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SOMMAIRE—CONTENTS

A propos de la légitimité et de la matrifocalité :
TENTATIVE DE RÉ-INTERPRÉTATION.

PAR LIONEL VALLÉE

SUMMARY

This article purports to examine two concepts which are at the root of any analysis of the Caribbean family structure: legitimacy and matrifocality. The author reviews Malinowski's so-called Principle of Legitimacy, delineates five fundamental implications of this principle, and posits that they are in fact "conditions" of its very existence. Furthermore, he suggests that these conditions and their implications forces one to conclude to the necessity of a dual level of analysis with regard to legitimacy: the structural and the functional. Matrifocality is seen as intimately related to the former, and also susceptible of a similar conceptual distinction. In the second part of the article, the author illustrates his re-interpreparation of these two concepts through a review of the St-Thomian family structure.

Depuis longtemps déjà, la littérature sociologique et anthropologique fait état du problème de la légitimité et de la matrifocalité dans les sociétés traditionnelles et modernes.[1] Ces considérations ont leur importance, en ce qu'elles ont des implications profondes sur l'analyse de la structure et des fonctions de la famille humaine en général. Certaines sociétés, cependant, présentent quelques difficultés au niveau de l'analyse, soit en ce qui touche à la résidence commune — et c'est le cas, par exemple, de sociétés telles que les Nayars d'Inde méridionale (Gough 1959) et les kibbut-

[1] L'auteur désire remercier un certain nombre de personnes qui l'ont aidé directement dans l'élaboration de la recherche, ou encore influencé sa pensée par les contacts qu'il a eu avec eux. Il s'agit d'abord de ses aviseurs aux Départements d'Anthropologie et de Sociologie de l'Université Cornell: Drs. Allan R. Holmberg, Robin M. Williams, Jr., Edward C. Devereux et Alexander H. Leighton. Il veut remercier de façon spéciale le Dr. Robert H. Dalton, Renée Vallée, Eldra Shulterbrandt, Helen Richardson et tous les St-Thomiens. Enfin, des remerciements particuliers vont au professeur Dubreuil qui a accepté de lire plusieurs versions de cet article, et qui a fait de nombreuses suggestions. L'auteur, bien entendu, prend seul la responsabilité de toutes les opinions émises dans ce texte.

zim d'Israël (Spiro 1954), — soit en ce qui concerne la forme même des relations maritales — c'est le cas plus particulièrement de la famille noire des Caraïbes (Henriques 1953; R.T. Smith 1956; Herskovits 1937).

Dans le présent exposé, je m'attacherai à dégager les conditions d'existence de l'une et de l'autre, à proposer une distinction entre, d'une part, matrifocalité et légitimité structurales, et d'autre part, matrifocalité et légitimité fonctionnelles. Enfin, à la lumière de cette distinction, j'analyserai brièvement la famille St-Thomienne, et passerai à des conclusions générales sur la famille matrifocale.

PRINCIPE DE LA LÉGITIMITÉ

La plupart des anthropologues soutiennent que la famille nucléaire, telle que définie par Murdock (1949:1), est universelle et nécessaire parce qu'elle satisfait des besoins fondamentaux (satisfaction sexuelle, procréation, survivance économique, enculturation, etc...) lesquels se retrouvent partout et à toutes les époques.

Toute considération visant à confirmer l'universalité de la famille nucléaire ou à en nier l'existence, doit pouvoir au départ solutionner le problème posé par Malinowski, lorsqu'il a énoncé le principe de la légitimité. "Aucun enfant, écrivait-il, ne saurait être mis au monde sans qu'un homme — et un seul — assume le rôle de père sociologique, c'est-à-dire de gardien et protecteur, de lien mâle entre l'enfant et le reste de la société". (1930:137)[2] Pour saisir toute la portée de ce principe — que Malinowski voulait universel — il est nécessaire d'en dégager les implications fondamentales. Nous en discernons cinq principales: (1) D'abord, il présuppose un certain degré d'*intégration* de la société. Cette intégration repose sur un degré de consensus social, lequel présuppose à son tour que la majorité des membres partagent les valeurs fondamentales de cette société; (2) Il implique aussi une certaine *institutionalisation* du statut parental: c'est-à-dire que la

[2] Dans les pages qui suivent, la traduction française des citations est celle de l'auteur.

société insiste pour que la responsabilité de chaque enfant soit dévolue à des personnes déterminées; cette règle est définie et maintenue par la société; (3) Il implique également, qu'à ce statut soit rattaché au moins un *rôle* principal et universel. Dans le cas du père, ce rôle doit se jouer à deux niveaux: d'un côté, au niveau de la famille, en tant que "gardien et protecteur" de l'enfant; de l'autre, à celui de la collectivité, comme "lien mâle entre l'enfant et le reste de la société"; c'est de la conjonction de ces deux rôles que découle celui, beaucoup plus large, de "père sociologique". (4) De l'actualisation des deux dernières implications découle la *légitimité sociologique* de l'enfant, laquelle peut ou non coïncider avec la légitimité physique ou biologique de celui-ci. Cette légitimité consiste alors dans l'attribution d'un statut sociologique à la relation parents-enfants, statut auquel est attaché un certain nombre de droits et devoirs; (5) Le principe assume enfin que *toutes les sociétés* ont une telle règle relative à la légitimité, ou, négativement, une règle condamnant l'illégitimité.

Un examen attentif nous mène à conclure qu'à cause de leur caractère inclusif, ces "implications" se transforment facilement en "conditions" d'existence. Ce qui veut dire qu'en l'absence de la première "condition" — c'est-à-dire face à une société désintégrée ou en voie de désintégration — les autres ont peu de chances d'exister. Nous ne sommes plus alors qu'en présence d'une seule relation structurale, nécessaire mais minimale, de solidarité: soit celle de la mère à l'enfant. Dans ce contexte, la voie est ouverte à toutes les formes d'agencement matrimonial possible, depuis le concubinage jusqu'à la polygamie. On peut donc en déduire avec Goode que l'institutionalisation du mariage ne vise pas à justifier ou "légitimer" les relations d'ordre sexuel, mais plutôt à préciser le lien ou la relation, d'une part, entre les parents et l'enfant, et d'autre part, entre l'enfant et la société dans laquelle il vit. (Goode 1960:22)

D'autre part, la liberté sexuelle ne semble pas être à l'origine de la difficulté. Les données ethnographiques montrent, en effet, qu'un grand nombre de sociétés accordent une très grande liberté à leurs membres dans ce domaine. Et ces sociétés se recrutent sur les cinq continents. Il faut noter, cependant, qu'au hasard de ces relations permises, l'apparition d'un enfant provoque souvent une sévère désapprobation. Chez certains il sera tué; chez d'autres il

sera adopté par un couple déjà marié. S'il est laissé à la mère, il aura à faire face dans certains cas à une certaine aliénation sociale. Ainsi dans tous les cas, l'entité socio-culturelle "père" est considérée comme indispensable à chaque enfant, et cela dans toutes les sociétés humaines connues. D'où l'anomalie sociale que présente l'enfant illégitime dans une société. Malinowski dira: "un groupe consistant en une femme et ses enfants, est une unité légalement incomplète". (1930:138)

A ces implications fondamentales du principe de la légitimité, ainsi qu'à leurs conséquences individuelles et sociales, il convient d'ajouter une distinction. La littérature anthropologique, à la suite des études démographiques et sociologiques, ne fait état que de la légitimité légale; c'est-à-dire celle qui se mesure par un taux de naissance en dehors des liens du mariage. Si les anthropologues se sont préoccupés des conséquences sociales et culturelles de sa présence dans une société, ils n'ont pas cru bon d'en déterminer et d'en analyser l'existence à d'autres niveaux. Or, si on y regarde de près, la légitimité se situe en réalité à deux niveaux: (1) Il y a d'abord une légitimité que nous appellerons *structurale*. C'est celle qui est fondée sur des principes statutaires décrits et définis par l'autorité établie. C'est la légitimité juridique. Les déviations — ou l'illégitimité, — sont susceptibles de rencontrer des sanctions négatives organisées de la part de la société. C'est le cas, par exemple, de nombreuses sociétés, où les parents et surtout les enfants sont frappés d'un certain nombre d'interdits ou d'incapacités sociales telles que l'impossibilité d'hériter. (2) D'autre part, il existe un certain nombre de sociétés où cette aliénation sociale est absente ou encore passablement mitigée, mais où le point critique se situe au niveau de l'intégration sociale, soit de la société entière, soit d'une segment homogène de sa population. Cette légitimité est alors étroitement liée à un mode de comportement, attenant à un système de valeurs, partagé par une unité sociologique et culturelle déterminée. Cette unité peut être une classe sociale, une caste, un groupement religieux, etc.[3] Il s'agirait donc d'une légitimité qui se situe davantage au niveau de l'intégra-

[3] La polygamie chez les Mormons, ou encore l'indissolubilité du mariage catholique, serait une forme de légitimité fonctionnelle, réservée à une unité sociologique autre que la société totale, et institutionalisée.

tion partielle et que l'on pourrait appeler *fonctionnelle*. Cette distinction revêt une certaine importance, à partir du moment où on réalise que les deux niveaux de légitimité ne coïncident pas nécessairement. Si on accepte cette distinction, il faut en conclure que le principe énoncé par Malinowski, s'adresse surtout à la légitimité structurale, puisque la seconde forme semble possible quel que soit le degré d'intégration totale de la société; qu'elle pourrait apparaître dans un segment de la population sans pour cela être institutionalisée; et qu'étant l'expression d'un système de valeurs partagées, elle ne compromet pas — du moins à l'intérieur du segment considéré — le statut d'une partie des membres de cette collectivité.

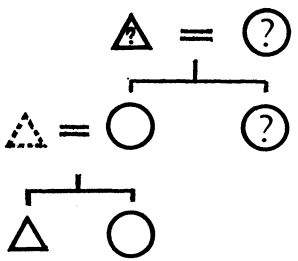
Ce problème de la légitimité se trouve profondément impliqué dans l'analyse de la famille matrifocale dans les Antilles.

LA MATRIFOCALITÉ

Goode (1960:22) a démontré que le principe de légitimité n'est pas réfuté par les données que l'on obtient dans le monde occidental où les taux d'illégitimité (structurale) sont relativement bas; il signale, cependant, le cas particulier de la région des Caraïbes, où, au contraire, le taux est très élevé, variant entre 30 pour cent (Bermudes) et 85 pour cent (Haïti), avec une moyenne de 53.2 pour cent pour l'ensemble des îles de la région.

Cette situation a amené certains anthropologues — Herskovits, R.T. Smith, Henriques et d'autres — à parler d'une structure familiale autonome, propre aux Caraïbes, que l'on a qualifié de matrifocale. Cette réflexion a également été portée sur la famille noire des Etats-Unis par Frazier (1948). Cette structure serait, selon les mêmes auteurs, sociologiquement légitime et représenterait une alternative culturelle aux autres formes de relations matrimoniales reconnues par la société. Cependant, le concept de matrifocalité est encore très mal défini, la plupart des observateurs se contentant de donner une définition opératoire et limitative — c'est-à-dire ne s'appliquant qu'à la société considérée. La conception que la majorité des auteurs se font de la famille matrifocale, se trouve assez bien réflétée par la définition qu'en donne Solien (1959) citée par Kundstadter (1963:56): "un groupe de parenté

co-résidentiel n'incluant pas la présence régulière d'un homme dans le rôle d'époux-père, et à l'intérieur duquel les relations effectives et continues se font surtout entre parents consanguins". A partir de cette définition, il est possible ici encore de dégager des conditions d'existence d'une telle structure. Il y en a quatre principales: (1) L'inclusion dans la structure familiale de parents appartenant à l'une des deux lignées formées par la famille nucléaire; (2) La co-résidentialité de ces parents; (3) La présence non-régulière d'un homme dans le rôle de mari-père; enfin (4) l'orientation des relations et des comportements significatifs, à l'intérieur de cette structure, dans une direction consanguine — en l'occurence, matrilinéaire.



Comme dans le cas de la légitimité, la matrifocalité se manifeste à deux niveaux distincts: au niveau structural et au niveau fonctionnel. (1) Le niveau *structural* de la matrifocalité touche à l'agencement particulier des parties pour former un tout structuré, une sorte d'arrangement familial. Son caractère distinctif consiste en ce que le rôle père-mari est soit totalement absent, soit partiellement exercé, soit exercé par plusieurs agents. Ainsi la famille consistant en une femme, ses enfants, sa mère ou ses sœurs, sans la présence régulière d'un homme, est une famille matrifocale de type structural. La lignée maternelle exercera la majorité des pouvoirs, simplement parce qu'elle est la seule unité qui puisse assurer la continuité. (2) D'autre part, le niveau *fonctionnel* a trait au fonctionnement du groupement familial, quelle que soit sa structure interne. Il se caractérise par la concentration des pouvoirs, de l'autorité, des décisions, de l'affectif, dans le rôle de la "mater"[4].

[4] Nous employons "mater" plutôt que mère pour embrasser un ensemble de rôles possibles, soit à l'intérieur de la famille nucléaire, soit à l'intérieur d'une famille étendue matrilinéaire.

A ce niveau, on peut très bien concevoir l'unité de base comme étant une famille nucléaire aussi bien qu'une famille étendue matrilinéaire. L'absence plus ou moins régulière d'un homme jouant le rôle de mari-père n'est plus une condition ou même une caractéristique nécessaire de l'existence de la famille matrifocale fonctionnelle. Or, la littérature confond généralement ces deux formes de matrifocalité. Ainsi à la lumière de la définition de Solien (1959) il ressort que la matrifocalité telle qu'entendue par les spécialistes des Caraïbes, se situe au niveau structural. Boyer, (1964:593) par ailleurs, rejette cette définition comme étant trop restrictive — trop structurale peut-être? — et insiste pour que l'on accorde une plus large part aux "liens émotionnels", comme la stabilité du rôle père-mari, donc partiellement à la matrifocalité fonctionnelle. Mais dans l'ensemble, on ne semble pas attacher d'importance à la distinction entre ces deux niveaux. C'est le cas de la plupart des autres spécialistes des Caraïbes comme Henriques (1953), Herskovits (1947), Kreiselman (1958), Clarke (1957), Blake (1961), Goode (1960-1961), qui mettent l'accent sur le plan fonctionnel, quoique sans jamais l'identifier comme tel, alors que des auteurs comme R.T. Smith (1956), Greenfield (1959), M.G. Smith (1962), se situent davantage au niveau structural. C'est pour n'avoir pas distingué entre ces deux niveaux, qu'on ne progresse que très lentement dans la compréhension de la famille matrifocale.

MATRIFOCALITÉ ET LÉGITIMITÉ

Si l'on accepte la distinction de niveaux de matrifocalité, il faudra bien accepter aussi que la matrifocalité structurale ne réponde pas à la définition de famille telle qu'énoncée par Murdock. La famille "grand-mère-enfant", par exemple, n'est ni une unité de coopération économique, ni une unité de résidence pour le "genitor" ni même pour le "pater". De plus les deux adultes qui maintiennent des relations sexuelles en dehors du mariage, ne peuvent s'attendre à voir leurs relations "reconnues par la société" légale (Murdock 1949:1). Cette structure familiale ne satisfait pas non plus aux exigences établies par le principe de la légitimité, à moins qu'on ne la considère par rapport à un principe

normatif; c'est-à-dire à moins que l'on assume que la norme idéale, — soit le mariage légal, — est toujours présente dans la structure sociale, mais qu'un segment de la population ne s'y conforme pas nécessairement (Goode 1960:23). D'autre part, la matrifocalité du type fonctionnel répond, elle, à la définition de la famille. Elle apparaît à l'intérieur de la famille nucléaire, indépendemment du fait que celle-ci repose sur le mariage ou non. La matrifocalité fonctionnelle peut donc se retrouver dans tous les types de sociétés. Ce qui la caractérise, c'est la concentration des forces de fonctionnement dans la lignée maternelle, et de ce fait, la marginalité fonctionnelle de la lignée paternelle. D'autre part, elle n'exclue pas l'illégitimité sous ses deux formes puisque c'est la norme établie par la société qui détermine s'il y a illégitimité structurale, et le consensus ou degré d'acceptation d'un segment de sa population qui maintient ou non l'illégitimité fonctionnelle. Dans le premier cas, les déviations à la norme (illégitimité) entraînent des sanctions négatives légales; dans le second cas, elles sont susceptibles d'être accompagnées d'incapacités légales et sociales. En Martinique, par exemple, les enfants illégitimes ne peuvent pas hériter alors qu'ils le peuvent à St-Thomas. En Haïti, les enfants d'une femme en union placée n'ont pas droit au nom du mari (Herskovits 1937:116). En Guyane Britannique, une fille-mère demandera à une autre femme d'amener son enfant à l'église pour le baptême (R.T. Smith 1956:132). On voit donc que, dans l'ensemble, légitimité et matrifocalité ne sont pas en rapports nécessaires de niveaux.

LA FAMILLE À ST-THOMAS

Une brève analyse de la légitimité et de la matrifocalité à St-Thomas, illustrera les distinctions précédentes.

St-Thomas est la principale des trois îles connues sous le nom d'Iles Vierges, possessions américaines, situées à 50 milles à l'est de Porto Rico. Sa population est d'au-delà de 16,000 habitants, dont 80 pour cent d'origine afro-américaine. Ses habitants vivent surtout d'une importante industrie touristique et d'une industrie manufacturière secondaire. Sur le plan culturel, les Noirs de St-Thomas partagent un certain nombre de traits communs à

l'ensemble de la population des Caraïbes. Sur le plan de l'organisation sociale, on note que quelques observateurs (Campbell 1943 et Weinstein 1962) en ont décrit la structure familiale comme étant de type "matrifocal", suivant en cela beaucoup plus le courant d'idées amorcé par Herskovits, R.T. Smith, Henriques et autres, que se fondant sur une analyse concrète et détaillée de sa structure et de son fonctionnement.

Légitimité

Une étude de la structure de la famille noire à St-Thomas (Vallée 1964)[5] révèle que l'illégitimité structurale y est de 38.7 pour cent, contre 45 pour cent pour l'ensemble des Iles Vierges, donc légèrement inférieure à la moyenne des Caraïbes.

A St-Thomas, l'enfant illégitime peut être légitimé par le mariage de ses parents. Dans ce cas il pourra jouir des mêmes droits et privilèges que les autres. Lorsque le mariage n'intervient pas, cependant, il ne pourra bénéficier de ces avantages qu'à la condition de pouvoir prouver sa filiation paternelle. La loi va même plus loin: "The father of an illegitimate child by publicly acknowledging it as his own, receiving it as such, with the consent of his wife, if he is married, into his family, and otherwise treating it as if it were a legitimate child, thereby adopts it as such, and such child is thereupon deemed for all purposes legitimate from the time of its birth" (VI:462). Il semble bien, comme l'affirmait Malinowski, que la société se préoccupe d'assigner un "père sociologique" à l'enfant. "C'est la communauté qui confère la légitimité, non les membres individuellement", nous dit Goode (1961:918). On pourrait cependant préférer qu'il emploie le terme "société" pour désigner l'entité légale, et utilise "communauté" pour caractériser le consensus total ou d'un segment de la société. Quant aux parents, ils n'ont pas à faire face aux pressions légales, même si leur union est du type extra-résidentiel ou simplement consensuelle. Ils devront cependant renoncer à un certain nombre de bénéfices tels que l'accès aux classes sociales plus élevées avec tout ce qu'elles comportent d'avantages politico-

[5] Cette étude a été faite au cours de l'année 1962-63 et les données ont servi à l'élaboration de la thèse de Doctorat de l'auteur, présentée au Département d'Anthropologie de l'Université Cornell.

sociaux. A St-Thomas, comme ailleurs dans les Caraïbes, l'union consensuelle est très répandue. Elle englobe présentement 34 pour cent de la population, alors que 50 pour cent des habitants ont déjà au moins une fois, vécu en union consensuelle (Vallée 1964:103). Cette structure familiale est responsable, dans une très large mesure, de l'illégitimité structurale.

Il n'en reste pas moins que l'enfant illégitime, même s'il ne souffre pas de son statut par rapport à sa communauté immédiate, est bel et bien désavantagé par rapport à la société globale. Ces désavantages sont de deux ordres: (1) légal, comme indiqué plus haut, et (2) social et individuel. Ces derniers se feront sentir à l'occasion de ses relations avec la société globale, c'est-à-dire celle qui a choisi de se conformer extérieurement ou intérieurement à la norme sociale. Ainsi, dès sa naissance, l'enfant sera peut-être "donné" à quelqu'un d'autre; plus tard il sera peut-être aussi l'objet de railleries de la part de ses compagnons; la fille-mère, si elle n'est pas bannie de la société, sera ridiculisée parce qu'elle aura été trompée par un homme; plus tard dans la vie, ses chances de mobilité sociale s'en trouvent par le fait même limitées.

Il est beaucoup plus difficile cependant de quantifier l'illégitimité fonctionnelle, puisqu'il s'agit là de déterminer dans quelle mesure l'enfant — et parfois aussi la mère et le père biologique — est l'objet d'une certaine aliénation sociale imposée par son groupe de contrôle, en l'occurence la classe inférieure de la société[6]. Elle est, comme on l'a dit, fonction d'un consensus ou d'une acceptation du groupe et se manifeste dans les attitudes de celui-ci. Moins rigide dans ses cadres, elle n'entraîne pas les mêmes conséquences que l'illégitimité structurale.

A St-Thomas, l'attitude des adultes dans leurs relations personnelles et sociales avec les enfants, est ambivalente. Ils sont, d'une part, entourés d'attentions, caressés, adulées, et particulièrement bien vêtus. A l'endroit du monde extérieur, ils sont l'orgueil des parents. A cette attitude les enfants répondent par une

[6] Goode (1960) a démontré, et son affirmation est confirmée par les données de l'auteur, qu'il est important de spécifier que légitimité et matrifocalité sont des phénomènes qui prennent racine dans un segment de la population bien déterminé, soit la classe inférieure.

docilité et un savoir-vivre surprenant en public, une serviabilité précoce, et en assumant un certain nombre de responsabilités tôt dans leur vie. D'autre part, les enfant sont parfois "donnés" ou laissés à des parents ou des amis, qui se chargent de remplir le rôle de parents. Les punitions corporelles sont fréquentes et dures. La période de transition entre l'enfance et la période de latence — c'est-à-dire vers l'âge de 5 ou 6 ans — est brusque. Autant il a été choyé et impuni auparavant, autant il est puni et peu choyé maintenant. A cause de la structure sociale qui prévaut dans un segment de la communauté, le garçon pourra passer une grande partie de son enfance et de son adolescence sans la présence régulière ou unique d'un homme jouant le rôle de père. L'enfant illégitime ne recevra pas un traitement différentiel dans la vie de tous les jours. Il saura, cependant, qui est son père et le verra à l'occasion, soit à la maison — si la mère entretient encore des relations amicales avec lui, — soit à l'extérieur, ou encore ira lui rendre visite à domicile. Il portera peut-être le nom de sa mère plutôt que celui de son père.

L'illégitimité fonctionnelle est donc beaucoup plus subtile dans ses conséquences que l'illégitimité structurale. Il n'en reste pas moins qu'elle est différente. Or l'ensemble des observations des spécialistes des Caraïbes ne tiennent aucunement compte de cette distinction. C'est ce qui a amené Goode (1960 et 1961) à détecter une certaine confusion de niveaux. Il souligne justement que si l'illégitimité (structurale) se rencontre dans des proportions assez élevées, et semble ainsi acceptée comme une "alternative culturelle" (selon certains auteurs du moins) elle n'en reçoit pas moins certaines sanctions à un autre niveau (le niveau fonctionnel).

Matrifocalité

A St-Thomas on peut discerner trois types principaux d'arrangement familial: la famille fondée sur le mariage, l'union consensuelle, et l'union extra-résidentielle, les deux derniers étant évidemment à l'origine de l'illégitimité structurale. La matrifocalité structurale se manifeste, négativement, par l'absence plus ou moins régulière d'un homme jouant le rôle de mari et de père; et positivement, mais de façon complémentaire, par l'accentuation

des relations effectives et affectives à l'intérieur de la lignée maternelle. C'est ce qui a permis aux observateurs de parler de la famille "grand-mère-enfant". En fait, cette structure, qui présuppose l'union extra-résidentielle — ne représente qu'environ 13 pour cent des arrangements matrimoniaux. En outre, 73 pour cent des femmes interrogées, (Vallée 1964:181) considèrent: (1) que cette situation ne présente pas beaucoup d'avantages pour elles; (2) que le mariage est la forme idéale d'union; et (3) qu'elles désirent intensément le mariage pour leurs enfants.

Cette forme de matrifocalité a été observée ailleurs dans les Antilles et ne présente aucune difficulté au niveau de l'observation et de l'analyse. Il n'entre pas dans le cadre de cet exposé cependant d'analyser les facteurs qui permettent son développement, ni les conditions de son existence.

Beaucoup plus importante et beaucoup plus significative est la matrifocalité fonctionnelle. Elle recoupe toutes les formes matrimoniales, quelle que soit la structure interne qui les caractérise[7]. Si la matrifocalité fonctionnelle peut s'accomoder de n'importe quelle structure familiale, il nous faut donc en chercher les manifestations là où les forces de contrôles jouent en faveur de la lignée maternelle. Déjà Goode (1960:27) lui-même a reconnu l'importance de la lignée dans le développement d'une norme de légitimité. La présence active de cette lignée, et par conséquent de la famille étendue maternelle, est en effet essentielle au développement de la matrifocalité fonctionnelle. Car on ne saurait parler de matrifocalité là où les relations se limitent à la famille nucléaire; il faudrait alors parler de matriarchat, ou encore trouver un autre concept.

A St-Thomas, au-delà de 22 pour cent des unités domiciliaires étudiées sont à base de famille étendue matrilinéaire. De

[7] Il va de soi que certaines structures — telles que l'union extra-résidentielle, l'état de dissolution du noyau nucléaire à partir de la séparation ou de la mort du conjoint — entraînent presqu'automatiquement une certaine forme de matrifocalité structurale. On doit cependant préciser que celle-ci ne découle pas nécessairement de l'absence de co-résidentialité dans le cas de l'union extra-résidentielle. Car, puisque des rapports autres qu'exclusivement sexuels se poursuivent entre ces adultes, il en résulte que leurs relations sont affectées par des composantes d'échange de pouvoir au niveau des relations maritales. L'union extra-résidentielle n'est donc pas par définition exclusivement une forme de matrifocalité structurale.

l'analyse détaillée de la division du travail, de la différentiation des rôles, il ressort que la femme, de concert avec les adultes du même sexe qui vivent avec elle, prend presque toutes les décisions relatives à la vie familiale, et remplit bon nombre des fonctions et des tâches importantes. La lignée maternelle tient donc, dans l'ensemble, la balance du pouvoir; le rôle de l'homme est, dans ce cas, marginal. En outre, la matrifocalité fonctionnelle se manifeste surtout au sein des unions consensuelles et extra-résidentielles alors qu'elle disparaît relativement dans les unions fondées sur le mariage. Enfin, fait significatif, la famille étendue prend une plus grande importance là où les unions sont consensuelles et extra-résidentielles alors que les familles fondées sur le mariage tendent à s'en détacher.

CONCLUSION

De la discussion précédente et de son application sommaire à la structure familiale de St-Thomas, nous pouvons tirer un certain nombre de conclusions:

(1) Il faut distinguer, au niveau de l'analyse, d'une part, la légitimité structurale de la légitimité fonctionnelle, et d'autre part, la matrifocalité de type structural de la matrifocalité de type fonctionnel.

(2) Pour n'avoir pas fait cette distinction, l'ensemble des auteurs ont été amenés à décrire la matrifocalité comme étant une "alternative culturelle". En réalité, seule la matrifocalité fonctionnelle fait figure d'alternative culturelle; et encore, dans ce seul sens qu'elle est une option individuelle relevant de facteurs sociologiques, culturels et historiques. Car elle ne traduit pas une norme idéale et ne fait pas concurrence à la norme établie par la société selon laquelle la famille nucléaire fondée sur le mariage est la forme matrimoniale privilégiée. Dans cette perspective, la matrifocalité fonctionnelle n'est pas une forme sociale désirée. Elle découle plutôt d'un ensemble de facteurs convergeant, à l'intérieur de la famille étendue, vers la lignée maternelle au détriment de la lignée paternelle. Mais elle n'est pas comme telle, une entrave à l'existence de la famille nucléaire, ni non plus un obstacle au principe de la légitimité. Elle ne détermine qu'un affaiblissement relatif du rôle masculin ou du leadership paternel.

