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Editorial Introduction

by CHARLES S. BRANT

Anthropology is a relatively new subject in the University of Alberta. Prior to 1961, instruction in the anthropological disciplines consisted of a short course in Physical Anthropology dealing with fossil man, offered in the Faculty of Medicine, and a full course in Cultural Anthropology, taught in the Department of Sociology. Some attention was given to Prehistoric Archaeology in one or another of the courses given by the Classics Department, and anthropological data and concepts entered, more or less tangentially, some of the teaching in Sociology and Linguistics. But it was not until the early sixties that Anthropology became a degree course, first within the Department of Sociology and Anthropology, and from 1966, in an independent Department of Anthropology which was established in the Faculty of Arts. As part of this development professionally trained anthropologists, representing various specialties, were added to the staff. It consisted of eight full-time members in the 1967-68 academic session and numbers nine in 1968-69. The establishment of the Department coincided with the move of the various social science disciplines into the new Henry Marshall Tory Building. There the staff and students in Anthropology have offices and laboratory facilities.

The Department currently offers programs leading to the B.A., B.A. (Honours), M.A. and Ph. D. degrees. A doctoral program is anticipated in the near future.

This number of *Anthropologica* will introduce some of the current research of the departmental staff and indicate the range and variety of their interests. The following *vitæ* concerning the authors will help to round out readers' acquaintance with Anthropology and anthropologists at the University of Alberta.

Harold B. Barclay (Ph.D., Cornell) joined the Department in 1966 after many years of teaching and research experience

at American University of Cairo (U.A.R.), Knox College and the University of Oregon. His special fields include Middle Eastern ethnology and social anthropology, anthropology of religion and religious sub-cultural groups in Canada. He is the author of *Buurri al Lamaab: A Suburban Village in the Sudan* (Cornell University Press, 1964). During 1967-68 he was Acting Chairman of the Department.

Alan L. Bryan (Ph.D., Harvard) spent several years doing research in American prehistory before coming to the University of Alberta in 1963, where he has developed courses in both general and New World archaeology and directed a summer field program in Alberta. One of Dr. Bryan's leading interests is early man in the New World. He is the author of *Paleo-American Prehistory* (Occasional Papers, Idaho State University Museum, 1965) and of articles in various archaeological journals.

Bruce A. Cox (Ph.D., California-Berkeley) taught briefly at Lewis and Clark College (Portland, Oregon) and University of Florida before joining the Department in 1967. His major interests include Anthropology of Law and he has most recently been engaged in a study of conflict resolution among the Hopi Indians.

Anthony D. Fisher (Ph.D., Stanford) came to Alberta in 1965 from the University of California (Santa Barbara) where he taught for two years. His fieldwork has been mainly with the Blood Indians of southern Alberta. Dr. Fisher's interests center in social organization, enculturation and educational anthropology. In the latter field he offers a course designed for students expecting to teach in intercultural school and community situations. He is a co-editor of *The North American Indians: A Sourcebook* (Macmillan, 1967).

Richard Frucht (Ph.D., Brandeis) formerly taught at Temple and at Washington State universities and has been at Alberta since 1966. His principal field is Political Anthropology. Dr. Frucht's interest in the Caribbean region, begun during his doctoral research, is being continued through a research project on St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla, begun in 1967 with support from the Canada Council. He has published in *Social and Economic Studies.*

Ruth Gruhn (Ph.D., Radcliffe) was a Post-Doctoral Fellow of the National Science Foundation (U.S.A.) for two years before coming to the University of Alberta in 1963. During that period she was attached to the Institute of Archaeology, London. Her main interests are in North and Middle American prehistory and ethnology, and in the field of Language and Culture. Dr. Gruhn's articles have appeared in *Man, Tebiwa* and the Occasional Papers of the Idaho State University Museum.

Stuart Piddocke (M.A., University of British Columbia; M.A. London School of Economics) is specially interested in the conceptual and logical structure of social anthropology, and in political organization of complex non-literate societies. He taught at Portland State College and Sacramento State College before joining the University of Alberta in 1967. A previous paper of his appeared in *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology.*

Sally Snyder (Ph.D., University of Washington) has done intensive fieldwork among the Skagit Indians in the state of Washington and is currently completing a monograph on their folklore. She is primarily interested in creative expression, especially the verbal arts, of non-literate peoples, and in Psychological Anthropology. Before coming to Alberta in 1966, she taught at Portland State College and the Merrill Palmer Institute of Human Development.

The author of this editorial introduction joined the University of Alberta in 1961 and was appointed Chairman of the Department of Anthropology when it was formed in 1966. His doctoral research at Cornell involved ethnological fieldwork among the Kiowa Apache Indians. Subsequent researches have taken him to Burma, northern Saskatchewan and Alberta and to Greenland. His present major research interest is in contemporary change and development in the Arctic, which he pursued during 1967-68 while on sabbatical leave, as a Senior Fellow of the Canada Council. He is the editor of *Jim Whitewolf: The Life of a Kiowa Apache Indian* (Dover 1969) and author of various articles in *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology, Asian Survey* and *Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology* based on his researches.

An Arab Community in the Canadian Northwest:

A PRELIMINARY DISCUSSION OF THE LEBANESE COMMUNITY IN LAC LA BICHE ALBERTA

by HAROLD B. BARCLAY

RÉSUMÉ

Dans l'ouest canadien, la communauté du Lac La Biche, secteur nord-est de l'Alberta, offre des caractéristiques uniques à cause de la forte proportion de musulmans qu'on y trouve et aussi du fait que ce groupe ethnique consacre une bonne partie de ses efforts à l'élevage du vison.

Cette étude décrit les caractéristiques sociales de cette communauté libanaise et musulmane du Lac La Biche, discute sa position sociale, surtout par rapport aux Métis, et étudie enfin les changements culturels survenus en elle.

The Lac La Biche area of east central Alberta is a region of innumerable lakes, muskeg and rolling countryside covered with poplar, birch and occasional spruce and interspersed with some cultivated land[1]. The trading area encompasses close to 3000 square miles and has a population of almost 7000, including about 1650 in the town of Lac La Biche. Probably half the people have Indian ancestry, while persons of Ukrainian, French-Canadian and British extraction each are roughly ten to fifteen percent of the population. Twenty percent of the people, mostly Métis, receive welfare assistance. Small farming operations are the main bulwark of the economy, producing chiefly beef and wheat. Commercial fishing supports close to ten percent of the people, again

[1] The author is most grateful for the kind assistance of the members of the Lac La Biche Lebanese community. He also thanks the University of Alberta, which provided the financial support for this research, and Mr. Douglas Babcock, Community Development Officer in Lac La Biche, for providing him with background materials on the Lac La Biche trading area and community.

mainly Métis, and commercial mink ranching another three percent. The lumber industry is no longer important, most of the commercially valuable timber having been logged twenty to thirty years ago.

In the popular jargon of today the Lac La Biche region is a "poverty pocket". It is also an interesting potpourri of incompletely assimilated ethnic groups. Ordinarily, if the Lac La Biche area is envisaged at all, it is in terms of Indians, but few, if any, towns in Canada or North America have such a high proportion of Lebanese or of Muslims (ten percent). The town of Lac La Biche may well be the most Muslim town in either Canada or the United States. Further, it is likely that Lac La Biche is the only place in the world where a substantial Arab population is engaged primarily in commercial mink ranching and where an *imam* (a Muslim clergyman or prayer leader) is also a mink rancher.

This paper is a preliminary survey of socio-economic characteristics of the Lebanese community and of its general adaptation to the Lac La Biche area. In another paper I focus on the role of Islam in this community.[2] Data were largely acquired by informal interviews with twenty male Lebanese heads of household in Lac La Biche during the author's two weeks' stay in the town in the Spring of 1967.

The Development of the Lebanese Community

In 1905, before the existence of a settlement of Lac La Biche, a Lebanese immigrant and his nephew from the village of Lala in the Biqa'a Valley began peddling dry goods and trading furs in the then sparsely settled lakes region of northeastern Alberta. By 1910 the young nephew had established a shop and when he retired in 1946 he owned three stores in the town. Until 1946 Lebanese immigration into the area was negligible, amounting to four men, one of whom stayed only two or three years. Of the thirty-six Lebanese born heads of household presently residing

[2] "The Perpetuation of Muslim Tradition in the Canadian North", *Muslim World,* January, 1969. (In press).

in the vicinity of Lac La Biche, thirty-five have come into the area since 1946, twenty-one of these during the period 1951-1960 and seven since 1961. Only seven have been in Canada more than twenty years. A majority immigrated directly from Lebanon to Lac La Biche; most of the others originally settled in Edmonton. As a rough estimate the Lebanese Muslim population in the region in 1943 was about fifteen; by 1955 it had jumped to approximately one hundred, and in 1967 my census showed 244, including 160 who reside within the corporate town limits and the remainder who live immediately outside them. In addition to the nominal Muslim population there are three families whose heads are sons of Lebanese Muslims, but neither they nor their families adhere to that religion. Another individual Lebanese and father of two of the above is likewise no longer associated with the Muslim congregation. The early immigrants were from the village of Lala, but since 1946 the bulk of the immigration has been from the neighboring village of Kharbit Ruha so that today of thirty-six Lebanese born heads of household, only eleven were born in Lala, twenty-four in Kharbit Ruha, and one, the *imam,* is from another village. Thus, as in similar immigrant situations on this continent, in any given community members of a nationality group tend to be from one or two natal villages because the initial settlers were from those places and in the course of time encouraged their friends and relatives to immigrate to the new locale. In 1957 twelve men became charter members of an Arabian Muslim Association and a year later they built a small meeting hall which is also used for a *Qur'an* school.

The Lebanese community is young in age; only nine of thirty-six household heads are fifty or over; sixty-five percent of the total community are under eighteen. Marriage patterns of Lebanese indicate a following of traditional endogamous practice. Thirty-one of thirty-six Lebanese-born married men have wives from the village of their birth or wives whose fathers were from that village. Ten of these married within their own lineage, including five who married their father's brother's daughter *(bint al 'amm),* a preferred marital relationship throughout the Arab Muslim world. Of seventeen men who married after immigrating to Canada, nine had their marriages with girls from the natal village arranged for them by relatives in Lebanon. Five others married girls who

had already immigrated to Canada but whose home villages were the same as their spouses. Only one marriage was outside a Lebanese-Muslim context. This was a marriage to a Métis by an early Lebanese immigrant. He and his two sons along with another individual, also born of a Lebanese father and Métis mother, represent the only Lebanese presently residing in Lac La Biche who have deviated from the practice of Muslim endogamy. None of these individuals, incidentally, either belongs to the Muslim Association or has much to do with others in the Lebanese community. Incomplete data on marriages of children of present residents who have left Lac La Biche reveal a similar pattern of endogamy. Of ten marriages, five were with individuals from the same natal village or with individuals whose fathers came from the same village as the spouse. Three were with other Lebanese Muslims, one with another Arab Muslim, and one with a non-Arab, non-Muslim. All four married men under thirty years of age presently residing in Lac La Biche, including one born in Canada, married Lebanese Muslims in Canada; none had marriages arranged for them from overseas. Thus, while marriages continue to be highly endogamous and the number of those to non-Muslims is negligible, marriages arranged from overseas are declining.

