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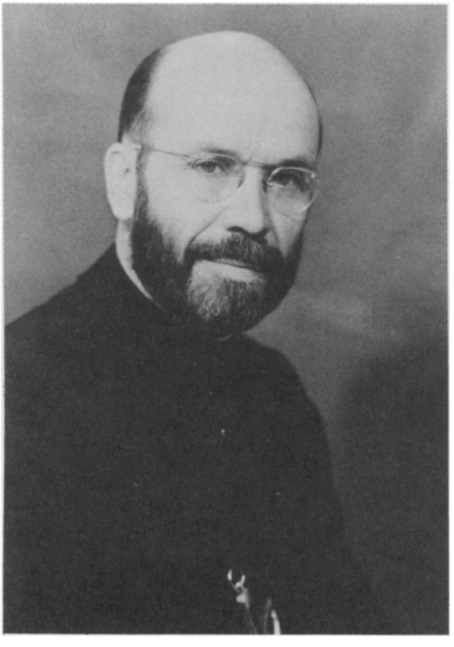

IN MEMORIAM

R. P. ARTHUR THIBERT, O.M.I.
(1898 - 1963)

Le Centre Canadien de Recherches en Anthropologie vient de perdre un précieux collaborateur dans la personne du Révérend Père Arthur Thibert, O.M.I.

La carrière du Révérend Père Thibert a été avant tout celle d'un éminent missionnaire chez les Esquimaux. Arrivé à la Baie d'Hudson en 1926, il y missionna activement jusqu'en 1949, date où sa santé affaiblie, l'obligea à revenir dans le Sud. Le Père Thibert, cependant, ne cessa jamais un moment de s'occuper de ses chers Esquimaux. Il établit vite des relations épistolaires avec ses anciens paroissiens et avec les Esquimaux malades dans nos hôpitaux. Sa correspondance en caractère syllabique était copieuse.

En 1952, le R.P. Thibert acceptait de faire partie du Centre Canadien de Recherches en Anthropologie à titre d'esquimologue. Ses connaissances profondes des mœurs, de la langue et du pays esquimaux firent de lui un collaborateur exceptionnellement renseigné.

En acceptant de travailler au Centre de Recherches, le Père Thibert entendait bien continuer jusqu'à la fin son travail missionnaire auprès des Esquimaux. C'est ce qu'il fit non seulement pas sa correspondance, mais surtout par ses nombreuses publications, imprimées ou simplement miméographiées: deux dictionnaires, Français-Esquimau et Anglais-Esquimau; vies de saints; missels; livres de prières; folklore; calendriers; etc.

Le Père Thibert est décédé le six octobre dernier, à l'âge de 65 ans. Le Centre de Recherches perd dans sa personne un esquimologue d'une exceptionnelle compétence et un collaborateur de première main.

Factors in the Social Pathology of a North American Indian Society

BY HENRY ZENTNER

RÉSUMÉ

On observe dans la structure sociale d'un certain groupe indien de l'Amérique du Nord, divers phénomènes qui semblent toujours avoir un effet marqué sur ses pathologies sociales. Pour comprendre ces pathologies il faut nécessairement faire la conjonction des facteurs historiques mentionnés avec la structure sociale et les exigences de situations actuelles. Il semble bien aussi que les variantes qui déterminent les pathologies sociales de cette communauté peuvent tout aussi bien expliquer celles qui se sont développées ailleurs dans des conditions socio-culturelles différentes.

INTRODUCTION

The present paper discusses certain variables historically operative in the social structure of a society which appear to have an important bearing upon currently observable rates and types of social pathologies. The description and analysis which follows attempts to show that without due recognition of the critical conjunction of historical factors with current situational exigencies the social pathologies of the society in purview cannot properly be understood.

The society in question is a North American Indian Reservation society — one which for a variety of reasons must remain anonymous. Moreover, it is a society which is currently characterized by rates of child neglect, accidents of both a fatal and a more casual type, alcoholism, minor crime, truancy, illegitimacy, divorce, marital and occupational maladjustments, and other forms of dependency which are extra-ordinarily high when compared with ecologically similar Non-Indian communities adjacent to it.

The variables to be discussed may be classified into two major categories: (1) historical; and (2) current. The historic category can be further sub-divided into a number of major variables including: (1) the presence of what will be termed the "Long House Ethic" — a conception of the ideal character traits sanctioned in the traditional culture which manifested itself in the form of personalized rather than collectively defined standards of conduct in a number of institutional sectors of the Indian culture; (2) the restricted channels of vertical mobility associated with ascriptive status systems peculiar to preliterate cultures, including the culture of the society in question; (3) the historically restricted development of voluntary sub-groupings in the Indian culture along occupational, religious, and political interest lines.

The current variables category includes: (1) the loss of political power and control over economics, educational, health and welfare conditions on the part of the Indian community associated with reservation status; (2) the restricted opportunities for contact and communication between the Indian community and the culture of the dominant society associated with reservation status; (3) the restricted geographic mobility associated with reservation status on the part of the Indian community; and (4) the restricted population numbers and the degree of residential propinquity characteristic of the Indian community.

THE HISTORIC VARIABLES

The historical period here in purview extends from the beginning of the reservation around the middle of the nineteenth century to the present. This date has been arbitrarily chosen as a watershed between the historic and the current situations upon which the present analysis centers. Undoubtedly, contact between the Indians of the society in question and non-Indians had taken place from time to time much earlier with resulting changes in the culture and social structure of the Indian society. It was not, however, until the formal establishment of the reservation that the Indian began to experience the full impact of contact with the dominant society. And it was not until some two decades ago

that the impact of change has become manifest in the form of extra-ordinarily high rates of social pathology.

In connection with the discussion of the historic variables which follows it should be recognized that ethnographic literature bearing on the society in question is somewhat sparse and consequently requires recourse to inference in order to provide a working conception of the pre-reservation culture. Such inferences as have been made, however, have been checked against reports and observations made by knowledge informants selected from the Indian community and consequently may be regarded as reasonably valid for the purpose in hand.

The "Long House Ethic": The behavior patterns here subsumed under the rubric, the "Long House Ethic", can perhaps be most readily comprehended by comparison with the more familiar conception of what has come to be termed the Protestant Ethic.

The central idea upon which the Protestant Ethic turns, it is clear, inheres in the postulate that the individual not only can, but logically must achieve salvation through his own efforts. The "Long House Ethic" of the Indian society in question placed a similar stress upon individualism in religious matters, although its social expression differs considerably in form. Instead of individual subservience to God, the "Long House Ethic" stressed individual subservience and a personal relationship to nature and to natural forces. The forces, if properly propitiated, would reward the supplicant with extra-ordinary "powers" which would assist him to achieve his concept of "salvation".[1]

It was, moreover, given social expression in the religious and health spheres, primarily, whereas the Protestant Ethic was manifest primarily in the economic and political sectors of the culture. And in practice, the former remained personalized and individualized, whereas the latter, because of ramifications in the economic and political spheres, immediately became collectivized and subject to interpersonal and inter-group controls.

[1] The Indian's concept of "salvation" revolves about the notions of emotional security, clear personal identity, and personal continuity with nature.

Vertical Mobility: The available information leaves no doubt that the social structure of the pre-reservation Indian culture turned on a wholly ascriptive status system. Age was the major factor governing the status accorded individuals, with achievement being a necessary but not sufficient condition for upward mobility.

Voluntary Sub-groupings: Voluntary sub-groupings in the traditional Indian culture were confined to the religious sphere. Occupational, economic, and political interest groups appear to have been wholly absent from the traditional scene, if for no other reason than the lack of internal differentiation of the traditional social structure.

THE CURRENT VARIABLES

The major variables operative in the current situation can now be reviewed.

The Loss of Political Power and Control: Leadership, initiative and authority were from the beginning of the reservation period centered in the hands of the federal government and its immediate agent, the reservation Superintendent. Only in the matter of ceremonial and in certain purely private matters does any significant degree of authority and power reside with the members of the Indian community and their tribal Chiefs. In consequence, such authority and initiative as does remain to the Indian community is centered in the hands of older persons who are noted for their conservatism. The younger members of the society are more or less systematically excluded from positions of leadership.

Contact and Communication with the Culture of the Dominant Society: Prior to the advent of integrated education at the high school level about a decade ago, communication between Indians and the non-Indian culture was largely restricted to the National Government and its immediate agents. One result of such restricted channels of contact and communication is that the "organizational memory" of the Indian community is replete with what are regarded as instances of betrayal and deliberate distortions of understandings contained in the original Treaty

between Indians and federal government. In consequence there has developed an extremely strong, though carefully masked, out-group antipathy directed against all non-Indians and a corresponding in-group solidarity among Indians *vis-à-vis* the non-Indian out-group. This has occurred despite certain internal differences and conflicts structured along ethnic sub-group lines. In practice this has meant a strong negative attitude toward non-Indian cultural traits and standards in the non-material aspects of cultural borrowing and a concomitant effort to maintain traditional Indian cultural practices where possible.

Geographic Mobility: The institutional concept underlying the legal device of the Indian reservation centers in the notion that the Indian is not equipped to manage his own affairs and must therefore be defined in the eyes of the law as a ward of the state who, like a minor, must have his rights protected until such time as he achieves legal and "social" maturity. What this implies is that the worldly wealth of the Indian is intimately connected with the reservation status of his society.

The real property value of the land comprising the reservation itself is legally regarded as the Indian's rightful inheritance. His Treaty rights are to a very large extent administratively coincident with his being domiciled on the reservation. Should he choose to leave the reservation and make his abode elsewhere, his only claim upon the communal property of the Indian society is his nominal share of the available liquid assets currently held by the society. The social services, such as health and welfare, are rendered problematic if he takes up residence away from the reservation. The Indian therefore finds that his economic as well as his social interests are optimally secured through continuing residence on the reservation. And in consequence of these several considerations, the Indian can neither be permanently removed, even by force, nor easily persuaded to break his ties with the land and the people which comprise the Indian society.

Population Numbers and Residential Propinquity: The population of the society under review is approximately 1200 persons, divided into some 280 family units. Size of family unit

will vary from a single widow or widower to families with both parents and 9 or more children. Approximately 65% of the population is under the age of 21 years. Moreover, current reproduction rates are of an order which will double the size of the population in about 15 years.

Given a high degree of geographic isolation and the restricted communication with the dominant society, the Indian community is compelled to rely largely upon its own resources so far as social purposes are concerned. Lacking as it does complete acceptance on a basis of equality among non-Indians, the entire Indian population is drawn into extremely close social and familial relationships. Nearly every member of the Indian community bears a near or remote blood kinship to every member. One important result of this is that everyone is more or less personally known to everyone else. Moreover, everyone's affairs and his behavior are widely known and achieve a high degree of social visibility in the Indian community. Impersonality and anonymity in social relationships is, therefore, at a minimum.

THE CONJUNCTION OF HISTORICAL AND CURRENT VARIABLES

The conjunction of historic and current variables in relation to current types and rates of social pathologies can now be discussed.

The personalized and individuated values and behavior patterns traditionally associated with what has been described above as the "Long House Ethic" continue into the present with only slight modification. The decline in traditional authority accorded the Chiefs and Elders, however, implies that these patterns no longer perform their traditional function in the Indian community. The traditional doctrine which asserts: "I am not my brother's moral keeper" has come to have tragic consequences in the current situation. Moral responsibility for another's spiritual welfare at present rests, not with ego, but with alter. And in this respect the form of behavior is entirely consistent with traditional values. What is changed and lacking, however, is that

alter no longer can or does depend upon his personal source of tutelary power. And in the absence of this traditionally common source of individual support, the traditional pattern of reciprocal moral indifference has lost its anchor.[2]

Currently, despite an implied need for moral help or guidance on the part of another there is no feeling of moral compulsion to render such aid. Moreover, there is little awareness or incentive on the part of ego to attempt to upgrade the social conditions which influence for good or ill the moral aspects of another's behavior, or to confront another with the consequences of his behavior upon other persons or the society at large. A reformed alcoholic, upon being requested to give assistance in helping to establish a branch of Alcoholics Anonymous, refused on grounds that he had succeeded in shaking off the habit on his own and others might be expected to do likewise. Such matters, clearly are seen through the eyes of the Indian culture as personal and private and hence not subject to review or concern by others.

The historic emphasis upon this particular form of individualism, while undoubtedly functional in the traditional setting currently has associated with it a number of additional dysfunctions. Of the several that could be mentioned, perhaps the major one is its current inhibiting effect upon attitudes toward holding office or engaging in voluntary group action in non-traditional contexts. Significantly, with the exception of a veteran's organization, none of the religious, educational, occupational, economic, or governmental organizations have voluntary or auxiliary bodies associated with them. Efforts to organize a branch of A.A. failed completely, and both a Parent-Teachers Association group and an inter-community discussion club failed shortly after being organized.

The absence of such voluntary groupings implies that there is no established machinery or mechanism in the society for the elaboration and development of functional norms and standards of behavior consistent with the demands of the current situation.

[2] The absence of such a positive moral reciprocation pattern does not deny the presence of reciprocal patterns in Indian life such are the sharing of physical and materials resources, gift exchanges, and the like.

In consequence, there are no groups whose interests may be seen to be placed in jeopardy by the presence of personalized behavior and, correspondingly, there is a conspicuous absence of organized opinion which might serve to invoke effective negative sanctions against persons whose behavior is inconsistent with the functional needs of the society.

The federal government's seizure of authority and initiative in the fields of health, welfare, government, education, and the economy which accompanied the establishment of the reservation was again undoubtedly functional at the time for both the Indian and the government. Nevertheless, in the face of the current situation, the latent dysfunctions flowing from this state of affairs are several.

The traditional reliance upon ascribed status, when coupled with the loss of political control by the Indian community in the reservation period, has meant that older persons continue to occupy existing positions of nominal leadership, with younger persons being more or less excluded from any effective voice in communal affairs. The cumulative effect of this state of affairs has crystallized into an attitude which can be expressed as follows: "If anything needs to be done it is the responsibility of the government to provide it to us and for us; for all these things were promised to us in our Treaty and we are therefore justified in expecting that our needs will be cared for by the government".

Since effective authority and power reside with others, largely non-Indians, responsibility for action and initiative are seen to rest there as well, particularly, on the part of younger persons. There is, moreover, no incentive and little opportunity to search out knowledge of ways and means by which power might be seized. Within the Indian culture this predisposition has been rationalized on several grounds: (1) the prevailing conception of Treaty rights; (2) the prevailing antipathy toward many non-Indian cultural standards and usages, particularly, those bearing upon the acquisition of power and wealth; (3) the inferred attitudes of superiority on the part of non-Indians with whom contact and communication do in degree exist. Parenthetically, this has meant that many non-Indian techniques in the

occupational, economic and educational spheres have been borrowed, but selectively and without being accompanied by the corresponding regulatory and integrative mechanisms which obtain in the non-Indian culture.

The near monopoly on power and initiative held by the federal government and its immediate agents, when coupled with the absence of geographic mobility, leaves few avenues of vertical mobility open to members of the Indian community. Since the acquisition of wealth for its own sake is regarded as an out-group trait and therefore to be despised on that ground alone, and since the initiative and authority which do remain to the Indian society are monopolized by the aged, it follows that the younger members of the society are free to adopt a very restricted time-perspective — one which places a negative premium on the deferment of gratifications in all spheres of life and encourages the gratification of impulse and fancy in the here and the now.

Lacking as he does acceptance on a basis of equality in the non-Indian society around him, the Indian has no external reference groups which might inspire and motivate behavior of a type calculated to advance him in the prestige scale of the non-Indian containing society. Alternatively, within the confines of the Indian society which can and does serve as a reference group to some extent, current behavior has no apparent institutional connection with advancement in the prestige scale of the Indian society. Only chronological age will serve as a vehicle to this end and, hence, no exemplary behavior in the present is required or demanded. In the changed context which has resulted from contact and borrowing, this leaves the door open to a calculated program of living life in the here and now, with its associated gratification of whim and fancy of whatever momentary description.

Historically conceived, the segregation of the Indian community on the reservation served the function both of geographically isolating and thus protecting the Indian from non-Indians as well as limiting severely the degree of contact and communication between Indians and non-Indians. In the current situation a number of dysfunctions flow from this state of affairs. Members

of the Indian community who tend to deviate from traditional Indian cultural norms in the direction of the non-Indian cultural standards are deprived of clear-cut models which they may emulate as well as effective communication channels with appropriate non-Indian groups to which their development might gravitate. Accordingly, such persons of necessity become marginal persons who can identify with and internalize neither of the two cultures completely. At best they can integrate their knowledge of and identification with the two cultures only in a limited, situational manner. Moreover, the numerous discontinuities of experience in the two cultures frequently leave many situations inadequately defined for the Indian with resulting confusion and withdrawal.

Given the out-group antipathies mentioned above, the individual who openly attempts to emulate non-Indian cultural standards of conduct is subject to ridicule and contempt by the members of the Indian society. Alternatively, under the impact of borrowing and change, both intended and unanticipated, the traditional norms of the Indian culture are rapidly waning even within the confines of the Indian community. The result is that the Indian individual finds himself in a rapidly changing and complex cultural conflict in which he lacks group supports regardless of the direction he selects for personal growth and development. Whether he stays on the reservation or leaves it, whether he tries to emulate the traditional Indian ways or chooses to follow non-Indian ways, he stands alone and relatively unsupported by others whose values are similar and who can serve as models, guides and confidants.

The fact that the Indian has Treaty rights and that property arrangements bind him to residence on a particular reservation practically eliminates all geographic or residential mobility. In this connection it is again apparent that while these arrangements may have proven functional in the recent past, present circumstances reveal a number of dysfunctions associated with this state of affairs. For the absence of opportunities for geographic mobility implies that the Indian community as a whole has no alternative but to absorb and accommodate the socially unrestrained and personalized behavior of its members, if for no other

reason than that it cannot expel them.[3] The range of alternatives open to the Indian society in this respect is further restricted by the presence of the out-group antipathies mentioned above. The latter condition permits where it does not compel the rationalization of personalized and socially unrestrained behavior on grounds that the individual involved is the reluctant victim of the non-Indian way of life which impinges upon him in a unique way. And it follows that in the face of such circumstances moral standards and norms must be compromised and weakened in order to accommodate the ever increasing range of personalized and socially unrestrained behavior which must be ordered by them.

In the face of such a cultural definition of the situation, the individual would appear to be formally absolved from the necessity of making his behavior socially and morally acceptable to other members of the society. His geographic mobility is, on the one hand, restricted and impaired, and his personalized behavior can readily be rationalized on grounds of out-group influences and depredations, on the other. Accordingly, the individual is free, as it were, to permit his behavior to vary both in degree and in kind, without necessarily incurring sanctions such as would obtain in a comparable non-Indian community.

The current dysfunctions associated with the settlement patterns fostered at the time of the reservations establishment turn on the fact that the entire population of the Indian society numbers only about 1200 persons. This fact, when coupled with a high degree of residential propinquity and a high degree of social interdependence, implies a high degree of social visibility, public awareness and scrutiny of individual behavior. These conditions, moreover, obtain for all members of the Indian community. The significant result of this is the fact that the absence of effective negative sanctions against personalized and socially unrestrained behavior is universally publicized. And this in turn means that both socially restrained and socially unrestrained

[3] Law violators can, of course, be punished in accordance with tribal laws. Those individual deviants who stop just short of law violation, however, are difficult to deal with since legal expulsion is out of the question and moral rejection would be to play the "enemy's game".

behavior patterns are equally available as models for emulation by the younger members of the community. To the extent that the "Long House Ethic" persists into the present, it would appear to provide added reinforcement at the motivational level to the individual predisposed toward the adoption of personalized rather than socially restrained patterns of behavior.

General Observations

In conclusion one is led to speculate on the extent to which these same historic variables are operative as well in the case of the lower status levels of non-Indian communities. The descriptions of behavior of the lower-lower stratum provided by Warner, Hollingshead and others would appear to constitute parallels with the behavior and motivational syndromes observed in the Indian community in question. The ethical system, the absence of available channels of geographic and social mobility, and the absence of voluntary group activity appear to be entirely common. Likewise, the current situation facing the lower stratum in non-Indian communities appears to be characterized by the same variables. That is to say, the middle-class cultural standards which are imposed upon them from without or from above pose for the members of these strata nearly identical problems and situations to which they must adjust.

To the extent that this conclusion is valid it would appear that the variables cited in the present paper have explanatory value which transcends the confines of the culture under review and acquire a greater degree of generality, and predictive power in explaining social pathologies in diverse cultural situations.

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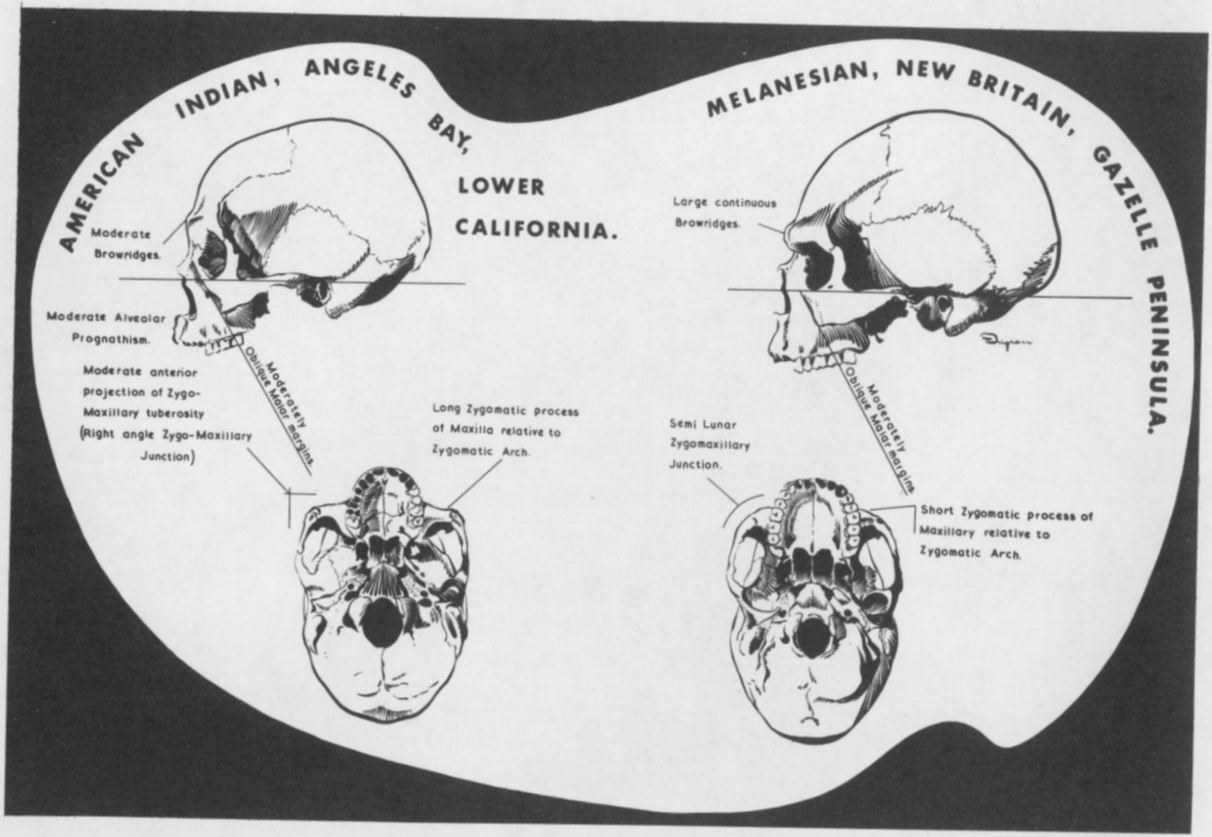
AMERICAN INDIAN, ANGELES BAY, LOWER CALIFORNIA.
Moderate Browridges.
Moderate Alveolar Prognathism.
Moderate anterior projection of Zygo-Maxillary tuberosity (Right angle Zygo-Maxillary Junction)
Moderately Oblique Malar margins.
Long Zygomatic process of Maxilla relative to Zygomatic Arch.
MELANESIAN, NEW BRITAIN, GAZELLE PENINSULA.
Large continuous Browridges.
Moderately Oblique Malar margins.
Semi Lunar Zygomaxillary Junction.
Short Zygomatic process of Maxillary relative to Zygomatic Arch.

The Problem of Parallelism in Relation to the Subspecific Taxonomy of Homo Sapiens

BY L. OSCHINSKY

RÉSUMÉ

L'étude taxinomique des sous-espèces de l'Homo Sapiens se butte à certains problèmes. Pour les résoudre, l'auteur affirme l'importance des caractères morphologiques pris comme groupe et démontre les conditions requises pour que ces caractères soient valables en taxinomie.

It has been emphasized by many authors that the subspecies is frequently the incipient or potential new species which makes its study crucial in evolutionary investigations. (Darwin 1866, 1871; Rensch 1960; Simpson 1943, 1945, 1949, 1950, 1951, 1953a, 1953b, 1959, 1960, 1961) This has in part been denied by Mayr (1963), Brown (1958a, 1958b) and Livingstone (1962, 1963) who have stressed the "swamping" effect (Mayr 1942, 1963; Brown 1958a, 1958b) of a series of hybridizing subspecies. It seems reasonable that both phenomena can occur and that it does not strain the biological imagination to conjure up a situation where one segment of a polytypic species, due to continued isolation, develops a new morphological pattern which finally crosses the species boundary.

Concurrent with the evaluation of the role of the subspecies in biological studies, is the question of parallelism. As Simpson (1950:59) has clearly indicated when he points out that:

> The basis of parallelism is initial similarity of structure and adaptive type, with subsequent recurrent homologous mutation, and similar direction of natural selection.

He restates the problem in a later publication (Simpson 1961:78).

> Parallelism is the development of similar characters separately in two or more lineages of *common ancestry* and on the basis of, or channeled by, characteristics of that ancestry.[1]

Parallelism on the other hand, is not to be confused with convergence which is the development of similar characters separately in a group of lineages *without common ancestry*. Simpson (1961:87) gives the following interesting example of convergence in two lineages of ungulates (litopterns and horses) which are very distinctly removed from each other phylogenetically, yet markedly similar morphologically in regard to certain "horse-like" features.

> The discoverer of thoatherium, Florentio Ameghino, an evolutionary taxonomist capable in his time (1854-1911), concluded that the resemblances are homologous and that litopterns (the group to which thoatherium belongs) and horses had a common ancestry closer than that, for instance, between horses and rhinoceroses.