(3) La matrifocalité structurale n'apparaît plus que comme le résultat d'une organisation sociale qui permet tacitement l'existence d'une structure qu'elle ne préconise pas ouvertement. Elle n'est donc pas à proprement parler une alternative culturelle. Elle découle de facteurs sociologiques connus sans pour cela constituer une organisation valorisée pour elle-même. Elle n'est en ce sens qu'un moment dans l'arc de structuration de la famille à la recherche d'une stabilité que seule semble pouvoir lui conférer la réalisation de la famille nucléaire. C'est dans cette optique que prend toute sa signification cette question posée par Kundstadter (1963: 64): "pourquoi, dans le vaste éventail des sociétés humaines, ne trouvons-nous pas au moins une société où la famille patrifocale serait prédominante, c'est-à-dire, une société où les enfants seraient enlevés à leurs mères dès la fin de leur dépendance physique, et transférés à la maison de leurs pères"?

(4) Il faut enfin noter que la légitimité structurale et la légitimité fonctionnelle sont en rapport de niveau: celle-ci ne peut exister que si celle-là existe d'abord, bien qu'elle peut ne pas être présente alors que la première l'est. Par contre, la matrifocalité structurale et la matrifocalité fonctionnelle n'ont aucun rapport de dépendance. En d'autres termes, la matrifocalité fonctionnelle peut se manifester quelle que soit la structure familiale.

Cet exposé a proposé et illustré une distinction de niveau pour l'analyse du problème de la légitimité et de la matrifocalité. Il reste à en analyser les implications sur une base inter-culturelle.

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Coon's Theory on *The Origin of Races*

BY BRUCE G. TRIGGER

RÉSUMÉ

Dans son étude sur l'origine des races, le professeur Coon n'a eu recours qu'à deux catégories, *Homo erectus* et *Homo sapiens*. Ce choix s'avère inadéquat et, conséquemment, la solution du problème de l'émergence de l'*Homo sapiens*, telle que proposé dans cet ouvrage, est factice. Il est à noter, de plus, que le professeur Coon ne prône pas, comme on le pense communément, l'évolution parallèle des races, mais il voit celle-ci comme la conséquence d'une diffusion de gènes en provenance du groupe caucasien.

Carleton Coon's monumental book *The Origin of Races* has received well deserved recognition as an outstanding compilation of data dealing with fossil hominids.* On the other hand, few of the major reviews of this book have not expressed misgivings about the way in which Coon has interpreted this material (Birdsell 1963; Dobzhansky 1963; Montagu 1963; Oshinsky 1963). Most of the criticism has concentrated on his thesis that the formation of the major geographical races, as he has defined them, preceded the transition of man *(Homo)* from the *Homo erectus* to his modern grade of development. The statement in the concluding chapter of his book that "*Homo erectus* (after already being divided into five geographic races or subspecies) then evolved into *Homo sapiens* not once but five times, as each subspecies, living in its own territory, passed a critical threshold from a more brutal to a more *sapient* state", (Coon, p. 658) generally has been interpreted as a proposal of parallel evolution within a number of stocks that were geographically isolated from one another. It has been pointed out that the possibility of such

* This article is based on comments concerning Coon's book which I have been expressing for some time in discussions with friends and colleagues. Ronald Cohen, one of the assistant editors of *Anthropologica*, suggested that it would be worthwhile to write up these comments in the form of a brief article.

parallel evolution is "vanishingly small" (Dobzhansky 1963) and that differences in the rate of evolution for Coon's various stocks would involve extraordinary disharmonies in the tempo of hominid evolution (Birdsell 1963:184). Unfortunately, with the partial exception of Birdsell (185), these reviews have failed to emphasize and explore another major current of thought which runs through Coon's book and one which, in my opinion, is vital for understanding the full meaning of *The Origin of Races*. It is not surprising that they should have done so since the material concerning this second current of thought is found tucked away in nooks and crannies of Coon's chapters, is often expressed in the form of vague hypotheses, and is not explicitly enunciated in the final chapter where it should have been set beside the theory of the individual *sapienization* of the different major races, which it complements. Only when this material has been collected together can the real implications of Coon's work be appreciated.

To begin with, despite statements to the contrary, neither the developmental hypothesis of Coon nor that of his predecessor, Franz Weidenreich (1946), whose theory of human evolution Coon is essentially reworking and updating, is in the final analysis a theory of parallel evolution. Weidenreich may have believed in orthogenesis (Dobzhansky 1963: 365), but a reading of the second chapter of *Apes, Giants and Man* will show that he did not depend on it to explain how his races evolved from the *Homo erectus (Archanthropine)* to the modern *Homo sapiens (Neoanthropine)* stage while yet remaining a single species. A close examination of his chart on page 30 entitled "Pedigree of the Hominidae" reveals not only horizontal lines separating grades of evolution and vertical lines separating the "racial" lines of biological development, but also oblique lines which the text tells us represent "interchange, as a graphic presentation of the conception of the hominid groups as one species". Clearly, Weidenreich allowed for gene flow as a factor in the sapienization of hominids in different areas, and thus his claim was a more modest and reasonable one than it is often represented. What he was saying was that gene flow between different regions, while great enough to account for brain development, cranial change and the other physiological alterations that marked the

emergence of *Homo sapiens* did not result in the swamping of various other traits already present in the gene pools of the various major geographical regions of the Old World. Coon's treatment of this aspect of sapienization does not differ from Weidenreich in principle, although Coon may be less liberal in allowing for gene flow (see, e.g. Weidenreich: 67-91). A careful perusal of *The Origin of Races* shows that Coon's five-fold evolution of *Homo sapiens* does not necessarily mean five parallel and independent evolutions. Again and again, as we shall see, Coon suggests gene flow from one region to another as the factor which initiates the crossing over from one grade to another. Presumably the development of the nervous system and alterations in endocrine functions (major aspects of sapienization according to Coon) would have a selective advantage anywhere and a few genes introduced from outside would multiply rapidly in the recipient population. On the other hand, traits like the architecture of the teeth, which would have a neutral selective value, or skin colour, which under some conditions might have a negative selective value, would either be eliminated or not seriously alter the appearance of the population.[1] The most serious error which both Coon and Weidenreich made in pursuing this line of argument, and one which has resulted in much of the opposition to their theory, has been to suggest that the races or subspecies of the present day existed prior to the evolution of *Homo sapiens* as a species. A more modest and accurate characterization of the results of their work would have been to suggest that certain traits characteristic of modern populations already appear to have been present within the early man populations that occupied similar geographic regions. But, however unfortunately their conclusions were phrased, neither Weidenreich's nor Coon's theory depends upon parallel evolution, which their critics rightly claim is improbable. Instead, they both allow for gene flow between the major geographic regions but hold that it "need not have been extensive in order to have stimulated general evolutionary change" (Coon, 486).

There is, however, an important difference in the manner

[1] Birdsell's review contains some important remarks concerning this proposal (p. 185).

in which Coon and Weidenreich present their case. Both discuss evolution within a single polytypic species. As paleontologists are well aware, the differentiation of successional species within a single line of development such as they are studying is largely an arbitrary and heuristic device, since the process of development is continuous and unbroken. Weidenreich formally recognised this fact by setting up ten evolutionary phases to represent the transition between *Homo erectus* and modern man. These phases were grouped into three larger divisions called *Archanthropinae, Paleoanthropinae and Neoanthropinae.* These correspond roughly to *Homo erectus,* the early forms of *Homo sapiens* (Neanderthaloids, Pre-sapiens, etc.) and *Homo sapiens sapiens* respectively. There is no reason that grades should correspond with formal species divisions. As Coon clearly recognizes, a grade can be either larger or smaller, depending upon the problem under consideration. In spite of this, Coon has chosen to work within the framework of a two grade scheme based upon the division of the genus *Homo* into its two species *erectus* and *sapiens* (p. 336). Worse, the two divisions cease to be merely heuristic devices and Coon makes the crossing of the threshold from *erectus* to *sapiens* a matter of crucial importance. From this point on (p. 371) the book is largely concerned with determining when the hominids in each area passed the threshold from the *Homo erectus* grade to the *Homo sapiens* one.

After formulating this highly artificial problem, Coon proceeds to document his claim that man crossed the threshold of sapienization in different parts of the world at different times. In Europe all fossil finds from Swanscombe down to the present are accepted as *Homo sapiens* and Coon even goes so far as to suggest that the Heidelberg mandible, generally regarded as *Homo erectus* might also be *Homo sapiens* (p. 492). By all counts, assigning a possible *sapiens* status to this fragment is generous indeed. On the other hand the Solo and Rhodesian Man finds, which most paleontologists classify as *Neandertaloid* (and therefore as *Homo sapiens*) are assigned by Coon to the *Homo erectus* grade. The arbitrary nature of this classification is recognized by Coon himself when he notes that Pithecanthropus, Solo and living Australoids form a typological sequence which places "Solo almost exactly in the middle of the pro-

cession in both sexes, a grade (or a half grade if one prefers) above Pithecanthropus and below the aborigines" (p. 393). Likewise Weidenreich (1946: 40), who also classified Solo as an *Archanthropine (erectus),* took pains to point out that it was an extremely advanced form close to the upper threshold of the type. Noting the similarities between the Solo and Rhodesian finds, Weidenreich had no hesitation in classifying the latter as primitive Neanderthaloid. In short, by eliminating the intermediate grade used by Weidenreich and many others in their discussions of human evolution (which is done with little more than a paragraph of scant justification on p. 336), Coon freed himself to assign intermediate forms to either of his two grades in a fashion that often seems to be unduly arbitrary. Coon's preoccupation with establishing the priority of *Homo sapiens* in the Caucasoid line reaches a climax when he queries whether the Ting-tsun teeth and Changyang maxilla from the Late Middle or Upper Pleistocene in China are *Homo sapiens* or *Homo erectus.* Considering the scanty evidence, there is little reason to doubt that they are essentially Neanderthaloid (Chang 1962: 758).[2]

Clearly, by adopting a two grade classification Coon has not advanced the study of human evolution. Far too much energy is devoted to the artificial task of assigning the rather wide range of finds that are morphologically transitional between Java Man and Cro-Magnon above or below the arbitrary line that makes the division between two successional species. In order to support his claim that the first *Homo sapiens* evolved in the Caucasoid line Coon has played down the variation within these two arbitrarily defined grades, has assigned the rather primitive Neanderthaloid forms in Java and Rhodesia to the earlier of his grades and has treated everything in the Caucasoid area from the Heidelberg jaw on as potentially *Homo sapiens,* that is as sharing characteristics that "can be matched in most

[2] It is noteworthy that in the chart on page 335 both these finds are listed as Upper Pleistocene. Nevertheless in the text Coon notes that while Movius considers the Ting-tsun finds to be of Third Interglacial age, the Chinese discoverers consider them to be Middle Pleistocene. Moreover concerning Changyang he says "Chia, who described it, considers the fauna of this site to be of Late Middle Pleistocene date, and to my knowledge no one has yet challenged this allocation" (p. 461).

respects among living peoples". One cannot help reading this claim of priority in the light of a statement made in the preface of *The Origin of Races* to the effect that "it is a fair inference that ...the subspecies which crossed the evolutionary threshold into the category of *Homo sapiens* the earliest have evolved the most, and that the obvious correlation between the length of time a subspecies has been in the *sapiens* state and the levels of civilization attained by some of its populations may be related phenomena" (pp. 9, 10).

Coon's drama of the evolution of *Homo sapiens* does not end, however, with indicating the priority of the Caucasoid racial line. It is at this point that we must again consider the "submerged plot". At one point Coon suggests that we may never know if Sinanthropus "alone and unaided" underwent the mutations that transformed him from *Homo erectus* into *Homo sapiens* or if "someone else who had earlier undergone this process" assisted him through mixture (p. 481). He also noted the probable lack of a common border along which the Caucasoids and Mongoloids might have exchanged genes (p. 485). A few pages later, however, he is considering the possibility that sometime during or after the last Interglacial period Caucasoid *sapiens* expanded eastward and entered "the homelands of Sinanthropus and the Mongoloids". Similarities are noted between the tools from Ting-tsun and from Mousterian sites in the west. Noting that "Chinese paleontologists and archaeologists have found no clearly *sapiens* skeletons in their country which are older than the Fen Valley (Ting-tsun) flints", he suggests that "if the Chinese population had not yet crossed the *sapiens-erectus* barrier, this injection of genes could have given them the chromosomal equipment to initiate such a transition" (p. 522). Thus the full significance of his earlier doubts about the status of Ting-tsun and Changyang becomes apparent. At the same time he suggests that a back flow of "Sinanthropus-based genes" could account for the "Sinanthropus-like" features found in some of the fossil men of the last Interglacial period in Europe (sic!) such as mandibular torus, shovel incisors, dental pearls and the degree of facial flatness. However, another, and for Coon, more plausible explanation for these primitive features is offered later.

If Sinanthropus may have become a *sapiens* by the grace of Caucasoid genes, Coon suggests that the Solo population of Java may have become so at third hand as the result of an influx of genes from their biological trading partners, the Mongoloids. After examining the later skeletal material, particularly from Wadjak, Coon concludes that "the transition from *Homo erectus* to *Homo sapiens* in this quadrant (it occurs to me) was caused by gene flow from a Mongoloid source. This is suggested by, among other things, the extraordinary facial flatness of Wadjak, and by the fact that during the entire span of human history as we know it, the Australoids and Mongoloids were in contact...over an open frontier" (p. 427). Indeed, far from being a parallel evolutionist, Coon appears to be quite an enthusiast for genetic diffusion, provided that this diffusion is not great enough to swamp the racial traits he has already observed at the *erectus* level. According to Coon, it is not only probable that the Caucasoids became *sapiens* first, but also there is a good chance that the sapienization of the two other Asiatic lines of development was the result of an influx of Caucasoid genes.

Turning from the "principal schools" of mankind in Eurasia to man's "indifferent kindergarten" in Africa (p. 656) Coon takes considerable pains to point out the lateness of the transition from *erectus* to *sapiens* on that continent. Discussing the "Sinanthropuslike" features of Saccopastore and other European Neanderthals, Coon notes three possible explanations. One, which we have already mentioned, is an infusion of genes from the primitive descendants of Sinanthropus in China; the other two are local mutation and natural selection and a penetration of "Sinanthropus-like" genes from North Africa where he considers that the ancestors of the Capoid peoples were then living. He notes that a walk from Cape Bon in Africa to Sicily would have been shorter than from China to Europe and suggests that "a penetration of Sinanthropus-like genes from North Africa... seems the most likely" (p. 577). Referring to these same North African populations of *Homo erectus* he notes: "Whether they achieved the *sapiens* grade by the time the Caucasoid Mouillians invaded (not long before 10,000 B.C.) is unknown" (p. 600). "By the time of the Gottweig Interstadial a presumably Caucasoid people... may have penetrated northwest Africa. If the northwest Afri-

cans had not already become *sapiens* by local evolution, here was their opportunity to rise to the *sapiens* grade through gene flow and to acquire a measure of Caucasoid characteristics some 25,000 years before the arrival of the Mouillians" (p. 603). Noting that the Congoid (Negro) race is the "weakest warp" in his racial fabric he traces a "possible negro evolutionary line" from the Chellian-3 find through Rhodesian Man to the Cape Flats skull. The latter skull which may be no more than 5,000 years old is considered to have "crossed the *sapiens* threshold but not evolved very much further" (p. 632). He notes that this could have happened "either by a purely local evolutionary process or by gene flow from outside". But he quickly adds "I think we can rule out independent mutation as the cause of change, because the territory inhabited by this ancient line is fully exposed to contacts from the north" (p. 630).

Thus *The Origin of Races* is not a book that argues for the sapienization of pre-formed racial stocks through parallel evolution, although it does leave open the possibility that this might have happened in some cases. Man's skin and teeth may have crossed the dividing line between *Homo erectus* and *Homo sapiens* five times but the sum total of Coon's argument is that his central nervous system did so only once. This latter event took place within the Caucasoid racial line. A few genes of Caucasoid *sapiens stock,* when infused into the contemporary *Homo erectus* forms of the other racial lines were a sufficient stimulus for these groups to cross over to the *sapiens* grade without "swamping" their already formed racial characteristics. Thus gene flow seems to account for the human status of the Mongoloid, Australoid, Capoid and Negro races on the one hand, and a back flow of genes from the *erectus* grade in Africa or China accounts for the primitive characteristics found in the Neanderthal populations of Europe.

While Coon's use of gene flow helps to counter some of the objections raised to parallel evolution and grade-crossing at widely different periods, the picture which emerges when this aspect of his work is considered cannot be subject to less criticism. Coon's speculations are not only based on very little clear evidence but on a system of classification which is unsuited for a consideration

of the issues at hand. Yet on this basis we are asked to believe not only that the Caucasoid is the first and probably the most evolved *sapiens* but that it is through him that all others who are *sapiens* have become so. Heavy indeed has been the white man's burden!

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A Regional Examination of Ojibwa Culture History *

BY J.V. WRIGHT

RÉSUMÉ

On attribue aux Ojibways du début du XVIII[e] siècle trois éléments historiques du Sylvicole supérieur sur la rive nord des lacs Huron et Supérieur. D'après la méthode historique, il semblerait que la culture ojibway puisse remonter approximativement au X[e] siècle. L'analyse a donné lieu de croire que les poteries mises au jour représentent un attribut d'emprunt. Quoique très utiles pour préciser certains points, elles ne pouvaient être, en fait, d'aucune utilité pour reconstituer les grandes relations temporo-spatiales. A cette fin, on a constaté que les outils de pierre étaient de plus sûrs moyens de comparaison. Assez rares, pour le moment, les indices disponibles permettent toutefois d'espérer que les techniques archéologiques révèleront un jour l'histoire de la culture ojibwa.

Early historical references to the aborigines of the northern portions of the Upper Great Lakes predominantly involve Algonkian-speaking peoples. Iroquoian-speakers, to the southeast, and Siouan-speakers, to the southwest, occasionally made incursions into the area but such events definitely appear to have been of a transitory nature. Sites in the area producing European trade goods, therefore, should be assignable to Algonkian-speakers. Whereas the problem of linguistic identification is relatively simple the problem of ethnic identification has been complicated by two related factors — the culture of the peoples involved and the paucity of sites. The latter factor is a rather straight-forward physical matter but the former factor involves numerous variables

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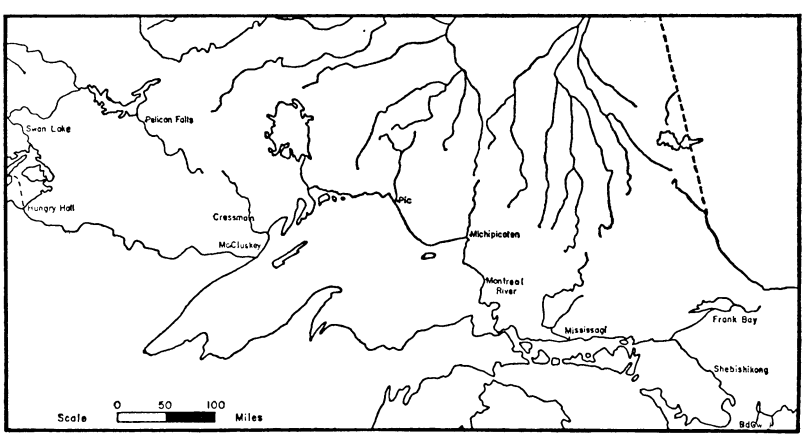
which are interwoven in a highly complex manner. The broad mosaic of politically independent bands, loosely related at the specific level through clan and/or marriage and, at a more general level, through language and way of life, limits, in part, the reality of discrete tribal designations to taxonomic units of anthropological convenience. Within the major tribal units of Ojibwa, Cree, Algonkian, Montagnais, and Naskapi (Jenness 1955:266) the degree of geographically influenced blending defies the establishment of clear cultural boundaries. Indeed, considering the extensive areas occupied and the variations in physiography it is, perhaps, not too surprising that a number of cultural variations occur within a related grouping of peoples.

One of these large groupings of related but independent bands — the Ojibwa — is pertinent to the present study. The historic records, however, contain numerous tribal designations such as Ottawa, Missisauga, Potawatomi, Sauteur, Amikwa, Nipissing, Ondataouauoat or Cheveux-Relevés, Kishkakon, Mousonee, Nassauaketon, Nikikouek, Sinago, and Gens de Terre, which may be collectively referred to as the Ojibwa. In addition, Algonkin and Cree bands are frequently found to have been in direct association with one or the other of the preceding "tribes". A number of these sub-groupings of the Ojibwa are synonyms



while others appear to refer to clans, bands, or geographical regions. Also, spelling varies and names change throughout the critical years of 1650 A.D. to 1750 A.D. The following quotation indicates some of the problems involved in the specific designation of such a group as the Ottawa

> ...a term common to the Cree, Algonkin, Nipissing, Montagnais, Ottawa, and Chippewa. (Blair 1911:Vol. I, 281, footnote 197).

In view of the vagaries to which the specific "tribal" names are subject it was deemed advisable to apply the broader ethnic designation of Ojibwa to the historic archaeological components involved.

Historic Ojibwa sites along the north shores of Lake Huron and Lake Superior are scarce, and in this respect, support the historical references to the low population density of the region; a condition which is readily apparent in the prehistoric record (Wright 1963). The limited number of historic sites does not appear to be solely the result of restricted archaeological investigation in the area and it is assumed that floral and faunal resources placed severe limitations upon the population density; particularly with reference to Lake Superior. When Late Woodland sites are discovered they frequently bear the imprint of repeated occupations although, unfortunately, such deposits are generally thin and intermixture between various components is always a hazard. The processes of isostatic rebound and lake level fluctuations, however, neatly segregate the Late Woodland occupations from those of earlier periods. Perhaps the major problem is the thinness of deposits which call for extensive excavations but produce limited returns. Relative to more southerly archaeological sites the sites in the Boreal Forest and on its flanks do not encourage extensive investigation in terms of specimen recovery. As a direct result of the low artifact yield the analyzer is continually plagued with the problem of drawing conclusions from inadequate samples. However, if progress is to be made in the understanding of Ojibwa prehistory low samples must be relied upon and assumed valid until circumstances indicate otherwise.

Map I contains twelve site locations but only three of the sites will be examined in detail. The remaining sites will be briefly considered in an attempt to outline some of the major

characteristics of the Late Woodland occupations along the north shores of Lake Huron and Lake Superior and west to the Manitoba border. Running from east to west the sites are as follows:

The *Ellsmere-Morrison, or BdGw-1, site,* as it is referred to under the Borden system of site designation (Borden 1952), was excavated by Mr. E.R. Channen, Simcoe County Museum, under contract with the National Museum. The site is a single component of the Lalonde culture (Ridley 1952) or, as it is also referred to, the Northern division of the Huron-Petun branch of the Ontario Iroquois Tradition (Wright: a). Since Northern division ceramics are widely distributed to the west on what are presumably Ojibwa sites the Ellsmere-Morrison site is included in the present study for purposes of comparison.

The *Shebishikong site* is situated on Georgian Bay near the mouth of the Shebishikong River. In the spring of 1955 Dr. J.N. Emerson, Department of Anthropology, University of Tronto, excavated the site with a student crew in which the writer was a member. Two components were encountered, one historic and the other prehistoric. Features were limited to several large pits associated with the prehistoric component. The historic component is interpreted as being Ojibwa and will be considered in detail. Dr. Emerson has kindly allowed me to analyze and report upon the results of the excavation.

The *Frank Bay site* was excavated and reported upon by Mr. Frank Ridley (1954). In the historic component of this important site, with its unbroken record of occupation back to 1000 B.C., late Huron-Petun ceramics and possibly some of the linear stamped pottery common to northern Michigan were found in association with 17th century European trade goods. Three dog burials are also stated to be present. On the basis of the ethnohistoric records and the dog burials I believe that it is not unreasonable to interpret the component as the product of historic Ojibwa.

The *Mississagi site* is situated near the mouth of the river of the same name where it empties into Lake Huron. Surface collections made in 1961 contained Huron-Petun ceramics, a non-Iroquois lithic assemblage, and an abundance of 17th to early

18th century European trade items. Miss H.E. Devereux, Department of Anthropology, University of Toronto, excavated the site in 1962 and 1963 and a final report should be available in the near future. The site is regarded as the product of historic Ojibwa.

The *Montreal River site* is located on the west bank of the Montreal River at its embouchure into Lake Superior. A small quantity of material was recovered from a test excavation and from the surface. Ceramics of the Northern division of the Huron-Petun branch, Peninsular Woodland, Blackduck focus, and a rim sherd of unknown affiliation, were present along with European trade items suggesting an early 18th century occupancy. The lithic assemblage is very similar to that of the nearby Michipicoten site. Although the sample is small it does suggest that the site represents an historic Ojibwa component.

The *Michipicoten site* is located on the south bank of the Michipicoten River near its embouchure into Lake Superior. Excavation of the minimum of nine Late Woodland components present on the site was carried out in 1961. Previous excavations have been reported upon by Mr. Frank Ridley (1961). Stratum I consisted almost solely of European items whereas an abundance of aboriginal artifacts were found in direct association with European trade goods in stratum II. The remaining components were prehistoric. Features consisted of hearths, pits, dog burials, and scattered post moulds. This site will be considered in detail.

The *Pic River site* is situated on the west bank of the Pic River at its embouchure into Lake Superior. In 1960 and 1961 Dr. Emerson excavated the site. In the Upper Beach area of this excavation one historic and two prehistoric components were found in stratigraphic association. During the period of excavation the writer was excavating a Middle Woodland component a short distance upstream and was, thus, in fairly direct contact with the University of Toronto excavation. Features encountered were hearths, scattered post moulds, and a dog burial. Dr. Emerson has kindly allowed the analysis of the material recovered from the excavation. The Pic River site represents the third and final site to be examined in detail in this report.

The *McCluskey site* is located on the north shore of Whitefish Lake to the west of the Lakehead. Salvage excavations carried out by Mr. K.C.A. Dawson of the Lakehead University under contract with the National Museum produced a good sample of ceramics and stone tools. The rim sherds, with one exception, relate to the Blackduck focus. The exception is an early Pickering branch rim of the Early Ontario Iroquois stage (Wright: a) and may be used to tentatively date the site between 900 A.D. and 1100 A.D. This association between early Pickering branch ceramics and Blackduck focus ceramics occurred in stratum III of the Pic River site which was dated at 962 A.D. ± 80 (GSC-85). As a relatively pure component of the Blackduck focus the McCluskey site is important for drawing certain general comparisons with components to the east where Blackduck ceramics are a common occurrence.

The *Cressman site,* located on the west shore of Lac des Mille Lacs, was also excavated by Mr. K.C.A. Dawson under a salvage contract with the National Museum. All of the ceramics recovered from the Late Woodland component of this stratified site pertain to the Blackduck focus. A number of European trade items including a brass button, which would appear to relate to the latter half of the 18th century (Olsen 1963), were also found but their definite association with the aboriginal assemblage is yet to be determined.

The *Pelican Falls site* is located below the Pelican Falls on the English River to the south of Lac Seul. All of the Late Woodland pottery recovered during the excavations in 1961 relate to the Blackduck focus.

The *Swan Lake site* is situated on the southern end of Swan Lake and eleven miles east of the Manitoba border. The site was excavated and reported upon by Mr. Walter Kenyon of the Royal Ontario Museum (1961). Late Woodland ceramics from this stratified site are represented by a mixture of Blackduck focus and Selkirk focus varieties. Recovered with the ceramics were a number of European trade items. Kenyon suggests that the site "was probably occupied by the Cree" (Ibid., 17) although the possibility of a partial Assiniboin authorship is also considered.

The *Hungry Hall site* is situated near the mouth of the Rainy River. Burial mound fill produced Laurel tradition, Blackduck and Selkirk foci ceramics (Kenyon: 1960; personal communication) and a radiocarbon date of 1190 A.D. ± 60 (S-109) was obtained from a log covering the burial chamber (McCallum and J. Wittenberg 1962). The mound is regarded by Kenyon as probably being Assiniboin.