Of related interest is the degree to which the Lebanese in Lac La Biche have consanguineal ties. Immigrants from Lala have at least distant ties of kinship and these are often through their mothers or more remote maternal lines. Because of this, they are not considered important and are readily forgotten. An informant typically reports only that he recognizes a distant tie with another from his village but is unable to specify what it is. Immigrants from Kharbit Ruha have similarly recognized interrelationships. Kinship ties, however, rarely cross respective village lines. Thirty percent of the Lebanese in Lac La Biche belong to a single lineage or *'ayla,* while another thirty percent belong to three other lineages. These are fragments of parent lineages centered in the natal village and most have in addition other members living in Edmonton or Calgary. Lineages in Lac La Biche have no corporate character, but members retain some *esprit de corps* expressed by a closer identification with others within the kin group and by the use of the lineage name as a surname. Within

the largest of these lineages, there is one man who is recognized as a sort of informal head, a senior elder of that group, and is referred to as the *kbir al 'ayla*. Although there is, then, a nominal retention of the lineage structure, there is no preservation of any extended family pattern. All Lebanese families are of the nuclear type.

The Lebanese Role in the Local Economy

While the earliest Lebanese settlers were traders, for the past twenty years the main Lebanese endeavor has been commercial mink ranching. Twenty-four of the thirty-six Lebanese-born married men in Lac La Biche are engaged in raising mink. They comprise a majority of the thirty-eight mink farmers in the area. Lac La Biche and the Lesser Slave Lake area are the two main centers for mink ranching in Alberta. The importance of the business in this region arises from the fact that the region has only marginal significance for agriculture, stock raising, and lumber production and it has a developed commercial fish industry which supplies tullibee, a common fish in Lac La Biche waters. Because of its infestation with cysts of *triaenophoras,* tullibee is not fit for human consumption and, hence, provides inexpensive feed for mink. In recent years the demand for this fish by mink growers has exceeded the supply, necessitating the importation of feed. Since all of the fishermen are Métis or Reserve Indians, the supplying of fish has become an important area of economic interdependence of Lebanese mink growers and Métis and Indian fishermen. Although the mink ranchers are dependent for fish supply on the fishermen, the latter may be considered to be on the more precarious side of the relationship in that mink growers are sometimes reputed to buy great quantities of fish when the price is low and store them in freezers, so that under such circumstances fishermen with a large catch of tullibee on hand find they have no place to distribute it. However, in discussing this area of Lebanese-Métis relations with two Métis and a Reserve Indian, all noted for candidness and all having engaged in the fishing industry,[3] this writer could elicit no negative reac-

[3] The author is indebted to Mr. D. Badcock and Mr. K. Hatt for suggesting these informants.

tions in their dealings with Lebanese. Each concurred that their relations were agreeable and superior to those with any other ethnic group in town.

Mink ranching is an unusual occupation to be associated with Lebanese. Yet, given the special circumstances of the Lac La Biche context and the characteristics of the Lebanese immigrants, the association becomes less incongruous. On immigrating to Canada, the Lebanese were ill educated. With two exceptions they had only an equivalent of an elementary school education and all learned English after arriving on these shores. Lack of education and poor facility with the local culture limited their possibilities of employment. In addition, values which prize independence, individual enterprise, and agrarian interests gave further focus to the type of occupations considered desirable. Requiring as it does heavy capital investment, farming was impractical for newly immigrated, moneyless Lebanese. Shopkeeping, another desirable undertaking, is an enterprise which, by its nature, is limited to only a few in any given community. Mink ranching offered several advantages to Lebanese. It already existed as a moderately successful industry in the area and had potentiality for expansion. The original Lebanese settlers, while traders, eventually engaged in the business as an auxiliary enterprise and not without success. Two long-time Lebanese residents in Alberta had taken up the mink business and later encouraged relatives and friends from the home village and elsewhere in Canada to settle in Lac La Biche and become mink farmers. Mink ranching is a business in which each man is his own boss. It requires minimal education and training and ordinarily provides an adequate income. Finally, of paramount importance, is the fact that mink ranching can be entered into with little difficulty and with small initial capital outlay. Only an acre or two of land is required along with such equipment as cages, sheds, feed grinder and freezer. The most expensive item is breeding stock. An individual without money can work for wages for a couple of years and save enough so that he can take a small number of mink on shares. In this system he acquires, for example, fifty mink from another man and at the end of the season returns that number plus an equal number so that by this process he will, if lucky, have a hundred or more mink for himself to start as

breeding stock. He may also obtain advances of credit from a fur buyer by counting the number of young born in the spring and projecting an estimate of the number of pelts which would be available for sale to the buyer in late fall. Barring disaster it is possible to begin with little capital and on a part-time basis build in a few years a mink establishment which can support a man and his family. It is sometimes said in Lac La Biche that Lebanese are able to enter the mink business and build up a ranch with comparative rapidity because an already established kinsman puts his relatives in the business. As far as this writer could determine this is most atypical of the Lebanese. Far more important has been a "scrimp and save" technique of individual enterprise. Lebanese in Lac La Biche seem to appreciate the "Protestant ethic".

One thousand mink are considered necessary to provide an adequate income. According to Ministry of Agriculture figures for July, 1966, thirteen Lebanese each owned 938 or more mink, including one with 2177. (The largest owner in the vicinity had 3256 animals.) The eleven other Lebanese all owned less than five hundred. Of these eleven, five engaged in mink ranching as a part-time occupation. Thus, at least six ranches may be viewed as sub-standard in terms of providing adequate income.

The second major enterprise of the Lebanese is shopkeeping. Of fourteen food and dry goods shops in town, six are operated by Lebanese. In all, nine Lebanese, including a barber, engage in shopkeeping. Three of these are also partime mink ranchers, having more recently opened stores in Lac La Biche. A vague kind of distinction might be made between the "uptown" and "downtown" Lebanese merchants. "Downtown" is the older business section, near the railroad station and the hotel. The major business concerns are located here including those of six Lebanese. "Uptown" is the periphery of the business district which includes three confectionery shops more recently opened by Lebanese. With one exception, the "downtown" Lebanese merchants maintain the larger shops; their relationships with customers are more formalized and more in line with typical Anglo-Canadian practice. The merchants themselves are closer to the business elite of Lac La Biche and, indeed, one is a leader of that elite. The "uptown" merchants operate small, often not

well stocked, shops. Their relation with customers is less impersonal; there is more of the flavor of rustic Lebanon. These merchants are in no way associated with the town elite, nor do they even belong to the Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks. While in light of the limited stay of the author in Lac La Biche the observation has doubtful reliability, it was his distinct impression that the "uptown" shopkeepers had a higher proportion of the Métis and Indian trade than the "downtown" merchants. The local welfare officer also reported to the writer his impression that Métis, who constitute eighty percent of those receiving social welfare assistance, prefer to trade with the Lebanese.[4] Both of these observations may, in part, be related to the treatment Métis and Indians receive. The Lebanese merchants, as a whole, have a more personal approach. Especially in the "uptown" shops, there is great freedom of movement about the store and behind the counters. Métis can, particularly in the "uptown" stores, stand around inside and not be hustled out into the cold as they are in some other establishments. Lebanese, however, do have considerable contempt for what they feel is Métis lack of initiative. They are shocked by alleged Métis immorality and fear that Métis sexual habits might have an adverse influence upon their own children. To what extent Métis are aware of the prevailing Lebanese attitude was not determined. In any case, it is likely they feel greater ease of interaction with the Lebanese because the Lebanese appear to discriminate less against them than do others and because the interrelationships are more direct and personal. Other factors may also be important. For instance, compared to the English, Ukrainian or Scandinavian population the physical appearance of Lebanese is closer to that of the Métis or Indians and this is coupled with the fact that they are all non-European sub-cultural groups, poorly represented among the town's élite. Finally, while all shops extend credit to Métis and many merchants make small loans, it is likely that these financial arrangements are made more easily and with less formality with the Lebanese. Loans are primarily made to welfare recipients against the vouchers which are deposited with the

[4] Vouchers for groceries are made out to the specific store requested by the welfare recipient. Thus, the Welfare Department has a good indication of where their clients prefer to trade.

shopkeeper. They provide a means by which the shopkeeper can encourage individuals to regularly visit his store and a device by which welfare recipients acquire cash from the voucher slips in order to spend on alcoholic beverages and other illicit luxuries. The author did not learn directly from shopkeepers or patrons the extent to which some form of interest was charged for the loan service. Conflicting reports were, however, received from two outside sources. One was that all merchants make a general practice of granting these loans against welfare vouchers, but they add ten percent to whatever is borrowed. Another informant stated that the *Lebanese* shopkeepers do not charge any interest. They loan money so as to encourage those receiving public assistance to come to their shops. If the latter is true, and it is not completely unreasonable, it is in accord with the Muslim prohibition against charging interest and is also a further reason why Métis would tend more to gravitate to the Lebanese stores.

Aside from mink ranching and shopkeeping, one Canadian-born member of the Lebanese ethnic community operates a construction company. One of the Lebanese-born is a traveling merchant and the remaining engage in wage labor: an auto mechanic, a store clerk, a janitor and a hotel clerk, while the others are railroad section hands, construction and general laborers. Four of these wage laborers are part-time mink ranchers and three are employed outside the Lac La Biche area, returning home on weekends or less frequently. The fact that only two of forty families of Lebanese extraction receive public assistance speaks well for the adaptation and independence of Lebanese in this community. This represents five percent of the Lebanese families, a percentage far below that for Métis, Ukrainian, French and Italian ethnic groups in the area and one on a par with the Scandinavian, British and German groups. In addition, both Lebanese families receiving public assistance do so because the chief bread winner is physically incapacitated primarily because of age.

Rental property, either letting rooms or houses, is another source of income for some Lebanese. This is one more point at which Métis interact with Lebanese, since they have been the main renters. The single adverse relationship with government so far experienced by the Lebanese community was an investigation by

the Welfare Department of the rental properties of Lebanese on the ground that they were inadequate for the amount of rent required.

Because of their recent immigration to Canada and to Lac La Biche, their low level of education and poor facility with English, their non-Christian religious orientation and less prestigious occupational pursuits, it is to be expected that few Lebanese fit into the top echelons of Lac La Biche society. Roughly thirty individuals in town constitute the big business men, professional people and holders of elected public office. Of these one is of Italian birth, another is a Lebanese Muslim and a third, born of a Lebanese father, is not certain that he is a Muslim. The remaining twenty-seven are either of Ukrainian, French or British origin. Thus, while Lebanese comprise over ten percent of the people of Lac La Biche, they constitute less than seven percent of the "upper crust" and the Lebanese Muslims, about ten percent of the total population, are three percent of the élite. As one of the five major ethnic groups in Lac La Biche (Métis, Ukrainian, French, British and Lebanese), the Lebanese have, after the Métis, the lowest proportion of representatives in this segment. However, it should be noted that within the community's élite, the two Lebanese are among its most influential members.

At the opposite end of the social status ladder there is a corresponding under-representation of Lebanese. Here it is the Métis who are overly represented. The discussion of public welfare assistance above gives some indication of the distribution of the various ethnic groups among the lower stratum of Lac La Biche society.

The internal ordering of the Lebanese community itself has more the form of a top, with a pinnacle of two "élite" families and a correspondingly narrow pointed base of two families supported by public assistance. The remaining families fall between these two extremes in what might be termed an "upper lower class-lower middle class" category. A half dozen families in this category are distinctly upwardly mobile. It is interesting to note that of the twelve most prosperous household heads, eight originate in the village of Lala and only four come from Kharbit Ruha. It will be recalled that of the total number of men, eleven come from Lala and twenty-five from Kharbit Ruha. It should be

pointed out in this connection that six of the eleven men from Lala lived a number of years in Edmonton before coming to Lac La Biche, whereas very few of those from Kharbit Ruha did so. In Edmonton, where they engaged in business, they acculturated more rapidly than those who immigrated directly to Lac La Biche and commenced mink ranching, a pattern more characteristic of the Kharbit Ruha immigrants. Because of this background, the Lala men had some advantage over those from Kharbit Ruha.

