson's Bay Company, handicraft production (Eskimo), property owned (Eskimo) and furs secured. More information of this type is sorely needed for other groups within the eastern sub-arctic, and Honigmann is to be congratulated for having secured and published it. He has pioneered along these lines, and it is to be hoped that it will stimulate others to do the same. It is unfortunate that these tables were not listed in the Contents.

The second point of note is the contrast drawn between the Eskimo and Indian way of life. Although it is a commonplace that the Eskimos are oriented toward the sea while the Indians are completely oriented to the land, here the contrast is quite starkly portrayed. One is sorry that Honigmann did not have more time in the field to explore this aspect in greater detail, especially among the Indians.

One feature of the report has disturbed this reviewer. It is to be wished that there had been a conclusion where a summary of the data might have been given. For instance, the evident lack of communication and interaction between the Eskimos and Indians could have been brought into sharp focus here and appraised in terms of the differing modes of

existence and of the history of the groups in question. It appears that a gulf still exists between the two peoples event though peaceful relations now exist.

A final, albeit. minor point might be mentioned. The Indian word *minahek* (p. 77) is translated as "red spruce". This seems to be an error since red spruce are never found as far north. Instead, what is probably being referred to is the white spruce *(Picea gluca)* as is the case for the Mistassini Indians to the southeast of Great Whale River.

In summary, it can be said that this is the work of a mature anthropologist who has collected his data cautiously with a view to accuracy and has presented information clearly and neatly. It adds another vital volume to the sparse but now gradually increasing literature devoted to the North American sub-arctic.

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Contributions to Anthropology, 1960. Part I. National Museum of Canada Bulletin 180 (Anthropological Series No. 57). Ottawa, The Queen's Printer, 1962. VI-190 pp., 29 plates, 34 figures, 5 map figures. $2.00.

Canadian archaeological and physical anthropological research completed in 1960 is reported in the seven papers included in the National Museum's Bulletin 180. Dr. L. S. Russel, Acting Director, explains in his foreword that research in the other fields of anthropology will be published in a second volume, and promises additional papers on the subjects in the present one.

The first two *Contributions* describe pre-Dorset and Dorset materials from Devon and Baffin Islands. Moreau S. Maxwell tested five "Pre-Dorset and Dorset Sites in the Vicinity of Lake Harbour, Baffin Island, N.W.T.," discovering that the sites form a series beginning with KeDr-1, which may be earlier than Taylor's Ivugivik sites, and ending with KdDq-4, probably Dorset. A development of artifact types from the Arctic Small Tool Tradition to recognized Dorset correlates with progressively lower elevations for the sites, presumably located on beaches abandoned through isostatic and/or eustatic changes. Significant cultural trends can be seen in the gradual replacement of chert by quartz as a raw material for tools, and in the decrease in the percentages of burins as end scrapers gain in popularity. Maxwell suggests that the sites cover the first two millennia before Christ, and believes that they demonstrate the emergence of Dorset from a Denbigh-like culture in the Eastern Arctic.

"An Account of an Archaeological Site on Cape Sparbo, Devon Island," is a discussion by G.R. Lowther of 84 artifacts recovered from a site, Inavik

(no Uniform Site Designation given), containing pre-Dorset, Dorset, and Thule occupations. Minute descriptions of the two earlier assemblages (the Thule material was not available) advance Lowther's identification of the majority of the specimens as belonging to the Arctic Small Tool Tradition; the remaining few may be Dorset. The paper as a whole appears to be essentially a prolegomenon to Lowther's report on his 1961 season at Devon Island.

In "A Distributional Study of Some Archaic Traits in Southern Ontario," J. V. Wright used the collections of the Royal Ontario Museum to plot the occurrences of seven categories of artifacts diagnostic of the Northeastern Archaic. Wright admits that the collections do not offer as adequate a sample as would be desirable, but his paper is a commendable appraisal of the pre-ceramic occupations of southern Ontario. The region seems to contain two foci, one west and the other east of Toronto (i.e., the Humber-Nottawasaga drainages). Bannerstones and full-grooved axes are characteristic of the western area, which Wright postulates was influenced by peoples south of the Great Lakes, but ground slate projectile points are most common in the eastern area, and may be derived from the northeast.

"The Old Women's Buffalo Jump, Alberta," is Richard G. Forbis' report on two seasons of excavation at EcPl-1, a deep, stratified bison kill site near Cayley. Blackfoot mythology claims the kill was used at the genesis of the race; radiocarbon revealed the lowest layers to be two thousand years old (Sample S-91, Layer 25, A. D. 120 ± 70). The long sequence of projectile points from this site has been classified by Forbis into seven named types. This reviewer feels that the careful analysis of the key modes, presented with admirable clarity, furnishes a chronological guide of even greater value than the types themselves. Plains archaeologists will welcome this stratigraphically secured ordering of the ubiquitous small side-notched points of the Late Prehistoric era.

There are two papers on the Eskimo of Southampton Island. That by Merbs and Wilson describes the "Anomalies and Pathologies of the Sadlermiut Eskimo Vertebral Column," drawing upon the evidence of 72 skeletons of the Sadlermiut who became extinct in 1903. A high incidence of spondylolysis was noted, as well as arthritic conditions, which seemed to be more common in younger adults (25-40) than in those older. The second paper, by Chown and Lewis, "The Blood Group and Secretor Genes of the Eskimo on Southampton Island," gives data on two groups of Eskimo now resident on the Island. Differences between the two groups may be attributed to two sources: first, the Aivilik (from northwestern Hudson Bay) have more Caucasoid admixture than do the Okomiut (from Hudson Strait); second, genetic drift had probably given rise to variations in the parent populations of these groups.

J. E. Anderson uses photographs to describe "The Development of the Tympanic Plate" of the temporal bone. The formation of this plate is a

complex process, observable on archaeologically excavated skulls such as those Anderson studied from the Fairty site, an Iroquois ossuary. A dehiscence, known as the Foramen of Hushke, may persist into adulthood in the tympanic plate, and Anderson suggests that this defect is probably genetically determined. Its varying incidence may therefore mark different populations. Anderson's paper, like that by Merbs and Wilson, points up the broad benefits to be gained by collaboration between archaeologists and physical anthropologists.

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The Archaeology of the Lower and Middle Thelon, Northwest Territories. Elmer HARP, Jr. Arctic Institute of North America Technical Paper No. 8, Montreal: Arctic Institute of North America, 1961. 74 pp., 12 plates, 15 figs. including maps; summary in Russian. $2.00.