As the main purpose for the brief examination of the preceding sites was to create a general impression of the Late Woodland occupation of Northern Ontario many of the sites will not be considered further. Indeed, the problems revolving around the Blackduck and Selkirk foci and the historic Assiniboin, Cree, and Ojibwa in the area west of the Lakehead represent a number of separate studies in themselves. For the specific purposes of the present study, however, detailed consideration will be given to only three of the preceding sites in order that a rough outline of Ojibwa culture history in one region can be attempted. The historic components of these three sites will be examined first and then the associated prehistoric components.

THREE HISTORIC OJIBWA COMPONENTS

The three historic Ojibwa components considered in this paper are all associated with excavated, stratified sites, a situation which greatly assists in the application of the direct historical approach. Running from east to west these sites are Shebishikong, Michipicoten, and Pic River. In the following analysis of the three historic components certain data are not considered or are given superficial treatment. Since the Pic River report is in press (Wright: b) and the Michipicoten report is nearing completion the bulk of this information should be available in the near future. On the following tables the analyses for the three components are presented in a comparative fashion and observations are made after each table.

The majority of the European trade goods from the three components suggest that each was occupied during the end of the 17th century and the first half of the 18th century. Small seed beads were the most common variety of beads to be found on all

TABLE 1 — EUROPEAN TRADE GOODS

	Shebishikong I		*Michipicoten II*		*Pic River I*	
Item	f	%	f	%	f	%
Trade Beads	22	36.1	6	14.3	1,156	86.6
Lead shot	–	–	–	–	70	5.2
Trade kettle fragments	5	8.2	1	2.4	24	1.8
Metal bangles	–	–	–	–	17	1.2
Gunflints	5	8.2	2	4.8	9	.7
Kaolin pipe fragments	9	14.8	–	–	6	.4
Metal triangles	–	–	1	2.4	5	.3
Lead strips	2	3.3	–	–	5	.3
Metal triangular pendants	–	–	1	2.4	4	.3
Iron strips	1	1.6	–	–	4	.3
Musket balls	1	1.6	–	–	3	.2
Ramrod ferrules	–	–	–	–	3	.2
Glass fragments	5	8.2	–	–	3	.2
Metal wire	–	–	–	–	3	.2
Buttons	–	–	–	–	3	.2
Brass tacks	–	–	–	–	3	.2
China fragments	1	1.6	–	–	2	.2
Iron fishhooks	–	–	–	–	2	.2
Metal finger rings	–	–	–	–	2	.2
Iron nails	1	1.6	–	–	2	.2
Clasp knife	–	–	–	–	1	.1
Trade kettle arrowhead	1	1.6	–	–	1	.1
Iron needle	–	–	–	–	1	.1
Metal bell	–	–	–	–	1	.1
Iron strike-a-light	–	–	–	–	1	.1
Iron awl	1	1.6	–	–	1	.1
Woven copper fabric	–	–	–	–	1	.1
Iron chisel	–	–	–	–	1	.1
Ivory comb	–	–	–	–	1	.1
Iron knife	3	4.9	1	2.4	–	–
Iron rod	2	3.3	–	–	–	–
Flint-lock mechanism	1	1.6	–	–	–	–
Trade kettle beads	1	1.6	28	66.7	–	–
Trade kettle awls	–	–	2	4.8	–	–
TOTALS	61	99.8	42	100.2	1,335	100.0

three components. Gunflints from Shebishikong were all of French manufacture whereas the two specimens from stratum II of the Michipicoten site were of English manufacture. Of the seven gunflints from the Pic River component, which could be classified with reference to origin, five were French and two were English. In the almost exclusively historic stratum I of the Michipicoten site the two gunflints were of French origin. The flint-lock mechanism from the Shebishikong site was dated at 1720 A.D. by Mr. S.J. Gooding of the Historic Sites Division, Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources.

TABLE 2 — RIM SHERD CATEGORIES

	Shebishikong I		*Michipicoten II*		*Pic River I*	
Category	f	%	f	%	f	%
Huron-Petun branch	7	50.0	13	43.3	–	–
Blackduck focus	3	21.4	–	–	5	35.6
Push-Pull	1	7.1	1	3.3	8	57.1
Stamped	–	–	4	13.3	–	–
Peninsular Woodland	–	–	12	40.0	–	–
Selkirk focus	–	–	–	–	1	7.1
Miscellaneous	3	21.4	–	–	–	–
TOTALS	14	99.9	30	99.9	14	99.8

Clay pipe bowl fragments were limited to the Shebishikong and Michipicoten sites where two plain trumpet pipe bowls were found at the former and one plain trumpet, one acorn ring, and two crude non-Iroquois pipe bowls were found at the latter.

As the ceramics appear to represent borrowed traits (Ridley 1957:36) it is proposed that the occupants of the three components were not directly involved in the development of the represented ceramic traditions. Since ceramics are generally the best single trait for tracing cultural developments the determination of whether they are borrowed of indigenous is extremely

TABLE 3 — BODY SHERD VARIETIES

Variety	Shebishikong I				Michipicoten II				Pic River I			
			Thickness (mm.)				Thickness (mm.)				Thickness (mm.)	
	f	%	Range	x	f	%	Range	x	f	%	Range	x
Plain	51	46.4	2-8	5.2	169	59.5	2-13	6.6	26	41.3	4-10	7.0
Cord malleated	35	31.8	4-13	7.3	34	12.0	3-12	5.5	14	22.2	5-8	6.0
Smoothed-over cord	12	10.9	5-10	6.7	70	24.6	4-13	6.8	14	22.2	4-9	6.7
Push-Pull	4	3.6	4-5	4.5	–	–	–	–	3	4.8	5-10	7.0
Fabric impressed	3	2.7	4-6	5.0	–	–	–	–	6	9.5	4-6	5.3
Scarified	2	1.8	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Smoothed-over cord wrapped stick	1	.9	–	9.0	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Incised	1	.9	–	6.0	2	.7	3-7	5.0	–	–	–	–
Ribbed paddle	1	.9	–	7.0	6	2.1	4-12	7.2	–	–	–	–
Net impressed	–	–	–	–	2	.7	6-7	6.5	–	–	–	–
Multiple techniques	–	–	–	–	1	.4	–	5.0	–	–	–	–
TOTALS	110	99.9			284	100.0			63	100.0		

pertinent to their value as indicators of chronological sequence. If, as is proposed, ceramics are a borrowed trait then their use for tracing chronologies may be markedly weakened, especially since a number of different ceramic traditions are involved. For the purposes of the problem at hand ceramics are regarded as indicators of the fluctuating direction of outside influence and/or contact upon both the historic and prehistoric Ojibwa of the north shore of the Upper Great Lakes and are of supplementary value in tracing chronologies.

In Table 2 an attempt has been made to group the rim sherds into ceramic traditions. Limitations in the data, however, place some of these groupings in a tentative position. The Iroquois rims are clearly assignable to the Northern division of the Huron-Petun branch and their presence on the Shebishikong and Michipicoten sites and absence from the Pic River is consistent with geography. The Blackduck focus (Wilford 1955) and its synonym Manitoba focus (MacNeish 1958) rim sherds have an inconsistent distribution being present on the Shebishikong and Pic River sites but absent from the Michipitoten site. Rim sherds, decorated with horizontal motifs on the collar and frequently on the interior rim with a push-pull technique often resembling a single cord application, are found on all three components. Their representation on the Pic River component, however, far exceeds that of the other two sites. These ceramics would appear to have been derived from northern Michigan and have been grouped under the category Push-Pull. Another series of rims found only on the Michipicoten site superficially resemble Iroquois ceramics in terms of motif, castellations, and rim shape but differ in a number of important other respects outstanding of which is the technique of linear stamping. These sherds also closely resemble ceramics from northern Michigan and have been grouped under the category Stamped. With reference to rim shape and castellation attributes these rims also appear to relate to the Push-Pull category of rims. The Peninsular Woodland rims (Quimby 1960) were only present on the Michipicoten site although two of the miscellaneous rims from the Shebishikong site may possibly belong to this category. These rims would certainly have been derived from Michigan and Wisconsin where they appear to have developed as a product of Upper Mississippi influence upon

Woodland peoples. Some of the pottery from the Bell site in eastern Wisconsin (Wittry 1963), an early historic Fox village, appears to be very similar to the Peninsular Woodland pottery from the Michipicoten site. Also, virtually identical pottery has been reported from a site in western Michigan (George I. Quimby — paper presented at the Society for American Archaeology, Urbana, Illinois, 1965). The characteristic concentration of decoration on the vessel lip and the unique vessel form and rim profile clearly separate the Peninsular Woodland sherds from those of the other traditions. A single rim assignable to the Selkirk focus was recovered from the Pic River site. There is a great deal of merit in MacNeish's contention (1958) that this ceramic tradition is a product of the Cree.

If the preceding categories do, in fact, all represent discrete ceramic traditions then it can be said that the historic Ojibwa of the Shebishikong and Pic River sites were each utilizing three different ceramic traditions and that the peoples occupying the Michipicoten component were involved in four separate ceramic traditions. Even disregarding the small samples such a situation poses a number of hazards for the use of ceramics as the major means of arriving at cultural sequences. The space and time discontinuities apparently involved in Ojibwa borrowing of foreign ceramic traditions relegates the interpretational value of ceramics to a somewhat different role from that applicable to groups actively contributing to the development of a ceramic tradition.

Spatially, the Ojibwa covered such an extensive area that they were placed in contact with a wide range of pottery-manufacturing peoples thereby explaining the variations in ceramic mixture to be found on various components along the north shores of the Upper Great Lakes. This ceramic mixture is not only indicative of locality but also probably reflects the nomadic habits of the Ojibwa. Indeed, during the historic period this nomadism was accentuated by the repercussions of the fur trade and the associated Indian conflicts.

Temporally, no single ceramic tradition is sufficiently consistent to allow extrapolations to be made from the donor assemblage. Also there appears to be some time lag with reference to specific pottery types. For example, the Northern division, Huron-

Petun branch pottery types most frequently found on historic Ojibwa sites are generally more common on late prehistoric Huron-Petun sites than they are on historic Huron-Petun sites. As will be discussed later this ceramic mixture and variation noted for historic Ojibwa sites represents the continuation of a process recognizable as early as the 10th century along the north shores of Lake Huron and Lake Superior. While ceramics have a very real contribution to make to Ojibwa culture history they are too inconsistent to be relied upon solely for the central task of establishing an assumed cultural continuum.

It cannot be overemphasized that the preceding statement regarding Ojibwa ceramics is regional and refers only to the Ojibwa occupying the north shores of the Upper Great Lakes. The situation to the west of the Lakehead is far from clear but on the basis of the available information there is a very real possibility that a large portion of the Blackduck focus is a product of the Ojibwa. If such was the case then these Ojibwa were directly involved in a ceramic tradition and, thus, in contradiction to the situation apparent in the present study. Similarily, there are a number of Algonkian-speakers to the south who may be classified as Ojibwa and who may have been directly involved in the development of a ceramic tradition. The present statement on the culture history of the Ojibwa is most definitely a regional statement for one portion of the broad area occupied by the Ojibwa.

Wedges, scrapers, and projectile points account for more than half of the stone tools to be found in the three components.

The existence of wedges in the collections being considered was brought to my attention by Mr. G.F. MacDonald and Dr. W.N. Irving of the Archaeology Division staff and the term was adopted directly from the former colleague. In the past I have classified these tools as exhausted cores and the majority of the rectangular, bi-polar, and uni-polar cores of the Donaldson site (Wright and Anderson 1963) are actually wedges. Experimentation very quickly convinced me that the pattern of flake removal on the wedges bore little relationship to that observed for cores. It is my present opinion that wedges represent an all-purpose cutting tool produced in the attempt to obtain a straight cutting edge rather than the sinuous cutting edge found on primary or

TABLE 4 — STONE TOOL CLASSES

	Shebishikong I		*Michipicoten II*		*Pic River I*	
Artifact class	f	%	f	%	f	%
Wedges	7	20.6	12	27.3	24	36.9
Scrapers	19	55.9	10	22.7	23	35.4
Small tools	–	–	2	4.5	8	12.3
Projectile points	1	2.9	3	6.8	6	9.2
Hammerstones	1	2.9	3	6.8	1	1.5
Stone pipes	–	–	1	2.3	1	1.5
Biface blades	3	8.8	–	–	2	3.1
Abraders	–	–	9	20.5	–	–
Manos	–	–	2	4.5	–	–
Anvil stones	–	–	1	2.3	–	–
Spoke-shaves	–	–	1	2.3	–	–
Cut mica sheets	3	8.8	–	–	–	–
TOTALS	34	99.9	44	100.0	65	99.9

secondary flaked blades. Such a straight cutting edge can be readily obtained by placing a relatively thick flake on a stone and gently tapping the opposing edges. It is this sharpening procedure which produces the wedge by removing small, frequently stepped, flakes from the edge being struck as well as the edge in contact with the anvil. Both edges may give the impression of having been crushed. In many respects the wedge appears to represent a simple extension of the common practise of using the naturally sharp edges of a primary flake for cutting. It is the manner in which the dulled flaked edge is resharpened that produces the distinctive tool. The apparent absence of wedges from assemblages such as the Laurel tradition of the Middle Woodland period indicates that they are the product of culturally determined behaviour.

Scrapers were represented by three varieties; end scrapers, side scrapers, and random flake scrapers. The Shebishikong site produced 13 end scrapers, 5 side scrapers, and 1 random flake scraper while the Michipicoten site had 5 end scrapers and 5 side

scrapers. The Pic River component produced 12 end scrapers, 6 side scrapers, and 5 random flake scrapers.

Projectile points were represented by simple triangular and sidenotched triangular forms. The frequency of these two forms occurred as follows: Shebishikong — 1 side-notched triangular; Michipicoten — 3 triangular; and Pic River — 3 each of triangular and side-notched triangular. A common characteristic of these arrowheads is the limited amount of retouch involved in their manufacture. Quite often retouch is limited to the edges and/or one face and, less frequently, the curvature of the flake from which the point is being made is quite apparent.

Small tools refer to various small cutting and scraping implements which possess substantial retouch and appear to have been fashioned for specialized functions to which the more common scrapers were not suited. There is a wide range of form and pattern of retouch.

All of the heavier tools such as abraders, manos, and anvil stones were limited to the Michipicoten site.

Chipping detritus from all three components was predominantly derived from local sources although there is evidence of material being obtained from as far to the west as the Lakehead.

Bone artifacts are limited to the Pic River component. Preservation was very poor at the Michipicoten site and although this was not the case for the Shebishikong site bone artifacts were still lacking. Artifacts recovered from the Pic River component consisted of the following: awls; worked beaver incisor; bangle; bead; etched rib; worked scapula; and a pendant.

Native copper, exclusive of wastage and nuggets, consisted of the following: Shebishikong — deposit of copper salts wrapped in birch bark; Michipicoten — two finger rings and an awl; Pic River — a knife and a fishhook.

COMPARISON OF THE THREE HISTORIC OJIBWA COMPONENTS WITH THREE ASSOCIATED PREHISTORIC COMPONENTS

The three prehistoric Late Woodland components to be compared with the preceding three historic components are strata

TABLE 5 — RIM SHERD CATEGORIES FOR THREE HISTORIC OJIBWA COMPONENTS AND THREE ASSOCIATED PREHISTORIC COMPONENTS

	Shebishikong		Michipicoten				Pic River					
Component	I		II		III		I		II		III	
Category	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%
Huron-Petun branch	7	50.0	13	43.3	26	14.5	–	–	–	–	–	–
Blackduck focus	3	21.4	–	–	–	–	5	35.6	6	100.0	25	86.2
Push-Pull	1	7.1	1	3.3	22	12.3	8	57.1	–	–	–	–
Stamped	–	–	4	13.3	45	25.1	–	–	–	–	–	–
Peninsular Woodland	–	–	12	40.0	84	46.9	–	–	–	–	–	–
Selkirk focus	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	7.1	–	–	–	–
Pickering-Branch	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	3	10.3
Miscellaneous	3	21.4	–	–	2	1.1	–	–	–	–	1	3.4
TOTALS	14	99.9	30	99.9	179	99.9	14	99.8	6	100.0	29	99.9

II and III of the Pic River site and stratum III of the Michipicoten site. Unfortunately there was insufficient material recovered from stratum II of the Shebishikong site to be used for comparative purposes. Two radiocarbon dates are available for the prehistoric components and these are 962 A.D. ± 80 (GSC-85) for stratum III of the Pic River site and 1472 A.D. ± 75 (S-169) for stratum III of the Michipicoten site. For the purposes of the present study only the rim sherds and stone tools from the prehistoric components will be compared with those from the historic Ojibwa components. As was mentioned earlier, more complete data on the prehistoric components will soon be available in other papers.

Of the above rim sherd categories only the Pickering branch has not been previously described. The Pickering branch is one of the two branches of the Early Ontario Iroquois stage of the Ontario Iroquois tradition (Wright: a) which was situated in southeastern Southern Ontario and adjacent regions of Quebec and Northern Ontario. The rims from the Pic River site are early in the Pickering branch and related closely to those recovered from the Primary Transitional Stratum of the Frank Bay site (Ridley 1954:44-45). Age estimate for the early Pickering branch in southeastern Southern Ontario is consistent with the radiocarbon date from stratum III of the Pic River site.

The mixture of ceramic traditions through both space and time is quite apparent from Table 5. It is this erratic association and distribution of ceramic traditions which, contrary to usual procedure, does not allow ceramics to be used as the only, or even the major, means for establishing temporal and spatial relationships. Relationships can certainly be established on the basis of the ceramics but these relationships, are not consistent in the same continuous manner in which a chronology can be traced when dealing with a population directly involved in the development of a single ceramic tradition. In a very real sense, any archaeologist wishing to construct Ojibwa culture history by means of ceramic comparisons must rely upon chronologies extrapolated from the donor ceramic traditions and must juggle several of these traditions at the same time with reference to a single Ojibwa component. And, as the mixture of ceramic traditions can vary in both time and space certain major discontinuities must be anticipated.

The coefficient of similarity is a useful technique for illustrating the degree of discontinuity that can exist between related sites when rim sherd categories alone are relied upon. Under this formula (Brainerd 1951) identical components would possess a coefficient of 200 while completely different components would have a coefficient of 0.

Chart I — Coefficients of Similarity Based upon Rim Sherd Categories for Three Historic Ojibwa Components and Three Associated Prehistoric Components

	SHEBISHIKONG I	MICHIPICOTEN II	MICHIPICOTEN III	PIC RIVER I	PIC RIVER II	PIC RIVER III
SHEBISHIKONG I		93	43	57	43	43
MICHIPICOTEN II	93		142	7	0	0
MICHIPICOTEN III	43	142		25	0	0
PIC RIVER I	5	7	25		78	72
PIC RIVER II	43	0	0	78		172
PIC RIVER III	43	0	0	72	172	

Only two sets of relationship on the above chart show a high degree of similarity and in both instances they pertain to sequential components within the same site possessing short time gaps (Michipicoten II and Michipicoten III; Pic River II and Pic River III). The relationship of the Michipicoten components to

those of the Pic River site reflect some of the problems involved in using rim sherds alone for comparisons. The historic components of these two sites which are roughly contemporaneous and only 80 miles apart on the coast of Lake Superior possess a very low coefficient of 7. Except for a slightly higher coefficient between the historic stratum of the Pic River site and stratum III of the Michipicoten site all of the other relationships between the components of the two sites are 0.

During the process of analysis it became apparent that stone tools were more abundant relative to rim sherds than is characteristic of most ceramic producing sites. It was decided that the relative frequency of rim sherds to stone tools may be a significant factor. As controls, two sites directly involved in the development of a ceramic tradition were included in the comparison. These sites, to the east and west of the region under consideration are, respectively, Ellsmere-Morrison and McCluskey. The former site is an early 16th century Northern division, Huron-Petun branch component while the latter site is a 10th or 11th century Blackduck focus component. As the ceramic traditions of one or the other of these sites are represented on the intervening three historic Ojibwa components and three associated prehistoric components they should act as good controls with reference to the ratio of rim sherds to stone tools. Graph 1 illustrates that a significant difference exists between the six components of the Shebishikong, Michipicoten, and Pic River sites and the two control sites to the east and west which are actively involved in a single ceramic tradition. All of the former components possess a higher frequency of stone tools relative to rim sherds whereas the two control sites have a reverse frequency of these two artifact categories. With a single exception the former components contain 60 percent or more stone tools relative to rim sherds whereas the two control sites possess more than 60 percent rim sherds relative to stone tools. In conjunction with the evidence for ceramic mixture the ratio differences of rim sherds to stone tools for the six components along the north shores of Lake Huron and Lake Superior and the two control sites to the east and west is regarded as additional evidence for the proposal that ceramics are a borrowed trait in the region under consideration.

TABLE 6 — STONE TOOL ANALYSIS FOR THREE HISTORIC OJIBWA COMPONENTS AND THREE ASSOCIATED PREHISTORIC COMPONENTS

	Shebishikong		Michipicoten				Pic River					
Component	I		II		III		I		II		III	
Artifact class	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%
Wedges	7	20.6	12	27.3	76	36.9	24	36.9	5	17.9	35	34.7
Scrapers	19	55.9	10	22.7	39	18.9	23	35.4	8	28.6	24	23.8
Small tools	–	–	2	4.5	8	3.9	8	12.3	3	10.7	4	4.0
Projectile points	1	2.9	3	6.8	16	7.8	6	9.2	6	21.4	22	21.8
Hammerstones	1	2.9	3	6.8	4	1.9	1	1.5	–	–	–	–
Stone pipes	–	–	1	2.3	–	–	1	1.5	–	–	2	2.0
Biface blades	3	8.8	–	–	–	–	2	3.1	1	3.6	4	4.0
Abraders	–	–	9	20.5	11	5.3	–	–	–	–	2	2.0
Manos	–	–	2	4.5	1	0.5	–	–	–	–	–	–
Anvil stones	–	–	1	2.3	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Spoke-shaves	–	–	1	2.3	1	0.5	–	–	–	–	–	–
Cut mica sheets	3	8.8	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Worked catlinite	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	3	10.7	–	–

(Table 6 continued)

	Shebishikong		Michipicoten				Pic River					
Component	I		II		III		I		II		III	
Artifact class	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%
Polishing stones	–	–	–	–	2	1.0	–	–	2	7.1	3	3.0
Paintstones	–	–	–	–	34	16.5	–	–	–	–	1	1.0
Linear flakes	–	–	–	–	7	3.4	–	–	–	–	1	1.0
Metates	–	–	–	–	2	1.0	–	–	–	–	–	–
Spall-chopper	–	–	–	–	1	0.5	–	–	–	–	–	–
Mano-anvil-hammer	–	–	–	–	1	0.5	–	–	–	–	–	–
Chisel	–	–	–	–	1	0.5	–	–	–	–	–	–
Palette	–	–	–	–	1	0.5	–	–	–	–	–	–
Celt blank	–	–	–	–	1	0.5	–	–	–	–	–	–
Drill	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	1.0
Problematical ground stone	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	2	2.0
TOTALS	34	99.9	44	100.0	206	100.1	65	99.9	28	100.0	101	100.3

GRAPH I

RELATIVE FREQUENCY OF RIM SHERDS TO STONE TOOLS EXPRESSED IN PERCENTAGE

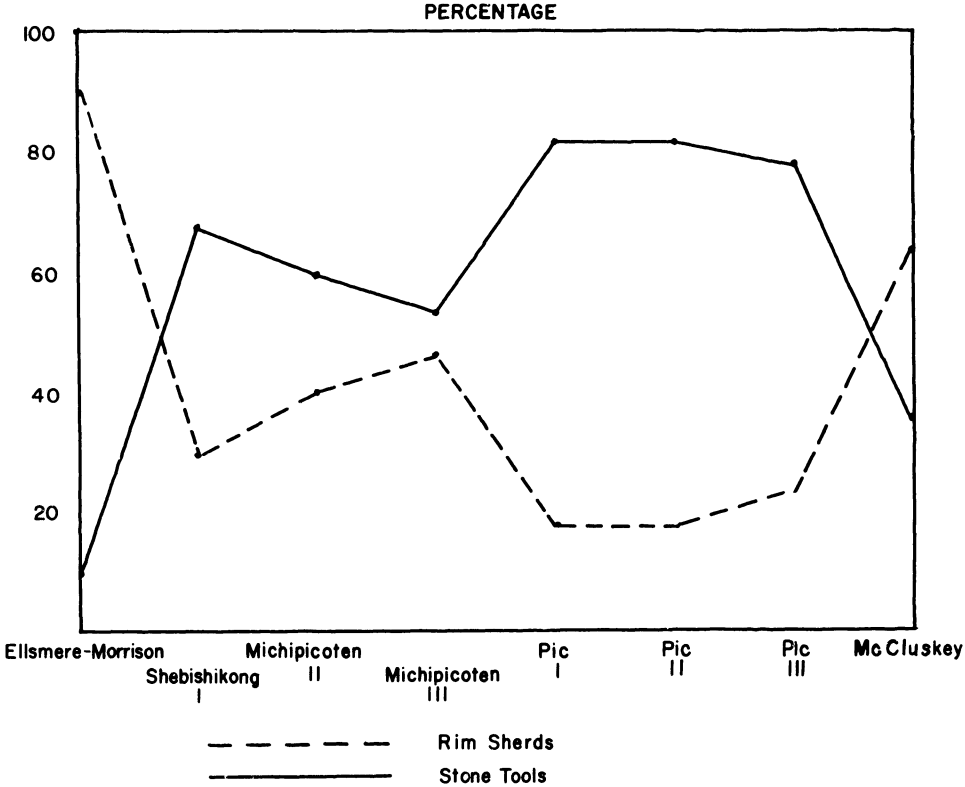


Chart II — Coefficients of Similarity based upon Stone Tools for Three Historic Ojibwa Components and Three Associated Prehistoric Components

	SHEBISHIKONG I	MICHIPICOTEN II	MICHIPICOTEN III	PIC RIVER I	PIC RIVER II	PIC RIVER III
SHEBISHIKONG I		98	89	127	106	102
MICHIPICOTEN II	98		130	129	104	129
MICHIPICOTEN III	89	130		138	99	140
PIC RIVER I	127	129	138		139	152
PIC RIVER II	106	104	99	139		147
PIC RIVER III	102	129	140	152	147	

Even at the very general level of artifact classes some interesting trends can be seen on Table 6. In terms of quantity scrapers and small tools show an increase while projectile points and bifaces decrease. The frequency of the only other major artifact class, the wedges, varies erratically in time. Both the historic and prehistoric components of the Michipicoten site differ from the remaining components in their frequency of heavy stone tools such as abraders and manos. Other presences and absences which appear to be significant are the substantial representation of paintstones in stratum III of the Michipicoten site, the absence of biface blades from both components of the same site, and the absence of small tools from the Shebishikong site. Even taking

sample sizes into consideration it would appear that the Michipicoten components possess a wider range of artifact classes than the remaining components.

Charts I and II present the coefficients of similarity based upon ceramic categories and stone tool classes respectively for the three historic components and for three associated prehistoric components. As can be readily seen Chart II presents a much more cohesive picture than Chart I with a coefficient spread of 63 as opposed to the latter's spread of 172. In Chart II the coefficients between components of the same site and components of different sites are much closer. The coefficients indicate that at a general level the stone tool assemblage represents a more fruitful area from which to draw broad time-space relationships than does the ceramic assemblage.

Two of the most common classes of stone tools, not including wedges, are scrapers and projectile points and are considered below in some detail.

With the exception of stratum III at the Michipicoten site the end scrapers represent 50 percent or more of the scrapers recovered. In terms of measurements of end scraper length, width, and height of the end scraping face, there is an increase in all dimensions from stratum III to stratum II at the Michipicoten site. This same trend is apparent through the three components of the Pic River site and is only broken by the reduction of scraper length in the historic stratum I. As a general rule the end scrapers from the Michipicoten and Shebishikong sites are smaller than those from the Pic River components. Ovate-acuminate scrapers are a sub-grouping of the end scraper variety and only occurred in stratum III of the Michipicoten site. Side scrapers are the second most common variety and in both the Michipicoten and Pic River time columns show an increase. The concave side scraper is a sub-grouping of the side scraper variety and was restricted to stratum III of the Michipicoten site. Random flakes retouched into scrapers were absent from both strata II of the Michipicoten and Pic River sites and were poorly represented at the Shebishikong site. The figures from both the Michipicoten and Pic River sites suggest that the random flake scraper is decreasing through time.