Further Characteristics of the Adaptation of the Lebanese

Outside the economic realm and with the exception of the most assimilated and the Canadian-born, few adults in the Lebanese community have anything other than minimal interaction with other people in Lac La Biche. The more prosperous business men — and these would comprise a major segment of the most assimilated part of the community — belong to several civic organizations. Indeed, one of the two in the town élite belongs to twelve such clubs and the other, who is Canadian-born, was recently president of the Chamber of Commerce. The remaining "downtown" businessmen belong to one or two such organizations, most frequently the Elks or Chamber of Commerce. Three Lebanese merchants belong to the community's curling league, and other Lebanese have no affiliations other than membership in the Muslim Association or, in the case of mink ranchers, the Mink Association. That Lebanese do not intermarry with non-Lebanese has already been noted. Again, except for the upper status segment and those few adults who are Canadian-born, Lebanese maintain friendships almost exclusively with their own group. Few, also, are ever seen at such community affairs as bingo games or at the local beverage room. Part of the minimal participation in community affairs and with non-Lebanese arises from their poor facility with English and preference for communication in their native tongue. Part of it is also a function of their residence pattern. Nearly seventy-five percent of Lebanese families reside in two almost exclusively Lebanese neighborhoods. It is primarily the "downtown" businessmen, the more assimilated, who live scattered among non-Lebanese. Lastly, the strong negative sanction in Islam against drinking alcohol, gambling and

marriage with non-Muslims also discourages certain types of interaction with outsiders.

Because the Lebanese community is of recent origin, it is to be expected that there would be a relatively high retention of traditional Lebanese practices. Nevertheless, the degree to which acculturation to Canadian ways has occurred is extensive. Only one of twenty respondents indicated a desire to return to Lebanon for permanent settlement. The remainder wished to remain in Canada, although several had misgivings about remaining in Lac La Biche. Fourteen of nineteen Lebanese-born men who have been in Canada five or more years said they were now Canadian citizens. Younger men and especially those who are Canadian-born are discontinuing the practice of arranging marriages from overseas. Fathers without exception denounce the practice of dating, although a few, mostly prosperous businessmen, are willing to yield to arrangements which can be properly chaperoned. Many of their teenage daughters attend junior proms and participate in school activities like other Canadians. With few exceptions informants denied any belief in arranged marriages and looked to a free choice under the parent's guidance in selecting a mate. They feel strongly that their children should marry one of their own faith (as would most Christians or Jews), but realize that they are helpless to prevent an inter-faith alliance if insisted upon by the child. The more prosperous, upwardly mobile men emphasize the similarity between their Islamic tradition and that of Christianity and play down the differences. For them, especially, there is an ambivalence over the loyalty to past ties and the lure of financial success wrought by full compromise with the dominant cultural milieu. It is out of loyalty to kin and confession that they support a *Qur'an* school and want their children to read and write Arabic. It is out of the lure of finance that they increasingly succumb to middle class Canadian values. Those who wish to remain the strictest Muslims will find complete assimilation and, hence, any opportunity to rise to the top in the community, a most overwhelming task because to be completely assimilated means to do "what everyone else in town does". This too often can entail behaving in ways contrary to Muslim teaching, e.g., social drinking, bingo games, poker, parties, dating and "necking", wearing scanty bathing suits. From the point of view of the *imam*

at Lac La Biche it is those Lebanese who are most assimilated who are the poorest Muslims and from the point of view of the local school superintendent it turns out to be the children of the poorest Muslims who are best integrated into Lac La Biche society. In this discussion of acculturation one important point should not be overlooked. We have only the most general way of assessing the likely extent to which cultural change would have occurred among these people had they remained in their home village or merely emigrated to Beirut. Obviously, since the time they immigrated to Canada many changes in the direction of those experienced by the Lac La Biche immigrants, have occurred in rural Lebanon. Thus it is an error to assume that all the modifications of culture experienced by the Lac La Biche Lebanese would only have occurred as a result of their immigration to Canada. Had they remained in Lebanon there is every reason to suspect that many of the features of change discussed above would have applied to some extent in Lebanon as well, as part of the worldwide process of industrialization and Westernization.

Inevitably contrasts between first and second generation in Lac La Biche will widen and become more magnified as the second generation Canadian born mature. All children born in Canada and educated in the public schools acquire English as their first language or at least become bilingual. Many have no facility in reading or writing Arabic. They readily acquire non-Lebanese friends. Three now attend the University of Alberta. As with other immigrant groups, for the second generation the old traditions become identified with the elders and are somewhat removed from perceived reality. As the old generation, already weakened in its allegiance to the past, retreats into the background, the hold of tradition will become feeble indeed. Two factors, however, may prevent a complete disappearance of older ways. Of prime importance is the maintenance and vigorous support of the *Qur'an* school and a formally trained instructor and, secondly, is the continuation of immigration from Lebanon.

In general a successful adaptation of Lebanese to the "strange world" of Lac La Biche is indicated by their economic enterprise, their freedom from dependence upon welfare, their freedom from crime, the relative stability of the group in Lac

La Biche, their respect for learning, and a general acceptance and approval by the bulk of the Lac La Biche community. I would suggest, therefore, that we should have few reservations about the adaptive capabilities of Lebanese immigrants to Canada. Finally, this observation should apply also to the Palestinians, because of their close similarity to the Lebanese.

Some Problems and Hypotheses Relative to the Early Entry of Man into America

by ALAN L. BRYAN

RÉSUMÉ

Les études portant sur ce qu'on appelle le "corridor libre de glace" situé à l'est des Rocheuses, sont trop souvent imprégnées d'impressions vagues. L'auteur de cet article évalue l'état actuel de nos connaissances sur le pléistocène du détroit de Béring et du "corridor". Cette étude l'amène à aborder la question de l'homme primitif en Amérique et à présenter deux hypothèses de travail: (1) que le "corridor" fut couvert de glace une seule fois entre les années 20,000 et 9,000 et (2) que l'immigration la plus importante en Amérique s'est accomplie au cours d'une période s'étendant de 25,000 à 20,000 années avant le siècle présent. De plus, l'auteur soutient que l'industrie primitive des têtes de flèches fut développée au sud de la couche de glace et qu'elle s'est propagée par la suite vers le nord.

Two major problems face the investigator of the question of the early of man into North America[1]. In the absence of factual knowledge much speculation has been presented regarding both the problems of (1) man crossing the Bering Sea region, and (2) the subsequent movement southward through Canada.

In recent years knowledge of the Bering Sea region has been greatly clarified by Pleistocene geologists, notably David Hopkins (1967). We now know that during phases of maximum Wisconsin glaciation, the Bering land bridge region, known as Beringia, was at least a thousand miles wide; and in terms of geographic contiguity, unglaciated central Alaska and the Yukon

[1] An early version of this paper with L.A. Bayrock as co-author was read by the author at the Thirty-first Annual Meeting of the Society for American Archaeology in Reno, Nevada, May 5, 1966. I am greatly indebted to both Dr. Bayrock and Dr. John Westgate for advice in the preparation of this paper.

should be considered more as a part of the continent of Asia rather than of the rest of America east and south of the then-existing Cordilleran ice sheet.

Verification of the Asian relationships of the extreme northwestern part of North America is available from the field of paleontology. Flerow (1967) points out that most large mammals moved from Asia to America, and that only two late Pleistocene "Americans" (muskoxen and caribou) were able to establish large territories in northern Asia and Europe. The reason for this imbalance is apparently because only mountain glaciers were present in eastern Asia, Alaska and western Yukon; whereas most of the rest of Canada was covered by ice during glacial maxima. The result of this situation was that Arctic-adapted colonists could readily move eastward into Canada as the Cordilleran ice melted, whereas subsequent movement northward by warm-adapted species from south of the glaciers was impeded by the entrenched colonists. As an example, the Alaskan giant bison of the late Pleistocene, *Bison priscus crassicornis,* a variety of *Bison priscus* of Eurasia, is believed by Flerow to have migrated to America before the Illinoian (Riss) Glaciation. During this glacial advance some were forced southward where they evolved into the long horned *Bison latifrons* and ultimately into the modern plains bison *(B. bison bison)* through forms like *B. alleni* and *B. bison antiquus.*[2]

Although the excavated Anangula Island localities at the former southeast corner of Beringia have not yielded datable evidence that they were occupied while the land bridge still existed, the typological affinities of this blade and polyhedral core industry are closer to the Asian North Pacific than to any similar known industries elsewhere in northwestern North America (Laughlin 1967). Although enough time had elapsed for development of a distinctive local industry, at the time of occupation of Anangula (radiocarbon dated 8,000 years ago), the cultural con-

[2] Actually, as will be discussed below, *B. p. crassicornis* has been found south of the continental glaciers only in post-glacial deposits. Perhaps an earlier variety of *B. priscus* became the progenitor of *B. Latifrons.* Also some authorities believe that the early *Bison* first moved southward during the Illinoian or the Last Interglacial (Sangamon) rather than during the preceding interglacial (Yarmouth).

nections between southwestern Alaska and Japan had not long been severed by the post-Classical Wisconsin rise in sea level, which swamped Beringia for the last time about 10,000 years ago.

Even before we knew the geographic extent and approximate temporal spans of existence (25,000-15,000, 14,000-13,000, 12,000-10,000 B.P.) of Beringia during the late Wisconsin (Hopkins 1967), scholars had argued that anyone as well-adapted culturally and physically as are the Eskimos could and did cross the Bering Straits and even farther south either by boat or on foot across the ice. There seems little doubt, then, that during the Main (Classical) Wisconsin (Wurm) the Bering Sea region was not a barrier to the movement of man for very long, but that the land bridge was swamped during the Woronzofian transgression between about 25,000-35,000 B.P. (Hopkins 1967). Undoubtedly, earlier Wisconsin exposures of Beringia occurred, but the regression is not dated. By extrapolation, Muller-Beck (1967, fig 2) suggests that Beringia existed between about 38,000 and 50,000 years ago; however, this dating places a major regression within the long Port Talbot Interstadial (Dreimanis, *et al.* 1966). The early Wisconsin glacial maximum in Ontario is placed between about 50,000 and 60,000 years ago (Dreimanis, *et al.* 1966), a dating which correlates quite well with the computed time of glacial maxima in Eurasia (Kind 1967, table 3). We know, then, that man and other animals could have walked across Beringia most of the time between about 25,000 and 10,000 years ago, but that access to Alaska from Siberia during the Early Wisconsin was most likely only during the period between 50,000 and 60,000 years ago.

Of course, before the mid-Wisconsin submergence, we have no right to argue that man had the specialized cultural equipment developed ultimately by the proto-Eskimos. In fact, most authorities would argue that the fact that nothing except fully modern man has yet been found in America precludes the possibility of an entry as early as 50,000 years ago because all mankind was then in the Neanderthal stage of development (*e.g.*, Wendorf 1966). But if the alternative interpretation is accepted that all of mankind did not pass through a Classical Neanderthal stage, but rather that modern man evolved from a less specialized

ancestor at an earlier time than the latest dated Classical Neanderthals (ca. 35,000-45,000 B.P.), the possibility that a form classifiable as modern man was already present before 50,000 years ago would be reasonable. In fact, the skull from Niah Cave in Borneo has been classified as modern man (Brothwell 1960), and there are two radiocarbon dates (41,500 ± 1,000/GRO-1,338 and 39,600 ± 1,000/GRO-1,339) from a few inches above the skull (Harrison 1959).