With this compact monograph, which presents the first thorough documentation for a prehistoric culture sequence in the Barren Grounds, Harp makes an indellible impression on one of the largest blanks in the archaeological map of North America. This is a contribution of signal importance both because its data are new and unique, and because it is a concrete basis for a reappraisal of the view of the senior ethnologist, Birket-Smith, who holds that Eskimos originated there. Harp's findings in this connection had been anticipated in part by some scholars working in other areas; they probably will receive general acceptance. They have convinced the reviewer that the prehistory of the Barren Grounds is characterized by alternate tenancy by Indian and Eskimo groups closely affiliated with their kindreds in adjacent areas, in most cases separated from one another by long intervals of time. There is little indication there of long cultural continuity such as would have been necessary for a major cultural development to have taken place.

In 1958, Harp set out by canoe and light aircraft to initiate archaeological exploration in the country west of Baker Lake where, one assumes, his earlier work near Coronation Gulf had led him to look for "evidence of diffusion among prehistoric hunters of the boreal forest, tundra, and the coastal fringes" (p. 7). In particular, he sought data on the much-discussed development of pre-Dorset and Dorset Eskimo culture and on the origins of the modern Caribou Eskimo. The monograph is based on that season's work but reference is made also to previous reconnaissance in near-by areas by Harp and Moffat.

Staying close to the watercourses, he found forty six unstratified, lakeside sites, from which he recovered 734 artefacts, 98% of which are of

chipped stone. By my count, the collection represents 54 components. Some of the sites have boulder tent rings, meat caches, and other signs of habitation; others are briefly used workshop or lookout sites. All of them are located at narrows in the Thelon lake-and-river complex, and most are probably at caribou crossings. Little or no evidence of fishing was found. The site locations attest to the primary importance of caribou migrations in the economy of all the known occupants of the Barren Grounds. It is noteworthy that this apparent uniformity in economic orientation throughout a long period did not impose a corresponding uniformity of stone implement types on the several cultures that occupied the area.

Harp assigns most of the materials to one of four complexes, largely on the basis of a few diagnostic types of artefacts. He finds very few cases of a distinctive type showing up in the wrong context, and one gets the impression that most of the sites were occupied at one period only. He then musters the results of his studies of still-unpublished collections in the National Museum of Denmark and gleanings from a broad review of the literature to fix the cultural relationships and chronological positions of his complexes. In the main, his synthesis is unexceptionable; a few minor reservations will be mentioned below.

This section is organized around series of "propositions" or conclusions grouped under headings such as "Internal Correlations" and "External Relationships", like a text in Euclidean Geometry or a mathematical proof. This presentation is in part responsible for the admirable clarity and economy of space with which he presents a complex set of formulations. With such tight organization and although it is short, the utility of the book still would have been enhanced by an index, which it does not have. One gets the impression that Harp has taken great pains to avert misinterpretations of his views, and although this surely was not due to altruism only, we can all be grateful for it. In his words, "The following major conclusions derive from the analysis:

1. The central Barren Grounds have always been a marginal area and never the centre of any significant cultural development.
2. The Thelon area was not inhabited until some time after 3000 B.C.
3. There have been five cultural phases in the occupation sequence:
   a. Early Indian hunters exhibiting limited trait diffusion from Archaic Stage bison-hunting cultures on the High Plains.
   b. Pre-Dorset Eskimo from the central arctic region.
   c. Later Archaic stage Indian hunters from the interior.
   d. Eskimos of the Thule culture.
   e. Recent Caribou Eskimos.
4. All of these occupations were sporadic and based primarily on the summer hunting of caribou, except some band of Caribou Eskimos who dwelt in the country the year round.
5. The Caribou Eskimos are the descendants of the Thule people.

6. In addition to historically documented cultural diffusion among recent Indians and Eskimos in the area, there is slight evidence of contact and diffusion between the Indian phases and Eskimos of the pre-Dorset phase" (p. 70).

Harp's first and fifth conclusions, in particular, bear on the existence of Birket-Smith's hypothetical Proto-Eskimo, and on a theory of Eskimo origins which he adapted from that of Steensby more than a quarter of a century ago. The thesis of the eminent ethnologist can be recapitulated briefly as stating that Caribou Eskimo culture is a relict of Proto-Eskimo — the proto-type of all Eskimo cultures — that has survived close to its original homeland with very little change since before the time when other offshoots moved away and emerged from the Proto-Eskimo, ice-fishing stage, to become Palaeo- and Neo-Eskimo sea mammal hunters. This construction is based entirely on ethnographic evidence and particularly on Birket-Smith's own very thorough studies of the Caribou Eskimos. But Harp shows that there is no evidence in the Barren Grounds either for a prehistoric ice-fishing stage or ancient, direct antecedents to the Caribou Eskimo.

Instead, Harp's archaeological findings show that the Caribou Eskimo probably are derived from an inland facies of the fully developed, "Neo-Eskimo" Thule culture long known to have arrived in the central arctic from the west about a thousand years ago. In his view, the other modern Central Eskimo cultures also descended from Thule, which is a view held by Mathiessen for as long as Birket-Smith has held to the contrary. The archaeologists are supported by the evidence of linguistics, osteology and geographic contiguity, all of which favor close relationship between the present peoples of the area. Harp sees the modern cultures of the central arctic as aspects or facies of a single Central Eskimo culture, derived in large part from the Thule culture, rather than as remnants of different stages in a line of development. In this the reviewer concurs.

This line of thought leads Harp to account for some of the peculiarities of Caribou Eskimo culture by invoking an important proposition documented and discussed by Mauss and Beuchat, Jenness, Ekblaw, and a host of others. This is simply that most versions of Eskimo culture exploit both marine and terrestrial resources. Thus, "...it seems most probable that the culture [of the Caribou Eskimo] was a resurgence of the inland aspect of the age-old and almost universal dual economy of the Eskimos, in this case stemming from the central arctic Thule culture" (p. 68; cf. also p. 65). The proposition could be amplified to state that many Eskimos exploit not just two but as many as half a dozen environments — river, forest, marsh, tundra, and so forth — each requiring a special set of skills. That such a diversified economy is an ecological adaptation of great value would seem to be self-evident. That it could be seen in operation in the central arctic until just a few years ago, and probably has been practiced there and elsewhere for thousands of years, raises a grave question about the propriety of fitting any known Eskimo culture, extant or defunct, into one of the economic-

developmental stages proposed by Birket-Smith. On the other hand, it is not implausible that occasional groups should, like the Caribou Eskimo, relinquish their mastery of one set of environments in order to take full advantage of another. We may hope that Harp will address the question of why the Caribou Eskimos did just this. The answer may help to explain the almost cyclical character of alternating Eskimo and Indian occupation of the Barren Grounds.