TABLE 7 — SCRAPER SERIATION FOR THREE HISTORIC OJIBWA COMPONENTS AND THREE ASSOCIATED PREHISTORIC COMPONENTS

	Shebishikong		Michipicoten				Pic River					
	I		II		III		I		II		III	
Scraper Variety	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%
End	13	68.4	5	50.0	13	33.3	12	52.2	6	75.0	14	58.3
Ovate-acuminate			–	–	2	5.1	–	–	–	–	–	–
Side	5	26.3	5	50.0	12	30.8	6	26.1	2	25.0	3	12.5
Concave	–	–	–	–	4	10.3	–	–	–	–	–	–
Random flake	1	5.3	–	–	8	20.5	5	21.7	–	–	7	29.2
TOTALS	19	100.0	10	100.0	39	100.0	23	100.0	8	100.0	24	100.0

TABLE 8 — PROJECTILE POINT SERIATION FOR THREE HISTORIC OJIBWA COMPONENTS AND THREE ASSOCIATED PREHISTORIC COMPONENTS

	Shebishikong		Michipicoten				Pic River					
	I		II		III		I		II		III	
Point Variety	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%
Triangular	–	–	3	100.0	11	68.8	3	50.0	4	66.7	14	63.6
Triangular side notched	1	100.0	–	–	5	31.2	3	50.0	1	16.7	7	31.8
Pentagonal	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	16.7	1	4.5
TOTALS	1	100.0	3	100.0	16	100.0	6	100.0	6	100.1	22	99.9

Excluding the Shebishikong site with its single triangular side-notched point, the major point shape is triangular, or, more accurately, trianguloid. For the components of the Michipicoten and Pic River sites the triangular form represents 50 or more percent of the points recovered. At the former site there is an increase and at the latter site a decrease. The triangular side-notched form is absent from stratum II of the Michipicoten site suggesting a decrease through time. However, at the Pic River site there is a decrease followed by an increase. Pentagonal points are restricted to the two prehistoric components of the Pic River site. Point length and width show an increase through the time column of the Pic River site, a trend which is tenuously supported by the Michipicoten site sequence. A characteristic common to many of the points from all six components is the limited amount of retouch involved. Quite frequently specimens are unifacially retouched or retouch is limited to the margins of the point. This practise of limited retouch in the manufacture of projectile points shows a marked decrease in the Pic River time column where the percentages for the trait running to stratum III to stratum I are 81.8, 33.3, 33.3. The situation at the Michipicoten site, however, does not support the trend and the percentage occurence of the trait running from stratum III to stratum II is 56.3 and 66.7. The single point from the Shebishikong site possessed limited retouch.

The majority of the preceding observations have been made on very small samples. Small samples, in the northern region of the Upper Great Lakes however, are the rule, not the exception, and if progress is to be made in the interpretation of Ojibwa culture history such samples must be used on the assumption that they are valid until additional information alters this validity.

SUMMARY

Although the available evidence is limited it has stimulated four basic proposals which appear to be essential to an examination of Ojibwa culture history.

1. ethnohistorical records allow the designation of certain components in the Upper Great Lakes region under the broad

term "Ojibwa" but severely handicap more specific identification.

2. the ceramics recovered from historic Ojibwa components are the product of borrowings from more than one ceramic tradition and, thus, cannot be used consistently in the traditional manner for establishing either spatial or temporal relationships.
3. the stone tool assemblage does not show the same spatial and temporal inconsistencies apparent in the ceramics, thus, suggesting that it represents an indigeneous portion of Ojibwa material culture and, thus, a more consistent category than ceramics from which to establish spatial and temporal relationships.
4. the direct historical approach is applicable using the historic Ojibwa components as a base from which to extend Ojibwa culture history back in time.

In view of the various problems involved in making specific ethnic identifications from the archaeological remains of a multitude of independent bands of closely related northern Algonkian-speaking peoples suggested by both historical and ethnological works (Thwaites 1896-1901; 1905; Blair: 1911; Skinner: 1911; Kinietz: 1940; Dunning: 1959; Hlady 1964; Hickerson 1962; and Rogers 1962) it was decided that the broadly inclusive term "Ojibwa" would be most effective for the present purposes. This is done, however, with an awareness that the "Ojibwa" will be broadly inclusive archaeologically as well as ethnologically and linguistically, with the result that the archaeological character of geographically distant components will strain the concept of a "tribal" unit. Eventually there should be sufficient information to establish regional archaeological sequences relating to Ojibwa culture history which, when taken collectively, will possibly reflect the development of small regional bands involved in a similar way of life but being subjected to varying types and intensities of cultural change.

As a rule, ceramics are the most effective single class of artifacts for tracing spatial and temporal relationships. This effectiveness very likely stems from the abundance of specific quantifiable and qualifiable attributes associated with ceramics. When the ceramics are a discontinuously borrowed trait, as

would appear to be the case with the Ojibwa, their comparative effectiveness is somewhat altered. Discontinuity is the critical condition for it would appear that if a group borrows the ceramics from another group in a continuous fashion then the ceramics of the former can be used in an effective manner for tracing chronologies (Ritchie 1949; Smith 1950). Such was apparently not the case for the Ojibwa where a number of different ceramic traditions are represented in a single component and the frequency or presence of various ceramic traditions in the various components of a site will vary through time and space. For example, comparisons between the components of the Pic River and Michipicoten sites, based upon rim sherds show no relationship to very little relationship. Yet ethnohistorical evidence strongly suggests that the historic strata of the two sites pertain to the Ojibwa. Further, the two historic components are roughly contemporaneous and are situated only 80 miles away from each other along the coast of Lake Superior. Although the mixture of ceramic traditions and the spatial and temporal variations on the type and degree of mixture disrupt the use of ceramics for establishing *continuous* time-space relationships they do not negate the value of ceramics. In terms of space the ceramics are certainly the best single indicator for the directions from which influences are being brought to bear upon any single component. At the Michipicoten historic stratum the influences are from the southeast (Huron-Petun) and the south (Michigan ceramic traditions) whereas at the historic stratum of the Pic River site the influences are from the west (Blackduck and Selkirk) and the south (Michigan ceramic tradition). The degree and direction of interaction is probably also reflected by the relative abundance of the various ceramic traditions. Temporally, the pottery types and/or attributes are very useful as relative time markers of the prehistoric components in which they are found. In this respect the pottery types and attributes found in hypothetically prehistoric Ojibwa components reflect their temporal and spatial position within the donor assemblage although there does appear to be some time lag. From the preceding it can be seen that while ceramics are not sufficiently consistent to establish broad continuous space-time constructs they are extremely useful in arriving at certain varieties of space-time information.

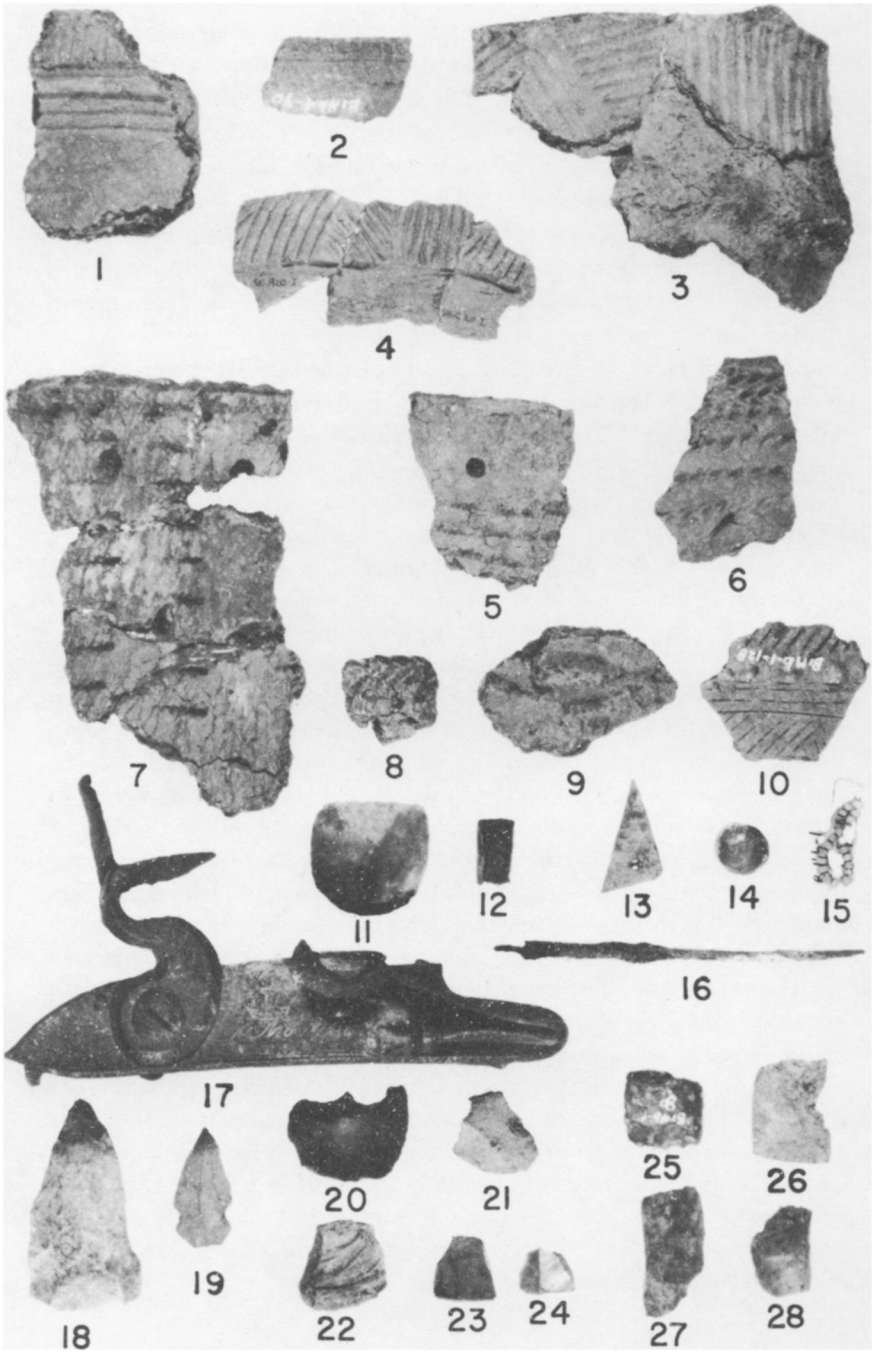

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PLATE I

(½ natural size)

Shebishikong Site — Stratum I

Figures 1-4 Huron-Petun branch rim sherds.

Figures 5, 7-8 Blackduck focus rim sherds.

Figure 6 Push-pull rim sherd.

Figures 9-10 Miscellaneous rim sherds.

Figure 11 French gun flint.

Figure 12 Cylindrical bead made from trade kettle.

Figure 13 Arrowhead with rivet hole made from trade kettle.

Figure 14 Lead musket ball.

Figure 15 White seed beads.

Figure 16 Iron awl.

Figure 17 Flintlock mechanism dated at 1720 A.D.

Figure 18 Triangular biface blade.

Figure 19 Triangular side-notched arrowhead.

Figures 20-24 End scrapers.

Figures 25-26 Wedges.

Figures 27-28 Side scrapers.

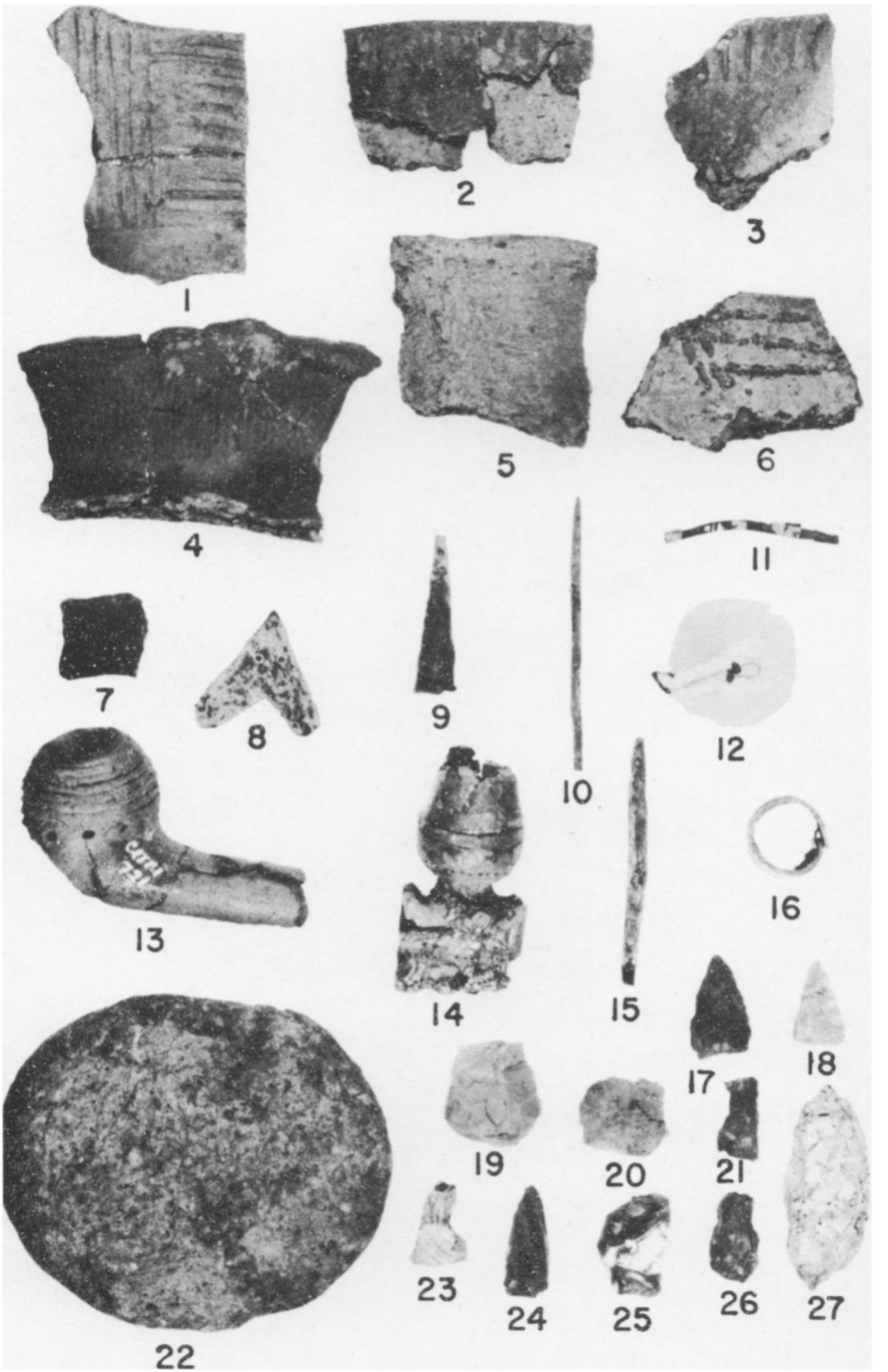
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PLATE II

(½ natural size)

Michipicoten Site — Stratum II

Figures 1-2	Huron-Petun branch rim sherds.
Figure 3	Stamped rim sherd.
Figures 4-5	Peninsular Woodland rim sherds.
Figure 6	Push-pull rim sherd.
Figure 7	English gun flint.
Figure 8	Lead pendant.
Figure 9	Triangular strip of trade kettle.
Figure 10	Rolled awl made from trade kettle strip.
Figure 11	Blue seed beads.
Figure 12	Trade kettle beads rolled onto a leather thong.
Figure 13	Huron-Petun branch pipe.
Figure 14	Engraved catlinite pipe with iron band.
Figure 15	Native copper awl.
Figure 16	Native copper finger-ring.
Figures 17-18	Triangular arrowheads.
Figures 19-20	End scrapers.
Figure 21	Side scraper.
Figure 22	Anvil stone.
Figure 23	Spoke-shave.
Figure 24	Small tool.
Figures 25-26	Wedges.
Figure 27	Large side scraper.

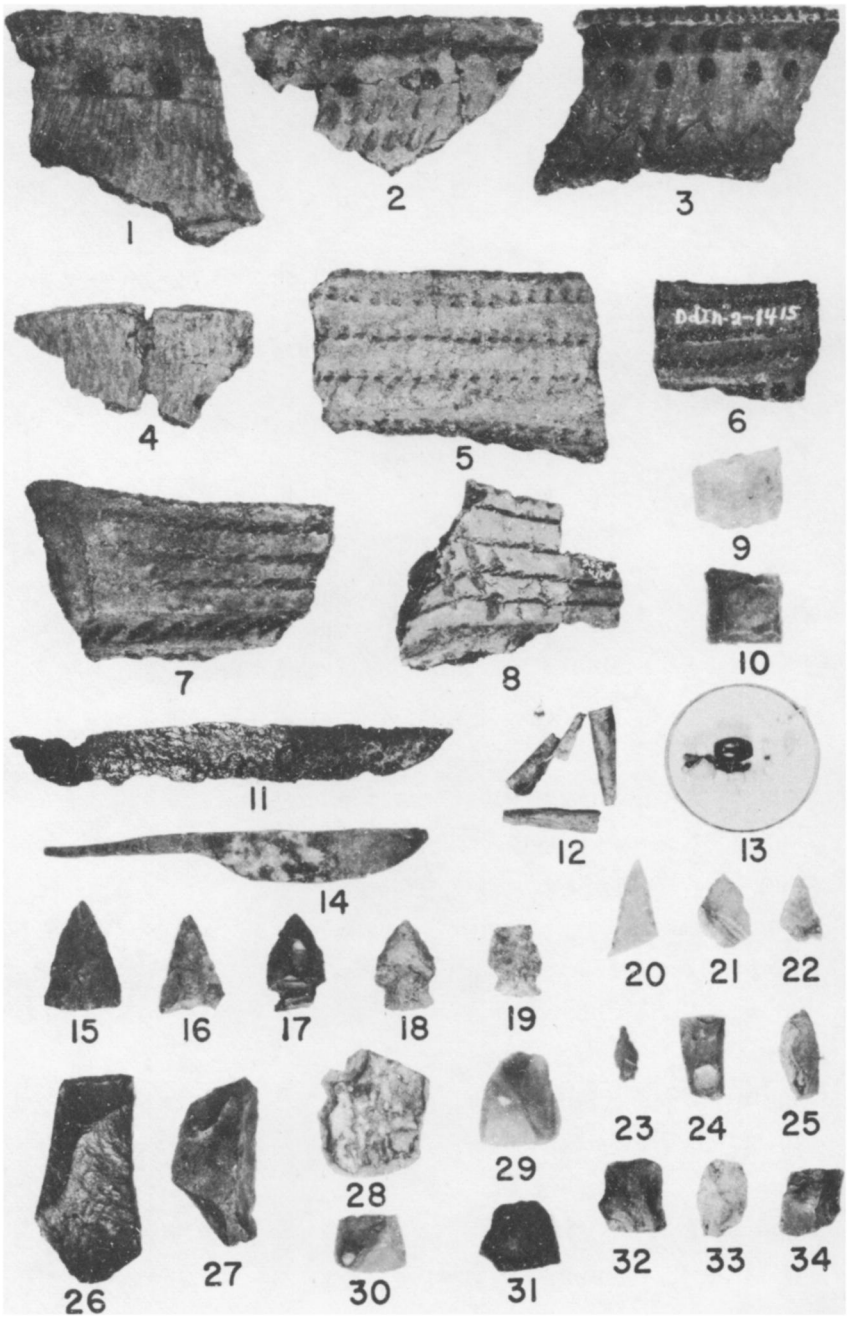
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PLATE III

(½ natural size)

Pic River Site — Stratum I

Figures 1-4 Blackduck focus rim sherds.

Figures 5-8 Push-pull rim sherds.

Figure 9 French gun flint.

Figure 10 English gun flint.

Figure 11 French clasp knife.

Figure 12 Bangles made from trade kettle.

Figure 13 Trade beads.

Figure 14 Native copper knife.

Figures 15-16 Triangular arrowheads.

Figures 17-19 Triangular side-notched arrowheads.

Figures 20-25 Small tools.

Figures 26-27 Large side scrapers.

Figures 28-31 End scrapers.

Figures 32-34 Wedges.

Next to the ceramics there is only one other category of artifacts which are sufficiently abundant and possess sufficient variety to be effective in attempting to establish broad time-space relationships. This category is the stone tools. On all of the components regarded as Ojibwa or their prehistoric antecedents the frequency of stone tools exceeds that of rim sherds. Yet on the two control sites (Ellsmere-Morrison/Huron-Petun and McCluskey/Blackduck to the east and west respectively) which are both actively involved in the development of their respective ceramic traditions, the frequency of rim sherds to stone tools is directly reversed. In conjunction with the evidence for substantial mixture of ceramic traditions the ratio of rim sherds to stone tools is regarded as additional evidence for the proposal that ceramics recovered from Ojibwa components represent borrowed traits. Not only are stone tools more abundant than rim sherds on historic and assumed prehistoric Ojibwa sites but they exhibit much closer and continuous relationships than was the case with ceramics. This situation suggests that the stone tools, as a class, relate more closely to Ojibwa material culture than the ceramics and, thus, broad spatial and temporal comparisons are possible. Relationships based upon stone tools, however, are weakened by both the limited number of attributes involved and the smallness of samples. Despite these drawbacks, which will relegate many of the inferences on time-space relationships to a highly tenuous position, the stone tool category would appear to represent the most fruitful single media through which Ojibwa culture history can be traced.

The application of the direct historical approach to the problem is greatly enhanced by the stratigraphic situation at the Michipicoten and Pic River sites. Both of these sites possess prehistoric components which produced a relative abundance of artifacts. A consistent picture can be seen through time at each site and each site possesses a definite local character which suggests that it is the cumulative product of a single population through time. Despite the 750 years involved in the occupation of the Pic River site and the 200 years represented by strata II and III of the Michipicoten site the components within each site relate more closely than do components between sites. Some of

the inter-site comparisons, however, are nearly equal to the intra-site comparisons.

The following represent some of the general characteristics of Ojibwa culture history seen through both time and space: thin and widely distributed cultural deposits; simple floor hearths with or without hearthstones; dog burials; multiple ceramic traditions; stone tools more common than rim sherds; and dominant stone tools are wedges, scrapers, and projectile points. At the more specific level certain form and metrical trends are apparent within the scraper and projectile point classes. There is also some evidence that regional chronologies differ from one another in terms of the presence or absence or frequency of certain minor stone tool classes.

The preceding statement on Ojibwa culture history is very preliminary and many of the observations are, perforce, of a highly tentative nature. Indeed, it is very likely that the construction of chronologies leading to the historic Ojibwa will always be relegated to a tenuous position in view of the data upon which the chronologies are based. The fluid cultural situation involved in the broad grouping of peoples called Ojibwa will probably never lend itself to a neat archaeological reconstruction. Under these circumstances it is certainly better to attempt to interpret the available information rather than waiting until a more convincing body of data is amassed. In view of the paucity of analyzable material from sites attributed to the Ojibwa conclusions have been kept to a minimum. Despite these limitations the evidence does suggest that it is feasible to trace Ojibwa culture history in the region of the north shores of Lake Huron and Lake Superior although considerably more data must be made available before this can be done in a convincing manner.

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Decision Making in a Samoan Village

BY LOWELL D. HOLMES

RÉSUMÉ

Dans les études anthropologiques sur le leadership, la structuration du pouvoir, le processus de faction, l'efficacité et la solidité des groupes, il serait bon de faire plus souvent usage des méthodes mises au point par les recherches sur les interactions en petit groupe. C'est dans cette perspective que l'auteur analyse les procédures politiques du conseil du village de Fitiuta, Samoa américaine.

A partir de quelques généralisations découlant du processus de décision à l'intérieur de petits groupes culturels nord-américains, l'auteur scrute les rôles des chefs et des "Talking Chiefs" dans les délibérations du conseil, dans la votation et dans le protocol entourant les chefs.

Anthropology has never shown itself to be particularly shy about borrowing and adapting methods and concepts from other behavioral sciences and should not now overlook the contributions of sociology, social psychology, education and even business administration in an area of investigation which has been labelled group dynamics or small group interaction research. A few anthropologists such as Eliot Chapple, Douglas Oliver, and Conrad Arensberg have been associated with this kind of approach but there should be a greater awareness in anthropology of the possibilities offered by small group dynamics research in collecting more comprehensive and more comparable data of the social interaction within political groups in primitive societies.

The behavior of tribal or village councils is, for example, an excellent subject for study by group dynamics methods. Procedures followed by such groups in the making of decisions or the settling of issues are not greatly different from the kind of behavior which Robert Bales has so carefully charted in his analysis of American business conferences. Granted that in particular socie-

ties patterns of interaction may be so unique that Bales' interaction process analysis criteria cannot easily be applied but his general method represents a fresh avenue of approach in the study of such phenomena as leadership, power structure, factionalism, group efficiency and solidarity.

In some societies one may encounter the phenomenon of the status or ascribed leader who rules by traditional right whereas another may involve leadership of the emergent type where the individual rules solely by virtue of his ability and personality. In each case the behavior of the leader and the expectations of the led vary and make for different kinds of social situations. Each of these possibilities has been studied in small group interaction research in European culture and thus there are established types or models of behavior against which one may measure the behavior of groups in non-Western cultures. Differences growing out of the various cultural configurations will undoubtedly be discovered but it is assumed that there will be numerous common denominators of behavior in groups in many parts of the world.

The present paper is an attempt to analyze the procedures of the village council in Fitiuta, American Samoa in terms of certain generalizations which have been established as being operative in small decision-making bodies in our own culture. I will attempt to point out differences and similarities which obtain in the two situations. The collection of data for this analysis took place in 1962-3 and to a certain extent was oriented by the demands of data collection in group dynamics research. Specifically there was an attempt to record the relationship of speakers, the sequence, content and tone of speeches and the behind-the-scenes manipulations which resulted in particular decisions.

The council in a Samoan village is composed of chiefs of various ranks who have been elected by their extended family units to serve as family head, administer family affairs and represent them in the village council wherein decisions are made concerning political, social, and religious matters affecting the village as a whole. These chiefs are chosen on the basis of general intelligence, knowledge of Samoan institutions, service to the family and today, on the basis of amount of formal education and knowledge of the Western world. As the elected head of an

extended family a man assumes the traditional family title which may be of chief or talking chief designation. Titles are of various levels of importance and the position of a particular title in the village hierarchy is to a great extent dependent upon mythological or legendary traditions. A chief title of paramount rank may be so recognized because its original holder is reported to have been a direct descendant of the Tagaloa family of gods. A very high talking chief title may derive its status from the fact that its original holder had the title conferred upon him by a king for exceptional valor in time of war. It is possible to point to three general levels of chief titles and an equal number of levels of talking chief titles. Some of the lower titles are actually secondary ones in large and important families and their holders are therefore automatically overshadowed by the senior title in their family.

We have in Samoan culture what small group researchers refer to as a status leader situation where certain members of the council might, by virtue of their traditional rank, be expected to play a more important role in the decision-making processes and in the leadership picture than others. While traditional rank is respected it is only one element of many which must be considered in understanding how village council decisions are made. The voices of men holding high titles will in certain circumstances carry more weight than those of the lower titles, but all ranks are given full opportunity to bring their opinions to the attention of the assembled chiefs. The main advantage in holding a high title is that it may mean that the individual will serve as the presiding officer in a discussion and in the case of high ranking talking chiefs there is a better opportunity of being in a position to place a particular proposition before the assembly and while doing so comment on its ramifications.

While status leadership is something which the investigator must take into consideration, the participants themselves think of the decision making process more in terms of a group function. That is to say, that village leadership is thought of as resting primarily with the group rather than with the status leader. It is impossible for any high ranking individual to make a demand upon the village without first discussing the matter with the village

council and obtaining their permission. In one very well known case, a village council objected to the autocratic behavior of their high chief and sent a runner to all the surrounding villages and informed their councils that they no longer recognized the title of their paramount chief and had named another chief as their highest officer. When the officially deposed chief arrived at the next council meeting he found that his post was occupied and he had no alternative but to return home. The members of his extended family upon hearing of the council action threatened to remove his title, since they no longer had representation in the village council. To prevent this action the chief had to return to the council and ceremonially ask their forgiveness by prostrating himself outside the council house with a finemat over his head until the council reinstated him to his official position.