The logical possibility, perhaps the probability, can be presented that man could have lived in southwestern Alaska during the long mid-Wisconsin (Port Talbot) interstadial just as well as he could have lived along the southern shore of Beringia during the early Altonian and Classical Wisconsin stadials. Along the southern littoral of Beringia, as the shore was washed by the warm Japanese Current and as Arctic Ocean currents were cut off, the climate probably was not dissimilar from the present climate of the Aleutians, which, although wet and windy, does not often experience temperatures far below freezing. In fact, this climate is similar to that of the Straits of Magellan and Tierra del Fuego where we know the inhabitants lived successfully, if not comfortably, with only four simple cultural contrivances — a windbreak shelter, a fur cloak, fire, and greasing the body.

Moving the argument in the opposite direction and far back in time, it should be realized that the inhabitants of the Choukoutien caves near Peking probably had this same basic equipment because Peking Man was able to survive in an area of extreme continental climate characterized by very cold winter winds blowing from central Siberia off the Gobi Desert. Although Peking winters were probably somewhat warmer than now during most of the Great Interglacial, human occupation of the area apparently continued into at least the beginning phases of the succeeding Penultimate (Riss-Illinoian) Glaciation. Thus we can conclude that by about 200,000 years ago man was already adapted to a winter climate probably as cold as the climate of the southern shore of Beringia during the Wisconsin. One can argue, therefore, that man was fully capable, physically and culturally, to endure the maritime climate of the North Pacific littoral even during the Wisconsin Glaciation.

The legitimate objection can be raised that man, without tailored skin clothing, was less likely to be able to endure a more harsh climate like that of the region around the mouth of the Anadyr at the far northwestern end of the southern shore of the Bering land bridge. But as we know that man lived in North China during all, or most of, the lengthy Great Interglacial, there seems to be no logical reason why he would not have expanded his territory northeastward along the North Pacific littoral during the warm Great Interglacial while he occupied interior portions of North China. In fact, it seems unlikely that he would not have occupied all of this favorable region of abundant food resources at this early time, and surely he must have occupied the North Pacific littoral during the Last Interglacial. Unfortunately, the sea level was higher than now during both interglacials, so former coastal sites are now unavailable to archaeologists.

The working hypothesis can be presented that man had ample time and an adequate cultural inventory to expand his hunting and gathering territory northeastward along the North Pacific littoral for the first time during either the Great or the Last Interglacial.[3] Whenever, the onset of a glacial period would bring colder weather but also an emerging open plains region (suitable for hunting and sea food collecting) stretching off to the southeast toward Alaska. Whenever man reached the region of the mouth of the Anadyr during a warm interglacial he should have expanded southeastward onto Beringia during the subsequent glacial period. Strictly by logical deduction, then, man should have entered what is now Alaska as early as the beginning of the Illinoian Glaciation. Although our evidence is inconclusive because only one early Choukoutien locality has yielded advanced *Homo erectus* skeletal remains, and thus we do not know how fast man's cranial features were evolving in east Asia during this crucial stage, the lack of discovery of any skeletal material in America other than fully modern man means that it is most reasonable at present to include that man did not enter Alaska until the

[3] Of course, man could also have expanded across central Siberia during the Last Interglacial with a Mousterian-like tool assemblage such as is found in the Altai Mountains at Ust-Kanskaia and presumably dated to the Last Interglacial (Rudenko, 1961).

Wisconsin Glaciation. Certainly, however, there should be no reason for amazement if evidence were found for man south of the ice sheets at an earlier time as he certainly could have moved across Beringia during the Illinoian (Riss) Glaciation.

At this point many students would argue that these logical possibilities are irrelevant because nothing pertaining to human activity in America has been securely dated earlier than about 15,000 years (Gruhn 1965);[4] and some students are unwilling to go beyond about 11,500 years, a time which dates the earliest definite occurrence of well-made flaked stone projectile points. Most American archaeologists insist on sticking strictly to securely dated and culturally diagnostic assemblages or industries. The earliest of these is the Llano Complex, which is composed of fluted Clovis and Folsom points plus certain types of diagnostic scrapers, gravers, and uniface tools (Byers 1966). The Llano Complex appears to be earliest in the southern Plains-Southwest region, where several sites containing Clovis points are radiocarbon dated between about 11,500 and 11,000 years ago. The Lindenmeier site in northern Colorado, the best known Folsom occupation site, is dated about 10,500 B.P., while the Clovis site at distant Debert in Nova Scotia is dated between 10,700 and 10,600 B.P. (Stuckenrath 1966). The technological tradition of making fluted points spread throughout most of North America and probably lasted for a few thousand years before becoming unidentifiable as simple basal thinning. The people who made these diagnostic points adapted themselves to many environmental regions, but eventually their hunting culture merged with several other developing cultural adaptations to various environments.

Some students believe that big game hunters, carrying the Llano Complex, migrated southward from Alaska during the Two Creeks Interstadial (Haynes 1964; Humphrey, 1966), despite the fact that there are no fluted points in eastern Asia and the few from Alaska are either in undatable surface contexts or,

[4] Tlapacoya, in the Central Valley of Mexico, has yielded several dates between 22,000 and 24,000 B.P., including a date of 23,150 ± 950 (GX-0959) on a fallen tree directly overlying the distal end of a true blade (Mirambell 1967). This appears to be the earliest unequivocal date on a diagnostic artifact in America.

such as the aberrant fluted point from Denbigh, apparently in datable contexts which would support the idea that the fluted point tradition had moved northward rather than southward. Elsewhere (Bryan 1965) I have argued that the available evidence concerning flaked stone projectile points from North America strongly suggests that several flaked stone projectile traditions, including the Fluted Point Tradition, evolved as adaptations to different major environmental regions from a basic Large Leaf-shaped Point (biface) Tradition, which probably entered mid-continental North America from Asia via Alaska during the mid-Wisconsin interstadial sometime before 20,000 years ago.

We are now faced with the second major problem confronting anyone interested in the question of when man entered the heart of America, and that is the question of just when the so-called "ice-free corridor" existed east of the Rocky Mountain chain. Unfortunately we do not have many more facts concerning this vital question than we had 35 years ago when W. A. Johnston (1933) presented his paper on the subject to the Fifth Pacific Science Congress in Vancouver. The reason for this situation, of course, is simply because the few Pleistocene geologists working in western Canada have only recently and as yet, only briefly, carried out field work in the strategic regions. Drs. L. A. Bayrock and John Westgate, and a few other students, are actively working on this problem in Alberta, and have accumulated a small body of information which can be briefly summarized.

In Alberta most of the bedrock east of the Rockies are Cretaceous sandstones, shales and clay, capped by glacial till. Several erosional remnants, composed largely of Tertiary gravels, are found throughout the Province. All of these hills except the very tops of the Cypress Hills and the Porcupine Hills in southern Alberta were glaciated by Keewatin ice, which reached a thickness in central Alberta of more than a mile. Before the ice arrived from the northeast, rivers, following the same general network as those of the present, had become incised into the Cretaceous plains. As the ice moved southwestward the rivers were dammed, causing rapid deposition of sands and gravels composed only of quartzites and cherts from the mountains plus local Cretaceous bedrock. The old channel fillings and river terraces composed of these

so-called "Saskatchewan Sands and Gravels" are very important because they are easily recognizable as pre-continental glaciation deposits, completely lacking any of the common glacially-derived igneous rocks of the Canadian Shield. Obviously, then, continental glaciers could never have penetrated this far west previously.

Fortunately the younger preglacial gravels contain fossil bones, mainly of horse *(Equus niobrarensis),* but also camel, *Mammuthus columbi, Antilocapra* and a small *Bison.* This assemblage is late Pleistocene in age and *Antilocapra* is known only from Wisconsin deposits (Reimchen 1967). Thus it seems that the youngest deposits of these preglacial river channel fillings, which are frequently exposed along the present-day incised river banks, are very likely late Sangamon or early Wisconsin in age. A radiocarbon date greater than 54,500 years (GSC 237) on wood between deeply buried tills near Lethbridge in southwestern Alberta indicates that the ice had advanced over parts of southern Alberta sometime prior to the Classical Wisconsin. Three finite dates of about 35,000 B.P. were recently obtained on wood from fluvial and proglacial lacustrine sediments that were laid down in the Watino area of the Peace River, Alberta, region prior to the local incursion of the first Keewatin glacier (John Westgate, personal communication, 1967). The Keewatin glacier, therefore, was located somewhere to the east of the Watino district during the long mid-Wisconsin interstadial and did not advance into this area until Classical Wisconsin time. Farther south, along the eastern flanks of the Rocky Mountains, field evidence for the actual meeting and *merging* of the Keewatin and Cordilleran glaciers exists near Edson, about 40 miles east of the front range in Jasper Park (Roed 1968). Unfortunately, these deposits, so crucial to the question of just when the "ice-free corridor" was blocked, are not dated. However, by extrapolation, the two ice sheets should have merged about 20,000 years ago (L. A. Bayrock, personal communication).[5] Previously, any time during

[5] Although not specifically pertinent to the area of the "corridor", Wendorf (1966, fig. 2) discovered that there were no radio-carbon dates from Canada between 20,000 and 13,000 B.P. From this he concluded that most of Canada must have been glaciated during that period and that the "corridor" probably closed 20,000 years ago.

the Pleistocene, it appears that the "corridor" in Alberta was never blocked, and man and other animals could have moved through; although while the ice was nearby, and especially just after melting, the proglacial environment must have been very uncomfortable for man[6] (Berg 1967). The important question of dating the re-opening of the "corridor" will be considered below.

If man did come south through Canada during the Sangamon Interglacial or during the early Wisconsin, the old preglacial channel deposits are obvious places to look for geologically datable evidence of really early man. Unfortunately, of course, the fact that they are river channel deposits decreases considerably the chances of ever finding any conclusive proof for man. We hope to be able to locate some terraces buried under till on which man could have camped, but it appears that the advancing ice planed off the upper portions of the filled channels and of course removed likely camping areas with it. Hence, most likely, finds in the channel deposits would be artifacts out of occupational context.

Dr. L. A. Bayrock has located within the city of Edmonton one preglacial sand deposit which has yielded numerous bones. One of these, the innominate of a large horse, is of considerable interest. Several archaeologists have examined this bone. Dr. Ian Cornwall, a well-known expert on bones, has examined it and his conclusions should be placed on record: although the broken ends of the pelvis have flake scars which appear to have been removed by blows directed from the inside out, Ian Cornwall believes that this could have been caused naturally. The crucial evidence is that the concave surface of the bone has been struck once by a mighty smashing blow which could never have been caused by rolling. The only possible way such a blow could have been applied naturally is to assume that the bone was lying at the base of a high cliff in the open air and that something

[6] Bruce Craig and R.S. MacNeish (personal communications, 1966) point out that only the valleys of the front ranges of the Rocky Mountains were glaciated; and that, therefore, it was theoretically possible for man and other animals to move down the front range, crossing over the valley glaciers en route. This possibility seems unlikely because of the unfavorable climatic conditions; and, in fact, is incompatible with the known paleontological differentiation outlined by Flerow (1967).

heavy landed squarely on the concave surface. Furthermore the bone was smashed to such an extent that if it had been moved subsequently any distance at all by water, it would have broken apart. As the bone was found *in situ* about 500 feet from the edge of the ancient buried braided channel in a pure water-laid sand deposit, the requisite conditions for natural breakage were not present at the time of deposition. Rather, by far the most likely explanation is that the pelvis had been smashed by man, wielding a cobble tool; and then this fragment had been dropped into the aggrading stream where it was immediately buried in the sand. A fist-sized quartzite pebble with two worn flake scars was subsequently found a few feet away in the same water-laid sand deposit. Although it is possible for the flakes to have been removed by some unknown natural agency, the association with the smashed horse pelvis in a sand deposit is highly suggestive that it was the implement used to smash the pelvis.