In another frame of reference, the question of what, if any, exchanges took place between Dorset or pre-Dorset and Indian cultures of the Boreal Forest is one of long-standing general interest to which Harp gives his attention. Those who have thought they could detect a spoor leading from the forest to Igloolik and other Dorset sites will get little encouragement from his findings. Two pre-Dorset traits, a pick-like implement and a chipped adz, were found in early Indian complexes, but Harp thinks it likely that pre-Dorset was the donor rather than the receiver. The issue is by no means settled with the scant evidence now available, but the case for significant Indian influence on the Dorset culture is, if anything, weakened by these results.

The problem of chronology in the early periods is a sticky one, which Harp treats with circumspection but perhaps not with finality. For a maximum possible age for the first occupation he refers to geological studies of deglaciation and especially to a C-14 date on plant remains from a pingo which must post-date both deglaciation and the subsequent, short-lasting marine transgression. In arriving thus at a figure of 300 B.C. Harp takes a very conservative course. The date of the pingo is not necessarily a *terminus post quem,* and there is a possibility that the Barren Grounds were habitable and occupied by as early as 5000 B.C., when lanceolate points such as those that characterize the earliest complex were more likely to have been available for export from the south than they were at the later date.

In order to establish a sequence of cultures Harp had first to infer absolute dates for his phases by comparing them with dated cultures outside the area, for no archaeological C-14 dates are available yet and there is no other way of estimating their absolute or relative ages. This reviewer is unconvinced of the need to place the "late Archaic" Complex C in the first millenium A.D. The nearest evidence for correlative dating of this material comes from southern Manitoba, but MacNeish dated his Manitoba sequence largely on the basis of comparison with material from Saskatchewan and Wyoming. From the Thelon to Wyoming is a very long way indeed to extend correlations of this sort no matter how refined the typology may be. In this connection one should bear in mind the fact that side-notched and corner-notched points, which are the main diagnostics of Complex C, were present to the south of the Boreal Forest several thousand years before Christ and, in the reviewer's opinion, they moved into the far northwestern part of the continent at a similarly early date. It is possible, therefore, that Complex C got to Keewatin earlier than Harp suggests, and, indeed, that

it antedated the Keewatin examples of pre-Dorset, which are dated rather more securely to the first millenium B.C. by comparison with the Igloolik sequence. This critique of Harp's chronology points out possible alternatives to his interpretation, but it in no sense supplants it. Rather, it brings out the need for regional archaeological studies in the mid-continent portion of the Boreal Forest and, above all, for more work in the Barren Grounds.

The prehistory of the Barren Grounds, for all its marginal character, is made fascinating and instructive by Harp's work, which deals with some major problems and leads the way toward the study of others. His monograph will stand as a landmark in the archaeology of the general arctic and as a model of good presentation. Harp's maps and drawings are clear and to the point; especially interesting are his tree-dimensional sketches of sites, which show far more clearly than would photographs the topographic relations and thus something of site ecology. The editing is good but unfortunately the reproduction of photographs is disgracefully bad, especially when it is compared with that in the journal *Arctic*, also published by the Arctic Institute.

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Eskimo Administration: I. Alaska. Diamond JENNESS. Arctic Institute of North America Technical Paper No. 10. Montréal, The Arctic Institute of North America, 1962, 64 pp., 2 figures. $3.00.

All those interested in the Eskimos and in problems of culture change in the arctic will find Diamond Jenness' study of the administration of Alaska's Eskimos a work of considerable value and usefulness. It is the first part of a projected three part study which will eventually include histories of Eskimo administration in Canada and Greenland by the same author. Dr. Jenness has divided this first volume of his historical survey into three main periods.

The first period begins with the purchase of Alaska by the United States in 1867 and continues up to 1896. It was not until the passage of the First Organic Act in 1884 that provision was made for organized administrative services in Alaska; in this connection the author emphasizes the importance of law enforcement and education in the new territory. The significance of mission schools and their subsidization by the governement during this early period of Alaska's history is very clearly and concisely set forth.

The various gold rushes and the resultant "discovery" of Alaska by the United States government is taken as the starting point for the author's second period of Eskimo administration which runs from 1896 to 1939. An

important point that stands out here is that by 1914 every Eskimo village of more than 100 persons contained a Bureau of Education school. There is also a good outline of the development of the fur trade economy with emphasis on the weaknesses in the adoption of such an activity as a permanent economic base for Alaskan Eskimos and, by extension, the peoples of northern Canada. In discussing the early definition of territorial and federal responsibilities in Alaska, the author emphasizes the work of the Bureau of Education and its successor, the Bureau of Indian Affairs, in promoting education, health and economic welfare. A detailed survey of Eskimo education between the two world wars is especially valuable and there is a careful appraisal of the strengths and weaknesses of the system.

The author's third period covers the years between 1939 and 1960. Here the effect of the war on Alaska is discussed with emphasis on the new economic opportunities available to the Eskimos. Demographic changes are stressed by indicating the growth of such local centres as Point Barrow, Kotzebue, Bethel and Unalakleet. However, the excellent discussion is marred somewhat by overly moralistic statements about life in these communities. In this part of the book the author also deals with welfare developments, the modern post-war cash economy, and contemporary health and housing programmes.

It is obvious that Jenness is greatly worried about the future of the Alaskan Eskimos, particularly in terms of the unsatisfactory economic situation that exists in the state. Since there are not enough jobs in the north, and it is unlikely that there will be in the forseable future, younger Eskimos should be encouraged to relocate. At the same time the author appears to be well aware of the difficulties that will be faced by those who attempt to adapt to life in the south. Education is seen as the key to advancement in the modern world, a point of view which explains Jenness' emphasis on this aspect of administration throughout the book. However, no suggestions for the future of Alaskan education are advanced.

Because of the importance of this book and its significance for both anthropologists and northern administrators, it is necessary that potential users be informed concerning its weak as well as its strong points. A major weakness that is immediately apparent is the author's failure to deal with the Russian period of Alaska's history. Although he may have conceived this aspect of the problem as being outside his field of interest, it is obvious that many of the problems faced by the Bureau of Education in the early years of that agency's administration of Eskimo affairs were a direct outgrowth of conditions inherited at the time of the purchase of the territory.

A second major weakness is a generally insufficient documentation and failure to make maximum use of up-to-date sources. This is more serious because it not only reflects, probably unfairly, on the quality of the author's research but reduces the usefulness of the text as a basic source. Thus part of the study, particularly where the author is dealing with the break-

down of the aboriginal subsistence economy and the introduction of reindeer, appear superficial because of the lack of adequate documentation. One of the potentially most useful sections of the book is the survey of Eskimo education betwen the two world wars. Yet more source references, particularly to the Annual Reports of the Bureau of Education from which most of the data must have been taken, would have made this section even stronger and, more important, of greater comparative value as far as the relatively new educational programme for Canadian Eskimos is concerned. Similarly, it is difficult to understand why the author acknowledges so few of the sizeable number of studies of Eskimo culture change which have been carried out in Alaska during the past decade.