The discussion of parallelism has been more or less restricted to higher categories such as, the species, genus, family, order, etc. (Oschinsky and East, in press). Concurrently with this, the lack of attention that has been paid to evolution and taxonomic theory of the various subspecies of Homo sapiens has created the confusion already alluded to by Oschinsky and East.

The studies of Beigert (1957, 1960). Boule and Vallois (1957), Cain and Harrison (1960), Cain (1954), Dobzhansky (1951), Mayr (1942), Simpson (1961), Breitinger (1957, 1959), Heberer (1959a, 1959b), Strauss (1949), Schultz (1936, 1950a, 1950b), Vallois (1958), and Weiner (1958) have mainly been concerned with parallelism on the specific and supraspecific level, and the anthropologists among these authors have dealt with hominid evolution on the same levels. Mayr (1950) has been one of the few who has touched on the taxonomy of the human subspecies in any detail. Concerning these groups, Mayr (1950:114) remarks as follows:

> Man as he exists today, has pronounced racial groups, such as the Whites, Negroes, and Mongoloids, which might well deserve subspecific recognition. But there are minor racial differences within each

[1] Italics added.

> of these subspecies. Furthermore, preceding modern man there have been types of Homo sapiens that are now extinct, like Cro-Magnon man and his contemporaries. This, no doubt, is a different level of subspecies from those of living man.

In his classification of fossil hominids on the supraspecific level, Mayr has lumped the Australopithecines, the Pithecanthropines, the Neanderthals and the Cro-Magnons all in the same genus; namely, Homo. In other words the hominid family is a monogeneric family with three species, transvalensis for the Australopithecines, and erectus for the Pithecanthropines. The Neanderthals are included with Homo sapiens in the same species.

This latter situation creates a problem in subspecific taxonomy. If Neanderthal man and Homo sapiens are reduced to subspecies then the racial differences become reduced to a category below the subspecies, which is unwarranted in terms of the degree of difference between them. This is also clear when this situation is compared with zoological practice in such groups as the caribou (Banfield 1961) and the bears (Simpson 1945).

In his latest work, Mayr (1963) revises his view and goes back to the older taxonomy in which the Australopithecines have their own genus. He does not agree with Robinson that there is justification for three genera. (Robinson 1954a) The Pithecanthropines in this new revision are still promoted to the genus Homo, and the Neanderthals are still in uneasy partnership with Cro-Magnon man. His original reason for putting the Australopithecines in the genus Homo was his overemphasis of the importance of the erect posture and a concordant neglect of the more or less pongid ratio of splanchno-cranium to neurocranium. In the case of the lumping of the Neanderthals with the Upper Paleolithic Homo sapiens, the same criticism might be made. The Neanderthaloid splanchno-cranium, as in La Chapelle-aux-Saints, is very massive and still anterior to the neurocranium. The zygomatic arches are very gracile and the suborbital maxillary region shows no trace of a canine fossa and bulges anteriorly. The nasal aperture is enormous, and the orbits are high and round. There is a massive supraorbital torus and a very slight forehead. The teeth are very large and the palate is U-shaped. The

basi-occipital basi-sphenoid articulation does not show the typical sapiens flexion. The foramen magnum is relatively long and narrow. The mastoids are rudimentary and there is a marked occipital torus. The occipital condyles are small and the foramen magnum is still posteriorly displaced. The mandible has a low and broad ascending ramus, shallow incisurae mandibulae, the necks of the condyles are short and stubby, the gonial angles are semi-lunar in form. The coronoid processes are short and dull. The corpora are thick and the mental foramena are placed inferior to the usual sapiens position.

Mayr (1950) points out that the cranial capacity of Neanderthal man is higher than that of Upper Paleolithic Homo sapiens and this is not the first time in the history of taxonomy, that an abstract numerical value cloaks a morphological difference (Le Gros Clark 1955).

The Neanderthaloid neurocranium still preserves the archanthropine form, i.e. frontal constriction, modest height and a brain with simple convolutions and as such, it can not be equated morphologically with that of Homo sapiens. The fact that the so-called classic types of Neanderthal are later in time than the Steinheim, Fontéchevade, and Skhul does not mean necessarily that they developed from these so-called "sapiens-like" types. There is a possibility that their gerontomorphic ancestors have not yet been found, since material from the Mindle-Riss period is not too abundant. In any case, except for the Steinheim skull, these other crania are rather fragmentary. They consist mostly of calvaria and it is difficult to know such crucial relationships and features as splanchno-cranial relationship to neurocranium, foramen magnum position, relative size of mastoid, and mandibular morphology.

The only complete Neanderthaloid specimen that shows morphological overlap with Homo sapiens is that of the population of Skhul where the presence of a high neurocranium, well developed forehead, and the posterior oriented splanchno-cranium is practically underneath the neurocranium rather than anterior to it as in La Chapelle-aux-Saints. The form of the foramen magnum and the flexion of the basi-occipital, basi-sphenoid junction is sapiens-like. There is no occipital torus and the

occipital-parietal arc in the mid-sagittal plane is high rather than low and compressed as in the "Classic" Neanderthals. As any inspection of the casts will demonstrate, the form of the mandible also shows sapiens features. The ascending ramus is high and narrow. The gonial angle is sharp, rather than crescentic, as in La Chapelle and there is a definite chin. All the remaining Upper Paleolithic and Mesolithic Homo sapiens specimens from Europe, North Africa and Eastern Asia are perfectly modern in their splanchno-cranial-neuro-cranial relationships, and are within the range of modern man. (Boule and Vallois 1957; Briggs 1955) Because of these facts, it is considered arbitrary to include Homo Neanderthalensis in the same species as Homo sapiens.

The above excursion into the realm of supraspecific taxonomy may seem a digression, but is unavoidable since it is necessary to highlight some of the problems at those levels in order to appreciate the issues of the lower categories.

Elsewhere, Mayr (1942:155) has stated that:

> All differences between species are subject to geographic variation; *there is no difference of kind between specific and subspecific characters.*

The difference is, thus, more a quantitative one. Fewer characters are diagnostic of the subspecies. Simpson (1953a, 1961) has pointed out that in the definition of higher categories, the characters used are fewer but are relatively exclusive to the taxa. In the case of lower categories, the distinguishing characters are more numerous and less exclusive.

It is for this reason that biometrical methods are of limited use above the subspecies level. Le Gros Clark (1955:22-3) states the difficulties as follows:

> Apart from the problem of assessing general taxonomy relationships by reference to morphological resemblances so far as these may be determined by direct comparisons, attempts have from time to time been made to estimate degrees of resemblance (and thus, it is assumed, degrees of affinity) on a quantitative basis. This biometrical approach is an attempt to facilitate and place on a strictly objective basis the comparison of one type with another. But unfortunately it is fraught with the greatest difficulties, the main one of which, no doubt, is the impossibility by known methods of weighting each individual character according to its taxonomic relevance. If the measurements of every single morphological character of skull, dentition, and limb bones *were*

> *of equal value* for the assessment of zoological affinities, it might be practicable to assess the latter in strictly quantitative terms. But it is very well recognized that this is by no means the case. *It is well known also that the products of convergent evolution may lead to similarities* (particularly in general over-all measurements and indices derived therefrom) which, if expressed quantitatively, would give an entirely false idea of systematic proximity. *Generally speaking, it is true to say that statistical comparisons of over-all measurements and indices are of the greatest value in assessing degrees of affinity in forms already known to be quite closely related — e.g., subspecies or geographical races, but they become of less and less practical value as the relationship becomes more remote and the types to be compared become more disparate.*[2]

It seems probable that such morphological features as sagittal keel, shovel-shaped incisors and occipital bun are also subject to parallelism since they are present in such distinct groups as Melanesians, Eskimos and South American Indians, where there has been no evidence for close contact over a considerable period.

The case might be stated even more strongly than Le Gros Clark has put it in his delineation of the subspecies as the usual lower category where metrical parallelism is automatically ruled out, due to proximity of ancestry. As has been already pointed out by Oschinsky and East (in press), parallelism can occur on the subspecific level, i.e. palatine and mandibular tori in Eskimos and Vikings; sagittal keel, dolichocephaly, and hypsicephaly in Eskimos, Melanesians and South American Indians. It is only on the level of the "sub-subspecies" or micro-geographical race, that we can assume similarities to be homologous. This is because the groups are contiguous in space, and continuous in time, so that there have been no obvious barriers to interbreeding. This is not true in the case of many sections of the Australoid, Mongoloid, Negroid and Caucasoid subspecies, many of which have been isolated from each other, for perhaps as long as 20,000 years, i.e. Autraloids and Caucasoids; Mongoloids and Negroids, etc., (Coon 1962).

This is sufficient time for parallelism to be developed which can mislead us in our interpretation of similarities between such

[2] Italics added.

widely separated groups (Oschinsky and East, in press). It is for this reason that Le Gros Clark's concept of "total morphological pattern" is so important in the assessment of affinities between groups in the lower categories. He writes (1955:15)

> It seems desirable to stress this concept of pattern rather strongly because the assessment of the phylogenetic and taxonomic status of fossil hominid remains must be based, not on the comparison of individual characters in isolation one by one, but on a consideration of the *total pattern*[3] which they present in combination.

Concerning the choice of characters involved in the investigation of affinities between biological groups, Le Gros Clark refers to the "principle of taxonomic relevance". This asserts that those characters are chosen whose taxonomic usefulness has already been established by comparative anatomical and paleontological investigations. The following is his discussion of this principle (Le Gros Clark 1955:25-26)

> It may be asked how the distinction is to be made between morphological characters which are relevant or irrelevant for taxonomic purposes. The answer to this question is that each natural group of animals is defined (on the basis of data mainly derived from comparative anatomy and paleontology) by a certain pattern of morphological characters which its members possess in common and which have been found by the pragmatic test of experience to be sufficiently distinctive and consistent to distinguish its members from those of other related groups. The possession of this *common morphological pattern is taken to indicate a community of origin (in the evolutionary sense) of all the members of the group,* an assumption of which the justification is to be found in the history of paleontological discovery. But, as a sort of fluctuating background to the common morphological pattern, there may be a number of characters, sometimes obviously adaptive, which not only vary widely within the group but overlap with similar variations in other groups. Such fluctuating characters may be of importance for distinguishing (say) one species from another within the limits of the family, but they may be of no value by themselves for distinguishing this family from related families.[4]

In this context of "total morphological pattern" and "taxonomic relevance" the following remarks of Mayr (1942:19, 21) concerning variability are most appropriate.

[3] Italics provided.
[4] Italics added.

> The most practical diagnostic characters are those that relate to some easily visible structure with low variability.
>
> We must search for characters that tend to remain *stable, characters that are phylogenetically conservative.*[5]

By the application of the principles of "total morphological pattern", "taxonomic relevance", "phylogenetic conservatism" (low variability through time), and geographical conservatism (low variability in space), the true affinities of subspecific and lower categories can be assessed, and the confusing role which parallelism has played in the evaluation of relationships among the various subspecific groups of Homo sapiens can be eliminated.

The following concepts have been devised to clarify the complex nature of subspecific parallelism. First, there is the parallelism which is the result of the parallel retention of archaic features in groups which have been separated geographically for relatively long periods of time. Examples of this would be the incidence of prognathism, pre-nasal sulcus, large teeth, large palates, and broad nasal apertures in Australoids and Negroids. This particular type of parallelism has been termed *archeo-morphism.* Geographical, cultural and archeological evidence all agree that the separation of the Negroes from the Australoids is of great antiquity (Coon 1963), and until evidence can be brought forward that there has been relatively recent interbreeding, say in the past two or three thousand years, it must be at present assumed that these similarities are not due to interbreeding, but to the maintenance of an ancient condition which has shown little change independently in both groups.

A second type of parallelism is *neo-morphism.* This is parallel progressive development in various subspecies such as found in the Arctic Mongoloids and Causasoids in the reduction of alveolar bone. This reduction causes lingual displacement of the lateral incisors in the Mongoloids (Oschinsky and Smithurst 1960; Oschinsky 1961; Shin Yo Chang and Myung Kook Kim 1961) and causes almocclusion in the Caucasoids (Tweed 1945; Krogman 1960).

[5] Italics added.

The third type of parallelism is called *para-morphism.* These are parallel adaptations to similar environments, such as black skin in the Australoids and the Negroids and Dravidians. If we had data on the antiquity of the black skin, it could be maintained that it was also an archeo-morphic trait.

The last category of parallelism is *random metrical and morphological convergence.* These are characters which are not necessarily archaic or progressive, which have not yet been proven to have an adaptive function, and which occur in groups widely separated geographically and phylogenetically. Pinched narrow nasal bones in Melanesians and Arctic Mongoloids; dolichocephaly in the Indians of Southern California and the Australoids; hypsicephaly in the Moriori and the Indians of Tierra del Fuego, are examples of this type of parallelism.

In terms of slight obliquity in the vertical plane, the cheek bones of the Melanesian and non-Arctic Mongoloid are rather similar. But closer examination of the principle of total morphological pattern, clearly indicates that this is a random similarity. The projecting cheek bone, or zygo-maxillary junction to be more precise, is characterized by a long zygo-maxillary process of the maxilla and parallel zygomatic arches. The zygo-maxillary tuberosity is large and projects forward anteriorly. In the Old and New World Mongoloids (non-Arctic) the zygo-maxillary junction forms a right angle. When the zygo-maxillary junction of the Melanesians is examined, in the basal view, its shape is manifest as a crescent. *The zygo-maxillary process of the maxilla is very short and the zygomatic arches are oblique rather than parallel when the skull is viewed in the norma basalis* (see figure 1; Oschinsky and East, in press). Presumably, the moderate obliquity of the malars (morphological overlap) in Mongoloids and Melanesians is due to different causes which have not yet been ascertained. It is thus evident how important the concept of the total morphological pattern is in deciding the morphological equivalence of characters used in tracing affinities.

To sum up, then, on the kinds of characters used in taxonomic, subspecific studies; first, it must be ascertained that the characters are morphological equivalents and this is done on the basis of a close examination of the characters in terms of

comparative anatomy and paleontology; second, the characters must vary concordantly within a population; thirdly, they must be geographically continuous (to rule out parallelism); fourthly, they must be chronologically continuous and show a gradual trend in a given direction; fifthly, they should have a high frequency within the population; sixthly, they should be relatively unique within the subspecies or other lower category in as far as this is possible in lower categories. If all of these attributes are present, the characters are then considered to be taxonomically relevant.

It is the *mode of variation* in time and space, manifested by the subspecies which is of taxonomic importance, not knowledge of the mode of inheritance as claimed by Dobzhansky (1951, 1962), Boyd (1950, 1963) and Laughlin (1950, 1962b). Lack of this knowledge did not prevent Darwin (1866) and Darwin and Wallace (1858) from developing their theory of natural selection, nor has lack of knowledge of polygenic inheritance impeded the progress of paleontology as the achievements of Keith (1925a, 1925b, 1931), Boule and Vallois (1932, 1957), Simpson (1943, 1945, 1950, 1951, 1953a, 1953b, 1959, 1960, 1961), Romer (1945, 1959), Le Gros Clark (1920, 1955, 1958a, 1958b) and Robinson (1954a, 1954b, 1961) indicate.

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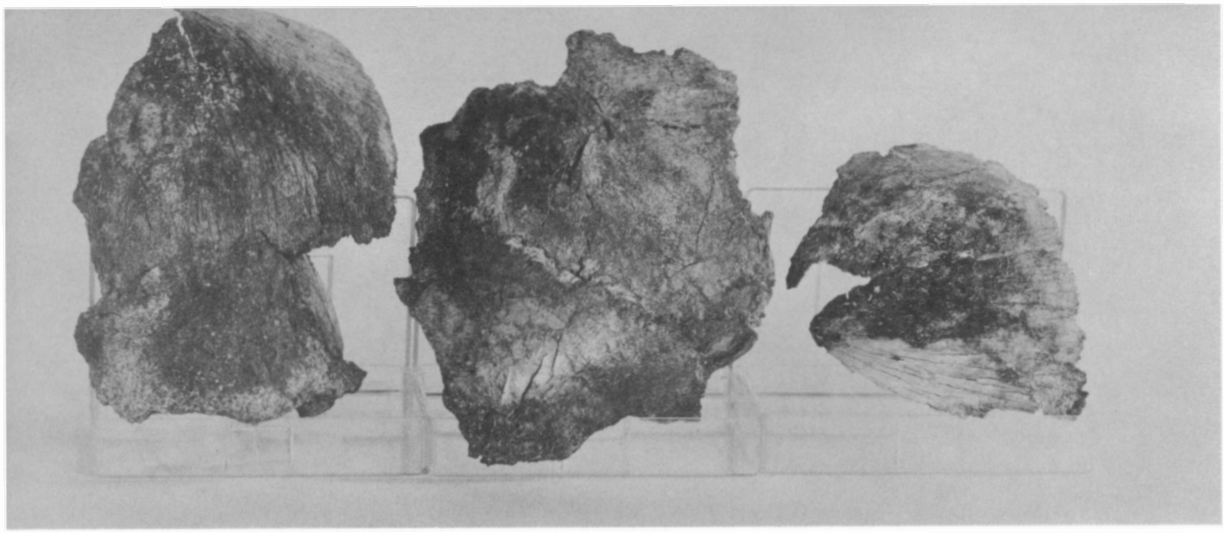
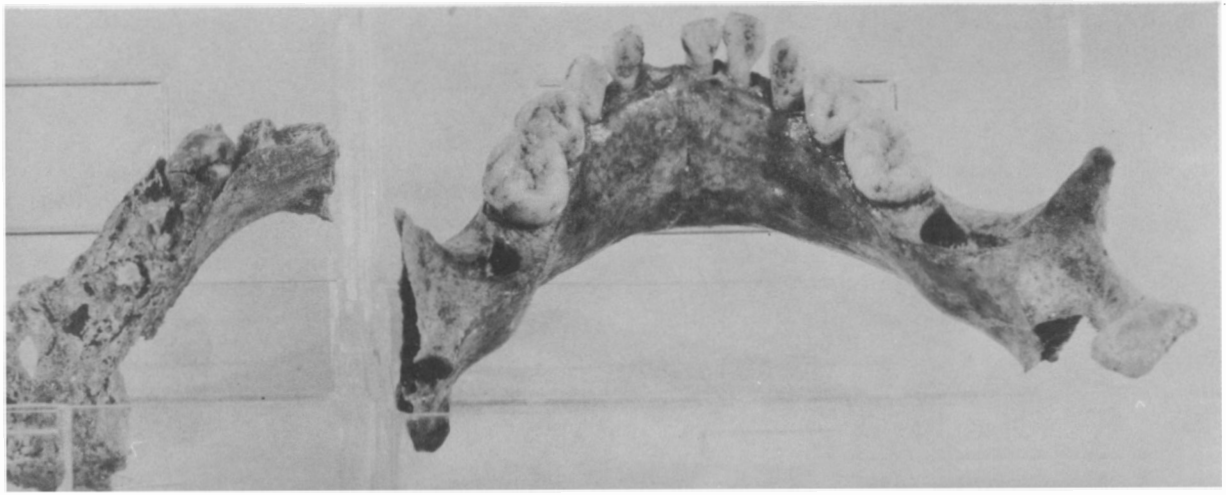


Plate No. 1

ABOVE: *Neuro-cranial fragments of the infant from the Taber Site.*



BELOW: (Left) *Left mandibular corpus of infant from the Taber Site.*
(Right) *Mandible of child from the Stott mound, southern Manitoba.*

Notes on Taber "Early Man" Site

BY WANN LANGSTON AND LAWRENCE OSCHINSKY

Part One

GEOLOGICAL BACKGROUND

by Wann Langston

On August 1, 1962, I visited the locality near Taber, Alberta, where Dr. A.M. Stalker and his field assistant collected part of a newborn human skeleton last year. I was accompanied by Dr. Stalker, Dr. Alexis Dreimanis, a well-known Pleistocene geologist with the University of Western Ontario, and Dr. Richard G. Forbis of the Glenbow Foundation, Calgary, Alberta.

The site is situated about in the SE corner of NE ¼ section 30, Tp. 10, Rge. 16 west of 4th meridian (Map 565A, Taber). This is about 4 ¾ miles north of the town of Taber, on the east bank of the Oldman River. To reach it, travel north, on the road nearest the river. (Refer to airphoto A 15129-169). At the fence indicated, walk due west over the rim of the valley wall down onto a steep sandy bank.

The exposure is a shallow notch in the river bank. The sediment is mainly a yellow to buff, fine to coarse, cross-bedded sand. The colour is brighter here than in adjacent exposures. The area has been affected by slumping and the sand contains great numbers of small faults. We were unable to locate the exact spot from which the specimen came, but Stalked pointed out the approximate level, which he believed to be accurate within five feet. There is a thin zone at about this level, slightly to well indurated with calcium carbonate, seemingly similar to that surrounding the specimen. Such induration was not seen at higher levels. This horizon is about 65 feet below the prairie level. Above the sandy section and forming the prairie surface, is what Stalker and Dreimanis believe to be a till. This contains a mixture of fine silty-clay and metamorphic pebbles and boulders.

Exposed, in the side of the exposure between the supposed

till and the sandy section, is a thin intermittent layer of white, massive-jointing gritty sediment that may be a tuff. Large boulders in the till above have penetrated this stratum which has compacted and bent beneath their weight. One large boulder has been faulted *en echelon* and the faults carry through the tuff-like layer into the sand below. These faults are part of the general system developed in the area in association with slumping of the river banks.

In my opinion, geological consideration completely exclude the possibility that the burial was intrusive. The specimen comprised the skull and jaws and the upper part of the articulated skeleton. Whether more was originally present is unknown. All bones were surrounded by calcaneous concretionary material which cemented the enclosing sand into a hard sandstone and prevented complete development of the relatively soft bones. The skull had been completely disrupted by egg-shell fracturing. The broad cranial bones had slipped within one another, the maxillae had separated and one lay within the parietals and occipital. The remainder of the skeleton recovered had not suffered in this fashion. I believe shifting in the consolidated sand would not have disrupted the skull to this extent while leaving the rest of the bones undisturbed. It is more likely that the head was crushed before or at the time of burial.

There is no trace of fissure-filling in the sands above the horizon and the possibility that the skeleton might have been dropped into a natural opening 65 feet deep need not be considered. So far as I could determine the strata above the horizon are undisturbed except by faulting. The specimen might have been inserted from the face of the bank, but the rate of erosion of this face is obviously rapid and no horizontal excavation of any depth would be possible in the unconsolidated sands comprising the section. Although the existence of concretionary material surrounding the bones is not *ipso facto* evidence of antiquity it seems highly improbable that this would have formed in the time that erosion was reaching the burial had it been effected out by horizontal tunneling.

I am convinced that this burial is very old. There is no way to estimate its age in useful terms from evidence observed in the

field. If the supposed tuff is in fact of igneous origin radiogenic material may be present which would permit absolute dating. Unless uncontaminated carbonaceous material can be found at or above the fossil horizon there is no possibility of obtaining a dating by carbon isotope analysis (flakes of carbon in the sand are almost certainly derived from Cretaceous coal deposits which underly the Pleistocene sediments of this region). Teeth in the jaws of the specimen might provide sufficient material carbon for an analysis, but on the other hand the obvious activity of carbonate-containing ground water around the pecimens raise a strong possibility of contamination.

It is practically certain that this burial was accidental. The body may have been washed in onto a sandy bar in a river and buried after partial decomposition. I see no reason to expect any further discoveries at the site. On the other hand the sediment is easily excavated and some attempt to locate organic material suitable fort dating might be attempted. Approximately four miles southwest of this site (Sec. 12, Tp. 10, Rge. 17) willow twigs have been found in a till. These have been dated by C14 methods as about 10,000 years B.P.

*
* *

Part Two

SKELETAL REMAINS

by L. Oschinsky

The skeletal remains from the Taber site consist of fragments of the parietal bones, the occipital, the left corpus and ascending ramus of the mandible, a portion of the roof of one of the orbits, an almost unrecognizable portion of the maxilla in a very crushed state lying within the parietals and occiput. In the mandible, the break has been at the mandibular symphisis and the alveolae contain two unerupted deciduous molars. There is an apparently free upper left enamel second molar cap.

The post cranial skeleton consists of a right clavicle, a portion of a left scapula, a fragment of the distal end of the left

femur, two crushed vertebrae hidden still in the matrix, two ribs, probably a first and second, and the corpus of a vertebra.

In cusp pattern, the free upper left second molar enamel cap, corresponds to type "4" of Hanihara's classification (1961:35). All the main cusps are well developed and the distal marginal ridge from the hypocone to the metacone shows a slight interruption.

It is interesting to note that the cusp pattern of the second molar of the Stott Mound infant shows a similar configuration. Hanihara (1961:36) states:

> The tendency that the well-developed hypocone is more frequent in the Mongoloids than in the White race is also repeated in the decidious upper 2nd molar. The frequencies of the type '4' are approximately 74% in the American White, 82% in the Pima Indians and 84% in the Japanese.

It is unfortunate that these remains are so fragmentary and so few conclusions can be drawn form them. Racial characteristics are not very evident in immature specimens even under optimum conditions.

Since the fragments were not found in any archaeological context the cultural affinity of the specimens could not be determined.

The authors wish to thank Dr. A.M. Stalker of the Geological Survey of Canada who discovered the remains and brought them back to Ottawa, Dr. A. Dreimanis of the University of Western Ontario and Dr. R.C. Forbis of the Glenbow Foundation, Calgary, for their cooperation. The specimens were prepared by Harold Shearman, technician attached to the Laboratory of Paleontology at the National Museum of Canada.

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Plate No. 2

(Left) *Upper Left deciduous molar, Taber Site.*

(Right) *Maxilla & dentition of child from the Stott mound, southern Manitoba.*

Order and Freedom in Huron Society*

BY BRUCE GRAHAM TRIGGER

RÉSUMÉ

Au moment où ils furent découverts par les premiers explorateurs, les Hurons formaient une fédération pour fins de commerce et de défense. Bien qu'assez nombreux et vivant sur un territoire délimité, ils possédaient une organisation sociale très floue. A cause de leur individualisme et de leur indépendance, les chefs ne pouvaient imposer que peu de sanctions ou de châtiments. Ces derniers, toutefois, contrôlaient et dirigeaient le droit qu'avait tout Huron de tuer des sorcières reconnues comme telles. Ce droit, qui à première vue semblait engendrer la désorganisation socio-politique, contribuait à renforcer l'autorité légale et politique des chefs.