Although the evidence is not yet conclusive, probably the Keewatin ice sheet melted back beyond the present borders of Alberta during the long cool mid-Wisconsin (Port Talbot) interstadial. It then started readvancing about 30,000 years ago during the Classical Wisconsin and probably started melting again along its southern margins in southern Alberta about 15,000 years ago. The earliest dated evidence for man in Alberta was found by Dr. Bayrock near Taber in the southern part of the Province, where he excavated a *Bison bison occidentalis* skeleton in what is apparently a glacio-fluvial sand deposit (Trylich and Bayrock 1966). A quartzite cobble, found inside the smashed frontal region of the buffalo, had probably been used to dispatch the animal. Wood from deposits beneath the bison skeleton yielded radiocarbon dates of 10,500 $\pm$ 200 B.P. (GSC-3) and 11,000 $\pm$ 250 B.P. (S-68). Nearby, in a similar sand deposit but stratigraphically beneath a till, several skull fragments of a human child were collected by Dr. A. M. Stalker of the Geological Survey of Canada (Langston and Oschinsky 1963). Although the latter deposit is not dated, the overlying till means that it could not be any younger than the sand in which the bison was found. It could be older but it is also possible that both sand deposits were laid down at the same time, and that the ice which advanced over the Stalker locality halted before reaching the

Bayrock site. Farther east, near Medicine Hat, the author has excavated bison bones, probably *B. b. occidentalis,* from a peaty deposit above early post-glacial channel deposits of the South Saskatchewan River. Several bison ribs have cut and broken into sections. A date of 9,900 ± 120 years (S-230) has been obtained on the peat (John Westgate, personal communication).

The Rocky Mountain Cordilleran ice sheet which periodically covered all of British Columbia except the extreme northeast corner, penetrated only short distances eastward beyond the front range of the mountains. As already discussed the Cordilleran and Keewatin ice sheets are known to have merged just east of the front range northeast of Jasper and at Calgary. The crucial area of the last remaining contact between the two ice sheets could extend much farther north, somewhere west of Fort Simpson on the Mackenzie River. Very little field work has yet been done in this strategic area; however, Bruce Craig (1965) has shown that the Keewatin ice penetrated the front range of the Mackenzie Mountains, and he has mapped (Craig 1965, fig. 4) a series of hypothetical ice-marginal positions during deglaciation. Although some Pleistocene geologists would guess from dated moraines farther east that the latest blockage of the corridor opened about 12,000 years ago (*e.g.,* Haynes 1964), several independent lines of evidence are available to suggest that the late Wisconsin "ice-free corridor" did not finally appear until late Valders time, about 8,500 or 9,000 years ago.

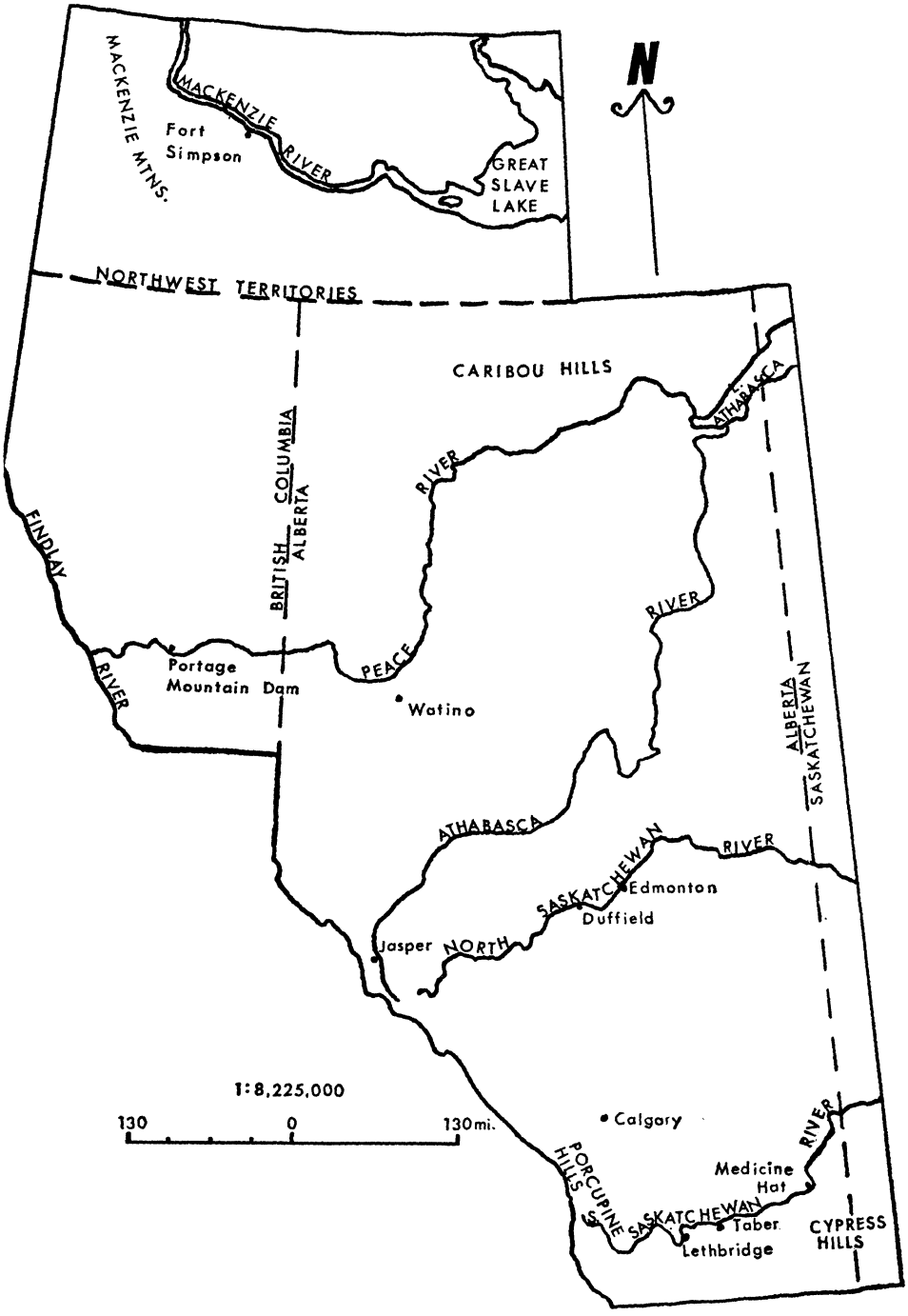
Although the evidence is better than for an earlier opening, the independent facts which support the possibility of a later opening of the corridor are sufficient only to put forward a working hypothesis that a completely ice-free corridor did not appear until about 8,500 or 9,000 years ago (L. A. Bayrock; Reid Bryson, personal communication, 1967). Perhaps the best evidence is the fact that the previously mentioned giant Alaskan bison, *Bison priscus crassicornis,* is found in Alberta, but *only* in post-glacial terrace deposits of the North Saskatchewan River, in and near Edmonton (Fuller and Bayrock 1965). The terrace formed only after the river had quickly and deeply incised itself in early post-glacial times. Although the actual gravel deposits in which *B.p. crassicornis* and mammoth bones are found have not

yet been dated, an oxbow channel, containing marl, a large series of *Bison bison occidentalis* remains, one vertebra of which has the tip end of a projectile point imbedded in it, was incised into the terrace in question. Wood from two levels of the *Bison bison occidentalis* site near Duffield has been radiocarbon dated 8,150 ± 100 (S-106) and 7,350 ± 100 (S-107) (Hillerud 1966).[7] Hence the terrace gravels immediately underlying the marl are judged to be only a few hundred years older, or approximately 8,500 years old. As *B.p. crassicornis* have never been found in any earlier deposits in Alberta, it appears that these animals moved southward up the Mackenzie River and through the ice-free corridor only about 8,500 or 9,000 years ago. Most of the *B. p. crassicornis* skulls show evidence of disease, and apparently these animals died out soon after their arrival.

An independent support for such a late post-glacial opening of the corridor hinges around a radiocarbon date of 8500 ± 100 years (S-116) from the base of a peat bog in the Caribou Hills of northern Alberta. Recently it was discovered that the Caribou Hills formed a nunatak which was completely surrounded by the same ice sheet that formed the last contact with the Cordilleran glaciers northwest of Fort Simpson (L. A. Bayrock, personal communication, 1967). If it is assumed that the peat bog started forming only as it became warmer after retreat of the surrounding ice sheet, the date of 8500 years is independent support for the hypothesis of an opening date of approximately 8500 or 9000 B.P. for the ice-free corridor. The base of two peat bogs north of Edson have yielded substantiatory dates (8320 ± 260/GSC-500 and 8560 ± 170/GSC-525). Using the same assumption, these dates suggest that the last ice did not melt from this area where the two ice sheets merged until about 8,500-9,000 years ago.[8]

[7] Another date of 10,600 ± 300 B.P. (S-140) on marl from above the level of the 7350 B.P. date is suspect because the carbonate fraction of the marl suggests alteration of the C14 content.