In order to clarify the nature of group participation in Samoan decision-making and to illuminate the Samoan concepts of leadership let us examine Samoan village council procedures in terms of a set of principles which have been established as being essential to group efficiency and solidarity in our culture.

The *Handbook for Group Development* written by Ronald Levy and Rhea Osten and published by Socionomic Research Associates of Chicago (1950) lists the following requirements which must be present if maximum efficiency and satisfaction is to be achieved by the group in its making of decisions:

1) group decisions should be made by all members of a group working together so that all the ideas, feelings, and reactions of the individuals may be presented.

2) all decisions should represent as near a unanimous agreement as possible but when unanimity is not possible full opportunity for expression should be given to the minority.

3) the most effective decisions are made after a period of active discussion or dramatization in which group members share their feelings and reactions.

4) decisions should never be inexorable. The same process which made them should be allowed to modify them when the need arises.

5) group decision should be felt to be group products. This maintains a feeling of unity and identification with the group.

One of the most important decisions made in the village of Fitiuta, American Samoa, where I worked in 1963 was whether or not an American educational television producer should be permitted to photograph the somewhat secret and sacred *fono faleula tau aitu* (meeting of the house of spirits). This traditional meeting with its elaborate kava ceremony has always been a highly guarded phenomenon. Now there was the question of whether to allow the rest of the world to share the experience of the meeting and thus get better insight into the traditional Samoan way of life. The fact that the form of the meeting would be recorded on film for future generations of Samoans was also a consideration. This kind of question was certainly not typical of those discussed in the normal village council meeting but it undoubtedly was considered the most crucial decision the village had to make during my sojourn in the islands. Before the details of the council deliberation are enumerated it will be helpful to know something of the composition of the Fitiuta village council. Although there are roughly 75 titled men in this council there are 16 high titles. Four high chiefs are collectively known as the *faleifa* (four houses) and four high chiefs make up the *maopu*. Eight high talking chief titles are equally distributed in the *to'oto'o* (speakers) and *suafanu'u* (rulers of the village) groups.

The need for a meeting was expressed to other orator chiefs by High Talking Chief La'apui who had been approached by the educational television man. La'apui and the other orators are known to have discussed the problem informally at this time but there is no evidence that they arrived at any decision as to what the village position should be. An informal discussion such as this which precedes a formal council meeting is known as a *taupulega*. Keesing (1956) characterizes such a discussion as a kind of caucus wherein decisions are arrived at before the formal council discussions begin. My own observations and analysis of *fono* action, however, lead me to believe that these informal discussions do not settle questions but are a means of exploring issues and assessing support for, or opposition to, the matter to be debated. Samoan chiefs are wary of going out on a limb unless

they can count on some support from other chiefs. Thus it is my opinion that Samoan deliberations meet the requirement stated earlier that decisions should be made by all the members of a group working together.

The talking chiefs are responsible for passing the word and assembling the titled heads of families which make up the council and this they did. The convened council was presided over by *To'oto'o* La'apui and it was he who stated the issue to be decided. This might ordinarily have been the duty of the paramount chief but he was not living in the village at that time because he was employed by the government on the island of Tutuila.

The initial speech was made by a high chief of the *maopu* group of titled men. It was non-commital and expository in nature and represented an attempt to clarify the issue without taking a definite stand. The participants of the *fono* interpreted the speech as one designed to feel out public opinion on the matter and thus apparently corroborated my impression that no pre-*fono* decision had been made.

The second speech was one by a talking chief of low rank speaking for his high chief, a *faleifa* member. The speech was much like the one which preceded it. It further clarified the issue and enumerated both pros and cons. The speech contributed little but represented an opportunity for a young chief to display his wisdom and oratorical abilities.

This oration was followed by that of a low ranking talking chief of the family of Ve'e, a high talking chief of the *suafanu'u* group of orators. He was not speaking for the senior chief of his family but was expressing his own opinion. That opinion was that the procedures of the sacred *fono* should remain the village's cherished secret. This stand was seconded by another lesser ranking talking chief of the family of the presiding officer of the *fono*. His position was contrary to that of his senior chief although the latter did not state his views in this meeting. Again we have indication that no cut and dried prior decision is involved, for had consultation taken place between the chiefs of this family the lesser ranking chief would have felt that he should support the senior chief's opinion.

High Chief Ale of the *maopu* spoke next, expressing the view that it was time that the outside world learned of their customs, and Ve'e, a high talking chief of the *suafanu'u* division, agreed with Ale's position. High Chief Nunu, a *maopu,* then spoke in favor of the photography project as did Paopao of the same group of high chiefs. Thus the position of the village elite was known. Opposing them had been only two lesser ranking talking chiefs. The presiding High Talking Chief La'apui sensing that the majority opinion had been established and hearing no further statements of opposition, stated that the village had decided to allow the American to photograph their age-old *fono* institutions.

The decision, considered by the chiefs to be a unanimous one, had been made. Had further opposition developed following the speeches of the high ranks, then there would have been an attempt to reach a compromise resolution, but in this case the opposition disappeared when the majority opinion was apparent. The Samoan majority is not calculated in numerical terms, for the opinions of higher titles carry more weight than the lower ones. Four chiefs of high rank voting together would represent a majority opinion over six opposing chiefs of low rank. Every chief, however, has the opportunity of expressing his views and theoretically the chance to convince the high chiefs of the wisdom of his position. Keesing (1956:134-5) quotes a "part Samoan leader" as claiming "The Samoans have formalities. No one is to express himself freely at meetings. They have their high chiefs and orators, and although a lesser chief's opinion might differ on the subject at issue, he usually will not dare to express it in their presence."

This opinion, which Keesing also appears to reject, is not supported by any evidence which I was able to collect. Lesser ranking chiefs have a perfect right to express opinions which differ from those of high elite rank but they must observe proper formalities. For example, a common preface to a speech which opposes a stated opinion of a man of high rank may be translated "The worthless bird flies over the *tia*". The *tia* was the platform used in the chiefly sport of pigeon netting. This statement carries the idea that "all due respect is given to the men of high rank but kindly listen to this dissenting opinion."

The third principle stated as a requisite of effective group decision making was that decisions should be reached only after a period of active discussion or dramatization in which group members may share their feelings and ideas. One or two peculiarities must be pointed out concerning group discussions as they are found in the Samoan setting. First of all, the length of time involved in making decisions in the Samoan council meetings has been repeatedly commented upon by missionaries and government administrators who become bored with the many flowery speeches made in deciding the simplest and most unimportant of issues. They point out that the speakers often say exactly the same things as those preceding them and that entirely too much time is spent in deliberation. Turner (1861) describes a village meeting where half a day was consumed by only two speeches. These observations are quite correct but there are valid reasons for the repetition and the great consumption of time.

Speeches in the council meeting represent votes, since hand counts are not taken, and the presiding chief must assess the desire of the assembly solely from the oral pronouncements of its members. Therefore, speeches of the high chiefs are often very similar if they hold the same opinion. Lesser chiefs usually will not speak if the opinions correspond to their own, for silence is interpreted as approval of the general point of view which is dominating the discussion.

It should also be pointed out that speeches are often long because the Samoan believes that the more important the issue the longer it should be deliberated. The business-like behavior of European administrators in keeping appointments short, to the point and on a definite time schedule has long been a source of bewilderment, embarrassment and frustration to the Samoan chiefs who still solve problems in the traditional manner.

The Fitiuta village decision described in this paper was one in which no future reversal of policy was possible. Once the films were taken the ceremonial secrecy could no longer be maintained. In other decisions, however, reversals of opinion are possible if the dissenters can marshal sufficient support, for Samoans believe with group dynamics theorists that for proper group efficiency and solidarity, decisions should never be inexorable.

We find, however, that the matter of rank is involved here as it was in the concept of the majority. Keesing points out that "dissension and opposition in elite groups can be most effectively brought into the open where participants are peers or near peers; marked hierarchical differences tend to inhibit them. Opposition by subordinates to opinions and decisions of important elite superiors tend to assume a private or even covert character" (1956:121). In most decisions there is a genuine attempt to arrive at a solution which will be agreeable to all council members regardless of rank, but there are times when this is not possible. Usually the dissenters are few in number but if the opposition gains strength and, most important, if they have a strong elite voice supporting them, the village council will be forced to reexamine and possibly reverse the original decision.

Finally we might point out that Samoan group decision procedures *do* tend to result in resolutions which are felt to be group products. This is stressed by Keesing who points out that "Elite [chiefs'] decision making tends to involve a measure of anonymity for the participants, i.e. an institutionalization of responsibility rather than personal acts" (1956:140).

While village council meetings appear to be dominated by the high ranks it cannot be said that the decisions are those of the high ranks alone. Just as the chairman of a board of directors is theoretically not solely responsible for a board's decisions, neither is the high chief who pronounces the will of his council ever held personally accountable for a council decision. It is this concept of decision making which makes for council and village solidarity and creates an effective legal and norm system. Laws are more easily enforced when all council members believe that they have had an active part in formulating them. It is only in the urban areas of American Samoa where there are government laws enforced by a government police force that serious breaches in law are prevalent. In the traditional system chiefs of all ranks feel that they have a voice in the establishment of laws and norms and therefore they also have the responsibility of following and upholding the products of their creation.

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The Paramastoid Crest in Indonesian Skulls

BY TEUKU JACOB *

RÉSUMÉ

Cet article étudie la proportion d'occurence et de non-occurence de la crête paramastoide des 100 crânes javanais dont 66 de mâles et 34 de femelles agés de 15 à 85 ans.

In this paper the paramastoid crest refers to an elevated structure on the temporal bone, between the mastoid notch and the occipital groove, which, together with the notch, provides origin for the posterior belly of the digastric muscle. Not infrequently, the structure is called the paramastoid process. The Nomina Anatomica (1961), however, defines the paramastoid process as an anomalous projection on the occipital bone, lateral to the occipital condyle. The term, which is held from the BNA, has been abandoned by some authors. Passow (1924), too, reserved the term paramastoid process for the structure on the occipital bone, which is occasionally and more properly named the paracondyloid process, and used the term processus mastoideus duplex for the crest we are concerned with. Weidenreich (1951) interchangeably used the terms paramastoid crest and paramastoid process. Taxman (1962) preferred to name it the juxtamastoid eminence after Rouvière, in order to avoid confusion with the paracondyloid process on the occipital bone. Other authors refer to the crest as digastric torus. It is the rule rather than the exception that in most anatomy textbooks the structure is not mentioned (e.g. Gardner, E.A., 1963).

* Our thanks are due to Professor R. Radiopoetro, Head of the Department of Anatomy, Gadjah Mada University College of Medicine, for the facilities rendered in this study. And we are grateful to M. Soejono for his photographic services.

Corner (1896), who used the term paramastoid process, studied 304 temporal bones and found that the crests were absent in 7%. Occasionally, the structure was continuous posteriorly with the mastoid process. He described four main types of paramastoid crests:

1. as a broken, irregular, faint line;
2. as a short, rough ridge;
3. as a long, rough or sharp ridge extending to the stylomastoid foramen;
4. as a bullate, distended, pneumatized ridge.

There were other forms that did not occur frequently such as rounded or serrated ridges, spines or tubercles, and ill-defined types.

Generally the paramastoid crests were present bilaterally, and there was no relation between their size and that of the mastoid process.

The paramastoid was also evident in other Primates as he observed in 8 Simiidae, 6 Cebidae, 6 Cercopithecidae and 3 Lemuridae. In Pongo it was very large. Corner suggested that the paramastoid and paroccipital processes had one parental process. In the horse the origin of the digastricus was on the paroccipital process and in the Cebidae and Lemuridae both processes were situated on a ridge. He wrote (p. 388):

> ...there is no fundamental difference between the two processes as far as they give attachment to muscles and fascia, and that they originally were one ridge of attachment continuous from one bone to the other... It is the parent process in lower animals of the two distinct processes in man and monkeys, the condition found in the skulls of the lemurs being intermediate.

In *Indris brevicaudatus* and *Propithecus diadema* the summit of the parent ridge was on the paroccipital region, while in *Cheiromys madagascariensis* it was halfway between the paramastoid and paroccipital regions.

According to Corner, the lateral surface of the crest was for the attachment of the posterior belly of the digastricus and its summit for the intermuscular septum underlying the muscle.

EXPLANATION OF PLATES:

Plate I. Size variations in paramastoid and occipitomastoid crests

a. Paramastoid crest absent; a faint line separates the mastoid notch from the occipital groove (Skull # 13).

b. Paramastoid crest slightly distinct (Skull # 3).

c. Paramastoid crest of distinct type (Skull # 216).

d. Paramastoid crest very distinct, and posteriorly fused with the mastoid process (Skull # 168).

e. Occipitomastoid crest very distinct (Skull # 192).

Plate II. Paramastoid crests in *Homo soloensis* skulls (casts)

a. Paramastoid crest distinct on the right side, and slightly distinct on the left (Skull VI).

b. Paramastoid crest distinct on the left side, and slightly distinct on the right (Skull XI).

1 = mastoid process; 2 = mastoid notch; 3 = paramastoid crest; 4 = occipital groove; 5 = occipitomastoid crest; 6 = occipitomastoid suture.

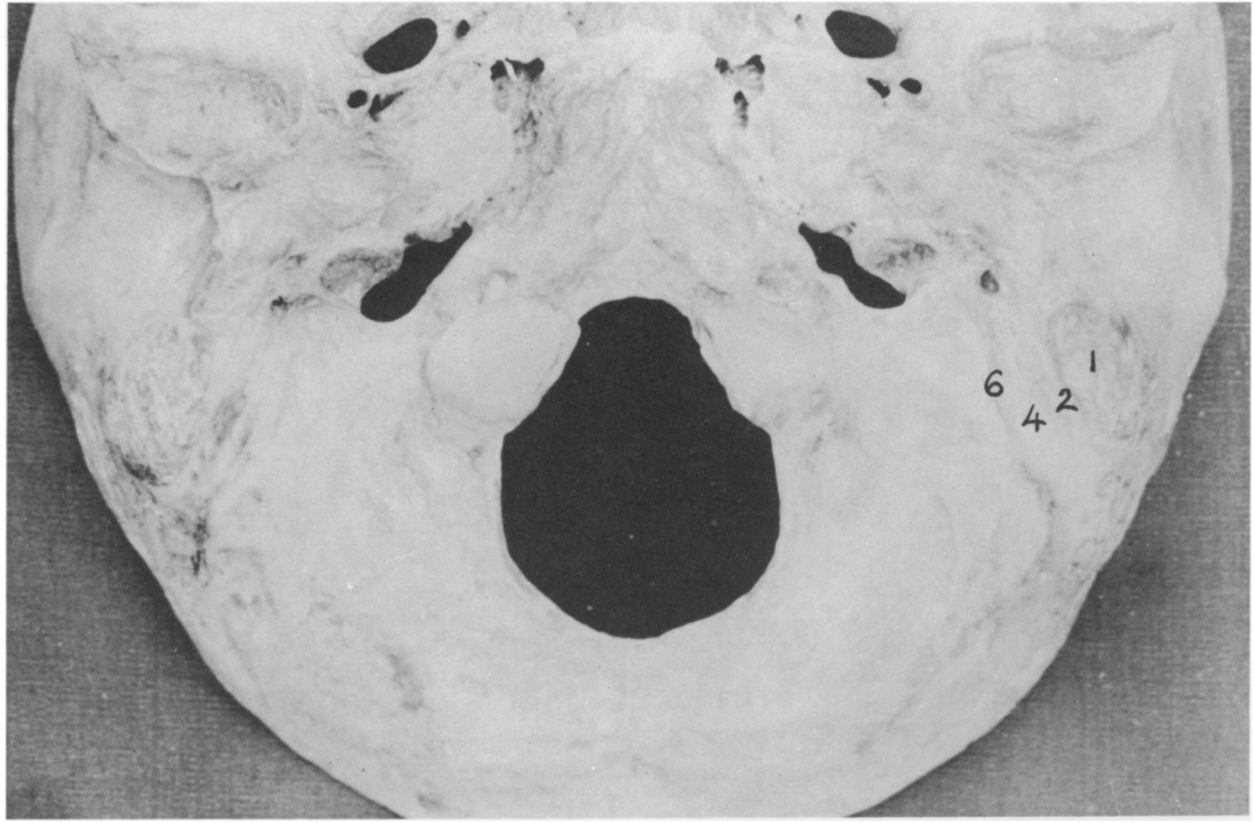


Plate I - a

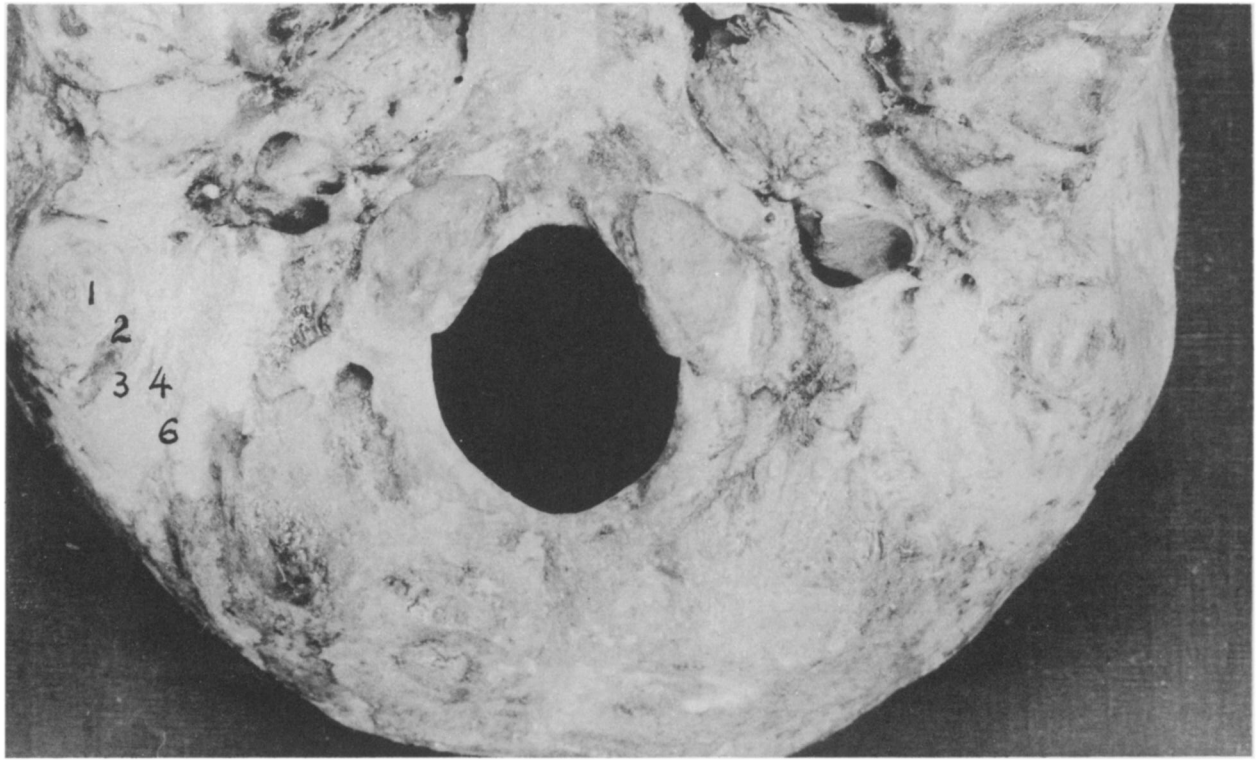
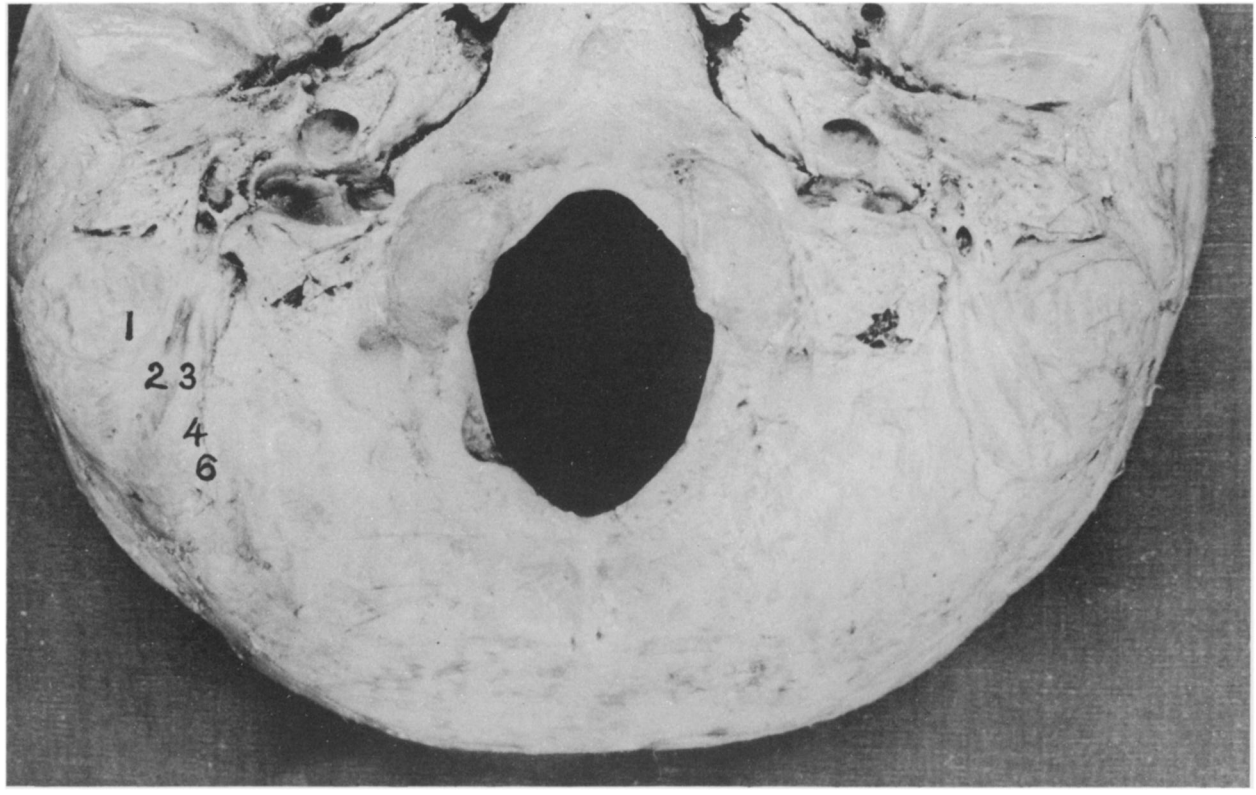


Plate I - b



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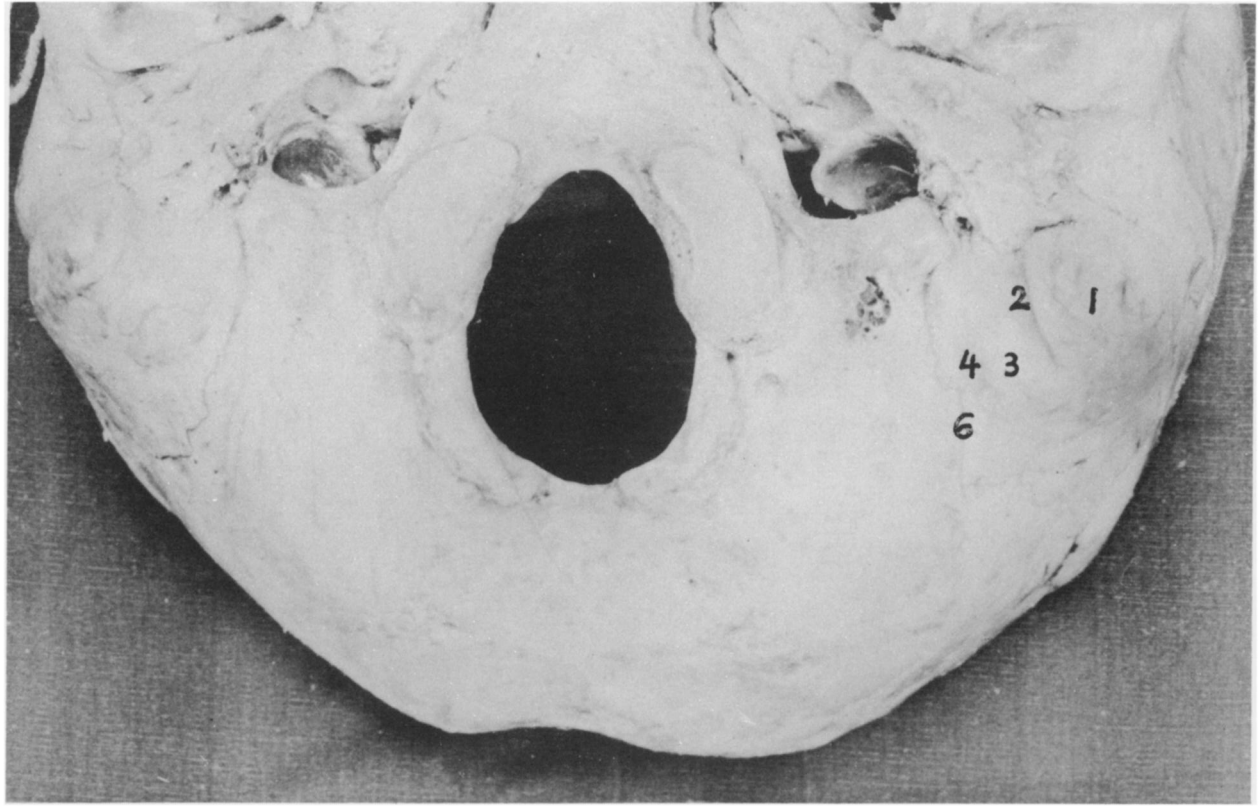

Plate I - d

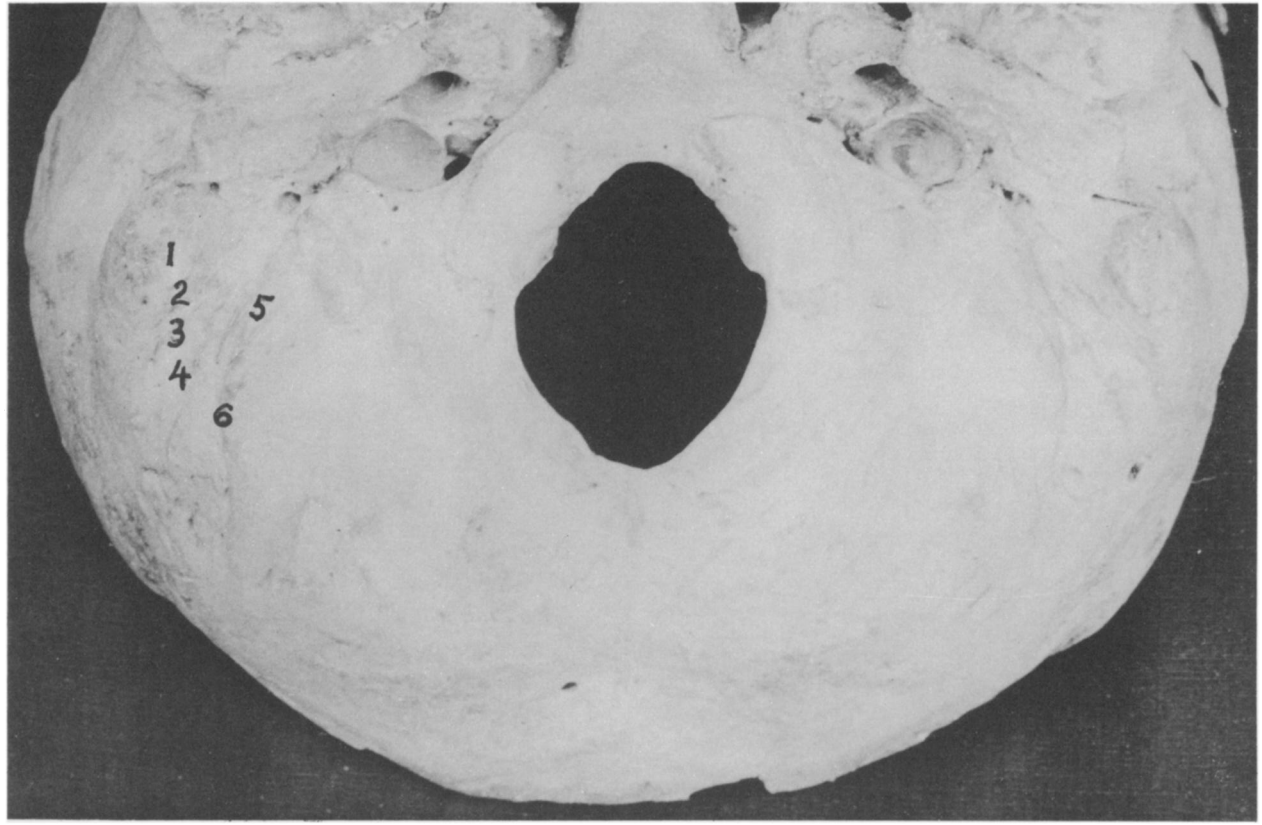

Plate I - e

Plate II - a

Plate II - b

In 1960 we studied the mastoid region in 100 Caucasoid, 100 Eskimo and 84 American Negro skulls, of which 90 were known females and 125 known males. The Caucasoid material consisted of Bohemian, Austrian, German, Swiss, Crimean and French skulls, and the Eskimo material was from Alaska; both groups were studied at the U.S. National Museum. The Negro crania were from the collection of the Department of Anatomy, Howard University, Washington, D.C. We regarded the paramastoid crest as:

1. absent when it was unrecognizable either by vision or palpation:
2. slightly distinct when a suggestion of the structure was present;
3. distinct when a slight gradual elevation was evident;
4. very distinct when a projecting eminence was observable.