An essential aspect of human society is conflict between the interests of the individual and those of the society or social groupings of which he is a member. Some anthropologists, impressed perhaps by the relative homogeneity of primitive societies, have constructed societal models stressing functional integration, the contribution which the part makes to the operation of the whole. In such models even conflict has been treated as an integrating force within society. But the human being, unlike the social insect, is not a unit preconditioned to play its assigned role as part of a greater whole. However much a society may try to train and condition its members into a cooperative unity the different constitutions and life experiences of individuals create a wide variety of personalities and interests, while competition for society's rewards brings them into conflict. Thus there exists a contradiction between the individual's freedom to do what he wills and the necessity for his society and its social groupings to assure their survival through the maintenance of public order. Between these conflicting interests every society has had to reach some kind of compromise. In some the rights of the group have been empha-

* I wish to thank Professor Ronald Cohen for help in editing this paper.

sized at the expense of those of most individuals; in others the right of the individual is prized ahead of the smooth functioning of the group.

In this paper we propose to examine the relationship between law, authority, and attitudes toward individual freedom among the Hurons of the 17th Century. The Hurons are interesting as a people forming a large and territorially compact confederacy marked by little organic solidarity, prizing personal self-reliance and independence, and whose leaders were able to exercise few overt sanctions.

We will first describe briefly the social and economic conditions which prevailed in Huronia in the first half of the 17th Century and the general personality structure of the Huron. Then, as a prelude to the investigation of Huron law, we shall go on to discuss the political organization and the nature of authority in Huron society. We will then relate this to the substantive material about Huron law and social control in general, or rather those aspects best covered in our sources, namely, those dealing with murder, injury, theft, sorcery, and treason. In so far as law relates directly to the regulation of the relationships between a man and the social groupings in which he participates, a consideration of law is important to any study of the respective rights and duties of the individual in society. Finally we shall consider the more general implications of our data as regards the relation between authority and personal freedom in this society.

Context

The Huron was the largest of the Iroquoian confederacies. It was composed of four main tribes and some smaller bands, altogether numbering perhaps 25,000 people. Two of these tribes had joined the confederacy only shortly before it was discovered by the Europeans, and slight cultural and linguistic differences persisted into the 1630s. Each tribe was settled in its own area, but unlike the Iroquois confederacy, the individual areas of tribal settlement were not geographically separated. In historic times the four tribes were concentrated in the upper portion of Simcoe County, Ontario, in an area not exceeding 800 square miles, while

the rest of southeastern Ontario remained virtually uninhabited. The Hurons lived in 20 - 25 settlements which they moved as the soil or supply of firewood became depleted. Some were hamlets but the larger ones, which were fortified, held over 1000 people and one may have exceeded 4000 (Trigger 1960: 16, 17). Large fortified villages were common to many groups in the Northeast where they appear to have arisen in response to a spiralling pattern of warfare (Wright 1960:115)[1]. Warfare was clearly a factor promoting the development of leagues as defensive units but was not sufficient to produce a tight concentration of villages — as is shown by the Neutral and Iroquois. To explain this aspect of Huron settlement we must examine the special qualifications of Huronia itself.

This fertile region was located in the midst of rich fishing areas on the southern edge of the Canadian Shield. Surrounded on two sides by open water, it was the jumping-off spot for canoe travel to the north along the shore of Georgian Bay. Thus it was an ideal place for trade between the agricultural peoples of Southern Ontario and the hunters of the north. Control over such trade must have been an inducement for Iroquoian settlement in this area and for the growth of the Huron confederacy. With the development of the fur trade (in which agricultural Hurons acted as middlemen between the northern hunters and the French) a maximum concentration of settlement was achieved in the area just south of Georgian Bay[2].

The basic factors shaping the confederacy were thus defensive and commercial. The member groups observed internal peace, held their enemies in common (JR 16:227), and, most important in historical times, shared jointly in the French fur trade while excluding other groups (JR 21:155). The effectiveness of the confederacy in achieving its goals depended on the suppression of blood feuds and the establishment of an effective rule of law among the member groups. This had to be established in opposi-

[1] For different delineations of this process see WITTHOFT 1959:32-36 and WRIGHT 1960:117.

[2] This argument is documented in two papers which the author wrote subsequent to this one. See TRIGGER 1962, 1963.

tion to a condition of endemic raiding in which prisoners were sought to make up for previous losses. These prisoners were turned over to families who had suffered such losses for adoption and torture. Among the men at least, who were away from the villages for much of the summer trading, hunting, or raiding, bravery and self-sufficiency were prized traits; they were sensitive of their honour and intolerant of external restraints (Wallace 1958:246). Insults or public humiliation often produced a violent reaction and not infrequently suicide. On the other hand, the crowded and public conditions of Huron life, especially in the winter, necessitated much cooperation and group conformity. Individual frustrations were released in socially sanctioned ways at the "mad feasts" or through the institution of "dream wishes" which allowed an individual to make demands on another person or on the group with the understanding that such demands were those of his soul and their fulfillment (real or symbolic) vital to his health (Wallace 1958). There was also a considerable dread of witchcraft. As one suspected of witchcraft was in danger of being killed, the fear of becoming the object of such suspicion was a strong inducement to conform[3].

The Huron was a confederacy in fact as well as name. Little integration even on the tribal level was inherent in the technology or basic social structure. Each sib[4] had its own leaders from whom the leaders on the tribal and confederacy level were selected. These sibs were capable of shifting their loyalties from one village or tribe to another or of forming new ones (JR 8:105; 10:279). The practice of adopting lineages made the sib a flexible political grouping, not wholly dependent on the vicissitudes of reproduction (JR 16:227). Despite the Hurons' role as traders over a large area in the Northeast, little organic solidarity was inherent in the economy. Each lineage supplied its own food needs (Grant 1952:327) and crafts were not elaborately developed.

[3] For a discussion of personality pertaining as well to the Iroquois see WALLACE 1958; for suicide among the Iroquois see FENTON 1941:79-137. Digests of these articles are in DRIVER 1961:540-543.

[4] An exogamous group composed of two or more lineages related by a common bond.

However much the individual sibs may have differed in wealth or prestige, or however outstanding certain chiefs may have become, no group was able to achieve successful hegemony over another. Tendencies in this direction produced dissatisfaction and led to the disintegration of alliances (JR 10:281). The tribal leaders possessed no police force or even a special group of retainers capable of inflicting overt physical sanctions and assuring automatic obedience (Grant 1952:328). This absence of "absolute authority" led the earliest writers to deny that the Hurons had any form of law (LeClercq 1881:110; Grant 1952: 321). Brebeuf (JR 10:215), Lalement (JR 28:49-51), and Bressani (JR 38:277), who lived longer among the Hurons and were more sympathetic to their ways concluded that the Hurons did have laws, which if different in principle were no less efficacious in preserving public order than were those in France.

Political Structure and Authority

Our first problem is to distinguish who were the leaders in Huron society and what sort of authority they exercised.

Huron society was composed of a number of exogamous matrilineal sibs, called "grouped family stocks" in the literature. These in turn were made up of matrilineal extended families which normally lived together in one or more longhouses. While such a house was apparently the property of the senior female, the most important male occupant, often her husband, was its effective head. The sibs recognized a common ancestor several generations removed (JR 16:227-9), and each had a crest (JR 15:181). It appears that each of the sibs possessed two chiefs — one a war leader and the other for civil affairs. The sources say that some of these offices were passed on within a single matrilineage, others were purely achieved. An analogy with the Iroquois would suggest that the civil offices were inherited. But as there was no specific rule of succession the acquisition of even an hereditary office depended upon an individual's wealth, industry, generosity, eloquence, and, above all, valour (JR 10:299-35; 38:265). Besides these, other men of outstanding ability were allowed to participate formally in the work of government, such offices being also non-hereditary.

A typical village was made up of several sibs who united for the duration of the village. But when the village was moved, sibs might break off or villages unite to form larger ones (Wrong 1939:92; JR 8:105). The sib chiefs collectively constituted a village council, in which the chiefs of larger sibs or those with greater ability tended to stand out. The village was the basic unit of defense and of day-to-day association. It was also an important unit of economic cooperation and ritual activity. Its cohesion and effectiveness as a unit contrasted with the less frequent or regular relations of the tribe or confederacy to make it the basic political unit of Huron society.

Despite their inability to use force openly to command obedience these chiefs were accorded honour and respect. The war chiefs led the rather chaotic expeditions into enemy territory (Grant 1952:294). These expeditions often involved several villages and the chiefs decided on the allocation of prisoners among the various towns and the families within the towns (JR 11:37). Likewise the chiefs entered into secret agreements with foreign tribes (JR 33:119). In order to assure the safety of the village, warriors leaving it for an extended time had to secure the permission of the chiefs (Wrong 1939:99). The village chiefs arranged for public feasts, dances, lacrosse matches, funerals, and ceremonies — exhorting the people to attend, maintaining order, and deciding for whom special ceremonies would be performed. Many held important positions in the religious societies (JR 28:89). The council provided leadership in public affairs — deciding policy (JR 19:163), and coordinating public projects such as fortifying villages and house building (Wrong 39:79; JR 13:57), and providing relief to distressed families (JR 13:45). The village chiefs also decided legal cases, examining the evidence, passing decisions, and seeing that they were carried out. They also handled the public treasury which was used to pay public compensations and for diplomacy (JR 10:235; 33:133). Their leadership is indicated by the common statement "if I were such and such a chief it would be done this way".

These chiefs enjoyed certain privileges. Important civil or military chiefs had larger houses (JR 11:59) which had special names and where councils could meet and the important feasts

and ceremonies were held (JR 33:205). The chiefs were given the best portions of food at feasts, as well as presents and brides (JR 10:253, 303). Those who managed the redistribution of goods at certain feasts are described as appropriating large portions for themselves (JR 10:303-305). Once when a young man struck a chief the whole village rushed to his aid and was restrained only with difficulty from killing the youth on the spot (JR 38:267). Thus through prestige, the influence of their wealth, and qualities of leadership the chiefs were able to command respect and function effectively as authorities without a police force or band of retainers. We shall later carefully examine what coercive measures they were able to employ.

The villages, as mentioned before, formed four tribes of unequal size. The Bear, a large tribe threatened with division contained 14 villages, the Rock and the Cord 4 each, and the Deer one large village. The chiefs from the villages met annually to conduct tribal business, though meetings of chiefs concerned with special problems were held as they were required. At the head of each tribe was a tribal chief who was also a village and clan chief. The affairs of the tribe were conducted in his name (JR 10:229-31). At these meetings matters of concern to the tribe as a whole were discussed, including the arrangements for the feast of the dead — a tribal ritual held about every twelve years (JR 10:279). There is no evidence of legal disputes being referred to these councils. Disputes between people of different villages were settled by the chiefs of the villages concerned.

It is not clear whether meetings were held annually on the confederacy level, but sessions were held to discuss common problems, usually concerning war and foreign relations. The presiding officer at the time the Jesuits were in Huronia was the oldest man present. Though blind, he was respected for his age and wisdom. Apparently the Bears sat on one side of the council and the remaining tribes on the other (JR 15:37). As in meetings on all levels, careful order was observed and a special decorous form of speech (*acwentonch*) was used (JR 10:257).

Traditionally Iroquoian chiefs have been described as men able to exercise little power. They are said to rule by entreaty

and to lack real authority. Nevertheless even in extremely simple social groupings leadership is required. The regulation of affairs by the members of the group as a whole or by lateral control appears to be idealistic folklore rather than fact (Pospisil 1958: 258-62). The Huron confederacy was a large and complex political unit; one might expect the need for considerable authority to secure its working. We have seen that in fact the chiefs did enjoy considerable power and overt prestige. We must now examine the way in which this power was based on their ability to impose direct and indirect sanctions upon their followers.

Law: Murder, Injury, Theft

To do this we will outline the basic structure of Huron law and describe its relation to Huron society. As comparison with Morgan's (1954:156, 321-25) accounts will show, many features of this law also appear among the Iroquois, and among other groups in the Northeast as well (LeClercq 1881:121-7). The special interest of the Huron confederacy is its indication of the scale on which such an organization continued to be effective. We conceive of law as socially recognized and sanctioned modes which provide for the adjudication of disputes between parties by a recognized authority. Law is distinguished from political activities by its intention of universal application (its normative aspect) and from custom by its enforcement by an authority (Pospisil 1958:257-72).

Three generalized legal levels may be perceived in Huron society. The first is that of the kin groups, the second that of the village, and the third we might term "international". The first level concerns offenses committed within the kin group, including its punishment of members for actions which have brought public disgrace or harm upon the lineage or sib. Of all legal levels, our data on this one are the least complete. The data that do exist appear to indicate that offenses within the kin group, the lineage or sib, were punished by the group concerned. On the basis of the evidence we are unable to determine in what degree punishments within these groups were standardized by custom or how much they were adapted to the individual case. The second level, where disputes were handled by members of

the village councils, judged disputes arising between members of different sibs whether they were of the same or of different villages. If the dispute was of the latter sort the chiefs of the villages concerned met and attempted to work out an appropriate course of action. The third level, in reality an extension of the second, involved disputes arising between Hurons and the members of tribes with whom the Hurons traded. Again the authorities were the leaders of the Huron village and the tribe or group concerned (or a neutral judge if one were available (Grant 1952:306-10), although the weaker bonds uniting the Hurons and these tribes often made the settlement of such cases less certain. Offenses involving members of other groups were matters to be settled only by feud and blood revenge. Even a Huron who would break truce with such a group went unpunished by his people.

The Hurons recognized four major offenses as being of special concern — murder and its lesser equivalents — injury and wounding, theft, witchcraft, and treason (JR 13:211). In the case of the first two, when such crimes were committed by members of different kin groups thus requiring the intervention of village authorities, it was the practice for the village as a whole to provide compensation for the crime, or the sanction to be applied against the kin group of the offender, and not against any individual. The problems of witchcraft and treason are more complicated and will be dealt with in turn.

Killings outside the kin group were compensated by payments whose value varied according to the sex and status of the person slain. These payments were made by the village council to the family of the murdered man (JR 10:215). They were valued according to the number of presents involved, the number being settled by discussion among the chiefs of the village or villages concerned. Each gift had the approximate value of a beaver robe (JR 10:217). Those receiving the compensation had the right to reject any present they felt was unworthy and to demand another in its place (JR 33:245). If a wealthy man or chief had been slain the compensation was greater than for a man of little importance (JR 11:15), and the murder of a woman was fined more heavily than that of a man, presumably because the tribe

was thus deprived of her reproductive capacity. Men averaged about 30 presents, women 40. Even more expensive were the compensations for the murder of individuals among friendly groups with whom the Hurons traded. The most expensive compensation on record was exacted by the Jesuits, who were protected by the French-Huron trading alliance, for the murder of one of their lay assistants (JR 33:229-47).

These compensations were paid not by the murderer or his sib, but by the village in whose territory the murder had occurred. They were paid whether the murderer was known or not (JR 13:3). If a man (more rarely a woman) had married into the village it was still paid to the sib from which she had come (JR 19:85). When the amount of the compensation had been settled the injured sib presented the village chiefs with a bundle of sticks equal to the number of presents that must be paid. The village chiefs would announce the amount of the fine and divide the sticks among the sibs or call upon the villagers to vie in contributing sufficient gifts to the public treasury to cover the amount. No one was compelled to contribute though it was considered honourable and praiseworthy to do so (JR 28:49-51). The village chiefs always examined the evidence carefully to make sure a murder had taken place, and if the murdered man were from another village and the evidence of crime could be suppressed would do so to avoid the need of paying compensation (JR 19:85). If a village refused to pay for a known crime to the family living in another after two or three requests that it do so, the injured village would take up arms (JR 10:219; 38: 287). While this is reported as custom, the fact that we have no actual cases of this reported suggests that payment was regularly forthcoming.

The final payment of the compensation took the form of an elaborate ceremony that might last several days. The chiefs presented each gift separately. Each gift symbolized some intention or metaphoric act and was accompanied by a speech telling what it represented. From these speeches, which differed only a little from ceremony to ceremony, we can get an idea of what this compensation was meant to accomplish. The purpose of the presents was to blot out the crime, honour the murdered man,

console his relatives and possible avenger, reunite the country, and restore normal relations. As an expression of good faith some smaller presents might be given in return (JR 10:215-21).

This, combined with the nature of the settlement itself, demonstrates that the primary aim of legal action on this level in the case of murder was not the punishment of the offender or the simple gratification of the offended family, but the repression of blood feud and the restoration of amicable relations between kin groups. Deep fear of the disruptive effects of blood revenge is shown by the special effort made in the law to repress it. If a family resorted to blood revenge, not only were all rights to receive compensation for the original murder forfeited, but the avengers were themselves regarded as murderers and their village required to pay the regular penalties. The *Relations* report that this was done "to show how detestable they regard vengeance; since the blackest crimes such as murder, appear as nothing with it" (JR 10:223).

It is reported that in the past the murderers themselves had been subjected to formal punishment, being compelled to lie in a cage directly under the rotting corpse of their victim until the victim's relatives gave them permission to leave, at which time a release present was paid (JR 10:221). This may have been a bit of post-contact hagiography invented for the Jesuits' benefit, or it may have been a custom of only some of the tribes which was given up after they had joined the confederacy. Or it could have been general and was replaced by more expensive compensations as trade came to dominate Huron society. The point remains that the murderer was humiliated or inconvenienced by the victims's kin group, not by the authorities, and not killed.

Wounding was naturally a less serious offense and was compensated according to the seriousness of the hurt (JR 10: 223) and the status of the person injured. Such cases were judged by the village chiefs and the compensation paid either by the village or the offender. If the wounded person was of consequence and a visitor in the village, compensation and a feast might be given for him by the village to maintain goodwill, while his assailant would be publicly denounced and ridiculed as a "cur and a villain" (Wrong 1939:164-6).

The Hurons were notorious among the French for thieving. They cheerfully admitted pleasure in acquiring unattached goods, but theft was defined only as the removal of goods forcefully or from cabins without permission. The original owner could not compel the return of goods which he had left lying out of doors. Hence the Hurons often hid their valuables in caches dug into the floors of their houses (Wrong 39:95)[5], or carried them around with them for safekeeping. Fines or penalties were not imposed on a thief, but if a man could prove who had robbed him he had the right to go with his relatives and plunder the thief's longhouse and all its inhabitants of their food, clothing, and possessions whether in his own village or in another (JR 13:13). Thus the consequences of a small theft could be quite serious. However, if a man was found with stolen goods the owner did not have the right to reclaim it on the spot or take action without asking first how he came by it. If he said he had gotten it from someone else the owner was expected to question that man in turn. A refusal to answer constituted an admission of guilt (JR 38:267-71). Occasionally medicine men (*okis*) were hired to uncover a thief but their methods were said to work only if performed in the presence of the thief, who might betray himself through showing fear (Wrong 1939:141). Certain trade routes were privately owned and the owner was permitted, if he could, to seize the cargo of anyone who used these routes without his permission. But he could not do this after the illicit trader had returned to his village (JR 10:225). The cases of theft provide at least one interesting example of the workings of Huron law. A poor woman had temporarily left a treasured shell collar unguarded in the fields, from which it was taken by a neighbour. When the case was taken to the chiefs they pronounced that the woman who had taken the necklace was legally entitled to keep it. But they added that if she did not want people to think very badly of her she should return it — and perhaps receive in return a small gift. This case demonstrates clearly not only the regard shown for abstract rules (which are attested elsewhere) in formulating decisions, but also how rules

[5] These caches were also a protection against fire.

were transcended in the interests of a socially more satisfactory decision (JR 38:271-3).

Thus in essence theft was settled in the form of retribution exacted by the kin group of the offended person on the kin group with whom the offender lived. This form of retribution reflects the importance of the kin group in Huron society and parallels the repressed pattern of blood revenge. It was carefully controlled, however, and resulting only in loss, not injury or death, to the offender's group, it was potentially less disruptive.

Sorcery and Social Control

We have seen how murder, violence, and theft were not restrained by applying sanctions directly against the offender. Rather the village sought to restrain blood revenge by paying compensation to the family of the murdered man, and to settle proven cases of theft by allowing the robbed man's family to plunder that of the thief. The Jesuits describe this indirect enforcement of law as being remarkably effective — an opinion which carries weight when made by 17th Century Europeans. We must enquire how individuals in turn were induced to observe the law. Within the village and the kin groups gossip and other psychological sanctions were strong forces for maintaining social order (JR 28:63). But to understand why the Hurons were seemingly as exceptionally sensitive to these sanctions as they were we must enquire further if there were coercive measures which could be used against offenders to induce them to conform.

Within the kin groups two drastic measures appear to have been used. We are told of a man killing his sister, who was an incorrigible thief (JR 8:121-3), without public notice. We are also told of individuals being expelled from their longhouses and shunned by their kin. A man thus ostracised was forced to perform women's tasks in order to live and was made an object of public ridicule as well as subjected to economic hardship (JR 23:67).

Looking beyond the kin group, several cases show that repeated misbehaviour seems to have left an individual open to charges of witchcraft (JR 19:85-7). Witches (ontatechiata) caught in an act of (supposed) sorcery could be slain without

fear of penalty or condemnation (JR 8:121-3; 10:223). A sick man's dream, a rumour, or being seen off in the woods alone was enough to arouse suspicion against a person (JR 33:219). Likewise, rich men who refused to give feasts were likely to be suspected (JR 30:21). In times of crisis, when tensions would run high, veritable pogroms were initiated against suspected witches (JR 19:197). But unless subject to some form of social control, such a rule could have had extremely disruptive consequences. It remains to be seen under what controls such an institution operated and what relation it had to the processes of Huron law.

We note that despite the seeming informality of the procedure, in many cases the witches were slain on the orders of a captain or of the whole village council, and that in other cases the captains are described as threatening individuals with an accusation of witchcraft and death[6]. We may assume, moreover, that the Jesuits were prevented from learning of some of the meetings where accusations of witchcraft were discussed, since they were known to be held secretly. In some cases the witch seems to have been pronounced guilty *in absentia* and an executioner appointed who would kill him without warning. In others the witch was arraigned for trial. In one case a woman was ostensibly invited to a feast. When she arrived sentence was passed on her and she was tortured to make her name her accomplices. Then she was asked to appoint her executioner[7]. She was then tortured further with fire, killed, and her body burned publicly (JR 14:37-9). It was once suggested to the Jesuits at a council meeting that a confession of witchcraft should be tortured from them (JR 15:49). No doubt in the majority of cases and in spite of the formal rule an individual was restrained from killing a person as a witch in the absence of chiefly sanction from fear that he would be accused of having been mistaken and having killed an innocent person. The captains on the other hand were able to sanction such killings and to use their known

[6] The threat of death was formalized: "We will tear you out of the earth as a poisonous root".

[7] Morgan says that among the Iroquois a full confession in these trials was sufficient to gain an acquittal (1954:321).

power to do so to frighten individuals into seeking safety in approved forms of behaviour.

Further, the *Jesuit Relations* report that many murders committed by the Hurons themselves were covered up to look like the work of Iroquois raiders (JR 20:75). A captain who had a high office in one of the ritual societies threatened to kill a pagan healer in this manner after she had converted to Christianity (JR 30:23). Traitors are described as being quickly removed (JR 8:121-3), and we may conclude that the authorities used this method to get rid of undesirables. Since the chiefs were able to offer protection against suspicions arising from such murders they were able to use them for their own ends — the fear of which would have enhanced their authority.

Thus in so far as the chiefs regarded themselves as constituting a privileged group within Huron society and were willing to support their position, they were able to undertake either as a group or as individuals covert action which overrode considerations of family loyalty. Their ability to abuse this power was limited by fear of their followers withdrawing support and by rivalries within the group itself. Hence it was a power used most often in the public good.

Thus through these psychological sanctions, formal family sanctions, and the control held by the village authorities over the punishment of witches and disguised murderers, the individual was put under considerable pressure to obey the law as well as to conform generally, even though the authorities lacked the power to inflict formal punishment on individuals for such offenses as murder and theft.

CONCLUSIONS

Huron society at the time of contact was caught between two opposing forces. Its component units were only imperfectly fused; neither the councils nor the individual chiefs commanded a police force or retainers who could assure the execution of their orders. The lineages supplied their own food needs and the sibs retained much of their autonomy. The ideal of blood revenge persisted, and it was suppressed only with difficulty.

The masculine ideal stressed a pride in personal independence which tolerated a minimum of coercion. But on the other hand the need for defence, and later trading alliances, had created an area thickly settled with crowded towns. This and the communal life of the longhouses necessitated much cooperation. Huron society was striving for cooperation without organic integration.

This situation is clearly reflected in Huron law. In order to manage village and tribal life there were councils in which the sibs were represented by their leaders. Certain outstanding men dominated these councils, but any effort on the part of a leader or a group to exceed their privileges only disrupted the working of the alliance. This relative autonomy of the maximal kin groups was recognized in Huron law. The village council as the primary legal body strove to prevent feuding among the sibs. But it did not do so by passing sentences directly on the offending individuals. Rather it strove to pacify the family of a murdered person with gifts, usually provided by the village as a whole. The offending individual was humiliated but not coerced, and his sib was not given cause to regard his execution as the murder of one of its members. In the case of the less serious crime of theft the execution of justice was ideally left in the hands of the affected kin groups, though special rules were established and public judgments required to keep it in hand.

But the problem of social control did not stop there. Within the village crowded conditions generated numerous anxieties and interpersonal tensions. Some of these were channelled off in boisterous celebrations and "dream wish" demands; others were manifested in witch fear. An individual was said to be free to kill a proven witch without fear of reprisal. In fact, most of the killing of witches appears to have been done with the consent of the village chiefs. If there was support for it among the members of the council, individuals could be killed and their deaths blamed on raiders. These two methods of taking life allowed the chiefs to eliminate troublesome men and chronic offenders and to inspire some measure of fear and respect among their followers. Thus, perhaps mainly in the guise of combatting witchcraft the chiefs were able to exercise power to inflict sanctions which would have been intolerable had it been exercised in any other

context. In so far as the slayer's privilege was protected by law, so long as he slew a witch and judgments on the matter were passed before the slaying took place, the slaying of witches qualifies as an aspect of Huron law.