[8] The only date from the crucial area which would support the possibility of an earlier initial opening of the corridor is from shells deposited into Glacial Lake Rycroft northwest of Edson (12,190 ± 350 B.P./GSC-508). Another date of 8830 ± 150 B.P. (GSC-768) (personal communication, Murray Roed, 1967) on marl beneath peat and overlying Cordilleran outwash gravels west of Edson is not inconsistent with an opening date of about 9000 years, but see footnote 7.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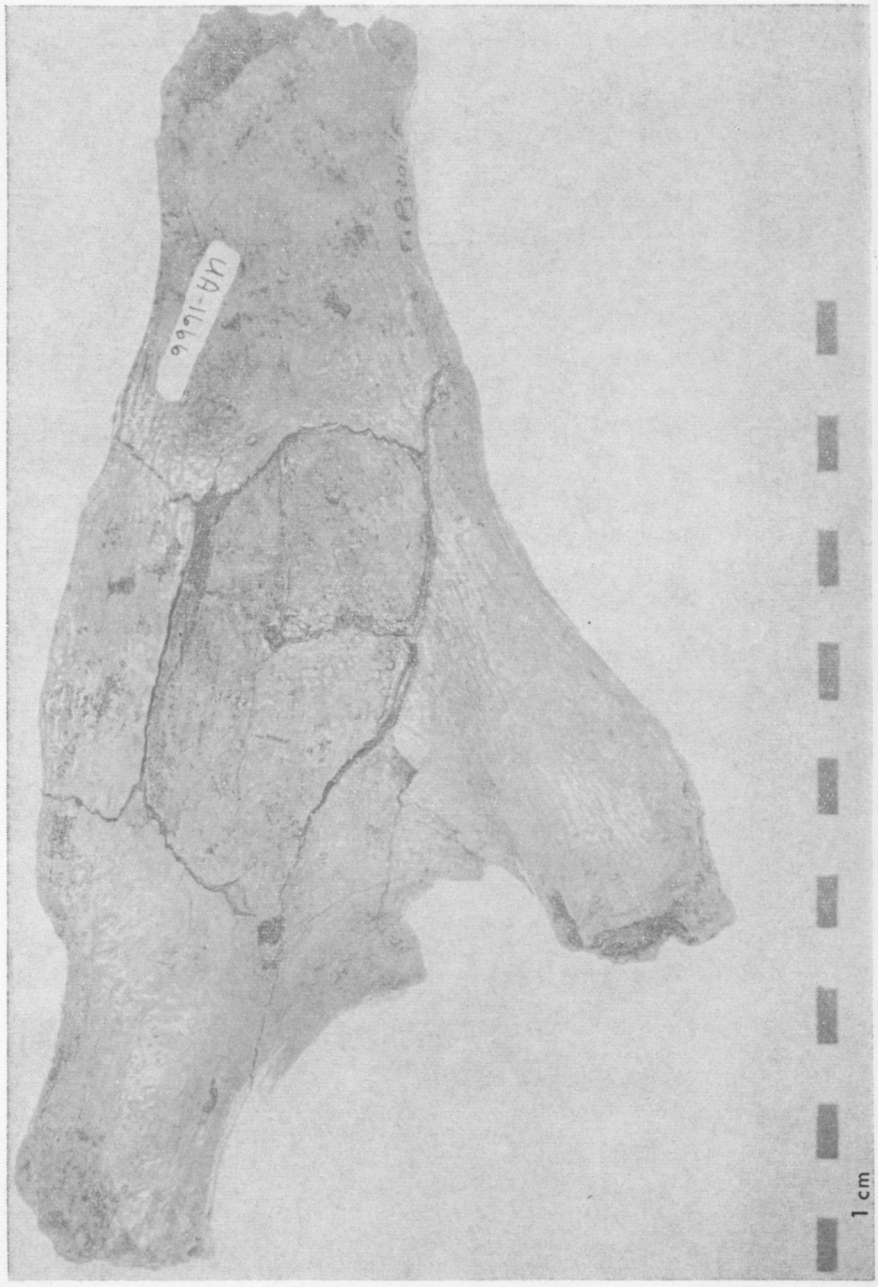
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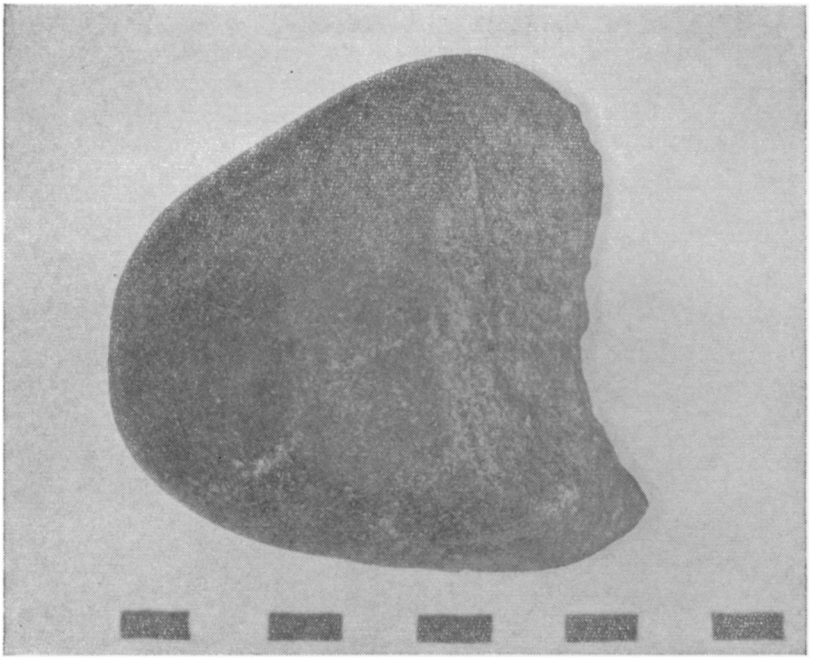

As peat bogs are apparently the best means available for obtaining the earliest post-glacial dates, a program of sampling should be inaugurated in the crucial region of the "corridor" east of the Rocky Mountains.

Two other dates suggest that the ice had melted back to open a corridor from the south as far as the Peace River country during the "Two Creekan" interval and that the two ice sheets converged again during the subsequent "Valderan" stadial. A date of 11, 600 ± 1,000 B.P. (Isotopes; Douglas D. Campbell, personal communication) was obtained on the organic fraction of a mammoth tusk imbedded in Cordilleran moraine from the Portage Mountain Dam site, in the Peace River country west of Dawson Creek, B.C. If the mammoth fell into a crevasse about 11,500 years ago, he must have been able to move northward through the corridor during the "Two Creekan" interval.

Recent work by D. A. St-Onge (1968) in the Whitecourt map-area north of Edson established two Keewatin tills overlying Saskatchewan Gravels and Sands. Outwash gravels, sands, and lacustrine silts below the uppermost till have been dated 10,900 ± 160 B.P. (GSC-859). Shells from lake silts above the till were dated 10,200 ± 170 B.P. (GSC-861). These dates establish the existence of a "Valderan" readvance into this area correlating with the evidence for a Cordilleran readvance west of Dawson Creek. John Westgate (personal communication, 1968) has several sections in the Edmonton area with a sequence of two tills which has been correlated with St-Onge's dated sequence. No peat bogs are reported beneath the upper till, and there is no evidence that the North Saskatchewan River had started down-cutting. Therefore, the Keewatin ice sheet must still have been nearby and damming the river downstream during the "Two Creekan" interval.

A preliminary interpretation of this situation would be that the Classical Wisconsin ice did melt back during the "Two Creekan" interval to a northwest/southeast trending boundary somewhere not far north of Edson and Edmonton, and then re-advanced during the "Valderan" stadial. Just how far beyond the Peace River block the "Two Creekan" corridor may have opened must be established by dating deposits in the crucial areas east of the Cordilleras between Fort St. John, Fort Nelson, Fort Liard, Fort Simpson and Fort Norman. At present there is no dated evidence that a Two Creekan corridor ever existed in these crucial areas. In this crucial region the oldest date, in the range of 8,700 years old, pertains to archaeological materials from near Fort Liard (Roscoe Wilmeth, personal communication, 1967).

A major argument for believing that the ice sheets were still coalescent north of the Peace River country until about 9000 B.P. is put forward by Bryson and Wendland (1968). Palynological evidence from the northern and central Plains indicates that there was an abrupt deterioration in temperature between about 10,000 and 9,000 years ago. As at present the coldest Arctic air remains below an altitude of 2,500 meters, the fact that it was actually warmer south of the ice sheet before about 9,000 years ago than afterwards indicates that the central height of the ice mass north of the Peace country must have been at least 3,000 meters high.

Such a mass should have been more than 1,000 kilometers long in its north-south extent. "By 9000 B.P. the elevation of the ridge should have diminished to 2,500-2,800 meters, and then disappeared by 8000 B.P." (Bryson and Wendland 1968).

If correct, this paleometeorological assessment also affords an explanation for the abrupt extinction of the horse, camel, mammoth and giant bison; as the winter temperature on the northern Plains would have been about 20°C colder after about 9000 B.P. than before (Bryson and Wendland 1968). The evidence summarized above which indicates that the corridor was closed only during Classical Wisconsin times reinforces this explanation for extinction. Apparently the only period of the Pleistocene during which frigid Arctic air was prevented from flowing southward by a high ice sheet was during the Classical Wisconsin. Hence, this was the only time that animals living south of the continental ice sheet would not have been able to adapt to extremely cold conditions. When the Arctic air suddenly was allowed to flow southward, the animals could not adapt, a situation resulting in rapid extinction. Human hunters may have assisted the population decline of some animals, such as the mammoth; but there is no archaeological evidence that man could have been the primary factor in the extinction of previously abundant animals such as the horse.

The point should be stressed that even if future investigations determined that the corridor did temporarily open completely during the "Two Creekan" interval, any cultural remains south of the ice sheets dated older than about 12,000 years ago must mean that man had already passed through Canada and moved south of this ice before the Keewatin ice advanced to its fullest extent and closed the corridor during the Classical Wisconsin stage. If the corridor did open during the "Two Creekan" interval about 12,000 years ago, then it is theoretically possible that people making technologically advanced forms of flaked stone projectile points came in from Asia and moved rapidly southward at that time. On the other hand, if the corridor was not completely open until as late as 8,500 or 9,000 years ago, we will be forced to conclude from the larger number of archaeological sites with earlier dates that all North American flaked stone projectile point

traditions must have evolved indigenously south of the continental ice sheets during late Wisconsin times. In view of the hypothesis of the indigenous development and northward diffusion of all projectile point traditions, it is interesting that at present there is no radiocarbon *dated* evidence for flaked stone projectile points in Alaska or the Yukon older than 9,000 years. And if the hypothesis is correct that the corridor did not open completely until 8,500-9,000 years ago, the prediction is inherent that no flaked stone projectile points belonging to diagnostic American traditions will ever be found very far north of the Peace River country older than 9,000 years.

After reviewing the evidence for dating the presence of Beringia (25,000-10,000 B.P.) and the available evidence for dating the blockage of the "ice-free corridor" (20,000-9,000 B.P.), it becomes apparent that the latest time when man could have walked from Siberia into Alaska and then southeastward between the two ice sheets was between 25,000 and 20,000 years ago.[9] Probably some groups stayed in unglaciated Alaska throughout the Main Wisconsin while others kept drifting across Beringia until 10,000 B.P. Some of these people moved southward after 8,500 years ago; but the available archaeological evidence indicates that the earliest colonists advanced into the formerly glaciated areas of Alberta from the south, beginning about 11,000 years ago in southern Alberta. Movement from the north, evidenced by the penetration through British Columbia of the technological tradition of making microblades (Sanger 1968), appears to have been relatively later, beginning about 7,500 years ago. It is tempting to speculate that the people moving southward into British Columbia were Athabaskans while the earliest colonists of Canada east of the Rockies were Algonkians.

[9] Using somewhat different assumptions, Muller-Beck (1967) brings the progenitors of the Llano Complex across Beringia about 28,000-26,000 years ago. Wendorf (1966) concludes that the earliest immigrants expanded across the Bering platform between 27,000 and 20,000 B.P. Discussion of the differences in theoretical position between these authorities and myself will be discussed in a separate paper being prepared for *Current Anthropology*. The significant point is that all the available evidence organized independently has led to the consensus that the period of immigration most significant to the development of American prehistoric traditions was between about 28,000 and 20,000 years ago.

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Conflict in the Conflict Theories: Ethological and Social Arguments

by BRUCE A. COX

RÉSUMÉ

Après un examen des publications récentes sur l'éthologie du conflit, on nous présente une nouvelle théorie sur ce sujet. L'étude vise à démontrer l'utilité de l'éthologie et de l'anthropologie sociale pour une meilleure compréhension du conflit dans notre monde moderne.

I

Recent years have seen considerable interest in the anthropological study of conflict[1]. For example, studies on this subject have appeared in earlier issues of this journal (e.g., Vol. 3, No. 2). At the same time, there is considerable recent interest in the biological study of conflict, particularly from the field of comparative ethology. By and large, the work in these two fields has been done independently; nevertheless, explanations of conflict from the two fields show points of convergence. In the following review, I shall discuss several recent books from ethology and a recent anthropological study of social conflict.

II

I shall consider first two rather popular books on ethology, *African Genesis and Territorial Imperative*, both by Robert Ardry. My copy of *African Genesis* is a new paperbound edition of Ardry's earlier (1961) book on the development of human agressive drives. His more recent book, *Territorial Imperative* (1966), asks, "Is Homo sapiens a territorial species?"

[1] The title of this article was suggested by Richard Frucht.