These criticisms should not be allowed to obscure the significance of Dr. Jenness' contribution. We have here, for the first time, a clear, concise historical survey of Eskimo administration in Alaska along with an informed and intelligent assessment of the extent to which the administrators have either achieved or failed to achieve their goals. It is to be hoped that this book will be read by those responsible for Eskimo administration in Canada. There are important parallels and significant continuities between the two arctic areas and Canadian administrators are fortunate indeed to have the opportunity to profit from the mistakes of their American counterparts and to draw on the knowledge derived from nearly 100 years of administrative experience in Alaska. If this is actually one of the ways in which the book is used, then the author's efforts will be well repaid, and the volume's shortcomings will pale into insignificance.

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Cultural Stability and Change among the Montagnais Indians of the Lake Melville Region of Labrador. John T. MCGEE. Catholic University of America Anthropological Series No. 19. Washington: The Catholic University of America Press, 1961. viii-159 pp., ill.

Dr. McGee had been exposed to the area and the people before setting out to write. His book for the most part reflects intimacy with the Montagnais, but less than intimacy with the determinants underlying change.

Chapters are provided on the geography of the area, the non-Indian residents (local white and Eskimo as well as Air Force) which describe the degree of connectedness or exclusiveness they maintain with respect to each other and to the Montagnais. The initial description of the Lake Melville Montagnais in chapter III provides vital statistics on the 1952 band, some interesting information on nicknaming, authority, religion, marriage patterns, and the life cycle. The Seasonal Round of Activities (chapter IV) fills in with detail the framework established in the previous chapter. The Winter Hunt and especially the description of details of orientation to space are

significant; also useful and informative are lists of artifacts manufactured by the Indians for their own use: snow-shoes, toboggans, snares, deadfalls, and crooked knives are part of this stock of home-made wares one expects to find in such a list; the inclusion of stove pipes, shovels, candlesticks, etc., is surprising. Thus, the degree of self-sufficiency of this group emerges as remarkable; as a theme it persists throughout the book and is provided with its main expression and substance in chapter V, "Adaptation to Environment." Here the writer notes that although the contemporary availability of goods is far greater than it previously ever has been, nevertheless, "the Indians continue to choose very much the same items that made up the trading accounts of their ancestors" (87). The discussion of moccasins and snow-shoes is especially interesting since considerations of utility stand so strongly against alternate criteria of possible acceptance. Here is one of the few descriptions of a snow-shoe complex that attemps to relate its specific form to the characteristics of the environment. Here, too, is described one of the rare cases where a post-contact adaptation (the "Indian stove") has diffused from an Indian point of origin to non-Indian hunters and trappers.

The Montagnais are well described as "...dedicated and well-adapted to their own way of life — hunting — fishing — trapping — gathering. They are shrewd, practical-minded people, born to the bush, keenly interested in their own way of life, and those material elements of Euro-Canadian life which can best help them in living the way they like to live" (146). Diffusion and resistance to it are seen by the author always in regard to utility. Diffusion, then, appears to take place on the basis of *function* rather than *form* (in terms of Barnett's definition) and therefore reverses the priority of order in the diffusion of form over function which was the major finding of Barnett's study and for which he adduced something akin to a law. (H.G. BARNETT, 1950, *Culture Processes.* American Anthropologist, n.s., Vol. 42.)

As a passing note, Dr. McGee's discussion of the "man-dog" relationship (I wonder if this shouldn't be added to F.R. Kluckhohn's dimensions of value orientations) is excellent. At least the dogs in the area haven't fallen into the pattern of the so-called Northeastern personality type, nor have the men insofar as they are freely and extrovertedly infuriated by these animals which, in their turn, elicit as subtle a sense of humour as one could hope to find on the Labrador coast.

The book almost everywhere stays close to the rich data underlying its generalizations and these in turn tend to be strongly empirical. Although comparisons are implied, the author is most concerned with the description of the specific group through time. The last chapter, however, (Factors Influencing Stability and Change) differs from all others, not only in approach, but in its faulty presentation and weighing of evidence. There are minor printer's errors both in the text and bibliography.

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Spoken Cree: West Coast of James Bay. Part I. C. Douglas ELLIS. Toronto: The Department of Missions (M.S.C.C.), The Anglican Church of Canada, 1962. 429 pp., mimeographed, $7.50. Tape recordings (approximately twelve 1,200 ft. reels) available on request.

This work, the first of a projected three-part textbook with accompanying tapes, is an excellent and most welcome introduction to one of the major languages spoken in Canada today. Although primarily intended to satisfy the needs of missionary personnel, it will be of great value to government workers, anthropologists, educators, and any others who might have reason to learn to speak the language.

Cree is spoken by an estimated 50,000 Canadians in an area stretching from the foothills of the Rocky Mountains to the woodlands of Northern Quebec. While there are dialect differences, most of them are of minor nature. The text under review is concerned with Swampy Cree, one of the two major dialects (the other being Plains Cree), and is based upon the accepted conversational standard of Fort Albany, Ontario. The form of the syllabary and, in part, the transcription used, however, is that employed for Moose Cree, a closely related dialect spoken to the south of Swampy Cree. The rationale is that most of the literature already used in both areas is published in Moose Cree. While the beginning student who is visually oriented may find this mildly disconcerting, it has the advantage of enabling him to learn two dialect variants with only slightly added effort.

The text and tapes are divided into twenty-five units, every fifth unit a review of the previous four. Two preliminary units introduce the Cree sound system and present a brief sketch of the key features of Cree grammar. There are three appendices: Appendices A & B outline two forms of frequent occurrence not covered in Part I. Appendix C presents in paradigmatic form the verbal conjugations employed in the lessons. A complete vocabulary, in alphabetic arrangement, is included at the end of the text. There are two pages of instruction (in Cree) for the teacher.

The course is designed, and designed only, to be used with either recordings or native speaker, or both. That is, its aim is to teach the student to *speak* Cree. In essence, the format is quite simple: (1) the presentation of language material in a natural setting, and (2) the inculcation of correct speech habits by means of constant repetition and drill. To accomplish this, Ellis has made excellent use of the most up-to-date methods of foreign language pedagogy. Each unit begins with a Basic Conversation. These conversations, dealing with day-to-day situations, are to be carefully mimicked and committed to memory by the student, as they form the basis for the intensive (and extensive) pronunciation and pattern drills which follow. Grammatical explanations, which are fully integrated into each unit, are

intended merely to bring into sharper focus what the student has already learned out-of-awareness. The Pronunciation Aids are meant to be just that and no more, while an explanation of the Cree syllabary is reserved for the next-to-last unit.