Traditionally Iroquoian society has been viewed as one in which the leaders lacked real authority. Quite correctly writers have indicated psychological sanctions and public opinion as one basis for authority and sanctions in the absence of a state, where the authority has a police force or other means of inflicting physical sanctions automatically at his disposal. In the case of the Hurons, however, we have seen that the lack of a state, even when combined with an emphasis on individual liberty and lineage autonomy and a reluctance to inflict formal sanctions against individuals did not imply a total lack of such sanctions. But rather the physical force which enhanced the power of the chiefs to maintain public order was lodged in the chiefly control over the right to dispose of an individual for a crime which was considered so heinous as to transcend all considerations of kin, namely, witchcraft.

At first sight witchcraft would appear to be a socially disruptive force, or at best a manifestation which arises where social relations permit a state of enmity to form. Other writers have discussed the role of occult practises and beliefs as a support for authority (Evans-Pritchard 1951). In Huronia witchcraft appears to have played such a role. The witchfear generated by Huron society served as the basis for a *de facto* authority which the emphasis on individual freedom and the independence of the kin groups seemed in theory to deny.

The Jesuit missionaries admired the effectiveness of Huron law in curbing violence and were amazed that it could function so well in the absence of the direct punishment of the guilty for serious offenses such as murder and theft. But like all serious social deviants the chronic lawbreaker ran the danger of being named as a witch and killed. Had the Jesuits considered this linkage they might have been less impressed with the leniency of Huron justice.

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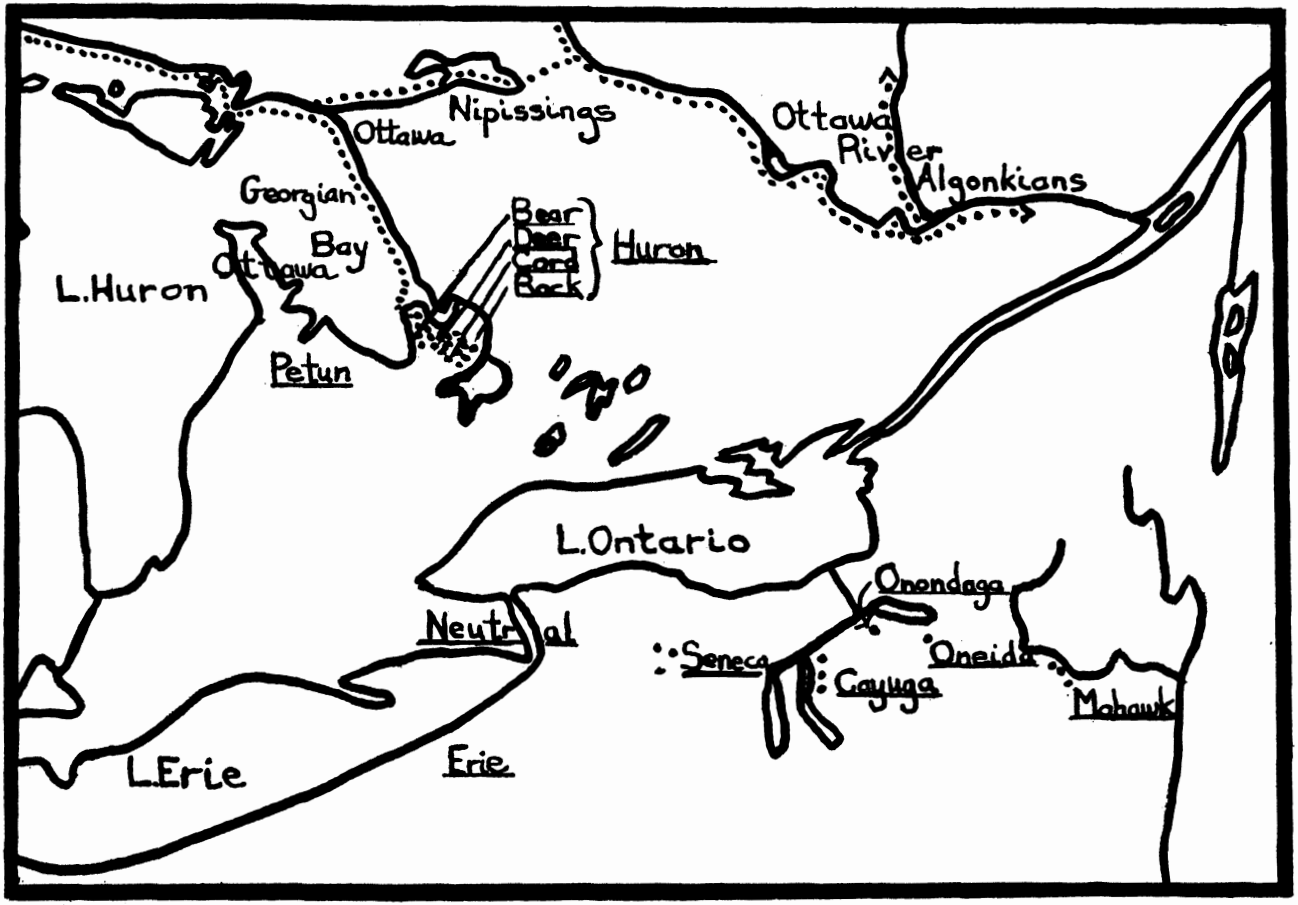
Nipissings
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Ottawa River
Algonkians
Georgian Bay
Ottawa
L.Huron
Bear
Deer
Cord
Rock
Huron
Petun
L.Ontario
Onondaga
Neutral
Seneca
Oneida
Cayuga
Mohawk
L.Erie
Erie

Scientific Possibilities in Iroquoian Studies:

AN EXAMPLE OF MOHAWKS PAST AND PRESENT

BY MORRIS FREILICH

RÉSUMÉ

Cet article décrit les résultats de l'application de l'hypothèse écologico-culturelle à l'étude des changements culturels chez les Iroquois. L'hypothèse s'est avérée insuffisante et on suggère de la compléter par la notion d'adaptation au milieu social. L'article démontre aussi que le manque de précision dans la terminologie, le manque de théories bien agencées et de définitions valables rendent difficile l'application et la vérification de toute hypothèse.

INTRODUCTION

Modern science has been described by Whitehead as "a vehement and passionate interest in the relation of general principles to irreducible and stubborn facts" (1959:10). Modern anthropology, along with the other social sciences, is flooded with irreducible and stubborn facts but is rather short on general principles. A problem that must concern us as anthropologists and scientists is: How can our ethnographic facts be used more efficiently to increase our stock of general principles? *

One possible solution is to emulate our colleagues in the biological and physical sciences and to make more use of the experimental method. "An experiment" writes W.I.B. Beveridge in *The Art of Scientific Investigation* (1957:20), "usually consists in making an event occur under known conditions where as many extraneous influences as possible are eliminated and close observation is possible so that relationships between phenomena can be revealed." The active intervention of the experimenter,

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however, is but one way of obtaining control of the variables studied, albeit a most powerful way. It is possible to study certain variables in interaction over time. Control can be achieved when one or more of the variables change and such changes affect the system we are observing. History, can in fact, be turned into a laboratory for the anthropologist. This is particularly true for Iroquoian studies. As Fenton has pointed out "the long history of research in the Iroquoian field gives it rich material for testing cultural historical depth." (1951:5)

Like other experimenters, we can begin with a theoretical framework and frame a hypothesis for testing. Initially our variables may be gross and we may encounter all kinds of measuring problems. But in time, as we use our ethnography to make our theories more sophisticated, we shall discover more manageable variables, develop accurate measuring devices, and finally arrive at empirically based laws of human behavior. To exemplify the experimental possibilities in Iroquoian studies, I will utilize the theoretical framework of cultural ecology, historical literature on Mohawks and ethnographic data on the modern Mohawk.

The Theoretical Framework

To arrive at generalizations and laws in anthropology, I believe, with Anthony Wallace (and others) that it is necessary to consider the human organism "in response to genetic, ecological and cultural circumstances" (Wallace 1961:22). A theoretical framework which incorporates two of the above, ecological and cultural circumstances, is cultural ecology.

Cultural ecology is defined by Steward in at least two ways: as a problem and as a process. The problem of cultural ecology, writes Steward, is "to ascertain the extent to which the behavior patterns entailed in exploiting the environment affect other aspects of culture" (1955:41). The process is defined as: *the interaction between technology and the culturally defined way of exploiting the environment.* Steward refers to this process as "creative" in that it leads to culture change. As Steward puts it: "over the millenia cultures in different environments have changed tremend-

ously, and *these changes are basically traceable to new adaptations required by changing technology and productive arrangements"* (1955:37).[1]

The cultural ecological position could be conservatively stated as follows:

1. Cultural ecology is functionally related to culture.
2. A change in the cultural ecology of a group tends to lead to culture change.

The last statement could be framed as a hypothesis for testing in terms of Mohawk society and culture. To wit: If the cultural ecological adaptation of Mohawks has changed then parallel changes have also occurred in Mohawk culture.

Let us then compare the cultural ecological adaptations of Mohawks past and present and observe whether cultural ecological differences exist, and whether such differences are functionally related to cultural differences.

In essence, since the hypothesis here used is directly related to the theoretical framework of cultural ecology, this paper is a limited test of the cultural ecological position on cultural change.[2]

The Historical Mohawk

The aboriginal Mohawks lived in the woodlands of Northern New York. In the early days of the league the Mohawks were largely confined to an area between Utica and Albany.

Mohawk land was communally owned with rights vested in three kinds of organizations: the tribe, the clan, and the *ohwachira* or maternal family. The products of tribal lands were used for feasting at tribal councils and ceremonies. The produce of clan lands was stored in clan granaries. Production from lands of the *ohwachira* nourished the family (Noon 1949:34).

[1] Italics added.
[2] For other such tests of the cultural ecological position see FREILICH 1960a and 1960b.

In terms of subsistence activities, the environment was mainly exploited by the women, who practiced what Fenton has called "semi-sedentary horticulture" (1952:334). Horticulture was considered women's work; the men were much involved in gaining prestige through small group warfare. And, according to Morgan, "the warrior despised the toil of husbandry and held all labor beneath him" (1901:42).

The men's role in solving the subsistence problem was secondary; they helped the women in clearing new fields, and added relishes to the diet by hunting. Hunting, however, was more a prestige point than a necessity, as can be deduced from the fact that village sites were changed when the surrounding fields were exhausted, rather than when the district had been hunted out (Randle 1951:172-3).

In addition to horticultural activities, the women made maple sugar in season and gathered some wild foods. In all, largely due to the Mohawk women, the food supply of the tribe included "15-17 varieties of maize... some 60 varieties of beans... about 8 native squashes... 34 wild fruits, 11 nuts, 38 varieties of leaf stem and bark substances, 12 varieties of edible roots, and 6 fungi" (Speck 1955:39).

The women worked together with the other members of their mutual aid society, under the leadership of the matron of the village. According to Fenton "the neighborhood, family and clan were all factors which conditioned the composition of the mutual aid society" (Noon 1949:35, f.n.61).

The women worked together during planting and during harvesting. Their technology was a simple though efficient one. The digging and planting sticks were used, with blades of antler or bone.

During and antecedent to early white contact days, the women's responsibility for solving the subsistence problem of the group greatly increased. When it became possible to exchange beaver pelts for firearms, the men spent much less time at food producing activities. After 1640, the Six Nations launched a series of wars against the Huron and other tribes allied with the

French to control the fur trade along the St. Lawrence. This led to a further decline in the production of food by Mohawk males. As John Noon tells us (1949:13)

> With war parties almost continually in the field, little time could be spared for hunting. Increased cultivation by the women had to compensate for the loss of game as well as assisting in providing war parties.

In summary, it is clear that in aboriginal times it was the Mohawk women who were primarily responsible for solving the subsistence problems of the group. They did this with a simple technology, on land communally owned, while working cooperatively with the other women of their mutual aid society. The women practiced semi-sedentary horticulture. Village sites were moved every 15 to 20 years when the land was used up. The Mohawk's diet was supplemented with wild foods and the extra delicacies of the men's hunt. Following white contact, the men's food producing activities greatly declined, and the women's responsibilities in solving subsistence problems greatly increased.

The Modern Mohawk

The environment of the modern Mohawks, here being discussed, is an urban one. The group resides in the North Gowanus neighborhood of Brooklyn, New York. The men exploit the environment in terms of a specialized trade — structural steel work. In and around New York City, Mohawks have worked on such structures as the Empire State Building (they boast "we built it"), the Bank of Manhattan, the Pulaski Skyway, the George Washington Bridge and the Bronx-Whitestone Bridge. The steel workers travel all over North America, and in a given year, may work in six or more widely separated cities. Between jobs, the Mohawks return to Brooklyn to see their kinfolk and to swap tales with other steel workers in the local Mohawk bar.

The young Mohawk starting to work in steel construction is given little formal training. At 17 or so he is brought into a gang by his father, brother, uncle or cousin who happens to be a "pusher" (gang foreman). For a short time, he earns

apprentice wages, but soon he is doing a man's job and receiving a man's pay.

In erecting steel structures, there are three main types of workers: raising gangs, fitting-up gangs, and riveting gangs. The men in the raising gang hoist the steel beams and girders, using a crane or a derrick. They set them in position with temporary bolts. The men in the fitting-up gang, composed of plumbers and bolters, tighten up the structure with guy wires and turnbuckles and add more temporary bolts. Then along come the glamor boys of structural steel work, the riveting gangs.

Each riveting gang is comprised of four men: a heater, a sticker-in, a bucker up and a riveter. The heater heats the rivets on a portable coal burning forge. He stands on a platform formed by laying wooden planks across two beams. The other three men using about six two-by-ten planks make a scaffold and hang it by ropes from the steel on which they are going to work. They thus have just enough space to work if they are careful. A careless member of a riveting gang does not live to tell the tale of his daredevilry. Although the members of the riveting gang do the most dangerous work in steel construction, it is this work that the Mohawks prefer. The technology involved is one simply learned; heating and bracing rivets and working a pneumatic hammer against the stem ends of rivets requires guts and strength rather than education and intellectual ability. A short apprenticeship is therefore all that is necessary for the young steel worker to become a full member of a riveting gang. And, as a full fledged member, he can earn between 150 and 250 dollars a week, depending on the amount of available overtime. The subsistence problem of the Mohawks is well solved by the male steel workers.

The Mohawk women play a secondary role today in solving the subsistence problem of the group. It is their job to get hold of the men soon after they are paid; the men left alone would drink away most of their earnings.

Comparing the cultural ecological adaptations of Mohawks past and present, we find two completely different situations. Not only is horticulture no longer the means of solving subsis-

tence needs, but the two sexes have changed their roles in relation to the group's subsistence problem. Today it is the men who have taken over the major role of solving the subsistence problem. Maize, beans and squash are no longer grown to feed the tribe; instead cash wages are obtained by men working in steel construction gangs.

A Comparison of Mohawk Culture Past and Present

A comparison of aboriginal and modern Mohawk cultures shows distinct areas of culture change. Small group warfare and palisaded villages are no longer seen. The Long Houses, which aboriginally housed several matrilineally extended families and which were named with clan insignia, have gone. The matrilineally extended families and the clans once permanent social units in the community are practically non-existent in Brooklyn. Few families know their clan or moiety affiliations. Indeed, when an Indian male marries a non-Indian their children have no clan affiliation.[3] In Brooklyn there have been many such marriages. Mohawks have married into Irish, German, Jewish, Norwegian, Italian and Filipino families.

In aboriginal times, marriages were frequently arranged by the mothers of the marrying couples, and residence was matripatrilocal with respect to a composite household. Today a young Mohawk selects his own wife and takes her into a separate apartment which will usually house only the nuclear family.

The mutual aid societies of the women are gone, and also much of the material culture of the group (i.e. box-turtle shell cups, elm-bark hide scrapers, pails, trays, dishes, spoons, etc.).

The extent to which women influence the behavior of men has also greatly changed. In aboriginal times, according to

[3] A man without clan affiliation can however give his children a clan membership by marrying an Indian woman. This is what occured in the case of Charles A. Cooke, a native Iroquois scholar. His father belonged to no clan since his father's mother was French. His mother however was a Mohawk of the Bear clan and thus Charles Cooke became a Bear clan member (BARBEAU 1952).

Snyderman "the women more than any other group tended to control the actions of the warriors" (1948:24). Failure to heed the warnings of women was considered a bad omen by the group. And since the women were responsible for providing the staple foods, the warriors had good reason to follow the advice of the women.

Today Mohawk males are relatively unrestricted in their movements and are minimally influenced by the women of the group. They move from job to job if and when they please and speak with pride of their great mobility.

According to the foreman of the American Bridge Company:

> Everything will be going fine on a job. Plenty of overtime. A nice city. Then the news will come over the grapevine about some big new job opening up somewhere; it might be a thousand miles away... (suddenly) they turn in their tools, and they are gone. Can't wait another minute. They'll quit at lunch time, in the middle of the week. They won't even wait for their pay (Mitchell 1960:22).

The language of the group has also changed. Mohawk, once spoken by young and old, is now the language of the aged. As a Mohawk woman remarked, "The children don't speak Indian and some old people can't speak English, so can't speak to the young ones." Many of the older Mohawks I interviewed thought it "shameful" that the younger generation had lost the use of the Mohawk language.

The religious situation of Brooklyn Mohawks is unclear. According to Mitchell, "the Mohawks are church goers." The majority of Catholics go to St. Pauls... (and) the majority of Protestants go to Cuyler Presbyterian Church." (Mitchell 1960: 26). Yet many of my informants told me that the Mohawks were not strongly attached to Christianity. Speaking of the Catholics, one woman stated "They are Catholics in name only". Other informants stated that only a minority attended church regularly. Although Reverend David Cory encouraged Mohawks to attend his church, and even held special services in Mohawk to attract the older people, only a small minority of the Mohawks regularly attended his services.

The kind of attachment the Mohawks have to Christianity is perhaps well exemplified by Mrs. B. who has two boys and

two girls. She told me "the two boys are Catholic like their father and the two girls are Protestant like their mother."

The pull of the Longhouse religion is lessening the influence of Christianity. Mr. D., a Catholic, on a visit to Caughnawaga (the Mohawk reservation in Canada) decided to hide in the bushes while a Longhouse ceremony was being performed at the Catholic graveyard. He soon found a friend sitting near him. His friend told him, "The bushes are full of Catholics and Protestants... Every night there's a Longhouse festival, they creep up here and listen to the singing. It draws them like flies" (Mitchell 1960:36.)

In aboriginal times, related to their horticulture, the Mohawks had a triad of deities, the Three Sisters. These were the spirits of the corn, the bean and the squash, who were known as *De-o-há-ko* meaning "Our life" or "Our Supporters". Indeed, all growing things had a spiritual counterpart towards which festivals were held. Related to the hunting activities there also existed a number of animal deities each of which was the supernatural patron of a secret society. The old religion was closely articulated with the clan. The appointment of religious officials was controlled by the clan matron and religious officials were to a large degree clan officials (Noon 1949:30).

Since most of the Brooklyn Mohawks are Christians, the content of their religious beliefs has changed. It is clear that religion itself is no longer the integral aspect of Mohawk life which it was in aboriginal days.

Some of the cultural changes enumerated above, are functionally related to the change in cultural ecology. Changes in religion, in residence rules, in the importance of the matrilineal family and clan, in women's influence in marriage and male mobility and in women's mutual aid activities are all functionally related to changes in the subsistence problem and its solution. However, other changes enumerated — warfare, palisaded villages and language seem unrelated to the changed cultural ecology. Nor is any functional relationship evident between the cultural ecological change and data available on cultural persistence.

In a previous paper (1958:477-78), the writer outlined the following areas of cultural persistence:

Women:

1. Maintaining a fixed residence.
2. Looking after the home and children.
3. Storing the "grain" (be it maize or money).
4. Living in close contact with the matrilineal family.
5. Having constant relationships with other Mohawk women.
6. Providing hospitality for their males and gang.

Men:

1. Leaving a home base to be able to return as conquering heroes.
2. Bringing of booty home as a sign of a successful expedition (slaves or goods by the warriors; a new car or a large "wad" of money by the steel worker).
3. Achieving certain observable accomplishments, which can be spoken of at length exaggerated ("We laid low the Erie lands," or "We built the Empire State Building").
4. Working in an all-male group under the leadership of a more experienced tribesman.
5. Being subject to the minimum of lineal authority, under a leader that one picked; for short periods of time (length of the war party or job assignment — in both cases the Mohawk leaves any time he wants to).
6. Becoming a full member of the group without having to undergo a long, formal learning period.
7. Having chances to display daring and courage and thereby gain personal prestige both from the whole community and from the group one fought or worked with.
8. Having excitement as an ever present ingredient.
9. Leaving the maintenance of home and family to the women.
10. Forming short and brittle bonds around a leader (war chief or "pusher").

To the above, I would now add the following:

1. *A Persistence of the Adoption Complex* — In the past captives were frequently adopted into families with full standing as members of clan and tribe and given native spouses. Today many a white man has been adopted, so to speak, by the Mohawks. These white men at time marry Mohawk girls; they frequently travel with other Mohawks to the reservation at Caughnawaga; identify completely with the Indians and are accepted by the Mohawks as equals. My field work in Brooklyn and Caughnawaga was quite unsuccessful until I

was "adopted" by a young Mohawk steel worker. Thereafter I was known, not by my own name, but as R's friend.

2. *A Persistence of Disinterest in Property* — In the past, according to Jenness "so little did they respect personal wealth, that a multitude of beads brought neither honour nor profit except so far as it gave the owner an opportunity to display his liberality by lavish contributions to the public coffers" (1955:139). Today the Mohawks are not greatly interested in storing up wealth according to the dictates of middle class American society. Although during the time of my field work (1956-1957), many earned more than $150.00 per week; Mohawks frequently asked me to "lend" them money. Frequently, Mohawks discussed the fact that although they made very good wages most of them had little money in the bank.

Conclusion

The hypothesis, that a change in the cultural ecology of Mohawks will lead to parallel changes in Mohawk culture must be rejected since a completely different cultural ecological adaptation is still associated with (1) cultural persistence, and (2), with culture change unrelated to the changed cultural ecology.

The rejection of the hypothesis casts doubt on the theory from which it was derived, and tempts one to reject the theory also. Before rejecting the cultural ecological approach, however, three factors must be kept in mind. First, the degree of control available in the study does not warrant the complete rejection of a theoretical framework on the basis of one experiment. Second, the lack of adequate measures of cultural persistence and cultural change, further weakens the experiment and limits the conclusions one can make from its results. Until we arrive at an operational definition of culture this will remain an inherent weakness in cutural experiments of this type. Third, although the hypothesis has been rejected, some of the cultural changes enumerated were explainable in terms of the cultural ecological framework. For a fuller explanation of the Mohawk data, a modification of the cultural ecological approach, rather than its rejection, is therefore indicated.

The attempted modification of cultural ecology presented below, is greatly indebted to the work of George Snyderman (1948). Snyderman, after an extensive study of the Iroquois data, concluded that warfare was a basic aspect of Iroquois (and

thus Mohawk) society. Following Snyderman, warfare, as a type of social process, must be incorporated into any theoretical scheme which attempts to explain culture change and persistence among Mohawks.

Warfare, in conceptual terms, is a type of adaptation a society makes to its larger social environment. To incorporate warfare into an explanatory system of Mohawk culture, adaptation to the *social milieu* must be considered in addition to adaptation to the natural environment. Following Steward, but modifying his approach somewhat, I would say that Mohawk culture past and present can best be understood in terms of *two kinds of adaptational systems*: first, adaptation to the natural environment (cultural ecology), and second, adaptation to the social environment (what might be called *intercultural adjustment*. Related to both of these adaptational systems, it is possible to isolate cultural traditions which dictate behavior, ideas, and beliefs appropriate to given situations.

Let us examine the aboriginal culture in relationship to these two adaptational systems. Related to the cultural ecological adaptation of semi-sedentary women-managed horticulture were such cultural items as: rules of land ownership and land uses, the role of women, the organization of maternal families and matrilineal clans, civil authority and social and religious ceremonialism. The intercultural adjustment was largely in terms of small group warfare and the League of the Iroquois. Related to this social adaptation were such cultural items as: military authority, male roles and prestige systems, adoption processes, palisaded villages, and positions and ceremonies associated with the League.

The modern adaptation to the natural environment is considerably changed and parallel changes can be seen in those areas of culture which are closely connected to subsistence activities (see above). The modern adaptation to the social environment when compared to the aboriginal one shows aspects both of change and non-change. An elucidation of this point is necessary.

Mohawk society today is no longer an independent political unit. It is now governed by American and Canadian law. War-

fare is thus no longer a possible mode of intercultural adjustment for Mohawks. The intercultural adjustment of Mohawks to their larger social milieu is now mainly in terms of *intermarriage* and *work*. The linguistic change from Mohawk to English is functionally related to the change in intercultural adjustment. Work with, and marriage to, English speaking individuals is greatly facilitated by proficiency in English.

Marriage to non-Iroquois women represents a change in intercultural adjustment and is related to changes seen today in (1) the importance of the clan and (2) the importance of the matrilineal family. The non-Iroquois women cannot transmit clan affiliation and have no tradition of families organized along matrilineal lines.

Work, as a mode of intercultural adjustment, shows aspects both of change and non-change. Working peacefully for non-Iroquois is certainly a change from small group warfare against non-Iroquois. This change is related to the disappearance of palisaded villages, of war parties and their associated ceremonies.

However, peaceful work in the *steel construction industry* shows structural parallels to participation in small group warfare. In both cases dangerous activities are performed in a small group setting. The Mohawk male still thinks of himself as a "warrior" as I have documented elsewhere (1958). The cultural persistence described above can be attributed to a large degree to the structural similarities which exist between the aboriginal and modern modes of intercultural adjustment.

Steward's theoretical system, based as it is on adaptation to the natural environment, includes an overly limited definition of environment.[4] The general social milieu, what I am calling the intercultural adjustment, is not considered by Steward, and cultural complexes related to the intercultural adjustment cannot be explained by his system.

[4] A similar conclusion independently arrived at by Thomas G. Harding is of interest here. Harding in a discussion of a subject matter far removed from Mohawk Indians — adaptation and stability in cultural evolution — writes (1960:49-50):

"Without consideration of the cultural aspect of an ecological niche,

It was possible to explain the data on Mohawk culture change and persistence by the modified cultural ecological approach presented. Perhaps the suggested modification will be useful to explain culture change and persistence among other groups also. In addition, it may explain similar cultural forms at a given point in time in different geographic areas.