Baldly put, the thesis of *African Genesis* is that "Man is a predator whose natural instinct is to kill with a weapon" (p. 322). Evidence for this thesis is drawn from the East African fossil record. Ardry presents a convincing argument that the australopithecines were hunters. In this, he follows Raymond Dart's interpretation of bone deposits at Makapan and elsewhere. Nevertheless, in discussing aggression there is a tendency to confound it with predation, as Julian Huxley notes (in his preface to Lorenz 1966). Ardry is not immune to this tendency. Having established that the African man-apes were hunters, he concludes that they were "killer apes". The australopithecines' apparent use of bone implements is cited as evidence of the "systematic use of weapons" (p. 195). Here is an implicit confusion of predation and aggression. The discussion of the effects of a hunting life on proto-human populations is more clearly presented in *Territorial Imperative* (pp. 253-263). Nevertheless, this book cites (p. 258) Washburn and Avis's (1958) rather confusing interpretation of the evolution of human predatory drives:

> Unless careful training has hidden the natural drives, men enjoy the chase and the kill. In most cultures torture and suffering are made public spectacles for the enjoyment of all. The victims *may be either animal or human.*[2]

The distinction between predation and aggression is now better understood than it was in 1958, when the lines quoted above were first printed. Nevertheless, it is still worthwhile to underline this very important distinction. A hunting club is a "weapon" only if it is turned against members of the hunter's species. It is precisely to avoid this sort of confusion that Lorenz urges the terms "aggression" be restricted to intra-specific fighting, thus distinguishing it from predation. In fact, leaving aside their use of hunting implements, the evidence that the australopithecines were "killer apes" is quite slender. It rests primarily on a fractured adolescent australopithecine jaw. Ardry regards this jaw, found near Makapan, as the "remnant of antique assassination" (1961:190). Perhaps it is, but it provides little evidence for Ardry's claim that the australopithecines commonly used weapons.

[2] Italics added

Ardry makes this jaw a basis for speculation on proto-human and human weaponry. As other reviewers have remarked, he regards the term "tool" as a euphemism for "weapon". For example, he takes Kenneth Oakley (1956) to task for not calling his book "Man the Weapon-maker": "With few exceptions, they [Oakley's illustrations] are pictures of weapons" (p. 319). If one recalls that even nuclear explosives may be "tools" in excavating canals, the difficulty of making judgments of this kind is shown.

Ardry is not diffident in urging the implications for social science of the argument summarized above. Let us consider briefly what he considers these implications to be. In the author's view, most social scientists are misled by the romantic fallacy. Briefly put, explanations of human behavior which ignore aggressive drives are incomplete or "romantic". Social thinkers whom Ardry signals for criticism in terms of this paradigm are Rousseau, Marx, Freud, and contemporary pacifists.

He regards Rousseau as the author of the romantic fallacy, and specifically of the "illusion of original goodness". This is the belief that children and primitive retain a morality lost to the civilized. Among subscribers to this view he counts Thomas Jefferson, J. B. Watson, Elliot Smith, Ashley Montagu, Franz Boas, and in fact most anthropologists (some are mentioned in *Territorial Imperative*). To this list might be added the name of Konrad Lorenz (1966:221), who maintains that effective morality must have some basis in natural inclination:

> The man who behaves socially from natural inclination normally makes few demands on the controlling mechanism of his own moral responsibility. Thus, in times of stress, he has huge reserves of moral strength to draw upon.

Karl Marx and early socialist thinkers are the subject of considerable discussion in Ardry's books. Briefly, Marx's opposition to private property is said to counter aggressive instincts, as expressed in the "territorial urge". Further, when aggression cannot be expressed through this urge, as it cannot in socialist societies, it will be expressed in dominance. This argument is further developed in *The Territorial Imperative* (1966). Production in socialist countries, in Ardry's view, runs

afoul of the "territorial imperative". In societies not organized under socialism, the small proprietor is aided in his productive labors by instinctive feelings toward his property. Socialist agriculture, particularly, is unsuccessful because it is not organized on the basis of the pair territory (pp. 112-116). This argument proceeds from Ardry's interpretation of the findings of comparative ethology. First, a territorial species is one in which all males "bear an inherent drive to gain and defend an exclusive property" (p. 3). A territory, on the other hand, is "an area of space ... which an animal or group of animals defends as an exclusive preserve" (p. 3). As the author points out, there are many species which have territories as defined here. It is further reasonable to suppose that man may have shared in the evolutionary process producing territoriality in other species. Thus, he concludes that man has an "inherent drive to gain and defend property". It follows that socialism, pacifism, and internationalism run afoul of this "inherent drive" in various ways. This conclusion, however, rests on a false premise. Ethology does not maintain that there is an instinct to acquire and defend property (cf. Service 1966:21, 24-25). Ardry has simply substituted in his definition the word "property" for the term "territory". He thus establishes by definition what he ought to prove by argument.

A similar kind of semantic sleight of hand is found in Ardry's (1966:191-192) concept of the "biological nation". This term is used by Ardry in much the same sense as the concept of the territorial animal community is used in ethology (e.g., Lorenz 1966: Ch. 10). The definition itself is unexceptionable; obviously there are animal communities which conflict over territory. What is objectionable here is the use of the term "nation" to describe communities. The implication follows that human nations are much like territorial animal communities — like those of rats, for example. Perhaps they are; nevertheless, Ardry only obscures the argument by choosing terms loaded in his favor.

Ardry considers that classical psychoanalysis provides a suggestive but incomplete explanation of human aggressiveness. In "Beyond the Pleasure Principle", Freud (1920) explained aggression as the death wish turned outward. Both Ardry and Konrad Lorenz object to the Freudian view of human aggressiveness.

Lorenz's (1964) comments at a symposium on the natural history of aggression are cited with approval:

> There cannot be any doubt, in the opinion of any biologically-minded scientist, that intraspecific fighting is, in man, just as much of a spontaneous instinctive drive as in most other higher vertebrates. The beginning synthesis between the findings of ethology and psychoanalysis does not leave any doubt, either, that what Sigmund Freud called the "death drive" is nothing else but the miscarrying of this instinct which, in itself, is as indispensable for survival as any other.[3]

The view presented above seems preferable to that of classical psycho-analysis, since it avoids the dualism of Freud's explanation of aggression. If the ethological view can be substantiated, therefore, one can only welcome the promised synthesis of ethological and psychological explanations.

Although its proponents are not named, Ardry's books speak as much to pacifism as to socialism and psychoanalysis. He might have argued that instinctive drives make the abolition of war difficult, but this point is not stressed. He argues, however, in both books reviewed here that the end of war would leave man suffering from undischarged aggressiveness. Lorenz concurs, arguing that a human equivalent of phylogenetically ritualized animal fights is needed (1966:242-243). To an extent, Lorenz believes, we have this in regulated international competition in sport and other fields. Ardry (1966:301), for his part, repeats Anthony Storr's interesting suggestion that competition to explore outer space is a form of ritualized combat. The search for alternative institutions on which man can expend his aggressive energies did not of course begin with Ardry and Lorenz. Over half a century ago, William James (1910), proposed a search for the moral equivalent of war. James, a pacifist, nevertheless believed in the "bellicosity" of human nature. It is interesting to note the similarities between Lorenz's and James's speculations on the problems of ending warfare. Both see, in the struggle with nature, a means of diverting nations' energy for warmaking.

Konrad Lorenz, as noted earlier, believes that there are inherited aggressive drives in man. Though he agrees to that extent

[3] Cited by Ardry 1966:302.

with Ardry, his argument seems truer to the mark than Ardry's. Recall that for Ardry, man is a "biological invention evolved to suit the purposes of the weapon" (1961:318). On the contrary, Lorenz maintains that human inhibitions to aggression have been unable to keep pace with weaponry. Such inhibitions, from the time of the australopithecines on, could not cope with the possibilities for aggression which culture provides.

Nor has man a "predatory mentality", as Ardry and others maintain:

> ...One can only deplore the fact that man has definitely not got a 'carnivorous mentality'. All his trouble arises from his being a basically harmless, omnivorous creature lacking in natural weapons with which to kill big prey, and therefore also devoid of the built-in safety devices which prevent 'professional' carnivores from abusing their killing power to destroy fellow-members of their own species. (Lorenz 1966:207)

If Lorenz is correct, as I believe he is, Ardry has misread virtually the whole of the proto-human fossil record. Far from being the "killer apes" of Ardry's account, the australopithecines possessed an enhanced capacity for intra-specific violence because they lacked a predatory history. As ethologists have shown, large carnivores have instinctual inhibitions which effectively control intra-specific fighting. Man is perhaps unique among large predatory animals in the weakness of such inhibitions. Furthermore, such checks on aggression as early man inherited were thrown out of kilter by the projectile:

> The distance at which all shooting weapons take effect screens the killer against the stimulus situation which would otherwise activate his killing inhibitions. (Lorenz 1966: 208)

The works considered here do not give an encouraging view of the possibility of controlling human violence. At the same time, their central thesis, that aggressiveness is an inherited drive, is untestable. Why, then, consider it? The reader will doubtless answer that question for himself, but I note below a few instances in which this thesis is useful in the explanation of social phenomena.

First, Lorenz's hypothesis provides a parsimonious explanation of spontaneous outbreaks of aggressiveness. Consider a phenomenon variously called Polar disease, Expedition Choler,

or less elegantly "cabin fever". Polar disease or cabin fever attacks small groups of men who become completely dependent on each other during arctic expeditions, imprisonment, or the like. Lorenz experienced it himself while interned in a prisoner-of-war camp. He explains such spontaneous outbreaks of aggression and irritability as follows. During the course of expeditions, imprisonment, or whatever, people are prevented by isolation from discharging their naturally occuring hostile impulses on strangers and outsiders. At the same time, it is not readily discharged on companions because of mutual dependence. Since aggression, in Lorenz's view, is a natural drive like any other, it must be discharged in some way. What occurs is a gradual lowering of the threshold for the release of hostility. In time, members of the group are angered by formerly unnoticed stimuli. As Lorenz (1966:45-46) puts it:

> One reacts to the small mannerisms of one's best friends — such as the way in which they clear their throats or sneeze — in a way that would normally be adequate only if one had been hit by a drunkard.

Finally, ethology provides for a welcome restatement of the classical psychoanalytic theory of instincts. As noted above, Freud believed that aggressive behavior could be explained by the "death instinct". This instinct was primarily self-destructive, a sort of anthropomorphizing of the second law of thermodynamics. Aggression itself was explained as a turning outward of this instinct. Whatever we may say in defense of this theory, it is difficult to believe in an instinct for self-destruction. Instincts, like other parts of the organism, presumably arise through natural selection. It is difficult to see how selection for self-destructiveness could have taken place. The ethological view, on the other hand, holds that aggression is a primary, not a derived phenomenon. It benefits the species in defense against predators, in spacing out individuals over territory, and in establishing a rank order among social species. Like other instincts, it also has dysfunctional aspects, particularly among social beings. Like the sex drive, and other instinctive drives, it must be controlled in the interests of social order. And like other drives, instinctive inhibitions against its release may be thrown out of kilter by cultural developments. Of that, of course, we need scarcely be reminded in the age of the doomsday machine.

III

In ethology, then, as in sociology, conflict may have a pathological outcome. Damage done in conflict with other species may be eufunctional, as that done to conspecifics never is (e.g., Lorenz, 1964:40). As might be expected, then, means of controlling violence to conspecifics have evolved in many species. One of these in particular gives a striking parallel to human custom. This is the mechanism to which Julian Huxley has given the name "ritualization". Ritualization serves, among other things, to control fighting in a number of animal species. Lorenz (1964) discusses a particular kind of ritualization in his essay on "Ritualized Fighting". As the title implies, these are sham fights of various kind — threat displays, wrestling matches, and so on. Of particular interest here are his (1964:48-49; cf. Storr 1964) views on the ritualization of fighting in man:

> ... One of the most important functions phyletic ritualization has to perform in the interest of a species' survival, is the one discussed in this paper, the controlling of intraspecific aggression. It is to be hoped that cultural ritualization will prove able to do the same with that kind of intraspecific aggression in man which threatens him with extinction.