This is a most thorough and impressive work, one which must have been extremely time-consuming and, at times, even tedious in the making. It is highly recommended.

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Notes bibliographiques - Book Notes

The Cubeo. Indians of the Northwest Amazon. Irving GOLDMAN. Illinois Studies in Anthropology no. 2. Urbana: The University of Illinois Press, 1963. 305 pp., ill. $4.00 (paperbound).

Ce volume est une étude ethnographique des indiens Cubeo vivant dans la région nord-ouest de l'Amazone. Dans l'introduction, on nous décrit cette région de la rivière Amazone, les tribus qui y habitent et les contacts entre Cubeo et autres groupes, tant indigènes qu'étrangers. Viennent ensuite onze chapitres sur la communauté, la vie économique, le système de parenté, la religion, etc. Dans le douzième chapitre, une analyse des donnée contenues dans les pages précédentes nous est offerte en guise de conclusion.

Hindus of the Himalayas. Gerald D. BERREMAN. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1963. x-430 pp., ill. $8.50.

A community study of Sirkanda, a village of western Uttar Pradesh, India, was made in 1957-58 and is reported in this book. The aims of the research were (1) to give an ethnographic picture of the village; (2) to show the functioning and interrelationships of kin, caste, and community ties; and (3) to describe the effects of recent governmental programs and other agents on the village. The book is divided into nine parts, covering such topics as economics, religion, socio-political organization. There is also an introduction, a conclusion, a bibliography, four appendices, notes and an index.

Hunters of the Buried Years. The Prehistory of the Prairie Provinces. Alice B. KEHOE. Regina, Toronto: School Aids & Text Books Publishing Co., n. d. 94 pp., ill.

A general sketch of Canadian Prairies archaeology is presented in this book. The nature and methods of archaeology and its relationships with other disciplines for purposes of interpretation are described in the Introduction. Then archaeological data are devided into five chapters, e.g., "The Foragers", "The Fishermen", "The Last of the Hunters", etc.

"I Will Fight No More Forever": Chief Joseph and the Nez Perce War. Merrill D. BEAL. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1963. xvii-336 pp., ill. $6.00.

Ce livre raconte l'histoire de la campagne militaire des Nez Percé en 1877. L'A. a puisé à toutes les sources dont plusieurs inédites ou inexploitées

jusqu'ici. Il a également consulté des vétérans de cette guerre ou certains de leurs descendants. Il est résulté de ce travail un récit très circonstancié et une réévaluation des événements et des hommes, tout particulièrement du chef des Nez Percé, Joseph.

Introduction To Applied Statistics. John G. PEATMAN. Harper's Psychological Series. New York, Evanston, and London: Harper and Row, 1963, xv-458 pp. ill. $7.95.

Ce volume est conçu et présenté comme un manuel de classe pouvant servir au niveau gradué ou sous-gradué. Il contient les techniques qui sont de base dans la recherche en psychologie, en sociologie, et en anthropologie culturelle.

Juan the Chaluma. An Ethnological Re-creation of the Life of a Mexican Indian. Ricardo POZAS. Translated by Lysander KEMP. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1962. 115 pp., ill. $1.50 (paperbound).

Ce livre est la traduction de l'ouvrage publié en 1952 par le Fondo de Cultura Económica sous le titre "Juan Pérez Jolote: Biographia de un Tzotzil". Le groupe dont Juan fait partie, les Chalumas, est en voie de transformation par suite de contacts avec des groupes étrangers. La biographie de Juan décrite dans ce volume est un reflet de ces changements.

The New Brahmans. Five Maharashtrian Families. Selected and translated by D.D. KARVE with the editorial assistance of Ellen E. MCDONALD. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1963. 303 pp. $5.50.

This book is based on biographies of five individuals or families, all belonging to a group called the "New Brahmans", i.e., "those who made the necessary changes in the traditional heritage of learning and teaching and adapted their way of life to the new era". Each of the five chapters describes one of these "New Brahmans": D.K. Karve, social reformer; C.S. Sardesai, historian; G.G. Kolhatkar, actor; N.T. Katagade, Gandhian constructive worker; and Madhav Trimbak Parwardhan, poet. Short introductions, written by Ellen E. McDonald, precede each selection.

Primitive Art. Douglas FRASER. The Arts of Man Series. New York: Doubleday, 1962. 320 pp., 183 pl. $7.50.

This is the second volume of the Arts of Man Series published by Doubleday. The purpose of the book is to present "a comprehensive, though

by no means exhaustive, consideration of primitive art". General remarks about primitive art are given in the Introduction. Then follows three chapters, "Africa", "Asia-Oceania", and "America".

The Psychoanalytic Study of Society, Volume II. Warner MUENSTERBERGER and Sidney AXELAD, eds. New York: International Universities Press, 1962. 317 pp. $7.50.

This second volume is divided into three parts, "Childhood and Development", "Art", and "Anthropology and Folklore". The first two parts contain three papers each while the third has five.

The Round Lake Ojibwa. Edward S. ROGERS. Royal Ontario Museum, Art and Archaeology Division Occasional Paper 5. Toronto: Ontario Department of Lands and Forests, 1962. x-289 pp., ill.

The present volume is the result of fieldwork carried out in 1958-59. The study was undertaken partly to fill a gap in our knowledge of Canadian Indians and to offer some information to administrators on which to base future policies. The book examines different levels of social organization together with their economic and religious systems and point out the changes that have occured due to contact with Euro-Canadians.

Situation de la recherche sur le Canada français. Recherches Sociographiques vol. III, no. 1-2. Québec: Les Presses de l'Université Laval, 1962. 294 pp. $4.00.

Ce numéro double des Recherches Sociographiques rassemble les communications qui ont été présentées lors du premier colloque de la revue tenu en avril 1962. En même temps qu'elles paraissaient dans Recherches Sociographiques, ces études ont aussi été publiées en un volume à part sous le même titre et par le même éditeur. Les travaux sont groupés sous trois titres, "Perspectives historiques", "Perspectives écologiques" et "Perspectives sur l'étude de la structure sociale". Cinq études sont réunies sous chacunes des deux premières sections et sept sous la troisième. Chaque communication est suivie d'un commentaire.