To enhance the utility of modified or neo-cultural ecology, I would present it as a series of related statements which would be amenable for testing cross-culturally:

1. Cultural ecology and intercultural adjustment are functionally related to culture.
2. Change in a society's cultural ecology and/or in its intercultural adjustment will lead to parallel changes in related aspects of culture.
3. Persistence in a society's cultural ecology and/or intercultural adjustment will lead to persistence in related cultural complexes.
4. Societies with similar modes of cultural ecology and/or intercultural adjustment will show similar cultural forms related to the similarities in adaptation.

To summarize: the experimental method is useful to the anthropologist. In testing hypotheses, observation of differential changes in cultural systems over time can be substituted for active intervention by the experimentor. A cultural ecological hypothesis has been tested by this method and rejected. A modification of the theory of cultural ecology to incorporate adaptation to the social environment has been presented. It was noticed that the level of present anthropological theory and particularly the lack of operational definitions made this type of experimentation difficult. A by-product of the paper was thus to point out the need for a more precise terminology.

The point of this paper is well summarized by Daryll Ford (1947:213-224):

> evolutionary anthropology is unneccessarily prevented from viewing diffusion and acculturation in a developmental context; hence, that pervasive process of specific cultural evolution, convergence by coalescence, escapes us if the supereorganic environment is ignored... "Cultural ecology" simply must embrace the relations between cultures, the superorganic setting, as well as the natural features of habitat, just as "ecology" in biological studies includes the organic environment, competing species, as well as the inorganic."

> The theories or laws of physics and chemistry differ in degree, in degree of explicitness, precision and verification, but not in kind, from hypotheses concerning processes in human society... in the study of the social relations of man, the variable factors that in combination determine any section of the pattern are so manifold it is not surprising that hypotheses are crude or limited in reference... [it is] of paramount importance... to subject social phenomena to the inductive analysis and the critical testing of hypothesis which are the canons of science.

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Cherokee Change: A Departure from Lineal Models of Acculturation

BY HARRIET J. KUPFERER

RÉSUMÉ

Pour expliquer les transformations socio-culturelles chez les indiens Cherokee, il semble que l'hypothèse basée sur le modèle linéaire ne suffit pas. Une étude des valeurs nous révèle que les changements culturels ont non seulement crystalysé la distinction entre indiens "conservateurs" et "modernes" mais, que de plus, ils manifestent parmi ces derniers un début de stratification socio-économique propre, jusque-là, aux non-indiens.

This paper[1] raises questions about the adequacy of lineal constructs of acculturation to depict internal differences among North American Indian groups. Implicit in most models of American Indian acculturation seems to be the assumption that "white" culture is homogeneous; therefore, as native people alter their premises, attitudes and behavior, they too, become like the homogeneous "white." For example, Hallowell (1952), Voget (1950, 1951), Bruner (1956) place types or collectivities of Indians on a continuum. At one end of these continua are: "conservative," "traditional," or "native" types, at the other end are "white," "white" oriented of "American" modified. Typical lineal terminology varies but it stresses movement from aboriginal homogeneity through some transitional status to acculturated or "white" homogeneity. George Spindler (1955) also emphasizes lineality, although he separates the most acculturated Menominee into an elite acculturated and a lower status acculturated.

[1] Versions of this paper were read by John J. Honigmann, Arthur J. Rubel and M. Elaine Burgess. Their assistance is appreciated. The field work was supported by a grant from the National Institute of Mental Health.

Gulick (1960) and Thomas (1958)[2] suggest that the Eastern Cherokee might also be analyzed using the cultural gradient model of these other scholars. Consequently research among North Carolina Cherokee was initiated with this as a goal.

From the outset it was obvious that the Cherokee were an exceptionally culturally heterogeneous aggregate of people. There appeared to be a number of Conservative Indians, isolable by their continued use of the aboriginal language and by their continued patronage of native curers. Equally as visible was a small number of highly acculturated and financially successful people who were either employed in responsible Civil Service positions or who were self employed as proprietors of substantial tourist businesses (for example, one man grossed over $300,000 in 1959-1960). Between these two lay the balance of the population. Unlike the Conservatives, almost all of whom are putatively "full bloods," this in-between population consists of people some of whom are phenotypically white and of others who are phenotypically Indian. To this extent they are quite like the highly acculturated people who also comprise several phenotypes. Very few of them use the Cherokee language by preference although some understand it; and none admit seeking out the services of Indian doctors. In these ways at least, they are similar to the acculturated and "successful" Indians. It was supposed that this large aggregate could be plotted on a continuum in the same way that the Menominee, Crow and Ojibwa have been described.

In undertaking this task it was necessary to select some criterion by which to study the people. Values[3] as they can be inferred from overt behavior and from verbalizations were selected as the unit of observation and comparison. From the many definitions and conceptualizations of values the concepts advanced by Goldschmidt and Edgerton (1961:27) best met the needs of this paper.

> ...they are the behavior patterns, social circumstances and symbolic representations characteristic of a particular culture, in terms of which

[2] Robert THOMAS (1958) postulated a tentative acculturation gradient: Conservatives; Generalized Indians; Rural White Indians; and Middle Class.

[3] For a more extensive discussion of values and other variables see KUPFERER 1961.

> its individual members perceive and measure the social standing of their fellow men, and hence these values and their representations serve for each person as a measure of his own social position... they are the subcultural definition of propriety and its symbolic representations.

Our selection of value systems as a fundamental aspect of culture through which to discern cultural differences and cultural change is supported by Kluckhohn and Strodbeck (1961:43). Their theory argues that value orientations do change but a distinction must be made between orders of change: "changes which are more of the same thing... and basic changes in the value orientations themselves."[4] From initial observations of the Cherokee I felt that we should see changes which were not more of the same thing but which represent a very basic and fundamental overhaul in basic premises. My findings sustain this contention. I found that there were two basic value systems in juxtaposition at Cherokee and that one represents a change in kind from the other. I also found that it was not possible to demonstrate a gradation of values from "conservative" to "progressive." Before discussing the implications of these findings for acculturation models I shall supply the data verifying the existence of two almost antipodal value systems.

In order to study these values, observations were made on four arbitrarily selected collectivities of people who seemed to be typical of the diversities in the population. The Conservatives and the most acculturated (Progressives) were logical selections. From the undifferentiated aggregate who seemed to fit neither of these two categories we chose some families who were phenotypically Indians who did not appear to be typically conservative and yet were not like the highly acculturated people. The fourth comprise members of the population who are phenotypically white but who are bona fide members of the tribe. This choice was stimulated by the findings of research suggesting the importance of white models in the family for acculturation (Bruner 1956). The fact that Gulick (1960) and Thomas (1958:127) had recognized a type which they called Rural white Indians was also a factor in this selection.

[4] Values have also been used in the study of the dynamics of cultural change by CAUDILL and SCARR (1962:53-59).

CHEROKEE VALUE

The examination of these four categories led to the conclusion that there were two dominant value constellations. One is closely related to the descriptions of Weber's Protestant Ethic[5] (Bendix 1960) and I have borrowed the term Harmony Ethic for the other from Thomas and Gulick.

Harmony Ethic[6]

Thomas contends that the Harmony Ethic is central to the Conservative way of life. He says:

> According to it, the Conservative tries to maintain harmonious interpersonal relationships with his fellow Cherokee by avoiding giving offense... and by giving of himself to his fellow Cherokee in regard to his time and his material goods.

Our notes are replete with data which support Thomas' description of the Conservative values. It is reflected in almost all aspects of Conservative inter-personal behavior and is most predictable in dyadic situations in which one person wishes to affect the behavior of another, for example, making requests, reproaching others and controlling others. An outstanding characteristic of this behavioral syndrome is the use of a *neutral third person* in circumstances which could be conceived of as a threat to amicable relationships.

The role of the go-between is readily obvious in incidents involving requests of one kind or another. School children, including high school students frequently send another pupil to request permission of the teacher to sharpen a pencil or to leave

[5] KAHL (1956) and FARIS (1960) discuss the relevancy of differing values in understanding class differences in American Society. Faris suggests that the Protestant Ethic typical of the middle class exists in the lower classes also although "scaled down."

[6] It should be called to the readers' attention that at least one scholar does not define conservative Cherokee behavior in terms of a dominant value system. HOLZINGER (1961:234) says that conservative Cherokee behavior is a neurotic regression to passivity and emotional indifference.

the room. Employers comment upon the same practise among people applying for work. Go-betweens are used in court cases. Local lawyers remarks upon the frequency with which defendants, even those who speak English bring an intermediary to court through whom they attempt to communicate.

This behavior is not confined to contacts with "whites" or to non-kinsman. One informant family was occupying a house rent free which belonged to the wife's aunt. Although the aunt wanted the couple to move she did not ask to have the premises vacated. Eventually she communicated her desire to another, saying, "when I said they could live there, I didn't mean forever." The neutral told the unwelcome tenants that their aunt wanted them to move.

One further example of the indirect method in approaching or reproaching people is seen in the case of an elderly woman whose son drives a taxi for a livelihood. He charges his mother for trips. When I expressed surprise at this she said, "He shouldn't do me that way. I told some of my friends about it down in Cherokee. They have jumped on that boy, for a long time he quit charging me. Now he do it again."

The pattern of using a neutral is so firmly established that when an Indian is confronted with a direct request (which often happens in dealings with "whites") he draws another into the situation if possible. A white employee of the Indian Bureau went to a woman's home to ask her to care for some children up in a remote section of the reservation. She came directly to the point. The woman, Ollie, turned to her brother and spoke with him in Cherokee. After an extended exchange, the brother replied, "She's got a lot to do here — hoe corn, and make the garden — maybe her sister could do it."

When dissatisfactions with people or situations occur and a disinterested party is not available, direct encounters are still avoided. An informant felt that too many demands were being made upon her at work yet she did not mention her discontent to her employer. She simply quit. When I asked her what she told the boss, she said, "I didn't tell him nothing; I just didn't go back to work the next day." Related to this is the fact that

the conservative Cherokee may also quit without notice if he is directly or openly reprimanded by a superior.

Reliance upon indirection is also visible in parental control of children. Generally the children are raised permissively and are seldom coerced unless they step too far out of line. When this occurs an adult tells the child to stop and threatens him by saying that a "booger," a "skilly" or a unega (white person) will get him. Thus a symbolic agent external to the dyadic relationship is introduced. This pattern occurs repeatedly among Conservative parents. Habitual use of an external sanctioning agent does not, however, obviate direct parental interference. Yet when an adult does resort to more direct methods, the action takes place quickly after the child has been told to stop. The general tendency is for the adult to underemphasize himself as the source of authority.

Use of a mediator mirrors the Harmony Ethic in specific behavior. It functions to reduce friction in situations the Cherokee define as potentially threatening to smooth human relationships. Employing a third person removes both actors from the immediate tense circumstances. The method of child control is an aspect of the same principle.

Aggression and aggressiveness are also controlled by the Harmony Ethic. Both are typically lacking in Conservative behavior. Only when people have been drinking does direct physical encounter or quarreling take place. Any account of a fight between two Conservatives always includes a remark to the effect that they were drunk. Just as physical aggression is absent, so is the kind of aggressiveness or single-mindedness necessary for business success absent. Coupled with this poor orientation for careers in commercial enterprise is the premium placed on generosity. This emphasis makes it nearly impossible to accumulate any cash or goods for one is always under pressure to share with those who are temporarily without funds.

Protestant Ethic

With the exception of a few career employees in the department of Indian Affairs, the "progressive" Cherokees are in busi-

ness enterprises. These people reflect the sentiments of the "old middle class" in white society (Kahl 1957:193). Individual responsibility, self discipline and thrift, basic ingredients of the bourgeoise — are the virtues echoed by this category of Cherokees.

The intermediary is ignored by these people; in fact, he irritates them. School teachers, including those who are Indians discourage the practise among children and employers deplore it. One informant said emphatically, "If I have something on my mind, I speak out." Statements about forthrightness, reliability, and directness reflect the progressive Indians view of what constitutes "proper behavior." They are disturbed by "full bloods" whom they consider to be unreliable and "suspicious" by their standards.

I have spoken of directness as though it were a characteristic confined to the Cherokee "progressives." However, the "Rural White" Indians and "in between" Indians are indistinguishable from the "progressives" in this regard, and all of them are in sharp contrast to the Conservatives.

Self reliance and self discipline are cardinal precepts of the Protestant Ethic. To these qualities the Cherokee "progressives" attribute success and to the lack of these qualities the present status of the Conservative is due. "Persistence and personal effort pay off" said one informant. "My daddy bought this land when it was nothing but an old pasture. Now because we built this business on it and put everything we had into it, some people are jealous." Another maintains that, "I've worked for everything I've ever gotten, if I lost my job tomorrow, I'd go dig ditches or something but I'd never starve to death."

Utterances like these are legion among these people. And nowhere is their basic orientation better seen than in their criticisms of Federal policies toward the Indians. One older informant said, "Why I remember the first time an Indian begged here... and the Government is responsible. The only thing the Government ever did for the Indian was to take away his initiative." A specific government program that is roundly castigated is the Federal Indian Welfare Service. "Progressives" contend that no good will come from welfare programs. "I don't like

this welfare business' asserted one woman. There is work if the people would only go to it... they are just going to get big corns on their tails sitting collecting their relief check."

As individual autonomy and underemphasis of self are the nucleus of the Harmony Ethic, so rugged individualism forms the heart of the Protestant Ethic. It is appropriate to examine the remainder of the Cherokee who are neither conservative nor progressive in terms of self reliance. They present an extremely complex and confused picture. Rural white Indians in no way guide their activities by any aspect of the Consevative value system. But some of them have worked hard all of their lives and are still recipients of public assistance. They verbally endorse the principle of individual effort and personal independence but vary in the extent to which their efforts win them commensurate financial returns. Consequently, although they may cherish the idea of independence some are not able to attain it in fact. Circumstances such as poor health, poor land, and large families conspire to keep them economically depressed. Their faith in the efficacy of hard work is somewhat diminished. They have become resigned to having fewer material goods. Some of these people, for whom diligence and good fortune have combined to provide them with an adequate income for a modest standard of living, cling tenaciously to the central theme of self help. Therefore, within this category there is a continuum both in standard of living and in adherence to the primary values. People at the upper end of the continuum are closer to the successful "progressives" but they have neither the education nor the economic resources to support the style of life of the "progressives" as yet.

Distinguishing the values of Indians in the third category (those who are phenotypically Indian but not conservative) is also a vexing problem. Thomas suggested that although they are inconsistent in the values they verbalize, they behave as if they still believed in the old conservative values. I have no evidence to support this. In many respects the evidence for these Indians is negative; that is to say, we know what they do not say and do. As a group they do not exhibit behaviors which mirror the Harmony Ethic. They do not rely upon an intermediate. They have neither a "wait and see" attitude, nor the initial reticence

which is a constituent of the Harmony Ethic. Parents and children are outgoing in their inter-personal relationships.

Few of these Indians are completely self-employed. Most of them work for an employer, either in some capacity for the Indian Bureau or in local small manufacturing plants. Usually they are reliable employees, although there is ocasional absenteeism because of drunkenness. Among those who are self-employed are carpenters, masons, truck drivers and small store owners. To a degree there is a difference among them in the way they handle money. Some are thrifty; others have less regard for the "rainy day". Some have received unemployment compensation or public assistance. But many of them argue against public welfare. They too, are unsympathetic to "hand outs" to the Conservatives. In summary, data on their values are somewhat muddy. My material supports the contention that they are oriented more closely to the Protestant Ethic, despite a few superficial resemblances to conservative ways.

The analysis of values and their attendant behavior demonstrates that the Cherokee cannot be placed in four categories on a continuum from "like Indian to unlike Indian." They can, however, be placed into two categories on the basis of their adherence to one of the two value systems. The Conservatives are clearly a distinct group. The others, who resemble each other far more than they resemble Conservatives, are motivated by the Protestant Ethic. The existence of these two value systems is *evidence of acculturation;* variation among the adherents of the Protestant Ethic suggests that in addition to cultural change other modifications have occurred which a lineal model cannot explain. I suggest that a factor in the difficulty in handling the Cherokee data derives from the attempt to use such a model to conceptualize culture change. Given the historical and demographic circumstances which have existed in connection with the Eastern Cherokee, a cultural gradient is an imprecise tool.

The Cherokee have been encapsulated in a larger white society which has impinged upon them closely and consistently for over a century. This white society is not itself homogeneous. It is characterized by rural-urban differences as well as by social

class differences. White models have included middle class school teachers, missionaries, local long time white mountain settlers as well as anthropologists. Therefore it seems a reasonable hypothesis that acculturation among the Cherokee will involve not only a shift from Indian cultural configurations to white but will also involve shifts toward differing social classes of whites. In short, Cherokee change should reflect the larger sociocultural milieu of which it is a part. We submit that it does and that an *incipient class* structure is a concomitant phenomenon of acculturation.

THE CONTEMPORARY CHEROKEE

Undoubtedly there are conservative Indians. To be sure, they are far from the aboriginal Cherokee, but it is they that most of our data isolate as a distinct cultural category. They stand apart from all the other through their use of Indian doctors, their reliance on the Cherokee language, and by their continued adherence to the Harmony Ethic. Correlates of this ethic ramify into all of their behavior. It is by their behavior that one is best able to identify them.

There is also a large number of people who are phenotypically Indians. They look upon themselves as Indians and are called Indians by the conservatives but they do not act like the latter. I propose to call them *Modern Indians* for while they are Indians according to their concept of self, their orientation is not to the past nor to the traditional cultural identification of "Indianness."

The third category which was selected for study is, as we pointed out, phenotypically white, but the people look upon themselves as Indians despite the fact that Conservatives refer to them as "white Indians." Except for the living conditions of some they do not resemble Conservatives culturally. They bear the greatest cultural resemblance to those we have labeled Modern Indians. Systematic investigation of basic personality might reveal meaningful differences but on the basis of behavior, goals and interests, the two groups are very similar. Therefore, they too, can be categorized as Modern Indians.

Among the "progressives" are people who are either Indian or white in their appearance. In either event, they are far removed from Conservatives in values and in congruent behavior but they are not so distinctly separate from the Modern Indians. Consequently, they also can be classified as Modern Indians. This analysis has led to only two categories distinguished from each other by difference in acculturation. But there are dissimilarities among the Modern Indians which cannot be explained by differential acculturation.

A heuristic approach to the problem of internal differences within the Modern Indians is found in the materials on social stratification and in social class literature. Of the diverse criteria emerging from research on social class — economic position, styles of life and variation in values are pertinent to the Cherokee findings. Use of these variables not only permits the identification of the Conservatives as a distinct cultural group, but also reveals differences among the Modern Indians. These differences I suggest can best be explained by the fact that as acculturation takes place it does so with differing social classes in the larger society acting as the reference groups. Within the Modern Indian category at Cherokee are two classes, a middle class and a lower class. Both of these show a range of variation in their members. The basic difference between the two rests on economic position, occupation, style of life, and some variation in value orientation. The difference is one of degree not kind. Both share similar goals and live by much the same ethic. Therefore Cherokee acculturation is not a matter of becoming less Indian in cultural categories and more like white; it is made more complex by the fact that as Indians acculturate they replicate the class structure to some extent characteristic of the colliding white society.

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Marriage Customs of the St. Lawrence Island Eskimos[1]

BY MARILENE SHINEN

RÉSUMÉ

Malgré les contacts culturels et les transformations qui se sont opérées dans la culture des esquimaux de St. Lawrence Island, Alaska certaines coutumes concernant le mariage, tels la dotte, la période de travail du jeune homme chez ses futurs beau-parents et le système de résidence matri-patri-locale, conservent une importance considérable.

St. Lawrence Island is located about two hundred miles south of the Bering Strait and about one hundred miles west of Nome, Alaska. Its northwest cape is 38 miles from the Siberian mainland. The island has been the home of an Eskimo population for over two thousand years and there are at present two permanent villages, Gambell (formerly known as Sivokak) and Savoonga. The approximate native population of the villages is

[1] This paper was presented at the Alaska conference of the American Association for the Advancement of Science held at the University of Alaska in August, 1960. The abstract, or summary, was published at that time by the A.A.A.S.

375 and 350 respectively. There are only two white families in each, those of the schoolteacher and the missionary. On the northeast cape there is a military installation. This attracts a small number of Eskimo families who make their residence there during the summer months, either for construction jobs or for a ready market for ivory carvings and other native crafts.

Culturally the St. Lawrence Island Eskimos are much like other Eskimo groups, especially those of the Bering Sea region (Hughes 1960:4). Although their emphasis on clans and patrilineal descent marks them off from the generalized model of Eskimo social structure, these features are probably common to much of western Alaska. The closest cultural relatives of the inhabitants of St. Lawrence Island are the Eskimos of the Chukotski Peninsula, Siberia, with whom they maintained contact until recent years. Linguistically, the Eskimo of the Bering Sea region are classed as Yupik-speaking in contrast to the Inupik of northern Alaska, Canada and Greenland.

In this paper we shall consider some of the salient features of the marriage customs of the Eskimos of St. Lawrence Island. Because these people are in a stage of transition between the old established culture and the newer, less familiar ways of the white man, some of the customs now observed are unstabilized and in a state of fluctuation. Except where otherwise indicated for the purpose of contrast, the patterns of behavior described here are those of the present day.

Bethrothal

In previous years marriages were arranged by the parents with little, and in some cases no, consultation with the young people involved. However, in the last twenty years or so this traditional pattern has been undergoing change due to increased contact with white civilization. Most young people are now allowed to choose the mate they desire. They are then expected to inform their parents, who begin negotiations. The oldest living

member of the clan[1] has the greatest authority and his or her advice and consent are sought, no matter how capable are the younger members of the clan. Thus the ultimate decision does not rest entirely with the parents of the young people.

A typical instance may be cited here. Etta's son, Barclay, desired to marry Bernadine, the daughter of Martin and Isabel. Because Barclay's father was dead, it was the responsibility of his mother to discuss the marriage with Bernadine's family. The girl's parent referred her to Bernadine's paternal grandfather for his opinion before they could give their consent. Etta had a very difficult time approaching Matthew on the matter because of his position of respect as an elder in the clan and because of her inferior position as a woman. It is worthy of note, though, that Matthew would not commit himself until he had discussed the matter with the girl, her parents, and their clan members.

It is not uncommon for the girl's parents to make the initial approach to the boy's parents, although it is the boy's family who actually initiates the betrothal with gifts to the girl's family. If both families are willing for the marriage to be arranged, the boy's parents and relatives, both paternal and maternal, "step on" (tuuta) the girl by bringing gifts to her family. The parents and other relatives of the boy, including women and children, go as a group bearing gifts to the girl's home. The gifts may include rifles, hunting equipment, tools, sealskins, food items (e.g., flour and sugar), blankets, radios, and, in addition, usually

[1] The term *clan* is used here in the sense given it by Murdock. A social unit, in order to be properly called a clan, "must be based explicitly on a unilinear rule of descent which unites its central core of members... must have residential unity... [and it] must exhibit actual social integration... There must be a positive group sentiment, and in particular the in-marrying spouses must be recognized as an integral part of the membership." (MURDOCK 1949:68) A number of patrilineal clans, meeting these specifications, exist on the island. It should be noted, however, that these clans are not the type of unilinear consanguineal kin group to which the term clan has often been applied in anthropological literature, and they are not exogamous.

some cash. The specific date for the transaction is agreed upon previously by both parental parties and the young people themselves take no part in it. They are, in fact, not even present.

The gifts are deposited in the girl's home and the donors leave immediately. Members of the girl's immediate family set aside a few items for themselves, after which relatives of both parents come one at a time to select their items. If any fail to show up they are sought out and invited to come and share in the wealth. On one such occasion an aunt of the bride-to-be was first to arrive for her share. As she began to select a number of items the girl's married brother scolded her for taking too much, reminding her that there were others entitled to it. She explained her action by saying, "This first I come." Apparently the immediate family is careful to see that all the clan members receive their share.[2]

The gift-giving ceremony reflects the high esteem in which the girl and her family are held by the prospective groom. One informant put it this way: "When the boy's family likes the girl very much, they gives *lots* of presents, and if they don't likes her very much, they give little."

The importance of the occasion demands that it take place at night. "The more important the business, the later the hour." In general ,the gift-giving ceremony corresponds to the giving and receiving of an engagement ring in the white man's culture. The latter custom has, in fact, been introduced in recent engagements in addition to the traditional ceremony.

After the girl has been "paid for" the boy begins his period of groom work for the girl's family. This work often includes such menial tasks as hauling water or chopping ice, and gathering

[2] In the gift-giving and receiving the relatives of both parents may be included. However, upon her marriage, a girl is considered to become the property of ther husband's clan, and her children of their father's clan. See HUGHES 1958.

driftwood, as well as becoming a member of her father's hunting crew. The latter practice however, is undergoing modification. If the boy's regular boat crew needs him, he may continue to hunt with them, but his share of the game goes to the girl's family.

The period of groom work is, for the future son-in-law, a time of proving himself to the girl's relatives as to his ability to provide for her and for a family. It shows his subservience and willingness to serve her family even in the humble, and often humiliating tasks he is called upon to undertake. We have observed, for instance, a young man who was "working for a woman", go out in blizzard weather to get ice from the lake a half mile away.

In past years the length of time during which the boy worked for the girl's family was apparently at the discretion of the girl's parents. However, because of some abuse of this, the village council in recent years passed a resolution that the period of groom work must not exceed one year. In certain recent cases the period has been as short as three months, although it is more often a full year.

At the outset of the groom work, the boy may continue to live at home and only work for the girl's family during the day. He may then wait until after the marriage is made legal with a licence and a church or civil ceremony before taking up residence with the girl's family, or he may do so before the marriage is legalized. In one case, after it was discovered that the girl was three months pregnant, the boy bought the licence and moved to her family's home. They were married in a legal ceremony six weeks later. In another case the boy lived with the girl's family as a husband for some months before obtaining the licence and later becoming legally married. In several other cases the boy's parents requested that the couple be legally married before the groom began matrilocal residence. The latter, however, is a departure from the old way in favor of the white man's way.

Betrothal is considered by the older people as being nearly as binding as marriage. Those who have entered into this agree-

ment are considered as husband and wife from the time the girl is "paid for". In case the arrangement is broken by the parties involved, they are regarded, in the old way of thinking, as having broken marrage ties, even though they may never have slept together.