As results, we found that in the female 38.9% of the paramastoids were distinct (and very distinct), and 61.1% slightly distinct or absent, whereas in the male 63.2% distinct and 36.8% slightly distinct or absent. The sex difference proved to be significant ($P<0.001$).

In the European skulls 69% of the crests were distinct or very distinct, while the percentages for the Eskimo and Negro groups were respectively 45% and 56%. In 10 cases the paramastoid was fused with the mastoid, in 7 cases unilaterally on the right side, in one case on the left, and in one case bilaterally. In 15 other cases (2.7%) the paramastoid was fused posteriorly with the mastoid process, in one case on the right, in 8 cases on the left, and in 3 cases bilaterally.

We also concluded that the paramastoid crest was the most constant associated prominence in the human mastoid region (relative to the supramastoid crest, the anterior and posterior supramastoid tubercles, the retromastoid and asteriac processes), and its size was not related to the size of the mastoid.

Taxman (1962) studied 400 skulls equally divided among Whites and Negroes of both sexes, and measured the length, width and height of the paramastoid. He considered the crest as absent if the height was less than one mm., and classified the

form as rounded, sharp, flattened, pointed, rough irregular, and knoblike.

As result, Taxman found that the structure was present in 89% of temporal bones. In the Whites the males exhibited a higher rate of occurrence, and the crest was also longer and higher. There was no significant difference encountered between Whites and Negroes. The rough irregular form occurred most frequently, and the tip of the paramastoid was usually situated more posteriorly than the tip of the mastoid process.

In three cadavers Taxman observed that the posterior belly of the digastric muscle had its origin on the crest and on the floor of the mastoid notch.

Furthermore, he[1] quoted Patte that the paramastoid crest was not found in five Neanderthal skulls examined, and cited Weidenreich that it was present in *Sinanthropus pekinensis* skull XI. Walensky (1961) suggested an evolutionary trend toward the eruption of the paramastoid in the mastoid notch, and that the crest was of recent acquisition, appearing in modern man.

Weidenreich (1951), however, observed a definite paramastoid crest in *Homo soloensis,* and in several plates he clearly indicated the crest in skulls V, VI and XI. He wrote (p. 280):

> The mastoid incisure in *Sinanthropus* is bordered on its medial side by a very pronounced long ridge which is divided by the occipito-mastoid suture into a mastoid and an occipital ridge. In Solo man the mastoid portion of this ridge has shifted so close to the mastoid process that it appears as a proper ridge, which has been called crista paramastoidea, while the occipital portion appears as an independent ridge which seems to be double-edged (crista occipito-mastoidea).

PURPOSE AND MATERIAL

The purpose of the present study is to find the incidence of the paramastoid crest in Indonesian Mongoloids. We utilize 100 Javanese skulls from the collection of the Department of Anatomy,

[1] It is interesting to note in passing that Taxman did not take into consideration Corner's observation in the Primates, and that he failed to record the correct title and pages of Corner's article in his list of literature cited.

Gadjah Mada University College of Medicine, consisting of 66 males and 34 females between 15 and 85 years of age. The classification of the structure is the same as used in our earlier study (Plate I).

RESULTS

As summarized in Table 1, the paramastoid crest is found in 124 temporal bones or 62% of the possible sides. A considerable number (52%) of the crests present are of slightly distinct types.

TABLE 1

Occurrence of the Paramastoid Crest in 100 Javanese Skulls

No. of Temporal Bones	*Very Distinct*	*Distinct*	*Total*	*Slightly Distinct*	*Total Present*	*Absent*
200	3	17	20	104	124	76

Thus, the rate of non-occurrence is quite high, compared with figures obtained in other races and by other authors (Table 2).

TABLE 2

Rates of Non-occurrence (in %) of the Paramastoid Crest in Different Races

Author	*Year*	*Race*	*Male*	*Female*	*Both Sexes*
Corner	1896	Various			7
Jacob	1960	Eskimo	12.5	25	20
		European	2	20	10
		Negro	10	24	14.8
	1964	Indonesian	37.1	39.7	38
Taxman	1962	White	6.5	15.5	11
		Negro	7.5	13	10.25

The next higher rate of non-occurrence was found in Eskimo skulls (20%), and even from this group the Indonesian paramastoid differs significantly ($P<0.001$). Among the three racial groups in our earlier study the rates of absence did not differ significantly. However, the difference in frequencies of slightly distinct and of distinct (and very distinct) types was significant between the Eskimo paramastoids and the Negro ones ($0.02>P->0.01$), and between the Eskimo and the European ($P<0.001$).

Table 3 depicts the incidence in different sexes, on different sides and in different age groups. It is evident that the occurrence on the left and right sides shows no statistically significant difference ($0.8>P>0.75$). There is also no difference in size bilaterally.

TABLE 3

Occurrence of the Paramastoid Crest on Different Sides, in Different Sexes and in Different Age Groups in 100 Javanese Skulls

	No.	*Very Distinct*	*Distinct*	*Slightly Distinct*	*Absent*
A. Side					
Left	100	1	10	52	37
Right	100	2	7	52	39
Total	200	3	17	104	76
B. Sex					
Female	68	2	2	37	27
Male	132	1	15	67	49
Total	200	3	17	104	76
C. Age (recorded)					
<40 years	98	2	14	47	35
>40 years	74	1	3	37	33
Total	172	3	17	84	68

The difference between both sexes has no statistical significance either ($0.75> P>0.7$). Sex difference in size is also nonexistent. And age does not seem to affect the incidence of the

paramastoid, since the difference in skulls younger and older than 40 years of age is not significant ($0.25>P>0.2$).

The presence of fusion of the mastoid with the paramastoid, wholly or partially, at their posterior aspects is summarized in Table 4.

TABLE 4

Incidence of Fusion of the Paramastoid Crest with the Mastoid Process

Race	*No. of Temporal Bones*	*Bilateral*	*Unilateral*		*Total*
			Left	*Right*	
Indonesian	200	4	2	4	10
Eskimo	200	8	9	3	20
European	200	_	_	3	3
Negro	176	_	_	2	2

There are only 10 cases where the phenomenon is observed, of which unilateral occurrence on the left side is the least frequent. It has to be noted that a fused paramastoid does differ from the processus mastoideus duplex. A paramastoid crest is always situated medial to the mastoid notch, while the processus mastoideus duplex is lateral to it. Only in Eskimo skulls is higher rate of fusion encountered.

Finally, we also searched the paramastoid crest in casts of *Homo soloensis* skulls, and discovered that it is present in crania I, V, VI, IX and XI (Table 5) (Plate II).

TABLE 5

Occurence of the Paramastoid Crest in *Homo soloensis* Skulls (casts)

Skull	*Left*	*Right*
I	absent	slightly distinct
V	slightly distinct	absent
VI	slightly distinct	distinct
IX	distinct	slightly distinct
XI	distinct	slightly distinct

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

From the facts described above it is clear that the paramastoid crest is the most constant associated prominence in the human mastoid region, the highest rate of occurrence reported being 93%, and the lowest, as found in Indonesian skulls, 62%. Beside the relatively low incidence in this group, most of the structures present are of slightly distinct types, and hence, they differ significantly from those of other races. This fact, consequently, seems to be quite characteristic of the Indonesian skull and could be considered as a clue in forensic or archeological identification beside other diagnostic morphological configurations such as the zygomatic morphology, the piriform aperture etc.

No significant difference in incidence and distinctness is found between the paramastoids in both sexes, on both sides and of different age groups. Thus, aging does not affect the incidence of the crest, which corresponds to Cobb's finding on other cranial processes (1952), and to the findings of Kirchner (1879) and Silbiger (1950-51) on the mastoid process.

Corner's report, Weidenreich's study and our observation of the paramastoid in several skulls of *Homo soloensis* cast some doubt on the assertion that the crest is of recent origin as is true in the case of the mastoid process. Taxman himself distinguished a paramastoid crest in a picture of *Sinanthropus* published by Weidenreich.

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The Nature of Descent Groups of Some Tribes in the Interior of Northwestern North America

BY DANIEL GROSSMAN

RÉSUMÉ

Une étude des Indiens de la partie nord-ouest de l'Amérique septentrionale semble indiquer que le système de parenté (descent group) en vigueur était ambilinéaire. Bien que les données ethnographiques soient plutôt maigres pour certains groupes, pour d'autres, tels les "Lower Carriers", les détails sont abondants et indiquent clairement la présence d'un système de descendance du type ambilinéaire, conditionné par le besoin de contrôler l'exploitation du saumon.

INTRODUCTION

For many years the nature of descent groups among the Lower Carrier, Shuswap, and Lillooet has been a puzzle. The rather incomplete ethnographic data has been interpreted by anthropologists in various ways. The interior tribes were thought to have either degenerate clans or simple bilateral bands, rather than any descent groups at all.

In recent years, the concept of the nonunilineal descent group has been used to clarify social systems all over the world. White (1959) and Davenport (1959) have noted that these descent groups were present in the Northwest Coast of North America.

The purpose of this paper is to demonstrate that several interior tribes had nonunilineal descent groups also. Murdock (1960) and Fathauer (1942) have noted briefly the presence of nonunilineal groups among several tribes of the interior. The

existence of a special type of nonunilineal group, the stem lineage, among certain tribes will also be discussed.

Northwestern North America had two types of descent groups: unilineal and nonunilineal (ambilineal). Most of the unilineal descent groups were matrilineal.

In a culture that has unilineal descent groups, an individual can claim membership in only one descent group of a certain type, i.e., a person can claim membership in only one lineage and only one clan. In a culture that has nonunilineal descent groups, a person can claim membership in several descent groups of a certain type, i.e., a person can claim membership in several lineages and in several clans.

In a culture that has unilineal descent groups, actual membership in a descent group is established as soon as the individual is born. In a culture that has nonunilineal descent groups, a person becomes a member in a descent group by establishing residence in the territory of the descent group. Some tribes in Oceania have membership in a nonunilineal descent group by securing land holdings in the descent unit's territory (Firth, 1957:4). In northwestern North America, residence is the sole factor in establishing actual membership.

Firth appears to have been the first anthropologist to recognize the existence of nonunilineal descent groups. While describing the Maori descent unit, the *hapu,* Firth realized that this group was not a typical unilineal clan. A Maori could claim membership in the *hapu* of his mother or father. Firth could not use the concept of unilineal descent to describe the mode of descent group affiliation among the Maori. Therefore, he developed the concept of ambilineal descent (Firth, 1929:98).

Later Firth pointed out that unilineal descent means that one traces descent consistently through one kind of parent only to the exclusion of the other kind of parent in order to establish descent group affiliation. Ambilineal descent means, on the other hand, that one can use both parents' descent lines to establish a choice for descent group affiliation (Firth, 1957:5).

Several terms are used for nonunilineal descent groups. Firth has used "ambilateral group" (Firth, 1929:98) and "ramage"

(Firth, 1957:6). Davenport (1959:568) and White (1959:177) use the term "sept" for nonunilineal descent group. Murdock (1960) uses "cognatic group."

Lower Carrier Descent Groups

Most of our information on Lower Carrier descent groups is derived from the Alkatcho. However, Goldman has remarked that the social systems of the various Lower Carrier sub-tribes are similar (Goldman, personal communication). Therefore, our analysis will examine the descent system of the Lower Carrier as a whole.

The basic unit in the social system of the Lower Carrier was the *netsi* (crest group), "Alkatcho informants describe a *netsi* as a local group whose members lived together as one family in the same village, shared common fishing sites, and hunting territory; participated jointly in potlatches, and used as a crest the totemic animal designating the group" (Goldman, 1941:401).

The core of the crest group was the *sadeku*. It was composed of siblings and their descendants. "The *sadeku* comprised all individuals descended through the line of grandfather, while beyond that was the *sadekuka* 'distant relatives' descending through the line of great-grandfather" (Goldman, 1940:354). The core was based on patrilocal residence and patrilineal descent.

Primogeniture was the basic principle of the Lower Carrier system. The first born in a line of first born would be the family head or *detsa* (first one). The eldest member of the line of siblings that traced direct descent from the ancestor of the *netsi* was the *teneza* of the crest group. The other members of the sibling group that provided the *teneza* were the *sqeza* (persons of high rank).

Only the eldest son of a *teneza* had the right to provide potlatches for his village after the death of his father in order to validate his title. The new *teneza* had the full support of his lineage in giving feasts, since he represented the crest group and the members shared in his prestige.

The *teneza* regulated the use of the hunting territory and the fishing sites of the group. He attempted to settle disputes among

members of the crest group. The group leader organized potlatches and directed the construction of the lineage house where potlatches were held.

While the membership of the administrative core was restricted to a permanent cadre, the composition of the crest group outside the core was flexible. Goldman states that "children were assigned to the crests of either the paternal or maternal line or to both. Thus some men at Alkatcho inherited and validated membership in three crest groups" (Goldman, 1941:399). "The fact that crests may be drawn from both sides of the family makes it possible for brothers to validate different crests and so assume economic and ceremonial privileges in different groups..." (*ibid.*: 405-6).

Certain crests in a group could be displayed by persons of high rank after they validated their status by potlatches. Persons of low rank could not participate in these activities because they were not eligible for high positions. However, these individuals had rights to the resources of the lineage, although they lacked ceremonial privileges. Goldman points out that "since the first born of a line of siblings was responsible for the economic well-being of that group, the group necessarily shared in his economic privileges as a member of a crest group, although they were denied the honorific prerogatives with membership" (*ibid.*: 404).

The crest groups were agamous. A Lower Carrier could marry a member of his own *netsi* or another crest group, depending on his personal preferences (*ibid.*: 405).

The groups had rights to certain sections of streams and lakes for purposes of fishing. Families might have their own fish traps, but they had to share fish with all the members of the group (Goldman, 1940:367).

Each *netsi* had its own hunting territories. All animals that were killed in the territory of a crest group were shared by the members of the lineage.

Crest groups conducted funerals for their members. The *tenezas* organized potlatches for the dead.

Each group had certain exclusive animal crests and ceremonies. Only members of the Beaver *netsi* could carve beaver crests on houses and on the tops of mortuary posts. "The ravens had this prerogative: a member of the group climbed up on the roof of the house and cried out, 'kaw kaw,' imitating the sound of the raven" (*ibid.*:357).

If a village had several lineages, there generally was a village chief. "The village chief, *meotih,* the most important noble, was responsible for organizing potlatches and for the adjustment of hunting and fishing territory disputes. He was generally one who had inherited the position through a direct line of primogeniture" (Goldman, 1941:398). The groups were probably related to each other and the *meotih* represented the common line of ancestors for the entire village.

The Nature of the Crest Groups

Goldman believes that there are contradictions in the information that was supplied by his informants (Goldman, 1940: 337-8). The differences between the *sadeku* (group of siblings) and the crest group often are not clear. Goldman resolves the confusion with a theory that assumes that the Lower Carrier crest groups are really matrilineal phratries (similar to the matrilineal descent groups of the Upper Carrier) that have been modified by contact with the bilateral Bella Coola. Goldman hypothesizes that the fur trade with the bilateral Bella Coola stimulated the Lower Carrier to add bilateral features to unilineal groups in order to facilitate trade and intermarriage between the Coast and the Interior (Goldman, 1941).

I believe that we can regard the Lower Carrier crest group as a distinct type of descent group rather than a mixture of bilateral and unilineal traits.

Another writer had some similar ideas on the Lower Carrier crest groups. In 1942, Fathauer stated: "Goldman's analysis is based on the assumption that the Alkatcho Carrier had a phratry system similar to that of the Bulkley River Carrier before the fur trade stimulated the Bella Coola to make closer contacts with the Alkatcho group. This is quite an involved explanation and the validity of some of the assumptions may be questioned. The

bilateral type of social organization which is found among the Bella Coola is becoming recognized as a fairly common and well-defined type. It has been called a 'ramage' by Firth" (Fathauer, 1942:84). Since Firth often uses the term "ramage" as a synonym for "ambilineal descent group" (Firth, 1957), we can assume that Fathauer realized that the crest group is an ambilineal descent group. However, he did not develop his suggestion and his idea was not widely disseminated among anthropologists since it was presented in an unpublished M.A. thesis.

Among the Lower Carriers, as we saw in the preceding description of the crest group, an individual could claim membership in several crest groups by tracing descent through the descent lines of both father and mother. "Residence, by and large, determines hunting and fishing rights among the Lower Carrier" (Goldman, 1941:406). The crest groups controlled the hunting grounds and fishing sites of the Lower Carrier. In order to use the resources of a group, a person had to show some kinship with the members of a group, and the person had to reside in the territory of the group to establish actual membership. These facts, I believe, demonstrate that the Lower Carrier crest groups were non-unilineal descent groups. The use of demonstrated descent indicates lineages.

Since the membership of the crest groups fluctuated, Goldman stated: "The crest group could therefore not have been either a clearly defined local group or a stable social unit" (Goldman, 1941:399). How could the crest group maintain itself as a corporate group and maintain control over resources? I believe that the problem is resolved if we regard the crest group as a stem lineage.

Sahlins formulated the concept of the stem lineage to describe the nature of certain descent groups in Polynesia. "A stem lineage has a core of patrilineal relatives supplying the lineage head — in Tokelau and Manihiki [Polynesian islands] evidently through primogeniture. To this patrilineal stem are attached cognates of various description, affiliated with full and equal rights save that of succession. The lineage holds land corporately, but administration is vested in and monopolized by the core line" (Sahlins, 1957: 298).

The administrative core of the crest group was the *sadeku*. This unit was based on patrilineal descent, primogeniture, and patrilocal residence. The sadeku maintained the crest group as a corporate unit. Other members of the crest group had full economic rights, but these persons could not become heads of the group. These persons could become members of any one of several crest groups since they followed rules of ambilineal descent and variable residence. The crest group, therefore, was a stem lineage.

The Chilcotin

One anthropologist, Lane, maintains that the Chilcotin did not have a social system based on descent groups. "I have indicated that, in so far as I was able to determine, the Chilcotin now deny ever having any sept or honorific system; and my field work failed to produce any evidence of their ever having had such a system" (Lane, 1952:186). Lane believes that the Chilcotin only had a loose band system.

However, there are reasons for the lack of information on the Chilcotin descent system. In 1862 a smallpox epidemic killed most of the members of the Chilcotin tribe. Only a few persons who were in the mountains survived (Morice, 1905:307). Goldman adds some details: "The Chilcotins, for example, met the full brunt of an expanding money-mad White population. Settled in good ranching country, and almost in the heart of the Caribou gold fields, the Chilcotin were soon overwhelmed by the whites. Smallpox, venereal disease, and wars with the whites quickly decimated the population" (Goldman, 1940:372). The Shuswap had a similar history in the nineteenth century; no trace of the old Shuswap social structure remains today. There are ample reasons, therefore, for the lack of knowledge of the pristine social system among the modern Chilcotin.

In the early 1900's, Teit gathered some information on the Chilcotin descent system. He probably had some informants who remembered the customs of the Chilcotin before 1862. The meager facts on the social organization are as follows:

> From the assertion of the Shuswap and from little information I managed to gather from the Chilcotin themselves, it appears certain that

> the tribe was organized in a manner similar to that of the Coast tribes. They seem to have had three classes — nobles, common people, and slaves. A clan system also prevailed, and there are traces of numerous societies. ...It seems that the child belonged to both the father's and the mother's families.
>
> The Raven seems to have been a strong clan among the Chilcotin. Nobles took their rank according to the amount of wealth they were able to distribute at potlatches. If one man gave a greater potlatch than another, he ranked higher, and the same seems to have been true of clans. It seems that some bands of the tribe had hereditary chiefs, and others had none (Teit, 1908:786).

Teit's clans were probably nonunilineal lineages, since Teit's statement that a child belonged to the families of both his parents suggests ambilineal descent.

The Shuswap

Teit's comments provide some understanding of the social organization among the Shuswap:

> The Shuswap may be classed as a hunting and fishing tribe; the former occupation, on the whole, predominating. The Fraser River and Canyon bands were the most sedentary, the latter almost entirely so; while the North Thompson bands were the most nomadic. Salmon was of greatest importance to the Fraser River and Canyon people, trout and small fish to the Lake People, and game to the rest of the tribe. Fishing, however, was of great importance to every band (Teit, 1908: 513).

Teit separates the social organization of the southern Shuswap from that of the northern Shuswap. The former group was supposed to have a simple band structure while the latter was supposed to have a complex ranking system based on crest groups borrowed from the Carrier and Chilcotin (*ibid.*:581). It seems that there is some confusion in the interpretation of the data. I believe that the bands and crest groups of Teit were really identical; these units were stem lineages.[1] Teit presents the following facts:

[1] Teit believes that the crest groups were introduced in 1850. Perhaps some ceremonial features were diffused from the coast and became associated with some lineages. Teit stated: "In fact, the information is now so meager that it is very difficult to draw exact conclusions regarding the real status, privileges, and ceremonies of any of the various classes, crest groups, and societies, *some informants having very vague ideas regarding the differences between these groups*" (582). *Italics* supplied by the present writer.

> The people of all the tribal divisions are further divided into a number of bands wintering in certain definite localities, with headquarters at a principal village. These bands, although in olden times somewhat better defined than those of the Thompson Indians, were not so well marked fifty years ago as now. This was owing to the far greater number of small villages existing at that time. The inhabitants of those situated at equal distances from two central villages or headquarters of different bands sometimes affiliated with one band, sometimes with the other. Besides, the small wintering-places were frequently changed, and even the main locality or village of a band would have more families one winter, and less another. Some families were more nomadic than others, and each band would have people from neighboring villages living with them every winter. Yet, on the whole, each band was composed of a group of families closely related among themselves, who generally wintered within a definite locality, at or within a few miles of a larger village or centre. (*ibid.*:457).

In the salmon area lineages were the groups that maintained permanent residences in villages during the winter season. It is unlikely that the Shuswap were an exception in the area and maintained regular villages with loose bands rather than with corporate descent groups. The shifting membership suggests stem lineages.

A core of chiefs based on primogeniture is suggested by these statements:

> ...the Shuswap had one chief for each band, the office descending in the male line... There was hardly ever any trouble about the succession. If a chief died leaving two adult sons, both very capable and anxious to fill the position, the male relatives and the people of the band decided, generally choosing the elder one. A man's son took precedence over all the others — the eldest son, if he was capable, and if he were willing to accept the office; failing a son, a grandson; and failing, a brother; and failing a brother, a nephew (*ibid.*:569).

Teit was confused on the point of chiefs when he stated: "It is difficult to state whether chiefs were heads of bands or leaders of crest groups. It seems probable that each crest group had a chief, and not each band. In some places both may have existed. Chiefs were hereditary, as among the rest of the tribe" (*ibid.*: 582). If we regard the bands and crest groups as being the same things, the confusion is resolved.

Teit presented the following data on the crest groups:

> The people of these bands were divided into three classes — noblemen, common people, and slaves. The first class were called "chiefs," "chiefs' offspring," or "chiefs' descendants," and constituted in various bands from nearly one-half to over two-thirds of the whole population... The nobles had special privileges, and generally were married within their class. Nobility was hereditary, and seems to have descended in both the male and the female line. Hereditary chiefs of the bands always belonged to the nobility, but it seems that they tended to become rather chiefs of clans than of bands.
>
> The nobles appear to have been divided into hereditary groups. ...A person marrying a member of the crest group did not acquire its privileges, although they belonged to his children, both male and female. Each crest group had an hereditary chief or leader.
>
> It appears that members of a man's crest group, as well as his relatives were bound to avenge his death.
>
> Most of the groups into which the common people were divided were not strictly hereditary. Any man could become a member of any one of these groups by passing through a short training and fasting a few days. ...However, a son generally became a member of the group to which his father belonged, in preference to others. Membership in some of these groups, as in that of the Black Bear, which it appears admitted members only from among the common people was more strictly hereditary.
>
> It seems that these groups intercressed the hereditary family groups of the nobility; so that common people, and perhaps also members of the nobility of any crest group, may have belonged to any of the groups here discussed.
>
> Fishing sites belonged to the crest group. All land and whatever grew upon it, all hunting grounds with the game therein belonged to the nobility. ...The land, with the waters pertaining thereto, was divided among the various bands, although their hunting grounds were not in all cases well defined. The hunting territory, root digging grounds, berrying resorts, and camping places in the mountains of each band belonged to the nobility of the band in common, but the trapping grounds and fishing places were divided among the crest groups of each band. Apparently some of the principal village sites were also divided among them; or at least in some instances, the land was divided so that each crest group had its inhabitations and graveyards on its own grounds. In other cases it appears that members of different crest groups dwelt in the same village, and buried in the same graveyard, but members of different crest groups did not live in the same house (*ibid.*:576-83).

It seems apparent that there was confusion over the differences between descent groups and ceremonial societies from the

coast. The best interpretation of data, in my opinion, is to conclude that the Shuswap had stem lineages. There seems to have been a patrilineal core of chiefs. Persons of low rank (distant from the line of ancestors) could claim membership in several descent groups under the system of nonunilineal descent. The core would supervise the use of the resources of the lineage since the stem was the only stable part of the lineage. Each lineage had its own house.

The Lillooet Indians

The data on Lillooet social organization are as follows:

> All Lillooet bands were divided into clans. It would seem that originally all the people of one village were supposed to be descendants of a common ancestor. They had a single tradition relating to their origin. It seems, therefore, that at one time each village community consisted of a single clan.
>
> Membership in the clan descended in both the male and female line. A man could not become a member of his wife's clan, and *vice versa;* but children could claim membership in the clan of both their father and mother, for by blood they were members of both clans. There were no restrictions regarding intermarriage between clans. In cases of intermarriage between different villages, new clans were therefore easily introduced. If, on the other hand, a community, for one cause or another, split up, and its members settled in different places, the new communities were considered as branches of one social unit. Sometimes a clan would move from its original home and settle with another clan. Therefore it happens that people of a large community consist of two or more clans descended from different ancestors.
>
> Each clan... had an hereditary chief. Children and grandchildren of these chiefs were called "chief's children." They formed an aristocracy of descent, but had no privileges of any kind. The hereditary chief was the chief of the families composing a village. When a clan spread over several villages, the branches still had one chief in common. He resided at the original home of the clan. In a village that contained several clans, the chief of the original clan was the head chief.
>
> If the hereditary chief of a community died, he was succeeded by his eldest son; and if he had no sons, by his eldest daughter. If a chief died without offspring, his nearest male relative was considered chief.
>
> The right to fish at places where large and important fishweirs were located, was considered the property of the clan that erected the weir every year.

> Hunting and root-digging grounds, trails, and trail routes were the common property of the tribe (*ibid.*:252-6).

The meager information seems to indicate that nonunilineal descent groups were present among the Lillooet. The ability to claim membership in groups either through the mother or father suggests the ambilineal nature of the group.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

Although the facts are incomplete, I have attempted to demonstrate that several tribes in the interior of Northwestern North America had nonunilineal descent groups. The case for the Lower Carrier is very strong since the ethnographic picture is detailed. The interpretation of the social systems of the other tribes is hampered by the lacunae in the ethnographic data.