SUPPLEMENT

A Critique of "The Origin of Races" by C.S. Coon. *

BY L. OSCHINSKY

In this book Dr. Coon has applied the principles of biological taxonomy, zoogeography, and paleontology to the problem of the origin of subspecific variations in *Homo sapiens*. This has been long overdue in Physical Anthropology where evolutionary studies of the subspecies have been much neglected and taxonomic theory largely ignored. The late Franz Weidenreich had long maintained that the polytypic and polymorphic forms of *Homo sapiens* had a considerable antiquity going back to Pithecanthropus and Sinanthropus (1946). Coon has made an exhaustive study of the literature and specimens to support this thesis.

In Chapter 1 "Problems of Racial Origins" he treats the problems of systematics, taxonomy and speciation. Chapter 2, entitled "Evolution Through Environmental Adaptation", concerns itself with racial morphological diversity in relation to heat, cold and humidity. Chapter 3 deals with the factors of sexual and cultural selection, Chapters 4 and 5 treat the problems of primate systematics and Chapters 6 and 7 provide a very interesting and detailed exposition of primate palaeontology up to the Australopithecines. Chapter 8 "An Introduction to Fossil Man" is a discussion of the distribution and morphology of the higher hominids in time and space.

This brings us up to page 371 which is more than half the book. In Chapters 9, 10, 11, and 12 Coon presents his argument in favor of polyphyletic origins of the races of mankind. The Australoids are derived from Pithecanthropus, the Mongoloids from Sinanthropus, the Caucasoids from *Homo heidelbergensis,* and

* The Origin of Races. C.S. Coon. New York, A.A. Knopf, 1963. xli-724-xxi pp., 32 pl., 84 drawings, 13 maps, 39 tables.

the Negroes from Rhodesian man. Chapter 13 called "The Dead and the Living" puts forward some interesting methodological thoughts which shall be discussed in detail below.

Coon has adopted and adapted Mayr's (1950) revision of the Hominidae, although he maintains the Australopithecinae as a separate subfamily. The Pithecanthropus group is elevated to the taxonomic level of *Homo erectus* as Mayr has suggested and the European Neanderthals are lumped with Upper Paleolithic *Homo sapiens* into one group. Solo man and Rhodesian man are lumped with the *erectus* group on the basis of cranial morphology.

The modern races of man — the Australoids, the Mongoloids, the Caucasoids, the Congoids (Negroes), the Capoids (Bushman Hottentot) — are all derived from their separate Archanthropic ancestors along the lines of Weidenreich's thesis (1946).

It is inevitable that in a large synthetic work of this kind there will be mistakes. It would be petty to enumerate small errors of detail since the enormous labors of collation, compilation and integration could exhaust the energies of ten men, if not one man. It might be maintained that the realization of such a book is beyond the abilities of any single man at present and Coon deserves praise for his courage and industry in tackling such a formidable task.

There is however, a second category of error in this book which has to do with the perpetuation of past errors of interpretation. This involves Coon's uncritical acceptance of Leakey's insistence that the Upper Palaeolithic, Mesolithic, and Neolithic skeletal material from East Africa do not show any Negroid affinities. It might be useful to review some of the evidence presented by Leakey (1935, 1942, 1945, 1950).

In the years 1926-1929 Leakey found the remains of five skeletons in Gambles Cave II Elmenteita, Kenya. The first three were in very poor condition and little could be reclaimed for study. The remaining two (No. 4 and 5) skeletons were in somewhat better condition and were found in association with Upper Kenya Aurignacian (Kenya Capsian) cultural items.

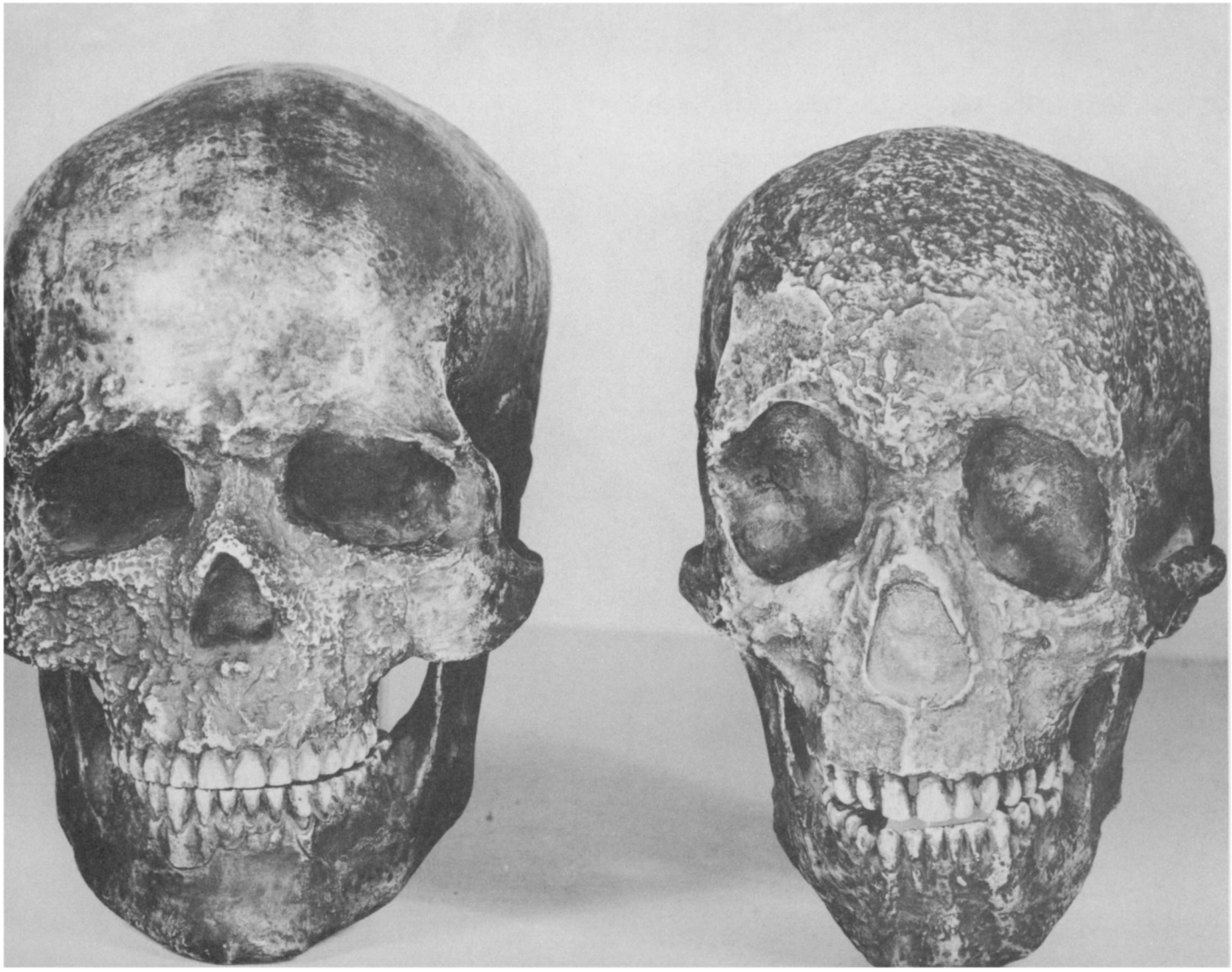

PLATE 1.