In one case in which a girl was "stepped on", or betrothed, but died before the betrothal period was completed, the girl's family was obligated to return some six hundred dollars in dowry money to the boy's family.

The relationship between the young people is expected to develop and mature during the betrothal period. This was vital in the old days, when the young people may have been strangers to one another or have had no attraction for one another previous to the betrothal arranged by their parents. The betrothal period was one in which any incompatibility should be resolved and a foundation for the marriage partnership established.

Marriage

At the beginning of matrilocal residence the boy sleeps in a separate "bed", but in the common sleeping room with the entire family. After a period of perhaps a few months, he sleeps in a spot adjacent to the girl, and then eventually under her blankets with her. She is expected to offer some token resistance at first, which may or may not be sincere, but which is customary. One informant said that this initial encounter may take on the elements of a pursuit all around the house with yelling and commotion.

Privacy for the young couple is ordinarily totally lacking. In at least one case, however, the young man prepared a separate room for his wife and himself in which to begin their married life together secluded from her family.

In the last several years young people have had wedding ceremonies in the church, performed by the resident missionary or the U.S. Marriage Commissioner, who also issues the marriage licenses. One modern young bride in Gambell ordered a traditional floor-length wedding gown and veil from California. These have been worn by each succeeding bride since then — about

seven in all. One can observe more and more of the white man's customs entering into the ceremonies, even to the inclusion of wedding gifts and reception.

The termination of matrilocal residence is not always simultaneous with the termination of the period of groom work. At the end of the period of groom work the couple may continue to live with the girl's family for a time if it is more convenient. In any event, matrilocal residence is only temporary and terminates when the couple are able to provide other housing arrangements, either with the boy's family or in their own home.

When a girl leaves her family home to live in the home of her husband's family there is another occasion for gift-giving. Typical of such occasions is the one described below.

At the time Velda was to move to Hector's home, his mother sent for two women of her husband's clan (i.e., the groom's father's clan). At about ten o'clock at night the three women went together to escort Velda to her husband's family home. In the absence of the bride's own parents, who showed their disapproval of the marriage by not participating, her paternal grandfather accompanied the three women and the bride. All the way (about 750 yards) Velda was weeping, while the other women tried to comfort her, assuring her that she would often see her father's family and her old home. The groom had no part in this, but was at his parent's home.

It is expected of the girl that she bring her bed and blankets, cooking utensils, and anything needed to supplement the household furnishings or equipment of her husband's family. In addition, the girl's relatives give gifts to the boy's family. These gifts are of the same nature as those given at the time of betrothal. Before the members of the boy's clan can select a share of the gifts, the boy's mother "steps on" the things she intends to keep so that they will not be appropriated by one of the relatives. In the case of a marriage within the clan, it is sometimes the same individuals who both give and receive gifts.

Whether a young couple will live with the boy's parents or set up housekeeping on their own seems to be decided by the parent in some cases. In a family with more than one son, the

father may choose his favorite son to live with him. In at least one case the parents and their unmarried children live in the same house with their two married sons and their families, a total of twenty-two persons.

Although matri-patrilocal residence is the usual pattern, residence at the groom's parental home is not necessarily considered to be a permanent arrangement. There seems to be a trend among the young people to have their own homes and "be their own bosses". In no case, however, are the parents left to live alone. If they do not have unmarried children at home, then a married son and his family will live with them, or at least in an adjacent house.

Young people who have been on the Alaska mainland seem to want to break away from the patrilocal residence pattern and to establish their own homes in the white man's tradition. The old pattern of deference and respect to elders is breaking down among those of the younger generation. They are acquiring disregard for the traditional ways of their fathers in favor of their own interpretations of the white man's ways. The old patterns, however, prevail among those in their mid-thirties and older. Married couples in this age class living with husband's parents show respect and subjection to their elders. The parents have complete jurisdiction over their own homes, including the children, both married and unmarried.

During a two year period of time we have observed seven marriages, in which the age of the groom has ranged from 21 to 25 years. The brides have been somewhat younger, ranging from 16 to 24. Apparently those under sixteen are considered too young for marriage.

Irregularities

Among the people of the younger generation there have been many incidents of sexual promiscuity, and as a result, some illegitimate children. For the young people of Gambell, at least, the presence of the army base near the village for several years was a degrading influence and hastened the relaxing of moral

restraints. However, the village of Savoonga, which is more isolated, has had the same problem with the breaking down of traditional controls. Many factors are involved in this breakdown, but apparently it is a by-product of the transitional process from one culture to another, in which there are no clearly defined norms or standards of conduct.

From the old people's viewpoint, it is not sexual promiscuity as such which is so objectionable. Their displeasure arises more from the social circumstances under which the relationships occur and the fact that such acts represent a defiance of the old people (Hughes 1960).

In the old ways, physical separation was gradually recognized as constituting a dissolution of the marriage. A woman who had been badly treated could be received again by her parents, and the marriage considered as terminated. Now, when the marriage has been legalized by a licence, it must also be legally broken at considerable monetary cost to the parties involved. As a result there are few divorces. Cambell, a village of about 375 people, has had only two legal divorces and two separations. This does not mean, however, that there have been fewer marriage difficulties or that they have been more easily resolved. One of the functions of the village council is to try to resolve marital problems.

In considering the present-day marriage customs as observed on St. Lawrence Island, we see some modifications of the old customs due to the influence of white civilization. It is also evident that the changing culture patterns have disrupted the old norms and have left standards of conduct in a very fluid state. In spite of this, however, the principal features of the old, established customs, including the dowry, groom work, and matri-patrilocal residence remain intact.

Summer Institute of Linguistics

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Ethnographic Notes on the Pedro Bay Tanaina

BY JOAN B. TOWNSEND

RÉSUMÉ

A l'occasion d'une expédition archéologique à Pedro Bay, en Alaska, l'auteur nous livre quelques observations ethnographiques des indiens Tanaina.

INTRODUCTION[1]

During the summer of 1960 the author conducted archaeological excavations at Pedro Bay, Alaska. Pedro Bay is located on the northeastern shore of Iliamna Lake in southwestern Alaska. (Townsend, 1961:1). At that time the author also collected ethnographic notes on the material, social, and folklore aspects of the Pedro Bay Tanaina Indians. The author had planned to return to the area the following season to conduct ethnographic research among this group of Tanaina Indians, but was subsequently prevented from doing so. Since my principal concern was with the archaeological excavations, the ethnographic notes were unsystematic, incomplete, and limited. The Iliamna Lake region is inadequately known ethnographically; the only information available is C. Osgood's monograph, *The Ethnography of the Tanaina*. Osgood was at Old Iliamna for one or two weeks during the summer of 1931. The Pedro Bay Tanaina have never been the subject of ethnographic study, and no information exists concerning them. Since the author cannot, at the

[1] The author wishes to express her appreciation to all of the Tanaina at Pedro Bay who were extremely helpful in the collection of these ethnographic notes. Special appreciation is expressed to her informants Mr. and Mrs. Holly Foss, Mrs. Nels Hedlands, and Mrs. Sophie Foss.

present time, foresee when she might return to the area and continue her study in the Pedro Bay area, and due to the general paucity of ethnographic information available on these people, it was felt that the ethnographic notes in this paper, however inadequate they may be, would be of interest and should be made available.

The material is presented in a topical arrangement and the initials of individual informants follow each item listed.

ETHNOGRAPHIC NOTES[2]

Houses and Temporary Shelters

Houses consisted of one large room with one or more smaller adjoining rooms. The smaller rooms were used for steam baths and sleeping compartments. (S.F.)

Several families lived in one house and the cooking duties were rotated among the families daily. (S.F.)

The parents slept on platform beds around the inside walls of the house. Unmarried children, married daughters, and their husbands slept under the parents' platform bed. There was a curtain over the lower opening. (R.H.)

[2] It is regrettable that the dominant trend of Europeans in this area has been to ridicule the Tanaina and Eskimo about their native cultural beliefs and customs. This has had the effect of making it extremely difficult to obtain ethnographic information from the people. Fortunately, the Tanaina are astute and accurate observers of personality and motives and after a few days the author was able to find four good informants. Biographical information of the informants is as follows:

H.F. — Mr. Holly Foss has lived in the area since 1906, is married to one of the informants, and has an intricate knowledge of the Tanaina at Old Iliamna and Pedro Bay.

L.F. — Legaria Foss, a Tanaina Indian female, is married to Mr. Holly Foss, was born in the Iliamna area, and speaks English very well. She is the postmistress at Pedro Bay.

S.F. — Mrs Sophie Foss, a Tanaina Indian female, was married to Mr. Holly Foss's brother, was born in the area, and speaks English very well.

R.H. — Mrs. Rose Hedlands, a Tanaina Indian female, was born in the Iliamna area, is married to an Eskimo from the Bethel, Alaska area, and speaks English very well.

Temporary dwellings, used when on the trail, were tent-like structures constructed of birch bark. Similar to the permanent houses, they had a smoke hole in the center of the roof. (S.F.)

Tools and Manufactures

The Tanaina made fire by rubbing two stones together and igniting dry birch moss. Fire was carried with them on trips so that they did not have to rekindle it. (S.F.)

A brown dye was obtained by boiling birch bark. (S.F.)

The people used a two-handed scraper made from the ulna of a caribou. (R.H.)

Utensils consisted of wooden dishes and spoons and birch bark containers of various sizes. The containers were held together by pine sap. (S.F.)

Food Preparation

All bones of all animals, fish, and birds were collected and thrown back into the water. (R.H.)

The gall of all animals was thrown into the water. (R.H.)

The Tanaina never ate the liver or kidney of a bear. (R.H.)

Hunting Implements

The Tanaina used a sinew-backed bow. (L.F.)

A snare was used to trap the ground squirrel. It was constructed from a stripped eagle feather, and alder trip peg, and sinew string. The snare was set in the opening of the squirrel's hole and tied to a willow pole which was bent over under tension. When the animal moved the peg, which was done when trying to enter the hole, the willow snapped up springing the trap. (L.F.)[3]

Dress and Ornamentation

Women tattooed the area between their mouth and chin. A typical tattoo consisted of vertical lines radiating out from the mouth line. (S.F.)

[3] Mrs. Legaria Foss kindly gave the author a collection of these snares that her mother had made and used in the early 1900's.

The nose septum was perforated and items such as needles and thread were kept in it. (S.F.)

Parkas were decorated with shells. Shells were also strung on sinew cord and used as a form of money. (S.F.)

Snow shoes were stained with red ocher. (S.F.)

Waterproof mukluks were constructed from whole salmon skins. The fish was left in the water until it floated. It was then skinned and worked. The mukluks tended to ruin if the wearer stood too close to a fire. (R.H.)

Stimulants or Intoxicants

Fungus moss, found growing on birch trees, was ground in a dish made from a whale vertebra. It was then burned into a white lime substance, mixed with tobacco, and chewed. (L.F.)

Signs

A person would mark the direction he was traveling by leaning a stick in that direction and putting a piece of moss on the top end of it. (S.F.)

Ceremonies

As soon as any young boy made his "first kill" of any animal, bird, or fish, a "First Kill" ceremony was held in the village. A large party was given and the older people ate the boy's "first kill." (R.H.)

Potlatches were held, and strings of beads were given away as gifts. (S.F.)

Games and Amusements

1. A gambling game was played with three sticks. each about three inches long. One stick had a black circle around it. The men sat in two rows, face to face, and sang. The women stood behind the men and sang also. The player placed one hand behind his back and his opponent tried to determine in which hand the stick with the black circle was not. The stakes were usually mukluks or mittens. (H.F.)

2. Another game was played by pitching birch bark discs against a blanket, trying to stack them up. (H.F.)

3. Another game consisted of pitching bark circles at an upright peg. This was similar to the American game of horseshoes. (H.F.)

At funerals the people danced, feasted, and sang "cry songs." (S.F.)

Medical Aids

Some Tanaina knew of local medicinal herbs. One was used as an eye wash, one was a good anaesthetic and antiseptic which relieved pain associated with cuts, and a third, which grows high in the mountains, was poison when eaten but a very good cure for infections. (R.H.)

Two cures for tuberculosis were known. One was to take the bark of an alder tree, boil it, and drink the red juice. The other cure was to eat the berries found on the tops of the mountain ash tree. (S.F.)

Sick people were usually isolated from others. (S.F.)

Social Organization

Polygyny was approved, but practiced mainly by the more prominent men. (S.F.)

Matrilocal residence was usually followed. (S.F.)

The informant knew of four matrilocal, matrilineal, and generally endogamous clans:

1. Raven (her own clan).
2. Mountain Sheep (two other informants were members: S.F. and L.F.)
3. Fish Tails (one other villager was a member).
4. Tulchina or She-Fell-In-The-Water.

Most villages consisted of only one clan. (R.H.)

Parents usually did not permit a daughter to marry outside of her own clan or village, and they were always harder on the men who married-in from other clans. (R.H.)

The Sheep and Raven clans were more closely affiliated with each other than with the other two clans. They were also associated with inland geographical regions. The Fish Tail and Tulchina clans were more closely linked with the water (Cook Inlet area). The Fish Tail clan was found only at Old Iliamna near the salt water. The Fish Tail and Tulchina clans looked down upon the other two clans. (R.H.)

The Raven clan was descended from the Raven. (R.H.)

Puberty Seclusion

When a young girl reached the age of adolescence she was isolated for about a year. The house she stayed in was lighted and heated by a central fireplace with a hole in the roof providing an escape for smoke. She was not allowed to scratch her body with her hands but was provided with a bone scratcher which had teeth fixed to one end and a hole in the other end. One end of a strip of sinew was tied through the hole and the other end was tied around the girl's waist. The scratcher was tucked into her sleeve when not in use. The girl wore knee-length mukluks while she was confined. She was prohibited from eating any fresh meat, but was allowed to eat meat which was over ten days old. It was at this time that she was taught to sew. When she did go outside of the "girl's house" she wore her parka hood down over her face so that the light did not hurt her eyes.

During her regular menstrual periods she was removed to another house and remained there for about ten days. She left the girl's house permanently when she was ready for marriage. The marriage was usually arranged by her parents without her consent. (S.F.)

War

The Tanaina often fought among themselves, as well as with others. Usually the fighting was conducted in order to steal beads, shells, and other valuable property. (S.F. & R.H.)

Little birds, such as robins or snipes, where usually kept around the camps and warned the people when others were approaching.

Dogs were trained not to bark when strangers approached so that they did not reveal to the enemy the village location. (S.F.)

Folklore

Concerning the Russians

When the Russians first came to Iliamna Lake the Tanaina thought that they were blind because they had blue eyes. (S.F.)

The Tanaina living at Pedro Bay I and the Russians living about 500 yards away on top of a hill were on friendly terms.[4] The Indians had sent their children to the Russians to learn their way of life but the children were mistreated at the hands of the Russians. The Tanaina attacked and killed the Russians at their fort on the hill. The Russian chief's son and the Tanaina chief's son were friends and often played together. At the time of the attack on the hill fort the two boys had been playing together at the Pedro Bay I village. The Tanaina returned to the village after burning the Russian fort and wanted to kill the boy. The chief refused to let the people kill the boy and spitting into the boy's mouth "made him an Indian", and therefore, they couldn't kill him. (S.F.)

The Russians came into the village of Old Iliamna during the informant's grandmother's time. They took the natives' fur and the people became angry at the poor trade dealings. A fight ensued and the Russians killed some of the Tanaina. Others fled down the lake to Pedro Bay and warned the Tanaina there. These people burned their own houses at Russian Point and fled to Knutson Bay and Chekok Bay to warn the other Tanaina.

[4] The location of this site, at the top of a point on the west entrance to Pedro Bay, is uncertain but the author found several Indian house depressions at the place known locally as Russian Point. It should be noted that these two stories conflict in that they call Russian Point both an Indian village and Russian fort respectively.

After banding together, the Tanaina returned to Russian Point and attacked the Russians, who by that time arrived at Russian Point. All were killed except one young Russian boy. The people then moved back to Old Iliamna. Old Pedro, after whom the Pedro Bay is named, was the last to move to Old Iliamna. Later the Tanaina moved back to Pedro Bay since the Iliamna River was filling in. (L.F.)[5]

Taboos

Women should never step over the body of any animal. This would bring bad luck for the hunter. (R.H.)

Women were not supposed to skin any animal. (R.H.)

No person was supposed to step over a man's clothes. (R.H.)

Women were not supposed to watch while a man was stalking any animal as it might attack and kill the man. (R.H.)

Women were not supposed to disconnect the joints of an animal. (R.H.)

A woman nursing had to be very careful not to get any of her milk on a man's clothes. (R.H.)

A woman was not supposed to wear any wolf fur. If she did she would not have any children or she would have a very hard time in labor when having a child. (R.H.)

If a young girl looked at a young boy while she was in her year of seclusion he would be killed while on a hunt. (R.H.)

Omens

Fox Omen: If a fox comes around a village and whines and cries like a puppy, someone will die shortly. (S.F.)

Owl Omen: An owl will tell you what is going to happen. Two owls may get to talking back and forth, and they sound like

[5] Both of the stories concerning the Russians are surely based upon fact and probably originate from the Lebedef-Lastochkin-Shelikof trading companies wars on each other and Indians and Eskimos alike between 1791 and 1794 when midnight raids, ambuscades, and open warfare were the order of the day.

the Tanaina language. One time the Pedro Bay people heard two owls in the village and it sounded like they were saying: "Something is going to happen in the village." Later that year a house burned. One man was injured and later died, and another was burned to death. Only one or two children were left alive. (S.F.)

Flame Omen: If you see anything unusual it means something is going to happen. The informant and her daughter, while walking one night, saw a flame on top of another man's roof. It looked like the house was on fire at first but the flame remained the same size. The man of that house died soon after that, and his wife died soon after him. (S.F.)

Grease Omen: When whipping grease for making Igutuk (Eskimo word for Eskimo ice cream) and it falls instead of fluffing it means bad things will happen to the family. (S.F.)

Luck and Offerings

If a porcupine crosses your path it is a sign of bad luck. (S.F. (Informant heard this from a Norton Sound Eskimo). One time there was a giant. Someone stole his sister and he went through the portage hunting for her. You can see his traces now. He also lifted up a rock and this rock can be seen now. The people put coins on the rock for good luck. (S.F.)

If you want nice weather and good luck you should throw money or bread into Iliamna Lake at a place called Tommy Point as an offering to the old shaman who is buried there. (S.F.) Informant used the term "shaman".

Don't mock any animals or it will bring you bad luck. (S.F.)

When you leave a fire you should erect a stick so you won't have bad luck. (S.F.)

Giants

There was a giant who once came through the area. Some can see his footprints even today. He carved out a large canyon with a big piece of copper just north of Iliamna Lake. (R.H.)

Mountain Whistlers

There are whistlers in the mountains which look like little rats that have been cut in half. How they came to look like this follows: There are giants in the mountains who are keepers of the mountains. A large rock closes over the door to their mountain home. One day a whistler was behind one of these doors and it closed on him, cutting him into two pieces because he was not quite inside the door when it closed. (R.H.)

Woods People

Children were told that there were people living in the woods. Sometimes they would miss a fish from the smokehouse. The Indians would talk to the woods and tell the Woods People to come into the village and take any fish they wanted if they were hungry. (S.F.)

One of the Pedro Bay villagers saw the Woods People once and shortly afterwards he went "kind of goofy." (S.F.)

Sometimes the Woods People capture a person. The Woods People are bigger than a tree. When the villagers search for a missing person they find their clothes high up in the trees above their reach. (S.F.)

Once a young girl, at one of the fishing camps occupied during the salmon runs in the summer, went out into the woods and stayed a long time. She later became pregnant and told her father she had met a man in the woods. The following fall she disappeared before her baby was born. The villagers followed her tracks into the woods and they suddenly came to a stop. This happened a long time ago at Eagle Bay. (S.F.)

Ghosts

To learn to play a musical instrument you should take it into the steam bath in the dark and begin to strum the instrument. Take a cat with you. You will see little light like fireflies. These are ghosts. Someone will take the instrument from you and begin to play nicely. Then the instrument will be returned to you and you will begin to play. Then you should pinch the

cat's ear and as soon as it yells throw it out of the steambath. You will then be able to play as well as the ghost. (S.F.)[6]

Concerning the Shaman

The Tanaina word for shaman means "like a dream." (S.F.)

The shaman could cause you to have bad luck. (S.F.)

The Tanaina had some women shamans who could also cure the sick with herbs. (S.F.)

Informant's mother's uncle was a shaman. He had a stuffed doll and kept it inside a parka made of bear gut. He would talk to the doll and she would answer. Informant's mother once dreamed that the doll came to her door. It was her "sister" who had come to take her back. She died afterwards. (S.F.)

The Tanaina had both a chief, who was usually the oldest man, and a shaman. The shaman could be either male or female. (R.H.)

The shaman could travel in his dreams and knew herb medicine cures. (R.H.)

The Shaman and the Girl Tale

There was once a shaman who wanted to marry a certain girl in the village but the girl married another man. The girl's husband and his brother went to run their trap lines one day. The shaman had promised to get revenge. The men laughed at him and told him that there was nothing that he could do to them. The men didn't return home and the wife began to worry. The wife and her crippled sister-in-law went to the village for help. Then a bear started out after the two girls and when the young wife could no longer carry her crippled sister-in-law she buried her in the snow and covered her with spruce boughs and then ran on to the village. The cripped girl felt the bear run over her as he pursued the other girl. The young wife arrived in the village with the bear right behind her. The villagers killed

[6] The informant stated that this was a "partly Russian belief" also.

the bear which had axe marks on its face. It had attacked and killed the two brothers. When the bear died, the shaman died also. (R.H.)

The Large Fish Tales

Old timers used to see a large fish in the lake (Iliamna). It would attack the red-bottomed boats.[7] Some say that they could hear the big fish growling. (S.F.)

If you are bad the fish will get you. Two Indians were flying with a bush pilot and saw a large black fish about 20 feet long in the lake (Iliamna). The informant ventured the opinion that the fish might be a big pike. (S.F.)

There was a woman living on Nonvianuk Lake whose husband was away.[8] She was wearing a red shirt and was warned not to go near the shore. She went to the shore anyway. All of a sudden there was no wind at all. Later the people saw the marks in the sand at lake shore where she had scratched it. Her husband returned and put a big hunk of meat on a line which he then put into the lake. He soon caught a bik pike and cut it open. Inside he found only his wife's hair. (S.F.)

The teeth of a pike are so sharp that they will kill a dog if it eats the pike's head. (S.F.)

Some people were around a big lake north of Iliamna Lake. They had heard of the big fish. They cut a hole in the ice and put rawhide through it to catch the fish. They hit the fish and it jumped up, breaking the ice where they were standing, and they all fell into the lake. One woman, who had stayed on the beach changing the moss in her baby's diaper, was the only one saved. (S.F.)

The people say that fish will take the shadow of a person. They are just like humans. Once they took a girl's shadow to their home in the bottom of the lake. A shaman talked to a doll and the doll went to the bottom of the lake, where she got

[7] No boats are painted red to this day.
[8] Located south of Iliamna Lake on the Alaska Peninsula.

the shadow of the girl and returned to the shore. The girl did not die. (S.F.)

A person should not pour fresh blood into the lake as it will bring the big fish. (R.H.)

People used to say not to go out too far in the lake and not to look over the side of the boat at the water or the big fish would attack. (H.F.)

One time some women were rowing in Kukalek Lake and they saw a huge pike with very big teeth coming after them.[9] They just barely escaped the big fish. (H.F.)

Concerning the Wolf

A wolf is just like a human. They can understand what a person says. If you are in the woods and cannot kill anything to eat, you can pray and talk to the wolf, telling him you are hungry, and he will get something for you to eat. (S.F.)

The wolf is a good hunter and is respected by all. He is the Tanaina's "brother." (R.H.)

Because the wolf is a good hunter, a man should wear clothes or trimmings on his clothes made from the skin of the wolf. (R.H.)

Concerning the Loon

If a loon yells or "calls" he is letting you know that something is going to happen. If you mock a loon it will bring bad luck. (S.F.)

When a loon cries it means that a storm is coming. (R.H.)

The loon is one of the shaman's birds. (R.H.)

Concerning the Bear

The Tanaina believed they were related to the bear and gave to him much respect. (R.H.)

[9] Located south of Iliamna Lake on the Alaska Peninsula.

If you rub a child or baby on the head of a freshly killed bear, the child will never be afraid of the bear. (R.H.)

Chulian and his Mother-in-law Tale

There once was a village and a man living there was named Raven or Chulian. He was married and lived with his mother-in-law. In those days they slept under the parents' platform bed. They used bear gut containers for food storage. Chulian's mother-in-law was down at a stream filling her bear gut container. She put it down in the stream so that it would float down and straighten out. She kept putting food into it but it never got full like everyone else's bag. Then her son caught Chulian sitting at the other end of the bag eating the food as it came down inside the bag. The brothers chased him out of the village and threatened to kill him if he returned. (R.H.)

Chulian and the Bear Fat Tale

Another time Chulian was back with his wife. They slept under the parents' bed. They used to store their fat in bear stomachs. One day they gave the bear stomachs to Chulian to carry back to the village. They began to notice that there wasn't as much fat in the bags as there should have been. At night they noticed a lot of moving around inside the house. Finally the brothers of Chulian's wife caught him eating the fat and chased him out of the village, threatening to kill him if he returned. (R.H.)

Rock Turns into a Dog Tale

One time the Tanaina were building a new semi-subterranean house. They began digging and found a spotted rock that looked just like a spotted dog. It was customary to use rocks in the corners of the house to hold the logs in place. The old people told them not to use this spotted rock but they did not follow this suggestion. One winter the people in the newly built house did not appear for their daily visit and the villagers went to look for them. The house had a fireplace in the center with a hole directly above it in the roof to let out the smoke. They

looked down the hole and saw a big spotted dog walking around in the house and human hair all over the house. They killed the dog. Only two people, who had run into the steam bath which was connected to the house and blocked the door, were saved. (R.H.)

DISCUSSION

All of the material presented in this paper is presumed to have been practiced in the pre-Russian and post-Russian periods up until about 1920. By this time the acculturation process had just about eliminated the "old way of life" but some of the material, such as the folklore is still believed today and many of the folktales are told to the children occasionally.