Some doubt has been expressed that the Chilcotin and the Shuswap had any descent groups in the first place. However, the neighbors of these tribes had descent groups (e.g. Lower Carrier). All these cultures are in the salmon area in which descent groups are generally present in order to maintain control of the rich sources of the salmon. There is no apparent reason why the Chilcotin and the Shuswap should be exceptions in this respect. Disruptive culture change has confused and obscured the evidence for descent groups among some tribes in Northwestern North America. We must interpret the few facts in terms of modern anthropological findings and theories.

I would like to offer some speculations about the origin of the stem lineage in Northwestern North America. There are no historical facts to support these ideas, but I believe that the conjectures have some heuristic value in the study of nonunilineal descent groups.

If we assume that the original form of social organization in Northwestern North America was the patrilocal band (see Service, 1962, for a discussion of patrilocal bands as the original type of human social unit above the family), it can be deduced that stem lineage would be the natural result of the adjustment of the patrilocal band to the salmon area. A group of brothers with their

spouses and other relatives would find it desirable to maintain permanent control over sources of salmon. The residential group (patrilocal band) would be transformed into a descent group in order to maintain control of the salmon sources by the male relatives and their descendants. Agnatic and consanguineal relatives of various types would attach themselves to the core of brothers in order to share the bounty of the resources. The principle of ambilineal descent would enable persons to establish claims to membership in several descent groups. This choice would have advantages in times of food shortages.

It is possible that the stem lineage was the original type of descent group in Northwestern North America. This type of social unit appears to be a logical descendant of the patrilocal band. The matrilineal descent groups in the area may have been a result of historical factors. Some anthropologists believe that matrilineal descent was derived from Asia and that its spread was stopped by the coming of the Europeans (Murdock, 1955).

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Leadership Among the Indians of Eastern Subarctic Canada

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RÉSUMÉ

Le *leadership* chez les Indiens Cris et Ojibwa de l'Est du Canada a subi de profondes transformations durant le cours des trois derniers siècles. Avant l'arrivée des Européens, il était très peu développé; mais lorsque les traiteurs sont venus en contacts avec les Indiens, le leadership a connu une période de développement. Aujourd'hui, il est de nouveau devenu une institution floue et peu influente quand les Indiens se sont vus imposer le conseil de bande, avec son chef et ses conseillers, par le gouvernement.

INTRODUCTION

The people discussed in this paper are the Cree-Ojibwa of Eastern Subarctic Canada, members of the Algonkian linguistic family. They inhabit an area which extends from the Labrador coast, west to Lake Winnipeg, north to Hudson Bay and Hudson Strait and south, roughly, to the Canadian National Railway. Other Cree-Ojibwa, of course, are found to the south and west of this area.

The following account is based on field work among the Mistassini Cree of south-central Quebec, the Round Lake Ojibwa of northern Ontario and on published materials. Before any discussion of leadership can be made, a few words are necessary regarding the habitat occupied by these people and the culture which they possess or possessed.

The winters are long and cold and the summers short and not too warm. The landscape is not rugged, at a low elevation and with little relief until one reaches the northern Labrador coast. Here occur rather rugged mountains. The land is covered with a coniferous forest, composed primarily of black spruce and interlaced with innumerable lakes, streams and rivers. Also, in certain parts, there are extensive areas of muskeg.

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The population density is and was exceedingly low, one of the lowest to be found anywhere in the world. At Mistassini in 1954, it was one person to sixty-six square miles and at Round Lake in 1959, it was one person to twenty square miles. And, since the turn of the century the population has increased greatly. The people did, and still do to a certain extent, live by hunting and fishing. Their technology was quite simple, but with the advent of the fur trader certain changes occurred especially in the realm of material equipment.

Leadership among the Cree-Ojibwa does not appear to be rigidly formalized although there exist conflicting data. Therefore, any discussion of leadership must give some consideration to the concept "leader" and to the "social units" which possessed or possess leaders.

As MacIver stated:

> ...social regulation is always present, for no society can exist without some control over the native impulses of human beings (MacIver, 1960:373).

How is this control implemented among the Cree-Ojibwa of the Eastern Subarctic? Theoretically, there are a variety of means to maintain control over individuals, such as a police force, gossip or a single individual in command of a group of individuals. In the latter case, the individual's authority can be based upon economic, kinship or religious sanctions or more rarely, physical force. Gossip was important among the Cree-Ojibwa as a mechanism of social control but does not define leadership and a police force never existed. Basically among these people, there tended to be one individual responsible for a number of others. The present inquiry of leadership will therefore be along these lines. Leadership implies a number of features or constellation of attributes, which define the role, "leader". These attributes consist of the degree of power or authority wielded by the leader, his responsibilities, the extent of his control and the actual way in which his role is enacted. In addition, the means by which recruitment of leaders was undertaken and the sanctions, both positive and negative, which maintained the role must be considered.

Levy states:

> Political allocation ... has been defined ... as the distribution of power over and responsibility for the actions of the various members of the concrete structure concerned, involving on the one hand, coercive sanctions, of which force is the extreme form in one direction, and on the other, accountability to the members of other concrete structures. The term *power* has been defined ... as the ability to exercise authority and control over the actions of others. Responsibility has been defined as the accountability of an individual(s) to another individual(s) or group(s) for his own acts and/or the acts of others (Levy, 1952:468).

Do leaders, as here outlined, exist among the Cree-Ojibwa of the Canadian Eastern Subarctic? The purpose of this paper is to explore this problem.

But to do this entails another problem. The social units which exist, or existed, must be defined. The band, hunting group, extended family and recently, the community, have been designated as basic social units among the Cree-Ojibwa.

No satisfactory definition of the term "band" has ever been given when referring to the maximal social unit as it existed among the Cree-Ojibwa of the Eastern Subarctic. Speck defined a band as follows:

> a group inhabiting a fairly definite territory with more or less stable number of families, possessing paternally inherited privileges of hunting within tracts comprised again within boundaries of the territory, often having an elected chief, speaking with idioms and phonetic forms by which they and outsiders distinguish themselves as comprising a unit, often with minor emphasis on this or that social or religious development, often with somewhat distinctive styles of manufacture and art, and finally traveling together as a horde and coming out to trade at a definite rendezvous on the coast (Speck, 1926:277-8).

Lips referred to the band as a political unit, headed, as a rule, by a chief. If the band was large, the chief was assisted by a council of older men. According to Lips, the band was dependent upon the principle of territoriality, rather than kinship. Furthermore, the band territory was rather well defined and the boundaries respected by neighboring bands (1947-398).

Among the Attawapiskat Cree of the west coast of James Bay, the population was said to have been divided into a number of "acephalous" units and each river drainage system was composed of a number of independent and self-sufficient "mobile bands" (Honigmann 1953:811; 1958:57).

But these concepts of "band" strictly speaking are not accurate. Rather, the band was the largest social and, to some extent, political (not economic) unit that existed among the Indians of the Eastern Subarctic. Each band was composed of two or more hunting groups and ranged in size from 50 to 100 or more persons. The hunting groups formerly joined together during the summer months at a favorable fishing locality, later about a trading post. In some cases, perhaps all, they recognized one of their members as "leader" and each band may have had a name for itself. Group activities were minimal. During the rest of the year the band, as a rule, was dispersed, each hunting group exploiting a particular area.

The former bands have now evolved or are evolving into communities (Honigmann 1953:816; Rogers 1963b:73-4). The definition of "community" is not easy. It can be defined as a settlement containing a number of families occupying permanent houses in close, or fairly close, proximity to each other, for the greater part of the year. (*vide* Rogers 1962:B 3).

The hunting group was, ideally, composed of four nuclear families closely related through kinship although, in practise, of varied composition. It was the paramount economic, social and political unit by default since for nine to ten months of the year it was the largest residence unit. In many cases the hunting group is breaking down and is being replaced by trapping partnerships, although these have not as yet crystalized. A new unit, the "work group", under the direction of a leader, is coming into existence, but to date, data are insufficient to do more than mention it. Finally, there are families and family units of various types (nuclear and bilateral extended families and kindreds) which are, or were under the direction of a leader.

Leadership patterns as they existed at the level of the band, community, extended family, and hunting group, are considered in this paper. No consideration is given of the nuclear family or kindred.

In order to discuss leadership among the Cree-Ojibwa of the Eastern Subarctic, three rather broad time periods have been chosen. First is the period of initial contact with Europeans when

as yet aboriginal conditions had not been altered greatly. Second is the period when the fur trade came to be basic to the peoples' life, and a new order and way of life came into existence. Finally, is the present period when contacts of a much more diverse nature impinged upon the Indians, the fur trade lost its central position and new changes initiated.

CONTACT ERA: 1600-1800

During a period which extended roughly from 1600 until perhaps 1750 or 1800, depending upon the particular area within the Eastern Subarctic under consideration, Europeans were making initial contact with the inhabitants. During this time the Indians' way of life was not altered drastically, although data are insufficient to reconstruct a detailed picture of their culture at this time (*vide* Lane 1952, Garique 1957, Marten 1950). Nevertheless, certain generalizations seem permissible.

To understand the situation, seasonal movements and the consequent annual altering of group composition must be taken into consideration. During the winter, the people were scattered throughout the country in hunting groups composed usually of several closely related nuclear families, with dependants, if any, exploiting a particular area (Rich 1949:226). Although data are meagre, it appears that each group was under the authority of the eldest male member. He directed the movements of the group, led in religious ceremonies, distributed food and gave advice and counsel. With the coming of summer, the hunting groups assembled at a convenient fishing station. This assemblage formed the band, apparently under the leadership of a headman or chief. Although often referred to as "chief", LeJeune said of the Montagnais in 1634 that:

> All the authority of their chief is in his tongue's end; for he is powerful insofar as he is eloquent ... he will not be obeyed unless he pleased the Savages (Thwaites, 1896-1901: Vol. 6, 243).

Approximately a hundred years later the following was recorded:

> The Indians of certain Districts, which are bounded by such Rivers, have each an Okimah, as they called him, or Captain over them, who

> is an old man, considered only for his Prudence and Experience. He has no Authority but what they think fit to give him upon certain Occasions. He is their Speech-maker to the English; as also in their own grave Debates, when they meet every Spring and Fall, to settle the Disposition of their Quarters for Hunting, Fowling, and Fishing. Every Family have their Boundaries adjusted, which they seldom quit, unless they have not Success there in their Hunting, and then they join in with some family who have succeeded (Oldmixon, 1741: Vol. 1, 548).

This was in reference to the Indians about James Bay, particularly Rupert House, but is no doubt true for other parts of the Eastern Subarctic.

According to Honigmann, the role of "chief", or as he styles him, "leader", among the Attawapiskat Cree contained within it the role of priest, village aid worker and political authority (1956: 59). The leader was a wise man, the oldest of the group, who worked hard so as to have surplus which he could distribute to others. Furthermore, he was able to speak well. But he lacked legal power (1958:58). Among the Northern Saulteaux, the chief was merely a man who attained power through his own ability and personal influence (Skinner 1911:150). In the Ottawa Valley in the early 1800's, chiefs, it is said, had little or no coercive power but that their advice had some weight (Wallace 1932:110).

Skinner reported more powerful chiefs among the Eastern Cree. The chief was the best warrior and most trustworthy man. He was not elected to office but acquired it through the tacit consent of the people. A young man rarely became a chief. The chief's orders had to be obeyed, especially in times of war (1911: 57). Warfare would appear to be out of place given the rigorous conditions imposed upon the inhabitants of the Eastern Subarctic. Yet in the southern part of the area conflicts did occur, although on a small scale. Cases have been reported in the past (Anderson 1873-73-80; Thwaites 1904:134). In the northern part of the region, the Indians were at times in opposition to the Eskimo. In 1791 Albany Indians are reported as having proceeded up the east coast of James Bay in search of Eskimo to kill (Davies 1963: 278).

Garique, in reconstructing the past, pointed out that "chieftaincy" differed, depending on the type of band the "chief" represented. According to him, among the northern Montagnais-

Naskapi, where the band formed the hunting unit for much of the year, the chief was said to have considerable influence in the conduct of the hunt, but in the south, where the bands broke up into hunting groups for the greater part of the year, the power of the chief was much weaker and was only effective when the hunting groups assembled in summer (1957:121). Although in principle I would agree with Garique, there is as yet (perhaps never) insufficient data to clarify this point.

There are no data regarding leadership of the extended family or hunting group during this period. It may be, although it appears impossible to tell at this date, that certain headmen or captains referred to in the literature may, in fact, have been leaders of hunting groups.

Although information is limited and in no case is material available to test the reliability of the observers, there is a certain cluster of attributes which set apart particular individuals who can be considered "leaders" to a limited degree. Perhaps the most noted attribute was the ability to speak well and by this means act as arbitrator among members of the group and between the group and the European. Unfortunately, there is no indication as to the exact size of the group nor its composition. However, it appears to have been larger than the hunting group and therefore was a band as defined above. But the ability to speak well was not all that was required of a Cree-Ojibwa "leader". He was generally an old man, who because of his age had the wisdom to advise in crisis situations, having previously observed such situations and seen their outcome. In addition, the "leader" had superior religious power, was a hard worker and thereby had a surplus to distribute, and was trustworthy. That he was the best warrior was, no doubt, in certain areas, an attribute but rarely called into operation. It is readily apparent that a leader under these conditions maintained his power through his own ingenuity and/or personality and not by means of any rigidly defined formulations. Nevertheless, leadership must have been just as effective as elsewhere in the world. Given the small maximal social unit — the band — and the very short time that this unit remained together during the course of a year, there was no need for strong leadership patterns among the Cree-Ojibwa of the

Eastern Subarctic at this time. Rather it was the hunting group that was of supreme importance.

Unfortunately, recruitment of "leaders" has not been specified except to say, and the information is suspect, that leaders were not elected. Furthermore, there are no data as to the sanctions which maintained the leader's role. But the very nature of leadership suggests that public opinion was a sufficient sanction. It is to be suspected that if this was true, the real leaders, or that body which possessed the actual power, were the hunting group elders who composed, in a sense, a council which debated matters and arrived at a general understanding. It was the "leader" who was able, because of his speaking ability, to put these into words. In many ways the situation resembles that portrayed by Whyte in "Street Corner Society" (1955).

FUR TRADE ERA: 1800-1940.

During the nineteenth century, the fur trade became the dominant economic activity of the Cree-Ojibwa and Europeans within the Eastern Subarctic. In order to carry out this activity the trader was dependent upon native hunters, trappers and canoemen. It often took considerable time for the traders to get the Indians to perform these tasks since subsistence was a major concern of theirs and European foods could not be introduced into the country in sufficient quantity to supply the needs of the people. In 1820 the Hudson's Bay Company was trying to hire Indians to freight supplies between Rupert House and Neoskweskau (Davies 1963:19). In 1830 traders were actively trying to get the Mistassini to trap marten (Lips 1947:4). This had been going on for at least a hundred years and probably more, for Isham, stationed at York Factory in the early 1700's, said that the traders had been instructed to encourage the Indian to trap fur bearers (Rich 1949:28). In the early 1800's, Finlayson said of the northern Montagnais-Naskapi that: "...not one out of every ten knows how to trap a beaver or otter" (Davies 1963: 234). Eventually these problems were overcome, and the Indians developed a full fledged fur trade economy during the second half of the century and first quarter of this century.

The establishment of trading posts provided new foci about which the Indians could and usually did gather during the summer (*vide* Honigmann 1964:332). Now several bands often came together at one post but from available evidence we know that they tended to maintain their individuality throughout this period. Leacock feels that the changes due to the fur trade frequently led to more stable bands and greater formal organization (1954:20). In this she is probably correct. In addition, new bands arose in response to the creation of trading posts (*vide* Hickerson 1956:289-345; Baldwin 1957:68). Finally, on the abandonment of a post, the bands who had traded there moved to other posts, either as a body or in segments.

The bands of this period are credited with having had chiefs, or in some instances one chief over the assembled bands. These "chiefs", however, were said to possess little or no power (Lips 1947:398; Tanner 1955;645; Skinner 1911:57, 1950; Chance & Trudeau 1963:52; McGee 1964:40; Honigmann 1956:58). This is similar to what the situation had been previously.

Yet the fact remains that the Cree-Ojibwa did have a term for chief — *okima* (Round Lake Ojibwa dialect; Oldmixon 1741: Vol. 1, 548; Wallace 1932:110). But in time, the term came to be applied to the trader and the term *okimahka'n* to the Indian leader. The latter can be translated "chief-like" (*vide* Ellis 1960: 1; Rogers 1962:B90). When this transfer took place is not known, but is no doubt occurred sometime between 1750 and 1850. The transference of the term *okima* from Indian leader to European trader suggests that the trader had become the recognized authority figure. Lefroy, speaking of the area just west of the Eastern Subarctic, said that the Indians generally looked upon the officers of the "Company" as having authority of a chief (Stanley 1955:74). Presumably the trader's authority was mainly in the economic sphere, although a case is recorded where an Indian turned to a trader regarding a social matter (Lips 1947: 483) and no doubt there were other instances.

In spite of what has been said above, what appear to be genuine leaders on occasion did arise. These men had considerable power over the assembled bands or those individuals who settled about the trading posts during the summer. One such

individual was Soloman Voyageur of Mistassini. He is said to have had good control over the band members and was undisputed master when in charge of the brigades (Nanuwan 1929:163). Anderson, who apparently knew him, said he was chief through force of character (1961:123). John Iserhoff, chief at Rupert House, may have been a similar type (Greenless 1954:48; Nicolson 1924:49).

In southern Ontario such leaders arose in the early 1800's, (Jones 1861; Copway 1847) and in the Arctic during this century (Frank Vallee per. comm.).

The emergence of such leaders seems to be an acculturative feature which has occurred and is occurring and is dependent upon the type or degree of contact. These leaders seem to have secured their power from several sources. In many cases they were of mixed ancestry and this may (in part) explain their position. Since there was one Western parent, they received training which allowed them to deal effectively with Euro-Canadians and which inculcated in them a desire to "succeed" in the Western sense. Furthermore, they lived at a time when the Euro-Canadians were not the massive majority that they are today in many areas.

Another factor was that the leader often became the head of the Christian Church in his area at a time when missionary effort was minimal and before the missionaries had settled there permanently. Because of little interference, he was able at the same time to retain much of his old religious influence. It was he who led the services and protected the group from supernatural harm.

ki.hci David, chief of the Caribou Lake Band of northern Ontario is a case in point. Besides his own group he is said to have had the Round Lake, Nikip Lake, Windigo Lake and Fisher Lake peoples under his control. His ability to command so many groups was based on his superior supernatural powers. It was at this time that a native preacher was introducing the Anglican faith to these people and this may have further strengthened ki.hci David's power. On his death the large group he commanded broke up.

Above all else the chief was expected to be a superior hunter, but if he failed in this he would no longer be looked upon as chief

(Lips 1947:401). In the eastern part of the Labrador Peninsula, hunting rituals, and these may have been of some antiquity, appear to have been important in maintaining a leader's position since only he, it appears, could perform them. Before a major hunt the men discussed the matter, drummed and studied scorched shoulder blades. Following this the chief made the decisions and gave the orders. But before the hunt could start, he must perform certain rites (Tanner 1944:645-6).

Other characteristics of the chief were that he maintained high ethical standards and that he be married. Furthermore, senior age was a requisite since it was the elder of two suitable choices who would hold the position (Lips 1947:401).

Sometimes, the leader was placed in charge of the fur brigade and in this way his status was elevated and he was able, through economic sanctions, to command obedience. In these instances, he was backed by the traders. This seems to have been the case with Soloman Voyageur cited above. In this connection, it is claimed that a chief could force a delinquent to pay his debt to the Hudson's Bay Company (Lips 1947:401).

Other factors may well have been in operation to maintain the chief's position at this time. As indicated previously there is no suggestion that formerly a chief held such a position of power. And within fifty years, he lost the power he had gained.

The means whereby leaders were recruited is not clear. Among the Mistassini and Lake St. John bands the position of the chief is said to have been hereditary. It devolved upon the eldest son, or if there were no sons, the deceased's brother. If there were neither, or the people thought both unqualified, then a new chief was elected. But the relative unimportance of chieftaincy is suggested by the fact that by 1935 no new chief had been installed at Mistassini, although the previous chief had died in 1925 (Lips:400-1).

During this period, the hunting groups continued as in the past and remained approximately of the same size, insofar as can be ascertained. But the concept of the hunting territory emerged in full bloom (Rogers 1963a). Each hunting group was under the direction of an able-bodied elderly male (Speck 1917-100).

In the northern Labrador Peninsula, the men selected the locality where they would spend the summer and with the approach of fall each head of a party announced his intended winter location and then left the summer encampment (Turner 1890:276).

Throughout the fur trade era, the group leaders maintained their positions of authority over their followers and increased their sphere of influence in that now territorial rights came under their domination. It was they who maintained and defended the boundaries of the hunting territories against outsiders, primarily by means of sorcery. Furthermore, the head of the hunting group is said to have allocated portions of the land to the married males of the group and would often renew this right at the beginning of each hunting season (Cooper 1939:72). He might divide the land among his sons or hold it until his death (Cooper 1939:67).

The extended family, if it existed throughout the Eastern Subarctic, has been overlooked by field workers. The following information was secured among the Round Lake Ojibwa (Rogers 1962:B82-86) and refers to former days. At present it has almost totally disappeared. The extended family was referred to as *nintipe.ncike.win* or "those whom I lead" or "my followers".

The term though can be used in other contexts but these will not be discussed here. The extended family was based, ideally, on three principles. The first was that of patrilineal descent, but only for three generations. The second was the solidarity of brothers. And third was the fact that all unmarried women and widows were under the control of the head of the extended family. But not always did these principles hold and different family composition might arise.

The head of the extended family was responsible for the members in a variety of ways. He had to see that those in need were cared for. He had control over the marriage of the unmarried women of the family. He also had to control any deviant behaviour on the part of members. Finally, through his superior religious knowledge he protected the group from such harm as witchcraft and promoted the well-being of the family.

The extended family was, ideally, a group of patrilineally related males, unmarried females, and the wives of the males

under the leadership of the eldest male. Such a unit stood in opposition to other such units with which it exchanged females. Since it was bilateral in composition, there was the possibility for overlapping of groups and it was here that the troubles were apt to occur, each leader claiming the same individual for his family. The trouble was usually over women.

In summation, data for the Fur Trade Era, are limited and no clear picture of leadership emerges. It appears that many, perhaps all, of the attributes formerly associated with the role of band chief remained. In some instances there arose what seem to be quite powerful chiefs, but unfortunately there is little to indicate what sanctioned their position or exactly what their duties were.

The leader of the hunting group had many of the attributes of a chief. Although the group he was in control of was smaller than the band, his effective control was greater. He was daily in face to face contact with his followers and usually closely related to them. By means of ridicule he had effective jurisdiction over the younger members of the group. His duties were increased with the emergence of hunting territories, in that now he had to punish trespassers.

The extended family may have been more or less coterminus with the hunting group. Its leader appears to have had many of the attributes of the hunting group leader, with the additional one of responsibility over the disposition of women.

PRESENT ERA: 1940-1965

With the passing of the height of the fur trade, major changes occurred in the life of the Indians of the Eastern Subarctic. The independent bands which formerly had gathered about a trading post continued to do so but now they began to coalesce into larger aggregates. Yet, even to this day, not all the bands at any one post have completely fused. But no longer can one speak of a "band" as though it were the same socio-political unit that it was in the last century. The Canadian government, however, has retained the term for administrative purposes. According to the government, "band" means:

> ...a body of Indians
>
> (i) for whose use and benefit in common lands, the legal title to which is vested in Her Majesty, have been set apart before or after the coming into force of this Act,
>
> (ii) for whose use and benefit in common, moneys are held by Her Majesty, or
>
> (iii) declared by the Governor in Council to be a band for the purposes of this Act (Anon., 1963:1).

and a "member of the band"

> (j) ...means a person whose name appears on a Band List or who is entitled to have his name appear on a Band List (Anon., 1963:2).

Furthermore, as the Indian Act reads the Minister may form new bands, fuse bands or dissolve bands (Anon. 1963:7).

In actual fact, the real social aggregate is the "community" or what might be called a "deme" (Murdock 1960:62-63). The community is much larger than the band (as a rule) and it tends to be endogamous. In addition, there is an elected chief and council which is a result of government edict. There is now less mobility on the part of the Indians than formerly as the result of the establishment of schools, churches and a growing dependency on the Euro-Canadian binding the Indian closer and closer to the village (*vide* Van Stone 1963:157-174; Rogers 1963b:64-88). With a decrease in the importance of hunting and trapping, the hunting group is tending to disappear as is the extended family.

Instead of a band leader, there is now a chief and council in charge, theoretically, of each community. This is a relatively new development having been established by the government and occurring after treaties had been signed with the Indians. (Morris 1964:54-58). By 1911, chiefs were being appointed by the government for the "Saulteaux" in the southern part of the area (Skinner 1911:50). This was done about twenty years later in northern Ontario.

The chief and council are modelled only in part on the old pattern of "chieftaincy". The Indian Act (Anon. 1963:24-26) specified the election of chiefs and councils, the composition and their duties. The chief is conceived of as the legitimate head of the community with responsibilities toward community administra-

tion and with the power to implement his decisions. But in actual practice, this is not the case. It seems that the power of today's chief is weaker than even that of the band leader of headman which existed at the time of contact. Certainly, the chief no longer has as much power as some of them did during the fur trade era.

Honigmann has said of the Attawapiskat Indians that the chief and councillors possess practically no power and display little effective leadership. Accordingly, they are unaccustomed to formerly co-ordinated actions and it is difficult for them to arrive at any community policies. Instead it is the mission director who often formulates the policy (1958:61). At Northwest River the chief is depicted as powerless (McGee 1961:35-6). Leacock has much the same to say for the chief of the Natashquan band. His duty appears to be primarily that of liaison officer between the Indians and their agent and he may even be regarded to some extent as a spy for the Euro-Canadians. He is termed "government" or "outside" chief in distinction to the "real" or "inside" chiefs who are the leaders of the hunting groups (1954: 21, *vide* Ellis 1960:1). At Great Whale River there is an elected chief and an assistant chief. Here a man familiar with the Bible and noted for generosity is chosen, but it is not indicated to what extent he has real power (Honigmann 1962:60). At Mistassini the chief and councillors lacked any real authority (Rogers 1963b: 25) and the same holds for the Round Lake Ojibwa (Rogers 1962:B90-91). A similar situation apparently holds for Rupert House (Honigmann 1964:358).

The government asserts that authority has been vested in the chief whereby he can carry out his duties. But in the final analysis, the chief has lost his former powers and has acquired no new ones. There are a number of reasons why the chief has lost what power and authority he formerly may have possessed.

The chief of today no longer has the multiplicity of role attributes that he formerly had. He is no longer a religious leader in the Christian churches and missionaries have weakened the aboriginal system of beliefs which formerly bolstered his position. Religious power is now vested in the missionary or else in a native preacher. The chief is no longer the distributor of goods to his

followers since economically this is not feasible and he now has fewer kin to support him in this duty.

Furthermore, where several bands are in the process of losing their identity there is still a certain amount of band loyalty so that the chief cannot hope to have a majority behind him. In other words, the chief may be supported only by those individuals who belong to the chief's former band.

And the chief has no police power in order to punish transgressions on the part of his people. He must call upon outside authorities. This he can do, but would be most reluctant to do so since he would be greatly criticised by his own people. Therefore, he frequently does nothing, nor can he.

Finally, individual members of the community have access to outside authority figures and can consult with them directly. This by-passing of the chief, often on matters that should concern him, further weakens his position.

The chief, theoretically the leader of his people, is in fact left powerless. If he becomes aggressive he is apt to lose the next election. And with a reluctance on the part of most individuals to involve themselves in community affairs, it sometimes happens that there is only one individual who is willing to stand for election. Part of this is due to the fact that individuals are fearful of one another since witchcraft still plays a prominent role in their culture (*vide* Hallowell 1942).

Furthermore, there are always individuals who, for one reason or another, attempt to take matters into their own bands. One may decide to act as trader dealing with an outside supplier. When this occurs another may try to enter into competition. Or one may decide to deal with a particular fish buyer in opposition to another Indian, sometimes the chief, who has made arrangements with a different fish buyer and feels that all the fishermen should deal with his agent. This type of leader quickly arises, gathers a small following, and then it all collapses. And each time the membership is different, depending on the issue at stake.