FRONTAL VIEW:

left,

Cro-Magnon man;

right,

Gambles Cave II,

no. 4.

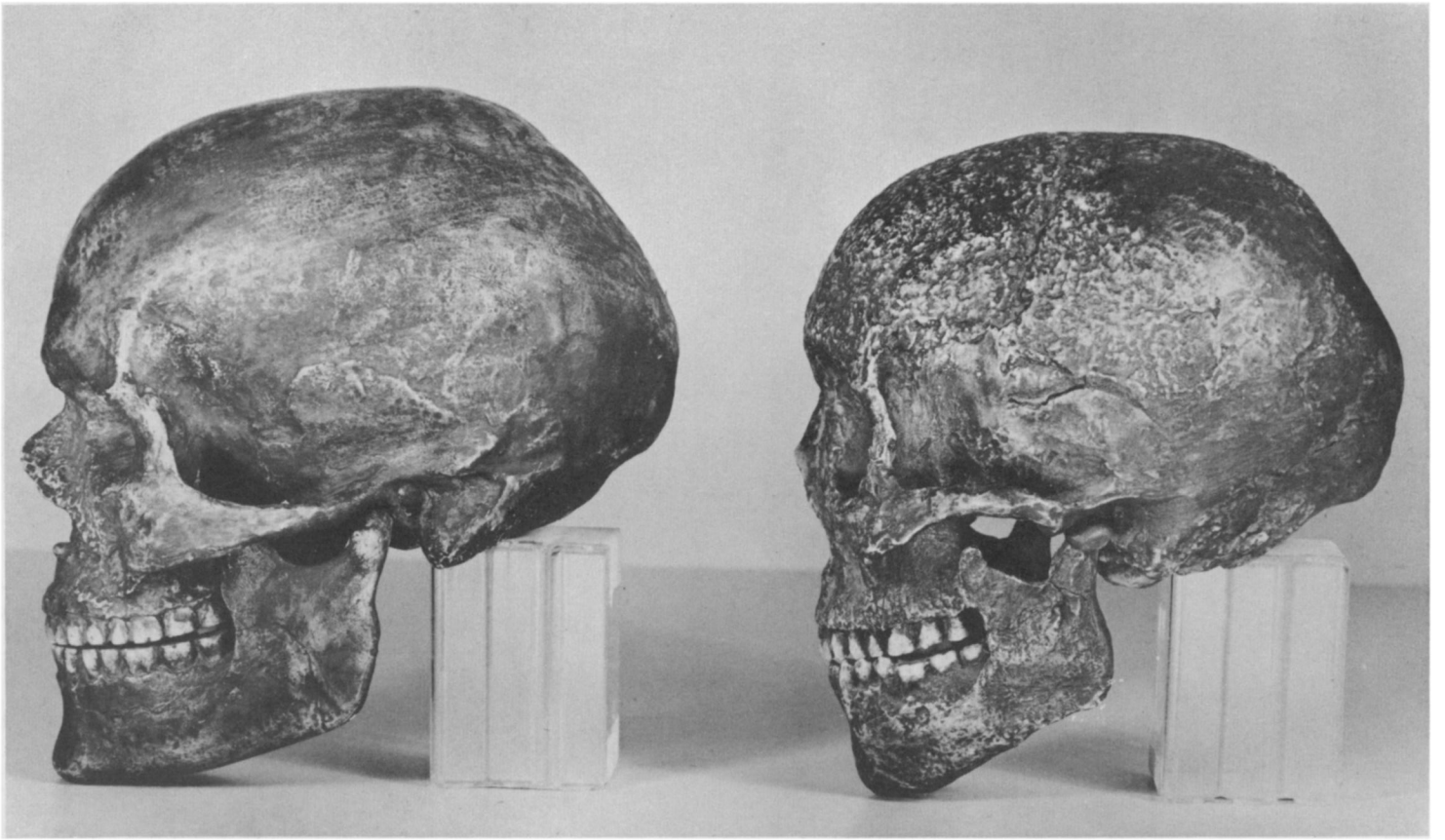

PLATE 2. LATERAL VIEW: *left,* Cro-Magnon man; *right,* Gambles Cave II, no. 4.

PLATE 3. BASAL VIEW: *left,* Cro-Magnon man; *right,* Gambles Cave II, no. 4.