Due to the general limited and incomplete nature of this information it was not felt that a comparative discussion of the cultural traits and folklore was warranted. Interested readers, who might want comparative information, may consult Osgood (1937) and Townsend (1961).

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The Natural History of a Research Project: French Canada

BY EVERETT C. HUGHES

RÉSUMÉ

Cet article, écrit en 1952 et qui n'a pas été corrigé depuis, traite de l'origine et du développement d'un programme de recherches sur le processus d'urbanisation et d'industrialisation des canadiens-français de la Province de Québec. Par des recherches faites dans certaines industries et communautés de types différents, on a étudié les relations socio-économiques entre les canadiens-français et les canadiens-anglais.

Robert Lamb has asked me to write something about the design of that research part[1] of which is reported in *French Canada in Transition*. His aim is to let it serve as a starting point for discussion of the several orders of social phenomena to which these sessions will be devoted, to wit: the individual, small groups, institutions (going concerns), and communities (social wholes). In telling of the course of the research, I will refer to things not done as well as to those done. I encourage you to comment upon omissions and shortcomings, the "might have beens" of this research. Will you, in doing so, remember that our aim is not so much to improve social research in French

[1] This paper was prepared for discussion at the annual meeting of the Society for Applied Anthropology, held in the summer of 1952. Robert Lamb, who had planned the programme, died before the meeting was held. The papers and discussions were consequently not published. I am grateful to the editors of *Anthropologica* for letting it see the light of day.

No additions or corrections have been made to bring the paper up to date. There has been a terrific acceleration of both social change and social research since 1952. Some of my predictions of the 1930's are most certainly wrong. On one point, however, I was right. The big thing in French Canada continues to be urbanization and industrialization with their many consequences.

A paper-backed edition of *French Canada in Transition*, with a foreword by Nathan Keyfitz on recent demographic changes, was published this year by the University of Chicago Press.

Canada, as to assess our knowledge and our methods of study generally.

The French Canada project was not, I must tell you, designed, if by design one means a blue-print complete before the work was begun. It has been a growth of some twenty-five years. One might speak of it as a social movement, for eventually many people have been drawn into it. This memorandum will be a sort of natural history of this movement.

In the late 1920's, Carl A. Dawson began to study the process of settlement of the frontier, as seen in the growth and changes of a number of communities in the western provinces of Canada. Some of these communities were experiments in settling British urban workers on the land; many were created by people of Continental European origin; others, by sects who sought on the distant prairie a haven where they could practice a peculiar faith in peace and prosperity. Dawson had thus chosen as his own one of Canada's great problems.

He had just begun this work when in 1927, I joined him in the still new department of sociology at McGill University. (We two were the staff.) I had had no previous interest in Canadian problems, and but little knowledge of the country. In the several months between my appointment and my departure from Chicago for Montreal, I read a good deal about the French Canadians whom, I knew, were to be found in Montreal in large number. I decided to study the French Canadians simply because their presence seemed the most interesting thing about Montreal and that region. By so slight a joining of circumstances, I picked Canada's other great problem, that of the adjustment to each other of the two major ethnic groups. My choice complemented Dawson's. A few years later, the Rockefeller Foundation granted a sum of money to McGill University for social research. A committee decided to spend it on study of a pressing problem of that time, unemployment. Dawson and I insisted that to understand unemployment, the basic pattern of employment in Canada must be understood, and that pattern was clearly ethnic. Our plan was not highly regarded by most of the committee, but since we had a plan and kept at it, eventually more of the money was

spent on our studies than on others. Among them were monographs on various ethnic elements (including the British immigrants) in Canadian cities, as well as on the land; eventually, I got some students subsidized to study the division of labor between French and English in a number of industries, on the plea that this too was necessary to an understanding of unemployment.

The baggage I took with me from graduate school to Montreal included two conceptions of a people such as the French Canadians. They were: 1) that of an immigrant group in course of being assimilated, and 2) that of a national minority.

In the United States, sociologists had devoted much of their effort to study of European immigrants who had come to America more recently than themselves. From simple talk of loyalty and Americanization, some of the sociologists had gone on to seek a more general set of concepts for describing the changes which take place when diverse peoples meet in the same community (country or region). Robert E. Park adapted the socialization cycle of Simmel to this problem; contact was followed successively by conflict, accommodation and assimilation. Application of this set of concepts to the contact of peoples rested upon the assumption that one people was more ephemeral than the other, that one would disappear into the other. Although other Canadians knew well that the French Canadians were not an immigrant people, but a "charter member" group, I think that generally they thought that the French would, and ought eventually, to disappear; that the English Canadian group would and ought to outlast the French Canadians as an ethnic entity. A few studies appeared now and again on the number of French who spoke English, or who otherwise appeared to be abandoning their culture. Without going into why I think the measurement of change of individual cultural traits is a false way to study the relations between ethnic groups, I will simply say that for some reason I did not in fact accept this model of the assimilation cycle and resisted the desire of some of my students to proceed with studies on that model.

The second conception was that of a territorial national minority, such as one finds in Europe where a political boundary

is shoved over in such a way as to leave some people in the wrong country. The people thus marooned may then seek to have the boundary put right so that their citizenship and ethnic identity will again correspond; or, if a whole people has been deprived of sovereignty, they may seek to found a new and separate state. The French Canadians were made into a people and a minority in precisely this way; but there was no movement among them to join France, and there appeared to be no major or persistent movement to seek political separation from Canada. They did show minority behavior in their insistence on a certain autonomy, and in their constant resistance to alleged encroachment on their rights. I found the national minority model of use, but as I read the voluminous literature, it appeared to me that political objectives, as such, were relatively unimportant to French Canadians. The most constant plaint was that French Canadians get less than their fair share of good positions, wealth and power in the economic and political institutions. The great battle cry, along with that for cultural autonomy, was *parity,* — a share in all positions commensurate with the French proportion in the population. But parity implied not separation, but integration into a larger whole. I find in my notes that I quite early came to the idea of studying just what the place of French and English was in the larger whole of which both are part, and especially of discovering the ethnic division of labor (or of economic function), both in its major outlines and in its subtleties.

In the course of following up this lead, I read a good deal on the establishment of industries in Quebec. That led to the labor movement. Now the Catholic Church had early tried to keep the French labor of Quebec out of unions, and especially out of unions which were "neutral" as to religion. A few good pieces of work had been done on the movement to organize Catholic labor syndicates. This led me to a literature I had known nothing of — that on the various attempts to establish a separate Catholic labor movement in various parts of Europe. A good deal of this literature dealt with the German Rhineland, where Protestant entrepreneurs from outside the region had brought heavy industry to utilize local resources and had mobilized local Catholic peasants as their labor force. Protestant labor

leaders had followed the entrepreneurs to organize the local labor (exactly as in Quebec). As I followed up this case, I got more clearly into my mind the model of the region or community industrialized by outsiders, cultural aliens. The local region furnishes labor and/or raw materials and/or power. The newcomers furnish capital, enterprise and technical knowledge. In course of the development, the native non-industrial middle and/or upper class finds many of its functions usurped by the alien industrial leadership. In fact, the community now has two sets of leaders, one traditional and "spiritual," the other new, secular and technological. The strain between the two has many repercussions in politics and in local institutions. To rise in the new order of things requires new skills; but the educational institutions are geared to produce those qualities and skills valued in the pre-industrial regime. To re-tool the schools and universities for the new order quickly would require the calling in of even more cultural aliens. Similar dilemmas occur in other institutions: trade and labor organizations, local government, religious organizations, charities, and even in families and cliques. As I got into this it appeared to me there were essentially two kinds of industrial communities (or regions): 1) those in which by some social and economic chemistry local people themselves initiated the great changes of industrialization, eventually drawing a supply of labor from outside (this is the kind of situation to which the assimilation cycle concept may be applied with some reason); and 2) those to which industry is brought by outsiders who exploit local labor, and who undertake as many social changes as they think necessary for their purposes, within the limits of their power as counterbalanced by that of the local society. England and New England are of the first kind; the Rhineland and French Canada are of the second. Since the agents of social change in the Rhine country differed from the native people in religion but not in language, it seemed promising to examine this region so that I might better sort out the aspects due to ethnic difference from those due to the industrial invasion and to differences of religion. I did, in fact, spend more than a year in Germany digging up the story of industrialization there, and trying out with data of the German occupational and religious censuses various schemes of tabulation which I might

use in analyzing the division of labor between French, English and others in Canada. The study of the Rhine case did indeed fix in my mind more clearly the model of a whole region undergoing that series of changes known as industrialization, with one ethnic element as the active, enterprising agent of change, and another in the position of having to adjust itself, although resisting them, to these changes.

When I got back to Montreal after the German excursion, I started a few students on the ethnic division of labor there. William Roy went to a number of industrial concerns and got the data which he worked up into tables showing the proportions of French and English among their employees of different kinds and ranks. From these tables we got several characteristic patterns. In heavy machine industries, a solid core of old-country British skilled workmen apparently could keep the French out of apprenticeships. In industries with mass production, and with great use of semi-skilled operators, the working force was almost completely French. Fiduciary functions were apparently kept closely in English hands, even including the faithful pensioners so often kept on as night watchmen. If there was need for extensive contact with the public, and especially the little people of the city and region, the French got their chance.

Stuart Jamieson worked on the professions, and found that not only were there marked differences in choice of profession as among French, English and Jewish, but that in the same profession each of the groups tended to practice in a certain way, the professionals of each group performing not only the peculiar services wanted by their own peoples but also some special part of the professional services of the larger system of which all were part. Thus French and Jewish lawyers tended to practice in small firms, while a very large majority of the English lawyers were gathered into a few huge firms. A leading figure in each such large firm was a member of the boards of a group of powerful corporations. Each such English firm had, however, one or two French members, apparently to act as liaison with French people and to plead before French judges. It thus became clear to me that it was much too simple merely to say that the French preferred certain occupations and the English preferred

others, and that the English discriminated against French in appointing people to positions of authority in industry (although these things were doubtless true). One had to regard the whole thing as a system in which the interaction of the two peoples had brought about a division of function which was, in some points, quite subtle.

While we were working away on this line, I had some conversations with my close friend and associate, Robert Redfield, who had a crew working on a series of communities in Yucatan; he hoped to learn something of the change from what he called folk culture to urban civilization by studying simultaneously a series of communities each of which was assumed to present a point in this kind of change. It seemed to me that if we were to understand fully what was happening in metropolitan Montreal, we had to find a base line from which to gauge changes in French-Canadian culture and institutions. I began to think of a series of community studies with a village with no English people in or near it at one end, and with Montreal (where about one-fifth of all French Canadians live) at the other. Each community was to be picked for some special combination of the forces which might be at work on French Canadian institutions and mentality.

Somehow, in the midst of this, Horace Miner, an enterprising graduate student of anthropology at the University of Chicago, got himself a field fellowship to study the base-line rural community. After much search of statistics and maps a community — St. Denis de Kamouraska — was picked as being likely to show traditional French-Canadian institutions operating in full force. It was remote, but not back-woodsy or poor. This turned out to be an excellent choice, for it became clear that many of the traditional customs and practices depended on prosperity. A daughter of the house could not be kept at home spinning and weaving, on her own loom and with wool and flax from the family farm, unless the family land was plentiful and fertile. Farmers on back-country, poor and hilly farms had to go out to work in lumber-camps and their daughters had to go to towns to work, too; thus the common phenomenon of proud preservation of traditions by a prosperous peasantry after they are lost by the

agricultural laboring class. Mr. Miner's work is published and well-known. A couple of years ago he spent a few weeks there and published some notes on change since his first study in the American Journal of Sociology.

It was our intention to study a series of rural communities, at various distances from the cities and from English people, with varying terrain and soil. The notion was that each kind of situation would tend to produce its own pattern of functional connections with the larger industrial and urban world outside. Léon Gérin, a French-Canadian sociologist who studied under LePlay, had done a series of rural communities some forty years earlier, and Raoul Blanchard, the French geographer, had given a basic description of the soil and terrain, modes of agriculture, and movements of populations. We used these works in tentative choice of kinds of communities to be studied. Some rather superficial studies of new northern settlements have been made since then, but no detailed studies to determine the flow of people and goods from country to city and from farm to industry, or the flow of fashion and other changes from city to country.

The middle term of the series was to be a small industrial city. Now there were many such in the province of Quebec. We worked over government and business statistics with great care before choosing the first town, which my wife and I were to study ourselves. In the north and on the mountainous fringes of Quebec are towns with pulp-mills, company towns where various non-ferrous ores are mined, and a few where colossal power-developments have brought aluminum smelters (which require cheap power) far out into the back-woods of yesterday. In some of these the industry created the town. Some are seasonal; some hire men only, and so on. Since we wanted to see what effect the newer industry had on French-Canadian institutions, we chose as the starter a community in which those institutions had all been in existence well before industry came and in which there were local French families of a wide variety of occupations and of all the commoner social classes, and in which consequently there were French Canadians accustomed to the roles of political and economic leadership. The problem was not defined primarily in terms of English and industrial influence on, let us say,

the language spoken by people, but in terms of the operating social structure. Again, as in the case of Miner's work, this study is published and may be seen.

It may perhaps be well to tell the plan of the book. In the foreword and first chapter I say some of the things I have enlarged upon in this memorandum. Then I described briefly the rural family and parish, for these are the cradle of the industrial labor force of the cities, and are the institutions which undergo change under the influence of industry and the English. After considering the larger series of industrial towns and cities, I go on to our chosen community. In order to understand the industrial town of today, it seemed to me that we had to know its past, the rise and decline of enterprises, institutions and families through more than a century. With this setting in the reader's mind, we took him directly to the division of labor, in and outside industry. In the case of industry, we were able to describe pretty exactly, I think, the division of labor, and to account for the details of it. Subsequent studies in other industries and cities have revealed very little deviation from these patterns.

In the section on non-industrial occupations I attempted to set up a scheme for analyzing what will happen in an inter-ethnic community to those service and business enterprises which are subject to daily small choices of customers and clients, rather than to the major policy-choices of large executives. It seemed to me that one could posit that there are some services and goods wanted by both ethnic elements in identical form, while others are wanted by one more than by the other. Further one can suppose that there are some things which people insist on getting from people of their own kind, while they are relatively indifferent about the hands from which they get other things.

From there we go on to consideration of institutions, distinguishing those areas of life in which there is but one set of going concerns (institutions) operated by and for both elements of the population, and noting the changes brought about in them by industrializing, and the part played in them by French and English. Business, sports and government showed but a single

set of institutions. In religion and education, there was almost complete separation of the two ethnic elements, but it turned out that the English as well as the French schools and churches had been profoundly affected by the new people of industry. The Catholic parishes and their auxiliary institutions have shown great modification to suit industrial and urban conditions.

In the later chapters we presented the less formal aspect of things; or perhaps, I should say the livelier side, for the French have a rich ceremonial calendar; informal social contacts, public gatherings, amusements and fashions. The book closes with reference to Montreal, the metropolis. It was our aim to continue with studies in Montreal, but I left Canada at this point.

There are some bad lacunae in the study and in the book. While we present some data concerning cliques in the chapter on Social Contacts, and have a good deal more in our field notes, we did not adequately analyze the operation of small and informal groups in the town and in the industries. I am reasonably sure that there were no inter-ethnic small groups to speak of in the industries, but we should have got the data on small-groups and informal understandings and controls. Our knowledge of informal organization of industry was confined to the upper levels of the hierarchy.

The analysis of the more intimate life of the masses of the people of the town is sketchy. The story of the working-class family, — the internal stresses and strains of such a family newly come from farm to town and factory, — is not more than touched upon. We did not get adequate case material on this point. In fact, what the family as a going concern is in Cantonville, what crises it meets in its ongoing life, we did not find out. M. Jean-Charles Falardeau of Université Laval, is in the midst of studying the families of a large working-class parish in Quebec City. He has already published one article on the contingencies and life-cycle of urban French-Canadian families. We still do not have adequate knowledge of the changes in consumption patterns of individuals and families of the various classes of urban French-Canadians. Such knowledge is necessary to an understanding of family objectives and of conflict between the family and its individual members.

Just before I left Montreal, I began to have some conversations with a psychiatrist who was analyzing some young people of the sophisticated classes of French Canadians. Although he had some rather ready clichés about them, he was really interested in learning the structure of French-Canadian personalities. I had run into a number of restless, uneasy French young men, who knew that they had been trained for a world that was passing, and that they had not the nerve to break away from their protective families far enough to start over and take the ego risks of a new kind of learning and a new kind of career; the contingency of being bred a gentleman a little too late had caught them. This aspect of the industrialization of this region has not been studied; the personality problems, the psychological risks. The most recent information I have shows that the French graduates of the French-Canadian engineering schools still tend to seek the cover of semi-bureaucratic jobs. Whether they do it before or after a rebuff or two in industry, before or after a minor failure, — I don't know. But the whole structure of the family, the church-controlled educational system, etc., as they operate to produce people geared to certain patterns of risk and security, with certain balances with respect to reaching out and travelling far as against digging in and staying near home, with certain capacities for aggressive interaction and for tolerating criticism, this should all be studied. And it should be studied by some combination of observing and analyzing personal careers with use of the devices now available for delving deep into the dreams and nightmares of people. The question may be this: Will the French-Canadian middle class personality ever gear into the interactional systems of industrial line organizations; or will they skirt the edges catching a slight hold only in certain liaison or staff positions which they hold precisely because they are French? In that case, it might be that if French-Canadians do rise in the line organization of industry they may be people of some new class created by industry itself. The story of the individual in French Canada, of the forming of his personality, and of his meeting the new big world as a series of career-crises demanding fateful decisions on his part, that has not been told either in my study or in any other.

The program for studying a whole series of industrial communities was not carried through. The great recent development in Quebec has been that of new towns around new industries in the far north. In such towns there is no established French middle class, no set of local businesses and institutions, around them is no established *habitant,* or farm-owning class. It might be argued that we should have studied a north-country boom town in the first place, but I still think it served our purpose better to start with a town in which the French-Canadian institutions and a French-Canadian society were in full operation before English people brought industry. Yet, the whole region will not be understood until someone takes a good look at what kinds of social and political structure grow up where the new industry with an English management builds a town with French labor, but no counter-balancing French social élite except the clergy.

Even on the rural front, the full variety of typical communities has not been studied. Aileen Ross of McGill University has done one good study of the social processes of ethnic succession on the frontier between French and English in the eastern townships of Quebec.

The third kind of community was to be metropolitan, Montreal. I had started there, and most of the work done by the few students I got interested (they were just beginning to flock my way when I left) was centered there. I carried some of the material to Chicago with me and with the aid of a research assistant whom I brought along, — Margaret McDonald — a couple of articles got published on the ethnic division of labor. A few students came along and carried out small bits of work which fitted into the general scheme.[2]

The plan was to work out the whole scheme of division of labor with as much detail and subtlety as we could. It had already become clear that the Jewish people had to be drawn into

[2] Aileen Ross, for instance, found that the girls in the English Junior League were largely from very wealthy business and industrial families, while the girls of the corresponding French class were of landed, professional, and high-bureaucracy families, all much less wealthy than the English.

the scheme. The fact that the English and French are so clearly marked off from each other, and that they have so many separate institutions made the Jews and Jewish institutions more visible than in many communities; they are a kind of third term in the local system. We also planned to watch changes in the larger institutional systems (philanthropy, education, etc.) of the French world in Montreal, and to see what kinds of connections might grow up between French and English institutions as the city grew.

My hypothesis concerning charitable institutions, for instance, was that the French would adopt the English institutional forms — raising money by city-wide campaigns, distribution of money and services by professional social workers, etc. — but that the French-Catholics and English-Protestants would continue to maintain fully separate systems of going-concerns in this field. The English Protestant institutions are those developed to replace, under urban and industrial conditions, the earlier parochial charitable institutions. It seemed almost inevitable that the French, finding their own parochial institutions inadequate to the new conditions, would follow the only available model. Aileen Ross has been studying further the English philanthropic structure, but I do not believe anyone is studying the further adaptation of the French. I do know that French and English are sharing some of the faculty of their schools of social work.

Some parts of the study as originally conceived are being carried out by Prof. Oswald Hall and his students. They are studying hospitals and one of his students, M. Jacques Brazeau, did a penetrating study of the career contingencies of French-Canadian physicians. This group and some other people are studying the inner organization of industries which have personnel of the two ethnic groups. (Incidentally, a little observation in a large company in Montreal suggested that the reason all their dietitians had nervous breakdowns in a few months after being hired was simply that they hired progressive English dietitians to feed French-Canadian pères de famille. Think of a compulsive English-speaking Protestant spinster dietitian trying to feed a bunch of hearty peasoupers!) They are also studying the induction of French and English recruits into the Canadian Army, with emphasis on small group formation as a factor in adjustment.

But there is not quite, I think, a studied and persistent effort to build out the model of study of Montreal that we had thought of.

But a most interesting and unforeseen thing has happened. I had early concluded that the future of French Canada lay very much in the great national headquarters city, Montreal, and that Quebec City, the older and more purely French headquarters of French Canada, would have a minor role in the new industrial society. I visited down there occasionally, because it was picturesque and because I wanted statistics from provincial bureaus. But I did not take Quebec City seriously.

No sooner had I got settled in Chicago than I began, in one way or another, to meet people from Quebec City. Eventually I was invited down there for a semester as visiting professor at the Université Laval (I had never been invited in any way to the Université de Montreal, although I had tried to make contacts there). Laval had established a very live faculty of social sciences. I found there an active group of people engaged in a variety of movements of a "take the bull by the horns" spirit with respect to the industrialization of Quebec. A metropolicentric (sic) Montrealer, I knew almost nothing of the people or the movements in Quebec. Since then my contacts have been with the young social scientists of this faculty, nearly all of whom are continuing work on the economic and social changes accompanying industrialization of the province. I certainly did not create this group, nor did I design their research. Yet I have been a part of the movement of which they are also part, and the general design worked out in course of my study has been, in general, followed out in their work. What interests me much more than the influence of this model on their work or on any one's work, is an incidental implication of some importance for applied social scientists. At a certain point in the history of Quebec, an outsider came there under circumstances which made it a most intriguing and natural thing to start study of the bi-ethnic community and region, and to turn that study toward the changes wrought by industrialization. I, the outsider, for a long time got little or no interest from English students of the region. The first to work with me on the problem was a New England boy, born of French Canadian parents; he looked at the whole thing

with interest but as from a slight distance; the next was a Western Canadian who looked on the whole world from a slight distance. This combination kept the work going for some time. Perhaps it was inevitable that, if the work was to be continued, it should be done by the French Canadians themselves, the people most affected by the changes. What good is a research design which does not include some reference to those who will execute it?

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A Rejoinder to Dr. Wendell Oswalt Review of Dorothy Jean Ray's Book: "Artists on the Tundra And the Sea". (Anthropologica, Vol. V, No. 1, 1963, 82.)

It is not my wish to enter into a debate with a subjective reviewer, but I would like to correct several misleading impressions that Mr. Oswalt left with the reader in his review of my book, ARTISTS OF THE TUNDRA AND THE SEA.

In the first place, Mr. Oswalt makes it appear that the book is a comprehensive study of Eskimo art, which it is not. It is, rather, a study of the contemporary Bering Strait Eskimo ivory carvings and carvers, based entirely on my own field work in Alaska.

The chapter on archeology, which I called "Ancient Carvers," was designed only to summarize existing information and to familiarize the general reader with the archeological and historical antecedents to the contemporary carving. Although I stated for the first time some new historical generalities, I did not present new archeological interpretations, which the reviewer thinks I should have done. That already had been admirably taken care of by Collins, Giddings, Larsen, and Rainey as indicated in a special bibliographic section. Despite this fact, the reviewer presumptuously devoted over one-half of his review to the archeological portion of the book, which comprises only one out of ten chapters, 12 of 170 pages. Many of the points to which he chose to take exception are still debatable. For example, Mr. Oswalt cites Froelich Rainey's opinion that the "Okvik Madonna" shows the female sex organ. I think not. Only the Okvik people could tell us. There is nothing comparable in the carvings today. Furthermore, with the exception of several dubious examples, I could not find from first-hand examination of over 3,000 objects any characteristics that suggested eroticism.

Because the book was based primarily on field research, I did not list any books or articles not directly used in the book. To have made a complete list under such circumstances would

have been undesirable; uncited or peripheral material can be readily found in the ARCTIC BIBLIOGRAPHY.

Mr. Oswalt questions my precision and quality of research, apparently on the basis of his assessment of the archeological summary. I am happy that the effective judgment will be made by my readers as a whole, but I wish to put on record that I examined the complete Alaskan Eskimo ivory collections of eight major museums (completely apart from my work with the contemporary carvers) to supplement the printed sources for that one brief archeological chapter. I obtained the information about Figure # 29, which Mr. Oswalt says is erroneously captioned, from the catalogue of the University of Alaska Museum. It said: "Unidentified object from Wales." Neither the object of the catalogue provided a museum number, and the listing indicated it as a gift to the museum. Mr. Oswalt had been for some years a member of the University of Alaska Museum staff when I photographed the object. Am I to understand that he considers high-quality research to be the arbitrary rejection of a museum's provenience and the substitution of a guess by the researcher who publishes on the material? If not, it would appear that the error was Mr. Oswalt's or his colleagues.

DOROTHY JEAN RAY

Bothell, Washington

Recensions - Book Reviews

L'Occident en formation. A. Ch. DE GUTTENBERG. Traduit de l'allemand par Lucien Piau. Paris, Payot, 1963. 448 pp. 24.00 F.

A partir du sentiment d'une unité fondamentale des peuples d'occident, on peut, pense l'auteur, rechercher les caractères généraux de l' "esprit européen". Pour atteindre ce but il analyse, dit-il, les arts, la psychologie, l'anthropologie, mais en se plaçant résolument dans une optique qui condamne, en tant que "nom européen", la "décadence chez Débussy" et la peinture moderne, "née dans les quartiers les plus dépravés de Paris". Il regrette "qu'aucun Thomas d'Aquin ne soit sorti pour repousser cette invasion". Abordant la pensée scientifique, il "réfute les fables qu'on a créés sur l'évolution" et affirme l'apparition indépendante de l'homme. Après un long et nostalgique exposé de l'idée chrétienne au Moyen-Age, il aborde l'origine ethnique et culturelle des peuples qui sont devenus les Européens; c'est l'occasion d'affirmer "qu'il existe un rapport entre les qualités intellectuelles précieuses et certaines caractéristiques corporelles" et que "les différentes races sont de valeur différente pour ce qui a trait à des buts culturels donnés". Suit une apologie des anciens Germains, dont les qualités morales ont entrainé la victoire sur Rome et leur ont assuré la relève de l'Antiquité. Par contre les Slaves ou les Espagnols apparaissent étrangers à ce monde européen: "aucun pont spirituel ne permet de mener au Greco... à Dostoievsky ou même a Tolstoï". Il termine en regrettant qu'on n'ait pu faire de l'Europe "une nation chrétienne unique".