Whatever the case, the chief often finds himself being bypassed, at times not even knowing what is happening. It sometimes happens that the chief finds himself in opposition to the

policies of the government, and for this reason is circumvented by the outside authorities who are attempting to implement these policies. In such a situation, the chief has little or no power left. On the other hand, those who attempt to achieve a position of power in reality never really attain it. Community leadership, whether formal or informal, is weakly developed among the Indians of the Eastern Subarctic.

The band has disappeared, or is disappearing and with it its leader. The same is true of the hunting group. It no longer holds the position that it once did in the society. Today there is a tendency for the men to trap in partnerships, leaving their families in the village. In such cases, one of the members acts as leader. Where hunting groups exist, the leader will be, as a rule, the eldest male but his power has been weakened greatly with the disappearance of the old religious system, with the advent of a money economy and the weakening of kinship ties, duties and obligations. The same fate has befallen the extended family and its head.

CONCLUSION

During the past three hundred years, there have been several trends which have taken place in the social organization of the Cree-Ojibwa of the Eastern Subarctic. Bands have disappeared and communities have emerged. Formerly, band leadership was weakly developed but with the establishment of the fur trade strong leaders occasionally arose. But in time this picture was altered through government action. A chief and councillor system was instituted. These individuals have even less power than the old band leader.

Formerly, the hunting group was the major socio-political unit. But this group is disappearing and is being replaced by trapping partnerships. Each unit had, or has a leader, but the hunting group leader had a multiplicity of duties in comparison with the leader of the trapping partners.

Finally, the extended family is disappearing and the nuclear family coming into greater prominence. The leader of the extended family is, of course, also disappearing. The husband/

father of the nuclear family is now assuming more and more responsibilities. As he does, he stands alone.

Why is it that leadership was so weakly developed among the Indians of the Eastern Subarctic? There are a multiplicity of factors that appear to be involved. First, the Cree-Ojibwa of this area have always tended to live in small groups negating the necessity for strongly developed leadership roles. This has resulted in a tendency toward individualism. At the same time suspicion of one another was, and still is present to this day because of a fear of witchcraft. This has tended to fragment groups and prevent the emergence of strong leadership patterns. The above factors, and no doubt others, underlay the former situation. But today there are other complicating factors. Outside authority figures have taken over the role of leader, or attempted to do so, inhibiting the development of local Indian leadership. In addition, many of the duties of the former leaders have been stripped away through the acculturative process thereby weakening their position. Furthermore, with a breakdown in the native culture, the people have not established new objectives or clearcut goals which would promote the development of strong leadership roles. This, in part, is due to a lack of education and at the same time the maintainance of many of their old values and customs.

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Recensions - Book Reviews

A Guadalcanal Society: the Kaoka Speakers. Ian HOGBIN. Case Studies in Cultural Anthropology. New York, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1964. 103 pp., 1 map, 1 chart, 2 plates.

The Kaoka speakers occupy the eastern part of the northern coast of Guadalcanal Island, practice horticulture, and are divided into five "politically autonomous villages" and five matrilineal "dispersed clans" which crosscut the villages. Hogbin uses the term "clan" in the British sense (defined on p. 102), but his subclan, composing the core of the hamlet, appears to satisfy Murdock's three criteria for compromise kin group and may be called avunculan, though the avunculocal residence is delayed until some years after the man's marriage and even then some measure of choice is open to him. The present volume is a welcome addition to this series of case studies, in that it brought to the easy access to the students an account of how a matrilineal society with avancular emphasis works. This possibility within the range of human social organization appears to be, from my experience, the hardest for North American students to comprehend.

The unilineal or compromise kin groups, however, are not directly described in this outline, since the author, probably for a good reason, chose to present social organizational data in a more operational framework. Clans are described in general terms in the introductory section to the chapter on social structure (pp. 4-5), and a section on "Kinship terms and behaviour" (pp. 10-14) lists and describes dyad relations remarkably clearly. Other than these, the information on kinship and kin groups is scattered, especially abundantly in chapter 2 (Sex and Marriage) and chapter 7 (Religion), presumably because these are the spheres of life in which kinship plays a greater role. In his attempt to construct a coherent picture of kin organization, the reader might be baffled at such reference as "the head of the subclan" (p. 84), whose function and recruitment, unlike those of the household head and village headman, are not elaborated.

The social units which receive explicit definition in the chapter on social structure are the village, the hamlet and the household. For each, composition of the group, activities connected, and symbolic associations such as religion or property ownership are described. In later chapters, however, references are often made to "communities" and "settlements", and which of the two territorial groups is meant by these terms was not always clear to this reviewer.

Socialization process and techniques are well covered in Chapter 3 (Rearing a Family) and economic and subsistence activities in Chapter 4 (Getting a

Living). The latter chapter, also informative from the point of view of subclan organization and sexual division of labour, includes a section covering the trades of surplus goods with the interior of the islands as well as with neighbouring islands involving an organized overseas expedition. The political aspect of the native life is described in the next two chapters called "Conflict" and "The Headman", in which kinds of disputes, means of dissolving them at various levels of social units, and the nature and attainment of power are described. The author's clear and vivid prose helps a great deal in the description of this dynamic process.

An attempt is made to place this society in the broader background of Melanesian societies, with frequent comparative reference to the natives of Basuma, Manus, Malaita, New Guinea, Trobriand, etc. In addition, two sections are devoted to the comparison of social structure and religion, respectively, with the hill people of Guadalcanal. The space allowed is naturally too limited for any convincing portraiyal of the hill people, and one may wonder if the same space could not have been profitably utilized for a fuller exposition of the Kaoka speakers themselves.

While most of the information is based on the material obtained from the field work of 1933, the recent changes are covered in the final chapter drawn from the author's observation in 1945. It appears that there has been some change in social organization, while material aspect of life remained virtually the same. The author seems to feel that this "state of stagnation" with "the incompatibility of wants and the means of achieving them" led to the form of nativistic movement called Masinga Rule, in which the desired goal is the goods of Western manufacture delivered by the American wartime transports, to be attained by faith and ritual mainly of Puritanical inspiration. Since we are told that his material aspect came in at the later stage of the movement, which in the beginning had political objectives, the reviewer feels that the gap between the needs and their fulfilment should probably be interpreted in a much broader sense than just the material needs. The account of the movement, which is still in progress and involves the organization of people in a hithertofore unprecedented scale, is nevertheless very illuminating.

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Marriage in Tribal Societies. Cambridge Papers in Social Anthropology No. 3. Meyer Fortes (ed). Cambridge University Press, 1962. 157 pp. n.p.

This is the third in a useful series of occasional papers being published by Cambridge University. Each of these has been concerned with a unified topic so that the collection itself could achieve a maximum thrust. The presentation brings out new material and interpretation on marriage from four societies, three of these in Africa, and one from the Pacific. On the other hand, each group is treated from a slightly different focus, stemming out of the nature of

each society, and this has made a detailed comparison in terms of any set of pre-defined variables quite difficult, if not impossible. Thus Goody emphasizes separation and divorce in her treatment of the Gonja, Harris focuses on Taita affinal relations, La Fontaine on mate-selection, and Robinson on Trobriand complementary filiation.

All of these authors do their jobs well within the confines of the subject and the limitations of their approaches. This is good standard structural-functional analysis in the traditional mode of British social anthropology. Goody analyses and describes the effect of "frequent" divorce and most especially terminal separation which creates a class of unmarried old women who must have a place to go in the society. Harris shows how a number of social forces tend to create a norm of local endogamy even though such a rule does not exist. The result of this is that "affinal ties are magnified and become complementary to those of agnation..." (p. 85). This same point is made again concerning the limitation in choice of spouse among the Gisu (p. 114), although the main point here is that mate-selection is a result of two conflicting forces, "the breakdown of the lineage principle as the only means of identifying individuals and a contradictory trend, affecting the average villager, towards a greater emphasis on agnatic ties and lineage organization" (p. 119). Finally Robinson in re-assessing the Trobriand data finds that the father has important and in some respects, decisive jural, economic, and ritual roles, rights, and responsibilities. In this respect, the Trobrianders are seen to be more like other matrilineal societies than they were previously regarded. In his introduction to the papers Fortes emphasizes the point that anthropologists have seen aspects of marriage "apt to be ignored by other social scientists" (p. 6), especially the "structural consequences of the fact that principals in marriage are normally not isolated individuals but status-endowed persons whose unions commit them and those with whom they have pre-marital ties to new social relationships" (p. 6). He cites as evidence facts that indicate how such relations facilitate marriage by maintaining continuity and consistency among the network of relationships in which parents and children are placed both before and after marriage.

To take this last point first, it is odd that Fortes, using other words, but saying the same thing, has stated what the sociologists refer to as the homogeneity of antecedent and consequent factors that create stable or unstable unions. It seems the better part of valor to suggest that no single group of social scientists has any monopoly on a set of facts or methods, or ultimate truths. Most of us are groping with the same reality, and coming up with a number of ideas, many of them, although shrouded in different terminology, all break down to the same small set of generalizations.

As far as the papers themselves are concerned, it is fair to say that as new material they are somewhat disappointing. Old methods and old generalizations are used to explain new data, or else are re-discovered in the new data. Where some quantification has been introduced it is flimsy in the extreme, except for unsampled head-counts used for descriptive purposes.

Goody sets up some statistical data, then makes a number of her basic generalizations on the basis of her tables. She claims that the Gonja have a high divorce rate, then gives us a total divorce rate of 19/55 or 345 per thousand (my calculation) for women — which is not much higher than that in the U.S.A. with its 225 per thousand. She also claims, and this is surprising, that women over forty divorce more than women under thirty. Generally speaking, divorce declines with age. However the Goody upset is based on *four cases* for those over forty, and ten out of twenty-three for those under thirty! She admits that her statistical data are inadequate but then uses them to bolster her argument. This attempt by Goody to quantify is not followed up by her fellow authors all of whom, however, rest large portions of their arguments on words like "frequent", "common", "often", or "rare", and so on. Work on marriage and divorce theory simply cannot go forward with such studies. This is because as I have recently shown (A Pilot Study of Divorce Theory: Paper presented at the American Anthropological Meetings, November 1964), many of the theories concerned fall by the wayside, turn into platitudes, or account for only a very small portion of the variance when subjected to proper quantitative tests. We need now to turn our attention not to discovering old theories anew through inductive generalizations based on description, but to developing means of rigorously testing what hypotheses such approaches have created — and going on to create new ones that will account for what is left unexplained.

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Ngaju religion. The Conception of God among a South Borneo people. SCHÄRER, (Dr. Hans). Translated by Rodney Needham, with a preface by P.F. de Josselin de Jong. 1963. The Hague, Martinus Nijhoff. 229 p., 26 pl. h-t., 13 fig. carte dépl., relié, 16,5x 24 cm. (Die gottesidee der Ngaju Dajak in Sud-Borneo, Leiden, 1946) Translation series of the "Koninkliyk Instituut voor Toal, Land en Volkenkunde", vol. 6)

De l'Insulinde, de Bornéo en particulier, on ne connaissait les Dayak qu'à cause de leur réputation de coupeurs de têtes. Leurs façons de tuer leurs voisins ou leurs ennemis, en comparaison des méthodes de la civilisation occidentale, restaient presque individuelles, archaïques, artisanales et elles ont quasi-disparu. Mais leur métaphysique, leur cosmogonie, leur religion étaient largement comparables aux formes élaborées par les peuples "civilisés" et méritent une étude attentive.

C'est à un missionnaire qui a passé de longues années dans les vallées de Bornéo, feu le Dr. Hans Schärer, que l'on doit une description minutieuse, détaillée de la religion de la tribu Ngaju. S'appuyant sur des enquêtes orales, sur l'observation de faits tangibles, sur des documents fournis par des lettrés indigènes, l'auteur expose magistralement les croyances fondamentales de ce groupe forestier.

Expliquant l'idée de Dieu chez ce peuple, le Dr. Schärer donne dans des chapitres denses, les noms et les séjours des dieux, la nature et les manifestations de ces êtres divins, l'acte de création et l'organisation primordiale de l'univers, le peuple, la terre, la maison, la vie et le temps sacrés; l'ordre divin, ses perturbations et comment le restaurer, enfin ce qui constitue l'essence de la religion de Ngaju. Comment le mythe de la création ordonne les faits de la nature et de quelle façon le monde de l'au-delà est la réplique de ce monde-ci.

Tout cet exposé n'est en rien gratuit car il s'appuie sur des mythes et des dessins fournis par les Ngajus eux-mêmes et certains de ces textes, selon les meilleures traditions, sont donnés *in-extenso* en traduction juxtalinéaire.

Cet ouvrage remarquable, écrit à l'origine en allemand, méritait une plus large diffusion. Pour la traduction en anglais, l'Institut Royal néerlandais pour la langue, la géographie et l'ethnologie, a fait appel à un spécialiste de cette région du monde, le professeur Rodney Needham, qui joint à sa connaissance des langues européennes celle des langues indonésiennes, ce qui était indispensable pour mener à bien une telle œuvre où les citations et les mots en dayak abondent.

Et si les spécialistes de l'Asie du Sud-Est ou ceux des anciens substrats de la péninsule indienne et de l'Indonésie doivent connaître cet ouvrage, nous le recommandons également à ceux qui s'intéressent à Madagascar car bien des traits de culture ou de langue ont des résonnances familières pour ceux qui étudient l'île rouge où s'est développé loin à l'Ouest un rameau séparé de cette même très ancienne civilisation.

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Religion in South Asia. Edited by Edward B. HARPER. Seattle, University of Washington Press, 1964. 199 pp. Price, $6.50.

This book is a solid and rather remarkable contribution to our understanding of the religious systems of rural India and Ceylon. The essays are an outgrowth of the Conference on Religion in South Asia, held at the University of California in 1961. After the conference the papers were revised and edited, and were subsequently published in a special issue of the Journal of Asian Studies, prior to their appearance in book form.

In addition to the preface, written by Edward B. Harper, the volume includes nine selections by leading authorities on the area: Harper, David G. Mandelbaum, Michael M. Ames, Gerald D. Berreman, Pauline Mahar Kolenda, Morris E. Opler, John J. Gumperz, Alan R. Beals, and Nur Yalman. Each paper is a substantial contribution, and the book has a degree of unity which is so conspicuously lacking in many other collections of essays. Particularly

helpful in stressing the salient themes of the religions of the area, and in drawing the threads of the various papers together, is the article by David G. Mandelbaum, entitled "Introduction: Process and Structure in South Asian Religion", in which he comments on the essays of the other contributors. As Mandelbaum notes, three of the papers, those by Opler, Beals, and Gumperz, focus their attention upon process in religion. The other five papers are more concerned with structure than with process, although in the analyses of structure, process is clarified as well.

The title of the book, "Religion in South Asia", might seem at first rather misleading, since the papers are primarily concerned with religion in rural India and in Ceylon, rather than covering a broader area in southern Asia. The reason for the title, however, is satisfactorily explained by Harper in the preface, where he relates how and why other possible names for the conference were considered and rejected. The title "Conference on Hinduism" had the disadvantage of suggesting an almost exclusive focus upon the more sophisticated theological and philosophical aspects of a religious system, whereas in fact most of the participants in the conference had done fieldwork in rural areas of South Asia, and had devoted at least part of their attention to the study of the non-philosophic traditions such as shamanism, "mother-goddess" complexes, and animal sacrifice to local deities. The term "Popular Hinduism" was also unacceptable, since it implied that the Sanskritic and philosophical traditions were "unpopular". Harper writes that, "In short, using either 'Hinduism' or 'Popular Hinduism' alone tends to create a false dichotomy" (p. 3). Furthermore, these terms also tended to obscure resemblances between Hinduism and other religious systems in South Asia, since the religions of many tribalists show numerous similarities to Hindu beliefs and practices, and "... in many local regions of South Asia there appear to be levels of a religious system common not only to Hindus of differing sects and castes, but also to non-Hindus such as Muslims, Jains, Buddhists, and Christians, not to mention 'semi-Hindus' such as Sikhs and Lingayats..." (p. 4)

In the papers the emphasis is upon structure and process rather than upon content and description. Each author analyzes a certain part of the religion as it is practiced, rather than attempting to give a systematic coverage of Hinduism in India and Buddhism in Ceylon. In general, attempts are made to answer the broad question of what meaning the deities and rituals have in the lives of the common people in South Asia. In Mandelbaum's words, the focus in these studies is on "the reality and totality of religious activity" (p. 6), rather than upon the scriptural texts alone. A distinction is made between the "transcendental complex" and the "pragmatic complex" in the religions of South Asia, the two being complementary to each other, with each serving different religious purposes. The "transcendental complex" is concerned with the universal deities, and is elucidated in the Sanskrit texts. It is in the keeping of priests belonging to the highest castes. The "pragmatic complex" includes the worship of local deities, who are often malevolent, and who may cause illness and accidents. The religious practitioners of the "pragmatic complex" are usually drawn from the lower castes, and their role is an achieved rather than

an ascribed one. Among these functionaries are caretaker-ritualists and shamans, who are concerned with the individual welfare of the people, and who deal with personal and local exigencies.

The paper by Michael Ames presents a structural analysis of the total religious system of Ceylon, which includes both Theravada Buddhism and "magical-animism". Since Buddhism is an outgrowth of early Indian religion, it is in certain fundamental respects analogous to Hinduism. Theravada Buddhism dominates the Sinhalese religious system, but it combines with a rich variety of "non-Buddhist" magical-animistic beliefs and practices to form an integrated system. The central idea in Sinhalese religion is other-wordly salvation *(nirvānaya)*, which is practically unattainable, but is nevertheless the focus or "goal orientation" of the Sinhalese religious system. To attain salvation and avoid suffering the individual must eradicate his own mental defilements, to escape the constant round of birth and rebirth, by systematic meditation and absolute renunciation of the world. The goal is an extremely remote one, however, since its attainment requires thousands and thousands of rebirths. Nevertheless, other-worldly salvation remains the dominant ideal of all Sinhalese Buddhists, who meanwhile find in the spirit cults of magical-animism temporary ways of combatting suffering and averting misfortune. Nur Yalman's essay, "The Structure of Sinhalese Healing Rituals", looks for underlying motifs in the healing rituals of the pragmatic side of Sinhalese religion, and describes the way in which several types of "worldly" supernaturals are ranked in a hierarchy of worth.

Gerald D. Berreman finds that priests and shamans exemplify two main divisions in the religion of the Pahari of the lower Himalayas of north India and Nepal. As elsewhere in India, the Brahmin priests are religious "technicians", learned practitioners of the Sanskritic traditions, who exert a conservative influence upon the populace. In contrast the shamans, drawn mainly from the lower castes, are often religious innovators. "They determine which supernatural being is to be worshipped, placated, or exorcised, which ceremony will be performed, which sacrifice will be offered, which pilgrimage undertaken, which new supernatural will be worshipped, and which old one will fall by the wayside" (p. 66). Certain Pahari Brahmins, too, influenced by the Sanskritic Brahminism of the plains to the south, called "atraditional priests" by Berreman, have become innovators and advocates of religious change.

Morris E. Opler examines the complementary processes of particularization and generalization in religious practices, which link culture to individuals and individuals to culture. He illustrates the process of particularization with a description of a Shiah Muslim ceremony which he observed at a village in north India.

Pauline Mahar Kolenda finds a discrepancy between the Hindu scriptural concept of *Karma* (predestination) and the actual practices of the Sweepers (Untouchables) of a village in western Uttar Pradesh. The Sweepers explain their lowly status as a consequence of unfortunate accidents of group history rather than in terms of individual misconduct in previous existences, and

accordingly attempt to improve their physical health and social status in this life by resorting to the pragmatic, local deities.

John J. Gumperz examines religious drama in north India as a means of communication which cuts across caste lines and other political and social barriers in a diverse population. Despite the great local cultural diversity in India, "in the study of religion the subcontinent may be viewed as a single large field of social action" (p. 89). Gumperz sees religion as a metalanguage, and postulates that there is a code of religious symbols which is understood across the bounds of caste, region, and denomination.

Alan R. Beals analyzes the interlocal festivals *(jātra)* held by village communities in South India, in which the people of one village act in concert to honor local deities and to entertain visitors from other villages. Community solidarity is bolstered by the participation of all castes and sects in the village. Despite the benefits and favorable reputation which the village is supposed to derive from giving an interlocal festival, adverse results are seen in the bloody conflicts which frequently break out on such occasions.

One of the most important papers in the book is the concluding selection, by Edward B. Harper, "Ritual Pollution as an Integrator of Caste and Religion". Harper discusses two of the most all-pervasive themes in Hindu culture, the concepts of purity and pollution, and examines their relation to the social structure. Although Harper's data are mainly from the Havik Brahmins of northwestern Mysore, his analysis helps to advance our understanding of the extreme concern with ritual purity and pollution which permeates all Indian culture.

Each selection in the book is the outcome of significant and competently executed research. The book is one which no student of South Asian cultures can afford to ignore, and it will also be of value to those scholars interested in comparative religion in general.

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The World of the Shining Prince: Court Life in Ancient Japan. Ivan MORRIS. New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1964. 336 pp. $5.95.

The Tale of Genji, the world's oldest novel, has been used by some anthropologists for its ethnological information. If the atmosphere of the original novel is lost in this form of presentation, the information which could be extracted from the novel is assembled under various topics with supplementary documentation of economic and political situations of the period, which places the rather one-sided account of life described in the novel in the proper perspective. The larger part of the novel was written most probably between 1002 and 1020, and the author, Murasaki Shikibu, was born in the 70's of the

10th century, but "the world of the shining prince" in this book refers to the period from the middle of the 10th to the middle of the 11th centuries, the acme of the political power of the Fujiwara family and the climax of the Heian civilization (pp. 14-15).

In an attempt to reconstruct the Heian society, many references are made to the characters and events described in *The Tale of Genji,* especially from the latter part of it, but the author draws heavily also on *Pillow Book* by Sei Shonagon, Murasaki's contemporary. In addition, novels and diaries by other court ladies of the time, as well as the journals and chronicles by male writers, are consulted, and commentaries and other relevant historical studies on this period are extensively utilized.

The listing of the chapter heading gives the general idea of the coverage of the book: I — The Heian Period; II — The Setting; III — Politics and Society; IV — Religions; V — Superstitions; VI — The "Good People" and Their Lives; VII — The Cult of Beauty; VIII — The Women of Heian and Their Relations with Men; IX — Murasaki Shikibu; X — Aspects of "The Tale of Genji". Then follow six appendices including genealogical tables of historical figures and the characters in the novel.

An anthropologist might quarrel with such a sharp division between religion and superstition, but will find the wealth of material quite useful, including the interplay of Buddhism, Confucianism, *Yin-yang* dualism, Shintoism, other native beliefs and social factors. This is an example of cultural transformation at the historical time level. Another case of interest in the category of socio-cultural change comes from the author's consistent comparison of the Chinese model with the Japanese counterpart; he points out various "cultural lags" in borrowing, and attributes the disintegration of the bureaucratic system in Japan to the strong native "clan traditions" (p. 12). The comparative approach is carried throughout the book to place the Heian period in the context of the world cultural history, and many parallels are drawn for its various aspects. But in its entirety, including its value orientation on man-nature relationship and "cult of beauty", the author suggests the period is unique.

At any event, when it comes to the detailed picture of the daily life of the carriers of the civilization, "we are probably better served about Japan than any other country at the time; and in Japan itself it is not until we reach the seventeenth century that we find a body of realistic writing with a similar amount of detail" (p. 142). Some of the details of anthropological interest are the annual cycle of court ceremonies described in Chapter VI, the description of the Heian Kyo as an urban centre covered in Chapter II, and the marriage rules and residence patterns, including the emotional strains of polygamy, found in Chapter VIII. These are explicitly summarized in this book from numerous scattered references, and should provide raw material for anthropological analysis.

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Zulu Transformations: A Study of the Dynamics of Social Change. Absolom VILAKAZI. Pietermaritzburg, University of Natal Press, 1962. x-168 pp., appendix, bibliography, diagrams, glossary, maps. R. 1.75.

Zulu Transformations is billed as being written "from the inside". So it is, because Dr. Vilakazi is a Zulu, *and* a Christian, as well as a trained anthropologist. The book was initially presented as a doctoral thesis to the University of Natal, South Africa. Clearly, Vilakazi had no language difficulties; he also knew the history of the Zulu people and, before he commenced fieldwork, he had, no doubt, ideas on how his people had responded to western influences. But these advantages, if advantages they are, have not resulted in a study which helps us to understand the "dynamics of social change".

Vilakazi is a Christian with a capital C. What transformations have taken place are attributed to the introduction of Christianity which is treated as "by far the most important influence" (p. 11). While, no doubt, this is *one* important influence (of declining importance?) it is far from the only one of significance. I am not suggesting here that Vilakazi is unduly influenced by this conviction, because a good deal of his writing is descriptive and objectively analysed, but that his treatment of the dynamics of social change is very limited and that his main conclusion that "Christianity, westernization and urbanization are synonymous" is a gross over-simplification.

Vilakazi is concerned with two small Zulu-speaking peoples, the Nyuswa and the Qadi living in the Nyuswa Reserve in the Province of Natal. While the two tribes have a common origin, and share a good many structural features, their relations not infrequently erupt into open conflict. This is so because the Qadi were later arrivals and settled amongst the Nyuswa on land which the latter now need due to an increase in population. Today, it seems, both tribes have consolidated their individual identity through their respective chiefs.

The author has selected an institutional analysis of the dynamics of social change. Thus he deals with changes in the network and kinship system, marriage, the territorial framework, religion, education and economic life. In this presentation, Vilakazi consistently points to Christianity as the main change agent. He divides the people between traditionalists and Christians. Traditionalists are backward; Christians, because they have embraced education, are progressive: people who want to get on in the world! Traditionalists frequently neglect their kinship obligations, and often do not help strangers. Christians help everyone including traditionalists (p. 29). The bond among Christians is geared towards a personal respect for the individual; traditionalists are enmeshed in a web of kinship which often rides roughshod over people, i.e., the Zulu attitude that a woman is a minor. The traditional network breeds hostility between father and son and mother and daughter; the Christian home respects differences and hence is not so subject to disintegrative forces.

The traditionalist "remains essentially heathen in his world view"; the Christian "has a new explanation of his universe and a new religion which

supplies the reasons for all his actions" (p. 55) and in this way gives the African "a new basis for cultural and psychological integration" (p. 76). This is in contrast to the "insidious individualism" which has affected a distinct class among the Zulu, the "cultural driftwood" who are neither traditionalist nor Christian. Christianity, Vilakazi tells us, is the "new basis of cohesion" brought about by the "concept of the spiritual brotherhood of all Christian believers". (Why then the racial turmoil in South Africa?) He brushes aside the cynicism some Europeans attach to the statements some Africans make about having given up kinship bonds in favour of a Christian community. "I consider verbalizations important", he writes, "and legitimate aspects of behaviour and cannot, therefore, share the cynical view" (p. 97). Such interpretations, plus the view that the "Separatist churches [in South Africa] have never given social prestige to people" (p. 101), a totally false observation, will be read with considerable satisfaction by the present rulers of South Africa!

The great weakness of this book is that Vilakazi has paid very little attention to, what he admits in his last chapter, "the important role played by similar forces like the White government, industry and migratory labour" (p. 143). In terms of the dynamics of social change, Vilakazi places all eggs in one basket: "It is only the people who have accepted a new ideology and new explanations for social phenomena and who have therefore oriented themselves anew to life, who become changed men" (p. 137). But not all is well among these changed men because "The Christians or the westernized Zulu are marked by certain behavioural features which are an index of psychological isolation, loneliness and restlessness" such as the "hunt for sensual pleasures" (p. 141).

Mere urban residence, and the complex of economic and political forces, evidently does not have "any effect in changing the basic cultural patterns, values and outlook" (p. 146) of the traditionalists. A traditionalist remains a traditionalist — unless, of course, he becomes a Christian. The concept of urbanization, which the sociologist has adopted "uncritically", the author claims, "does not help sociological analysis" (p. 146). This, and much else, is hard to accept.

Zulu Transformations gives us an insight in how a Christian Zulu sees his people. As a contribution to the theory of social change it is of limited value.

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ANTHROPOLOGICA

N.S. Vol. VII 1965

Table des matières — Contents

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