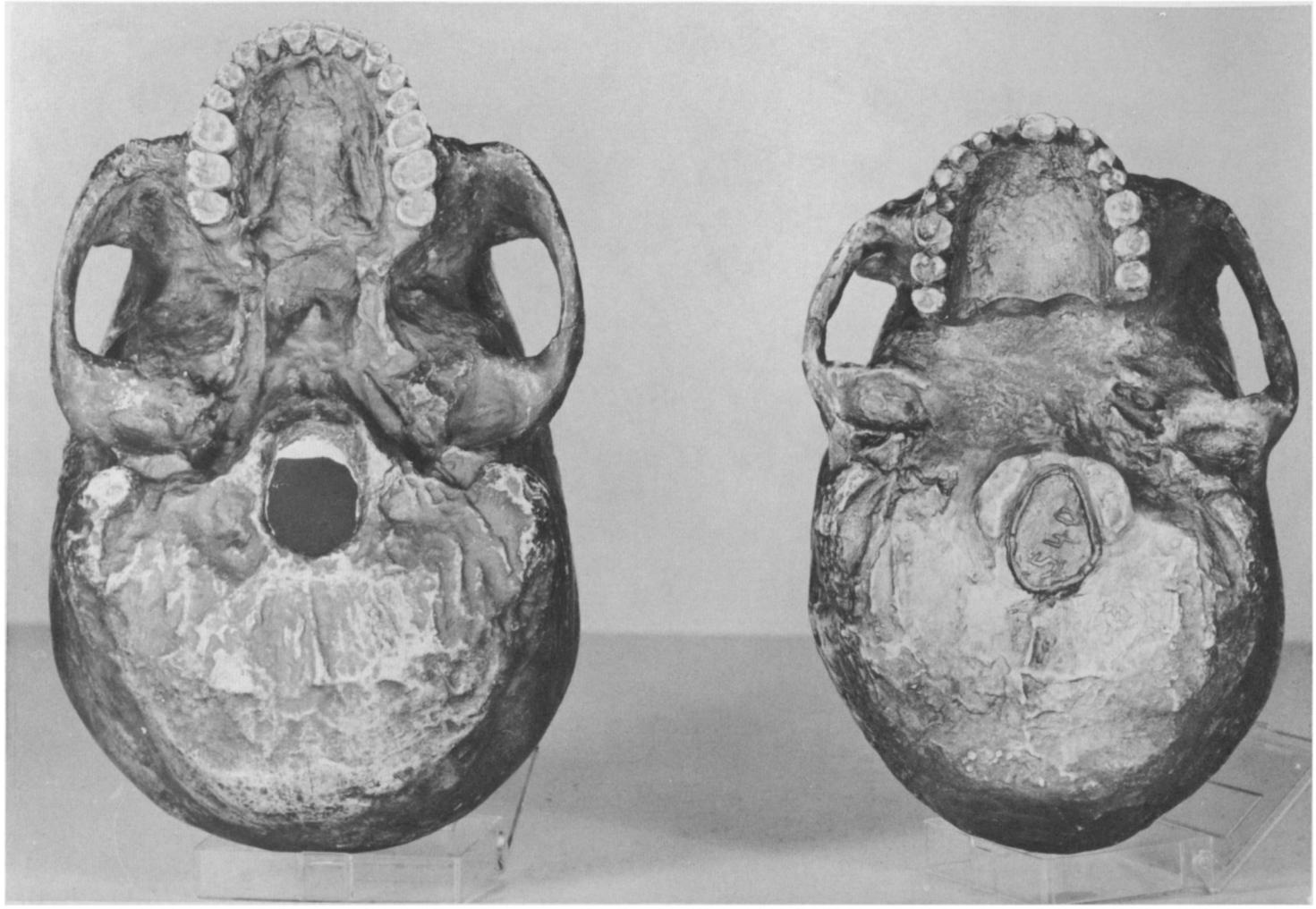

PLATE 4. BASAL VIEW: Gambles Cave II, no. 4.

Leakey has claimed that these two skeletons show affinities with European Upper Palaeolithic man rather than the Negro branch of *Homo sapiens*. He also states that the Oldoway and Naivasha skulls as well as the skeletal remains from the Mesolithic Bromhead site of Elmenteita *do not* show Negro features. In the case of Gambles Cave II, No. 4 skull shows lateral compression which has distorted the shape of orbits, the left zygomatic arch is twice as long as the right one, the basic occipital region is displaced to the left, the cranio-facial juncture has been crushed toward the rear of the neuro-cranium on the right side causing the short right zygomatic arch. The same pressure from the front of the skull has caused the alveolar region to be flattened and the palate to be deepened. Skull No. 5 is deficient in the nasal and frontal alveolar regions. The Naivasha skull is fragmentary and the Oldoway skull shows extreme lateral compression. The measurements given for these last African Upper Palaeolithic skulls and their morphological features cannot be precise enough to warrant any statements as to their racial affinities, be they Caucasoid, Negroid or European Upper Palaeolithic. In the case of the skeletal remains of 26 individuals from the Bromhead site, the skull Elementeita A shows marked alveolar prognathism, an alveolar profile angle of 65.4 which is well within the Negro range, and a nasal breadth of 29 mm. Leakey maintains that the occipital index is the chief diagnostic character in Negro-Caucasoid comparisons and that since this index is 56.1 it is too low to be in the Negro range. However, the range of this index is practically the same for whites and Negroes as Tobias (1958, 1959) has shown and for this reason it is of little use here.

The condition of the Upper Palaeolithic *Homo sapiens* specimens from East Africa is too poor to warrant racial analysis. The Mesolithic material shows definite Negro affinities.

Coon has also accepted the dictum of Mansuy and Colani (1925) that certain skulls of the Neolithic of Indo-China are Australoid and Melanesian. The photographs of these skulls in the works of these authors show anterior projection of the zygomaxillary tuberosity and low nasal roots, thus incorporating the typical complex of Mongoloid facial flatness. Since, however,

prognathism and sagittal keel overlap considerably among Australoids, Melanesians and Mongoloids, these characters chosen by the above authors to distinguish between these groups are of very little diagnostic value.

It is regrettable that there are no photographic reproductions of the East African prehistoric *Homo sapiens* skulls or of those from Indo-China or China. They would have helped to clarify matters.

Coon refers to Pithecanthropus as Australoid, Sinanthropus as Mongoloid, Rhodesian man as Negroid, and the Mauer jaw as Caucasoid. This is somewhat confusing since most of these specimens belong to different species and as such should have different subspecific names than those of the modern subspecies or races (Mayr 1950).

In the discussion of race mixture Coon states on page 656 that "Because hybrids tend to return to one of their parental stocks no valid subspecies can arise through mixture." On page 662 he asserts that "We would all be light khaki [...] had it not been advantageous to each of the geographical races for it to retain for the most part, the adaptive elements in its genetic status quo." On page 661 he says that "Racial intermixture can upset the genetic as well as social equilibrium of a group." The evidence usually brought forward for these statements is frequently so contradictory that it seems premature at this time for anyone to make a definite assertion of this kind in the light of the many successful hybrid populations of North America, North Africa, East Africa, South Africa, Southeast Asia, and Latin America.

Throughout the book the discussion of biological relationship, "propinquity of descent" to use Darwin's (1859) phrase, is based upon morphological and metrical characters. On page 662, near the end of the book, Coon advances the view that serology and biochemistry might be useful as morphological data since "The inheritance of these newly discovered characteristics can be accurately determined. Being invisible to the naked eye they are less controversial". He maintains further that "biochemistry divides us into the same subspecies" as morphological evidence does. It is difficult to understand why these very variable mono-

genic characters, so subject to drift and mutation, and lacking historical depth, should enjoy such favor. Knowledge of the mode of inheritance is irrelevant to taxonomic procedure. Characters are chosen on the basis of conservatism in time and space (Mayr 1950).

Coon's compendium is a colossal, gigantic effort to provide a synthesis of hominid history. He has ransacked the literature and given us information which is tucked away in obscure journals not readily available to many of us. His presentation of zoological taxonomical principles in the early chapters of the book will be most useful to physical anthropologists as is his sumary of the Australopithecines. Although some of his conclusions are short-cuts and need not be accepted at par, they do not necessarily detract from the value of this book as a Hominid encyclopedia which puts forward information in a most readable form.

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