On pourrait croire, en lisant cet ouvrage, se trouver en face de l'œuvre d'un humoriste qui a voulu caricaturer, en les poussant à l'absurde, des idées racistes et des théories historiques disparues. Malheureusement, ce n'est pas le cas. Au milieu d'une documentation surabondante puisée à des sources contestables, c'est un effort de revalorisation d'idées qu'on espérait mortes avec l'Allemagne hitlérienne. Basé sur des arguments scientifiques qu'aucun spécialiste n'a le moindre mal à juger (à leur vraie valeur), l'ouvrage peut malheureusement faire illusion car il rejoint un courant de préjugés dont il prouve la vivacité. On ne peut que déplorer le choix des dirigeants de la collection, alors que tant d'œuvres fondamentales attendent vainement un traducteur.

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The Human Skeleton: A Manual For Archaeologists. J.E. ANDERSON. National Museum of Canada. Ottawa: The Queen's Printer: 1962, v-164 pp., 63 figs. $2.00.

The archaeologist, when excavating remains of human occupation and industry, in search of cultural evidences from the structures and artifacts, often comes upon actual physical remains of the people whose works he is studying. These may be formal burials, with associated grave-goods, sometimes fairly complete and in order. Frequently, however, the graves have been disturbed by later comers and the bones scattered and broken. In still other cases, there may have been only a very summary interment, perhaps of already-disjointed bones.

In any event, it is likely to be the archaeologist who first uncovers human remains and, while he may not be primarily interested in them, especially if associated objects are lacking, he ought to regard the bone-material as possible treasure, held in trust for his colleagues, the psysical anthropologists. Without his first intervention, these would probably never have come to know of the existence of the finds. It is not every archaeological excavation that can afford to include a bone-specialist, pure and simple, among its members. If the bodies are numerous, or their disposition complicated by disturbances, it is obviously wise to call in a physical anthropologist, if any is available, but in many cases the archaeologist, alone, will have to assume the responsibility for recording the bones *in situ,* extracting them from the ground, preserving, packing and transporting them, so that the bone-specialist may hope to extract from them, at home, as much useful information as he might have obtained could he have been present in person at the site of their discovery.

All this inevitably involves the excavator in the acquisition of a certain amount of anatomical knowledge, in addition to the skills of his own specialty. Where, as in the New World, archaeology figures only as a part, if an important one, of courses in anthropology, the field archaeologist is necessarily first an anthropologist and will evidently possess at least the requisite minimum of anatomical knowledge. In the Old World, however, archaeology is regarded as a distinct discipline, so that by no means every excavator has, during his training, been introduced to notions of physical anthropology. Most, obviously, have to acquire the necessary information at some point in their careers. The newer generation of archaeologists will, we trust, not suffer from this handicap.

On both sides of the Atlantic equally — and indeed anywhere in the English-speaking world where archaeological excavations are carried out — Mr. Anderson's book will find useful employment, whether on the desk of the student anthropologist who is learning his trade or in the bush-shirt pocket of the more senior excavator, who has never before encountered, or forgotten, the essentials of human osteology.

In 164 pages there are 18 brief chapters, of which the first 8 (just over half the book) are descriptive of the various parts of the human skeleton. So

much is already available in other works though perhaps not so pointedly and succinctly presented. The second half is the more original part of the manual, dealing as it does with the observation, measurement and study of the remains and their interpretation as anthropological documents.

There is an introduction to metrical techniques, as well as to qualitative observations, and chapters on the determination of individual bodily proportions, age, sex and the reconstruction of stature. The demographic aspects of the data are not neglected.

Morphological variations and anomalies and pathological changes are described and illustrated, the first time, I believe, that much of this information has been digested with the archaeological reader in view. A good deal, at least, was new to this reviewer, though it may be well known to anthropologists with a medical, rather than an archaeological background. Prehistoric surgery (trepanation) and deliberate skull-deformation are also mentioned.

Throughout, points of particular importance are emphasized and leading questions are put to the reader to lead onward his consideration of the implications of his observations.

Text-illustrations are plentiful, often at natural size (or larger, in the case of the teeth) and are frequently excellent. Their quality, however, is very variable. Figure 28, for instance (an 'exploded' skull, viewed frontally and from below) is confusing owing to lack of sufficient tone-contrast in the shading. In the Figures of the main long bones, on the other hand, there is considerable loss of detail through overdoing the strength of the line.

A more serious criticism concerns the lack of sufficient attention in the drawings to proportion and scale. In Figure 1 the skull is too large for the rest of the skeleton (only 6.5, instead of 7.5 heads to the height); the pelvis is very badly drawn (the iliac crests much too low, the acetabula far too widely separated). The legs are too short, the lumbar vertebrae too long. The whole impression is that of abnormal proportions. If a sketch, not to exact scale, was intended, the fact should somewhere have been stated. Otherwise, one is entitled to expect a higher degree of precision in a work of this sort.

In Figure 9 (ventral view of the scapula), the apparent depth of the subscapular fossa and the prominence of the two oblique ridges in it are greatly exaggerated. In figure 16 (two aspects of a femur), even the overall dimensions do not agree and there are manifest discrepancies in proportion. Other examples could be given of similar defects.

These criticisms are not mere carping. So excellent a text is worthy of more uniformly careful drawings — as careful as some, e.g. of hand and foot, indeed are. A scale with each Figure (so obviating minor inaccuracy in the designed size as printed) would be helpful, but in no case is the scale even mentioned.

Despite these strictures, the book is one that can be strongly recommended. It will prove of great help to many, who might not otherwise find the study of bones of much interest.

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An Introduction to the study of Southwestern Archaeology with a Preliminary account of the Excavations at Pecos. Alfred Vincent KIDDER. Précédé de *A Summary of Southwestern Archaeology Today* d'Irving ROUSE. New Haven and London, Yale University Press. 1962. ix-377 pages. 50 planches, 31 photographies.

Cet ouvrage de Kidder, considéré comme le doyen des archéologues américains, fut publié pour la première fois en 1924. Depuis lors il est resté un des classiques de l'archéologie du Nouveau Monde, et en ce qui concerne la préhistoire du sud-ouest américain il présente aujourd'hui encore la meilleure synthèse sur les Pueblos. Lors de sa parution Kidder fit part de son intention de le faire suivre d'une œuvre plus complète, mais malheureusement d'autres engagements l'en ont toujours empêché. C'est la raison pour laquelle la réédition de cet ouvrage doit être accueillie avec beaucoup de satisfaction.

Il est bon de rappeler que le sud-ouest américain, qui comprend les états du Nouveau Mexique, de l'Arizona, la partie sud de l'Utah et de sud-ouest du Colorado, a toujours occupé une place d'honneur en anthropologie américaine autant dans le domaine de l'ethnologie que celui de l'archéologie. Cette région est l'une des mieux étudiées au Nouveau Monde et de plus elle permit de retracer l'évolution de sa culture depuis le passé le plus lointain jusqu'à nos jours.

Il est clair que nos connaissances sur la préhistoire du sud-ouest américain se sont beaucoup accrues depuis 1924. Les nombreuses découvertes qui sont venues s'ajouter à celle de Kidder pendant ces quatre dernières décades sont résumées par Rouse qui auparavant prend soin de redéfinir certains concepts dont le sens a changé. Par exemple le terme "archaïque" employé par Kidder pour désigner des groupes sédentaires préhistoriques est aujourd'hui appliqué aux groupes nomadiques préhistoriques. Dans sont résumé Rouse passe rapidement en revue les principales traditions culturelles du sud-ouest, puis établit la chronologie culturelle depuis l'apparition de l'homme jusqu'à la conquête espagnole. D'après Rouse c'est aux environs de 24,000 ans avant J.-C. que les premières activités humaines devraient se placer dans le sud-ouest américain, mais la première tradition culturelle spécifiquement identifiée est celle des *Paleo-Indiens* (14,000 - 4,000 ans avant J.-C.) spécialisés dans la chasse du gros gibier. Elle fut suivie par celle du *Désert* (9,000 ans avant J.-C. jusqu'au début de l'ère chrétienne) caractérisée par des groupes nomadiques ou semi-

nomadiques de collecteurs et de chasseurs de petit gibier. L'introduction de la culture du maïs et plus tard de la poterie, donna naissance à cinq traditions culturelles dites sédentaires. La tradition *Mogollon,* la plus ancienne, occupa le sud-ouest du Nouveau Mexique et le sud-est de l'Arizona et dura 14 siècles, de 300 avant J.-C. jusqu'en 1100 après J.-C. La Tradition *Hohokam* se développa au début de notre ère à l'ouest de celle de *Mogollon* c'est-à-dire au sud de l'état de l'Arizona, et fut fortement influencée par un apport culturel dérivé de la Mésoamérique qui se manifesta, entre autres, sous formes de jeux de balles, miroirs de pyrites et de grelots de cuivre; elle prit fin au début du 14e siècle. La tradition *Patayan* qui s'étalait le long du Colorado à l'ouest de l'Arizona fut très peu influencée par notre civilisation occidentale et resta stationnaire jusqu'à très récemment. La tradition *Sinagua,* de moindre importance, fleurit dans le nord-est de l'Arizona, de l'an 400 à l'an 1100 environ de notre ère. La tradition *Anasazi,* enfin, centrée au point où les états du Nouveau Mexique, de l'Arizona, de l'Utah et du Colorado se rencontrent, apparut environ 700 ans plus tard que celle de *Mogollon* et atteignit son apogée entre les années 1100 et 1600 de notre ère, période pendant laquelle elle s'étendit dans tout le sud-ouest américain et engloba les autres traditions sédentaires sauf celle de *Patayan.* Les premières phases culturelles de la tradition *Anasazi* sont connues sous le nom de *Basketmaker,* tandis que les phases plus tardives y compris la phase historique sont appelées *Pueblo.*

En dernier lieu, il faut signaler les traditions nomadiques des *Apaches* et des *Navahos.* Ces deux groupes affiliés aux athabascans du Canada émigrèrent au sud-ouest entre le neuf et le onzième siècle de notre ère.

L'œuvre de Kidder occupe la seconde partie du Livre. La tradition *Anasazi* presque uniquement y est traitée. L'ouvrage peut être subdivisé en quatre sections. Dans la première Kidder retrace le passé historique de Pecos, la station Pueblo qu'il excava, depuis sa découverte en 1540 par la première expédition espagnole à la tête de laquelle se trouvait Alvarado et qui était à la recherche des sept fabuleuses villes de Cibola, jusqu'à son abandon en 1838. La seconde section est entièrement consacrée aux six saisons de fouilles entreprises à Pecos entre les années 1915 et 1922. Ces fouilles lui permirent, entre autres, d'établir que Pecos fut reconstruit six fois au cours de son histoire. Dans la troisième section Kidder décrit d'abord d'une façon détaillée les Pueblos modernes, puis reconstruit l'histoire des régions les plus importantes du sud-ouest: San Juan, nord, Little Colorado, Gila supérieur, Mimbres et Gila inférieur. Dans la quatrième section et conclusion, il établit la chronologie culturelle générale telle qu'il la conçoit pour le sud-ouest en se servant de deux facteurs de base, l'architecture et la poterie.

Tout au cours de la lecture de l'ouvrage de Kidder, il nous fut permis de nous rendre compte des grandes contributions qu'il fit à la science archéologique. Il mit au point une méthode d'analyse de la poterie pour établir les séquences culturelles partant du principe que du fait que la poterie était un des éléments les plus sensibles aux changements culturels, elle devrait donc être le meilleur indicateur de ces derniers. Kidder fit œuvre de pionnier

dans le domaine des fouilles stratigraphiques scientifiquement contrôlées, et fut le premier qui présenta un ouvrage synthétique sur la préhistoire du sud-ouest américain.

Les illustrations de l'ouvrage sont nombreuses et adéquates. Il est regrettable cependant qu'un index, qui rendrait cet ouvrage plus utile encore, fasse défaut. Nous nous permettons de signaler que la note au bas de la page 134 renvoie le lecteur à la page 132, alors que c'est 162 qu'il faut lire.

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The Psychoanalytic Study of Society. Volume II. W. MUENSTERBERGER, and J. AXELRAD, Eds. New York, International University Press, 1962, 317 pp. $7.50.

This volume on psychoanalysis and society covers a wide scope of material. Its three major subject divisions are Childhood and Development, Art, and Anthropology and Folklore; the nine articles comprising Volume II are contributed by representatives from the fields of medicine, psychology, and social science. Because of the considerable variation in these reports, it is difficult to extract unifying themes or consistent trends of thought. In this brief review I will comment on some points and issues that are of particular interest to the social scientist.

The first article, by Arthur H. Schmale, is entitled "Needs, Gratifications, and the Vicissitudes of the Self-Representation." In line with recent theoretical writings on "ego psychology" by Erikson, Rapoport, Hartmann, and others, it attempts to place the psychoanalytic theory of development into an interactional frame-work. For the social scientist interested in psychoanalytic theory, this is a welcome development, since it emphasizes the role of social interaction as the core of the "self" and plays down specific biologically-based needs and modes of gratification. As the individual matures and declines, the "psychic self-representation" is acquired and differentiated through relationship activities with objects. It includes an awarenesse of needs (the id), values (the ego ideal), and prohibitions (the super-ego). The id is regarded not simply as a collection of instinctual drives, but as an awareness of needs developed in a matrix of social interaction. Although Schmale maintains the importance of the motivational stages of early years, he emphasizes that the self-representation continues to grow and change at all stages of the organism's life. I anticipate that this trend in psychoanalytic theory will facilitate and enrich its collaboration with the social sciences.

In "The Bereavement Reaction" George Krupp discusses mourning for the dead, in terms of the psychodynamics of depression. He speculates that, since emotional ties, dependencies, and "denial" mechanisms are more prevalent in

American society, bereavement is more severe here thant in pre-literate society. Unfortunately, like much of psychoanalytic writing, this article tends to combine pre-literate peoples into one homogeneous group and to apply generalizations from clinical data to non-patients in our own, and other, societies. Thus, while Krupp states as a universal truth that the child experiences his parent's death as an act of rejection or aggression, he presents little evidence to support this and other interesting ideas. Krupp's discussion suggests that fear of the dead will be intense in societies where there is considerable ambivalence toward parental figures. He also indicates that sarcocannibalism may be more common in groups where a close emotional attachment and a long period of dependency exist between child and parent.

Sidney Axelrad raises a number of problems relevant to collaborative research in his critique of Orlansky's study of infant care and personality. Axelrad notes that social scientists have not been very successful in attempts to corroborate psychoanalytic findings. He speculates that psychoanalysts in America have been overly anxious for such verification by non-psychoanalytic methods, while "it is possible that certain data will be available only through the use of techniques specific to the course of psychoanalysis." He then draws the rather disturbing conclusion (to this reviewer) that "it might have been of more use for the psychoanalyst to cultivate his own garden." While Axelrad insists that "it is logically not possible to demonstrate the validity of psycho-analysis to anyone who insists that there is no unconscious, "he fails to appreciate that most social scientists object not to the concept of the unconscious, but rather to psychoanalysts' failure to utilize such data in rigorously-designed empirical research. The free associations of the analyst, based on the free associations of his patients, are hardly acceptable as scientific evidence! However, Axelrad does raise a complex problem which will demand a serious reconsideration of research procedure, rather than polemics, for its solution.

Walter Muensterberger's article, "The Creative Process," treats the subject in rather a restricted manner. The author attempts to delineate the essential psychological similarity in the efforts of the primitive and the modern artist, and the psychopathological syndrome of fetishism. In his opinion, they all stem from aggressive attempts to allay anxiety resulting from an early separation from mother and the fear of castration. Both the artist and the fetishist are impelled to manipulate their "material" as a means of symbolically recovering the lost object (e.g., mother). After following a tortuous thread of reasoning, we finally learn that this process is the basis of artistic creativity. One cannot help but be impressed by the author's presumptuous generalizations, especially in view of supporting evidence culled from random clinical interviews and a few folk tales.

To this reviewer, one of the most interesting papers in the volume is a study by Bert Kaplan of themes in Zuni mythology and TAT's. Kaplan addresses himself to a problem of long-standing concern to workers in the field of culture and personality. Although a society's myths have often been

used as data analagous to responses to projective tests, a number of questions have been raised about this assumption. Kaplan finds that, despite *some* similarity in themes, Zuni myths and TAT's do not contain the same elements; in some cases they include contrary themes dealing with interpersonal relations. In explaining these differences, Kaplan regards the results of the TAT and other prospective tests not simply as isomorphic reflections of inner states, but rather as normative behavior pertinent to a given definition of the (test) situation. He concludes that "valid projective test interpretation absolutely requires that normative elements be understood and I am willing to say that in their absence the TAT's have no real meaning and are uninterpretable." In addition, myths may not only reflect the modal personality in the society, but may also have functional significance for the maintenance of the social system. For example, the frequent occurrence of myths of abandoned and despised children may not reflect such feelings among people in the society, but may be a means of communicating cultural values related to social equality or sympathy for the underdog.

I believe that the social scientist can benefit from some stimulating ideas and insights found in this collection, despite a frequently cavalier approach to scientific evidence and research methods, and a tendency to over-generalize from clinical data.

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The Donaldson Site. J.V. WRIGHT and J.E. ANDERSON. National Museum of Canada, Bulletin No. 184, Ottawa, 1963, 113 pp., 35 pls., 8 figs., 11 tables. $1.50.

The Donaldson site, an early Middle Woodland component on the Saugeen River, Bruce Peninsula, southwestern Ontario, was excavated jointly in 1960 by the National Museum of Canada and the University of Toronto, under the direction of James V. Wright, who, in a concise but well written report, has attributed it to the Saugeen Focus, along with the Burley and Inverhuron sites of the same area. Radiocarbon dates of 667 B.C. ± 220 years and 519 B.C. ± 60 years, have been obtained for this focus on the Burley and Donaldson sites, respectively.

Features uncovered at the Donaldson component included a group of six multiple burials, comprising the flexed and bundle interments of 12 individuals, some accompanied by *Marginella* shell beads, copper beads, and scanty chipped stone and bone implements; post mold patterns of two rectangular houses measuring respectively 11 x 17 feet and 17 x 23 feet; and 11 pits, some evidently used for cooking, others of indeterminate function. Shallow midden deposits were also found below plow level and these yielded the major portion of the artifacts and food remains.

Stone, bone and copper artifacts, comprising a relatively small proportion of the total industrial content, included side-notched and stemmed projectile points, end and side scrapers, biface knives, choppers, celts, hammerstones, mullers, a milling stone, a few gorgets, bone awls and a copper celt, punch and awl. Although a marked reliance on fishing was indicated by the surviving animal remains, the only items of fishing tackle were an antler toggle-head harpoon and notched stone netsinkers. No vestige of a smoking pipe was found.

Potsherds, predominating over other artifacts in quantity and variety, conformed principally to pseudo scallop shell, dentate stamped, rocker stamped and incised decorative styles. Vinette 1 ware and trade sherds of the Nutimik Focus, Rainy River Aspect, were each represented by a few examples.

Wright observes that the major Donaldson site ceramics are characterized by a Vinette 1-like paste combined with decorative motifs of established Point Peninsula types. He favors, however, the separation of the Donaldson assemblage from the Point Peninsula, although postulating some degree of genetic relationship with this culture. He suggests the derivation of the Saugeen Focus from a local Late Archaic complex, fertilized by diffusions, chiefly ceramic, from the Rainy River Aspect, especially the Laurel Focus thereof. The reviewer, on the other hand, on the basis of newer, still unpublished data, would place the Donaldson site in his redefined Early Point Peninsula culture, but would favor the Rainy River connections as the probable source of certain traits of this culture.

Anderson's contribution, the "Osteology of the Donaldson Site", is a comparative study of the meager skeletal material from the site with Archaic and later groups, including the Ontario Iroquois, in the Northeast. The reviewer feels that the material available to Anderson is too limited to convincingly support his conclusion that the distinctions arose regionally "with the passage of time as genetic and dietary factors modified the morphology" of the Walcolid type of the Donaldson site, rather through the introduction of new physical varieties into the area.

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General Semantics and Contemporary Thomism. Margaret GORMAN, R.S.C.J. Lincoln, University of Nebraska Press, 1962. xv-195 pp., ill. $1.25.

Margaret Gorman's book constitutes a short but very useful introduction to general semantics. In her book the author discusses four major issues in relation with general semantics. First, an historical sketch is attempted in order to point out the main sources of the principles underlying general

semantics: logical positivism, the general scientific trend, and the non-Aristotelean ways of thought. The author then offers an objective discussion of "the communication aspect of the problem of meaning as considered by general semanticists" (p. 28): the concept of reality and of man, abstraction, symbolism, meanings, values and morality. Thirdly, she endeavors to confront the theory of meaning as explained by general semantics to the thomistic principles of change, human knowledge, communication and truth. The main differences between thomism and general semantics are well exposed and neatly summarized. The last issue to be discussed is what Gorman calls "the educational implications of general semantics" on the elementary, secondary and college levels of education.

Throughout the book, Margaret Gorman gives an objective exposé of the major contributions of general semantics to the actual problem of "the effect of language on behavior" (p. 28) and "to the necessity of developping awareness of the personal element in word meanings and in all communication" (171). She, moreover, points out very clearly the metaphysical and epistemological implications of a discipline which is not merely practical.

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Notes bibliographiques - Book Notes

Devenir de l'homme. E. BONÉ, Collection "Etudes Religieuses" nº. 759. Bruxelles, La Pensée Catholique; Paris, Office Général du Livre, 1962. 120 pp., tables. 54 F.

Cet opuscule groupe quelques causeries et articles récents du Père Emile Boné. On y trouve un chapître sur "Les jalons de l'hommes", un autre traite de l' "Originalité biologique de l'homme", et un troisième, enfin, nous décrit "Un siècle d'Anthropologie préhistorique; Compatibilité ou incompatibilité scientifique du Monogénisme?" Un lexique, une courte bibliographie et trois tables complètent le tout.

Education and Culture: Anthropological Approaches. George D. SPINDLER, ed. New York, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1963. xx-571. $4.75.

The contribution of Anthropology to Education is the topic of this book. Its 25 papers are grouped under three headings: "The Articulation of Anthropology and Education", "Education in American Culture", and "Education Viewed Cross-Culturally".

The Family in Cross-Cultural Perspective. William N. STEPHENS. New York, Holt Rinehart and Winston, 1963. xv-460 pp. $4.75.

As its title implies, this book is a cross-cultural survey of the family and family customs. Several long quotations from the ethnographic literature are grouped under such headings as plural marriage, kinship roles of husband and wife, child-rearing, etc. An appendix (interview material), three bibliographies (cross-cultural, general, ethnographic studies) and two indeces conclude the book.

Flower in my Ear: Arts and Ethos of Ifaluk Atoll. Edwin Grant BURROWS. University of Washington Publication in Anthropology Vol. 14. Seattle, University of Washington Press, 1963. vii-439 pp., ill. $6.75.

In this book, the author wants to show that "the function of art on Ifaluk, and by implication wherever else art and the rest of life are as closely intertwined as they are there, is to express the values and sentiments — the ethos — that dominate motivation in that community." The study is divided into two parts: the first part describes the "Major Arts of Ifaluk" — tatooing, verbal arts, dance, etc. — while the second examines the "Sentiments Expressed" in these art forms.

The Old Stone Age: A Study of Palaeolithic Times. Miles BURKITT. Toronto, McClelland & Stewart Limited. 4th ed., Ist Atheneum ed., 1963. x-270 pp., ill. $1.75.

Ce volume est une nouvelle édition de l'ouvrage paru pour la première fois en 1933. C'est un traité d'archéologie du Paléolithique tel que trouvé en Europe et dans les pays avoisinants. L'auteur décrit entre autre les instruments, l'art et la culture de cette période de même que certains problèmes plus théoriques, par exemple, la méthode de recherches, les problèmes géologiques, le travail sur le terrain. Une bibliographie et un index complètent le volume.

Papago Indian Pottery. Bernard L. FONTANA, William J. ROBINSON, Charles W. CORMACK, Ernest E. LEAVITT, Jr. The American Ethnological Society. Seattle, University of Washington Press, 1963. xviii-163 pp., ill. $5.75.

Ce volume nous décrit la poterie des indiens Papago. Les auteurs ont pour but de développer un aspect jusqu'ici négligé dans les travaux sur ces indiens, de même que de faire le joint entre la poterie et certains problèmes ethnographiques et archéologiques.

The Religions of the Oppressed: A Study of Modern Messianic Cults. Vittorio LANTERNARI. Transl. by Lisa Sergio. New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1963. xx-343-xiii pp. $6.95.

L'auteur de ce volume étudie certains mouvements religieux, plus spécifiquement les mouvements prophétiques et de libération, qui se sont développés de nos jours dans les pays coloniaux ou semi-coloniaux. Il place aussi ces mouvements dans leur contextes socio-culturels pour déterminer les relations qui existent entre le "religieux" et le "séculier".

Social Anthropology. Paul BOHANNAN. New York, Holt Rinehart and Winston, 1963. viii-421 pp., ill. $6.00.

Il s'agit d'un nouveau manuel d'Anthropologie Sociale. Une première section traite de sujets théoriques tels ceux de culture, de personnalité, etc., puis, dans la deuxième partie, l'auteur développe les catégories classiques de l'Anthropologie Culturelle en se servant de la méthode comparative.

Understanding Culture. John J. HONIGMANN. New York, Evantston, & London, Harper & Row, 1963. viii-468 pp., ill. $6.75.

This new textbook on Social Anthropology proposes to "test its [Social Anthropology] strength on things 'of high importance' " and to treat questions "alive with intense party feeling."

Zulu Transformations: A Study of the Dynamics of Social Change. Absalom VILAKAZI. Pietermaritzburg, University of Natal Press, 1962. x-168 pp., ill. R 1. 75.

L'auteur de ce volume, un anthropologue africain, nous décrit l'influence de la culture et de la civilisation occidentales sur un groupe Zulu.

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