Ritualized conflict, of course, is well known to ethnography. In fact, it is a critical part of Beals ans Siegel's (1966) recent classification of social conflict. In the view of Beals and Siegel (1966:18) conflict obtains when "two parties belonging to the same organization exchange behaviors that symbolize opposition". There are two kinds of conflict. These are divisive conflict and nondisruptive conflict — "pseudoconflict". Pseudoconflict includes individual and team competition. I gather from subsequent discussion that it is much like Lorenz's concept of ritualized fighting.

The term "pseudoconflict" serves to underscore an important issue. As the authors maintain, there is considerable loose thinking in anthropology concerning the purported eufunctional aspects of conflict. Conflict is often viewed as eufunctional in that conflicts among subgroups may promote solidarity in some larger system. Gluckman (1955) exemplifies this viewpoint in chapter headings such as "The Peace in the Feud" and "The Bonds in the Colour-Bar". Coser exemplifies it for sociology; he (1956:80)

maintains, after Simmel, that social systems "tend to be sewn together by multiple and multiform conflict". Many of the anthropological explanations of conflict seem to rest on what Kenneth Boulding calls the functional fallacy: if a thing exists, it must be good for something. As Beals and Siegel point out, fights do not start because individuals wish to maintain the social system. Furthermore, there is always some point of view from which a conflict is desireable: "Presumably an atomic war on earth would be functional for Martians" (Beals and Siegel, p. 24).

Gluckman, Coser, and their students are modern interpreters of Simmel. Many of the contradictions which Beals and Siegel find in their writings stem from Simmel himself. Simmel dealt in epigrams and paradoxes; these are stimulating and thought-provoking, but Beals and Siegel (1966:83-84) are quite right to demand testable propositions. I doubt, for example, that it is generally true that "conflicts in one set of relationships lead to the establishment of cohesion in awider set of relationships" (Gluckman 1955:164). As Beals and Siegel (1966:24) point out, any conflict has functional and dysfunctional aspects; nevertheless:

> If conflict is described in terms of such concepts as breach, disruption, and regulation, it is possible to describe exactly what has been breached, disrupted, or regulated.

Another criticism which the authors level against followers of Simmel is a confusion of psychological distress and social conflict. This is in line with the authors' (1966:24) own preference for "social and cultural analysis", rather than psychological explanations. To be sure, some confusion of psychological and social variables is found in the writings of Simmel. Consider, for example, the following passage:

> A certain amount of discord, inner divergence and outer controversy, is organically tied up with the very elements that ultimately hold the group together... The positive and integrating role of antagonism is shown in structures which stand out by the sharpness and carefully preserved purity of their social divisions and gradations. Thus, the Hindu social system rests not only on hierachy, but also directly on mutual repulsion of the castes. (Simmel 1955:17-18, cited by Coser 1956:33).

Obviously, anthropologists are only interested in "mutual repulsion" where such feelings are part of a regular social pattern. This distinction is not always made clear in Simmel's work,

though I think it is maintained by most of his modern followers. Perhaps Beals and Siegel (1966:88) have some such distinction in mind when they warn against the "unsystematic mixing of levels". If they mean simply that sentiments are of interest in the anthropology of conflict only when they are recurrent and patterned, well and good. If, on the other hand, they intend that anthropology exclude sentiments in considering conflict, then I cannot accept their position. It is impossible to explain conflict without recourse to hostility, fear, and other sentiments. Gluckman (1955) repeatedly makes this point by example, and Lorenz would obviously endorse it. Beals and Siegel's (1966:26) pronouncement on the importance of sociological explanation could be interpreted in either of the above senses:

> The data we have accumulated so far appears to be amenable to social and cultural analysis rather than to a biological or physiological analysis. Perhaps other definitions will prove useful for other purposes.

In fact, the authors' position is ambiguous when speaking of anything but sociological explanations of conflict. For example, they say, "Aggression is a psychological motive that can be understood as aggression only when properly interpreted" (by an alter?). In the same passage, they cite with approval a paragraph from Simmel. This says, in part:

> No matter how much psychological autonomy one may be willing to grant the antagonistic drive, this autonomy is not enough to account for all phenomena involving hostility... (Simmel 1955: 33, cited by Beals and Siegel 1966:25)

Simmel's position, which the authors endorse, is unexceptionable. One can only add a warning from ethology: there is some danger of slighting human aggressiveness in explanations of conflict (cf. Coser 1956:48 49). Lorenz's discussion of "cabin fever", if nothing else, underscores the importance of what Simmel calls the "antagonistic drive".

If I may digress somewhat, the danger of discounting human antagonisms is greater in a related field, the "strategy of conflict" (Schelling 1963). This field applies the calculus of game theory to the study of "conscious, intelligent, sophisticated conflict behavior — of successful (winning) behavior" (Schelling 1963: 3). Clearly, the restriction of research to *successful* behavior in

conflicts is an arbitrary restriction of nature. To be sure, Schelling (1963:201; 248-249) acknowledges that conflict (war) can start inadvertently, through "faulty information, faulty communication, misunderstanding, misuse of authority, panic, or human or mechanical failure". With the exception of panic, all departures from rational, calculated competitive behavior are laid to communication breakdown. Experience testifies, however, that departures from a "rational" conflict strategy are often due to emotional reactions, particularly hostility, in the competitors. A boxer may become angry, a poker player overbet as a matter of pride, and a nation attempt to punish a hated rival. One searches in vain for a recognition of emotional reactions in the analysts of the strategy of conflict. What ethology might add to the view of these analysts is the recognition of the important part which emotional reaction, particularly aggressiveness, plays in conflict.

IV

As I noted above, Lorenz (1966:208) maintains that culture tends to shield man from the consequences of his aggressive actions. I believe that this statement has implications for further anthropological research. Anthropologists should study the ways in which culture shields man from the consequences of his aggressiveness. Patriotic myths, national legends, beliefs that others are less than human, all serve in this way. They all should be studied.

Furthermore, it should be recalled that studies of conflict are themselves part of culture. We should consider the possibility that studies of conflict may themselves help to shield men from the consequences of conflict. Here I am thinking particularly of studies based on the calculus of game theory. Anthropologists must be not simply "strategists of conflict", but students of conflict. These include the whole of conflicts, including irrational motives and pathological consequences. Ethology may be of help in this task by reminding us of the "animal origins and nature of man" (Ardry 1961). The anthropology of conflict must include all conflicts, from personal disputes to international wars. As the editor of a recent sourcebook on the anthropology of conflict

notes, warfare is little represented, and poorly done, in the ethnographic literature (Bohannan, 1967:xiii). And yet it must be done, if we are to have a relevant and humane science of man. Only by meeting the problems of warfare (and peace) head on can anthropology achieve its central task, "the creation of an image of man that will be adequate to the experience of our time" (Wolf 1964:94).

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Emigration, Remittances and Social Change:
ASPECTS OF THE SOCIAL FIELD OF NEVIS, WEST INDIES

by RICHARD FRUCHT

RÉSUMÉ

L'émigration et l'infux d'argent dans l'île de Nevis (Indes orientales) ont des effets socio-économiques importants. Pour analyser cette situation on a recourt, malgré ses limites, au concept du "champ social."

In a recent article, Robert Manners (1965) argues for a more widespread use and recognition of the social field concept, especially within the context of Caribbean studies[1]. The social field concept refers to the realization of the importance of extra-local variables in understanding culture change and stability in primitive and peasant communities. The expansion of the advanced industrial societies, imperialism and colonialism, and the discovery of primitives and peasants, as well as the creation of "post-peasants" (Geertz 1961; Friedl 1963), gives support to the concept of the ties that bind the latter societies to the former. Gluckman (1949) and Barnes(1954), have been instrumental in the development of the social field concept. They stress the nature of social, economic and political ties between the community and nation-state, and between colony and metropolitan power. *Inter alia,* the social field of the West Indies exists in two complementary forms. One is the labor migration from the west Indies to England and in some cases to other Caribbean islands. The other is the cash remittances which migrants send to their home islands. In many cases these remittances provide the wherewithal for further migration. Manners presents remit-

[1] This is a greatly revised version of a paper read before the American Anthropological Association, in San Francisco, 1963.

tance data from seven island societies in the Caribbean and concludes, in part, that "the islands' economic ties to outside areas are very close and that significant amounts of cash filter into the area in the form of contributions from insular emigrants." Furthermore, "the extension of the local or island 'community' through this migration and the consequent flow of cash into the islands, is only one of several factors which emphasize the importance of conceptualizing the area of research and analysis in social field terms" (1965:192). Although Manners' presentation of remittance figures makes obvious the economic (and, implicitly, the social) ties between island society and metropolis via the emigrant, except for his brief discussion of St. John there is no extended consideration of "the effects of the cash inflow from remittances (which), if they are at all significant, (should be) apparent to the community researcher" (1965:185).

In this article I will extend Manner's contentions by considering some of the effects of emigration and remittances in Nevis, one of the islands in his list, and one in which I have carried out fieldwork.[2] It is important to state at the outset that emigration and remittances are not necessary conditions for the changes now occurring in the island. Rather, they are themselves effects of the decline of the international Sea Island cotton market, the demand for labor in the United Kingdom, and poor productive techniques in local communities. Emigration and remittances can be seen as sufficient conditions for the shift in Nevis from dependence on productive labor and wages to reliance on cash remittances sent by overseas relatives, and for abetting the rearrangements of social classes, especially in terms of class criteria and composition. I will also mention some possible effects of changes in the social field over time, a point which Manners does not consider, but which has crucial implications for the future development of the island. In effect, I make the following assumptions: (a) that Nevis (and all the West Indies) is not a developing or modernizing society — it has always been part of the social field of England, however exploited and backward; (b) that

[2] Fieldwork was carried out in Nevis from June to September, 1961, and from July, 1962 to June, 1963, under the auspices of the Department of Anthropology, Brandeis University, and the Research Institute for the Study of Man, New York.

migration and remittances are only one manifestation of this social field and as such are partial not sole causes of the changes now occurring.

A Brief Description and History of Nevis

Nevis is part of the Associated State of St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla, in the northern Lesser Antilles. It is a small, ill-watered volcanic isle with stony, shallow and relatively unproductive soil. About half the arable land is actually cultivated. The major crops, in order of frequency, are ground provisions (root crops, such as yams, sweet potatoes, taro and manioc), Sea Island cotton, and sugar-cane. Nevis does not have the clean cut appearance of West Indian sugar islands; its face is overgrown and stubbly.

The population of almost 13,000 (almost all of whom are Black) live in nucleated settlement areas and in "Strassenburg" type settlements strung out along the main circumferential road. The numerous small holdings are owned or rented, albeit non-productive. Furthermore, more than half the land used at one time or another for agriculture or husbandry is in parcels of 50 or more acres, more than half of which is government owned. There is little, if any, estate cultivation of cash crops. Large landowners appear to be interested in selling and renting land to tourists and other foreign developers. For them, land is more a direct source of cash rent than a means of agricultural production.

Nevis was settled by the English in 1628, and sugar-cane cultivation commenced at the end of the seventeenth century. Slave plantations predominated until emancipation in 1834. During the remainder of the nineteenth century, sugar-cane maintained a precarious hold on the island's economy under sharecropping arrangements, in which the household was the effective unit of production. Unable to complete with European beet sugar, and, later, with sugar produced in centralized steam powered mills in other islands, the Nevis sugar industry collapsed after World War I. Sea Island cotton, a delicate long staple fibre introduced early in the twentieth century to supplement the declining sugar industry, became the chief export crop of Nevis. Cotton was also produced on a sharecrop basis.

During the depression of the 1930's, many private estates ceased cultivation and sold out to government or to local speculators, both of which later sold or rented small plots. Increasing government ownership of land, and increasing numbers of small holdings (freehold and leasehold), is characteristic of recent Nevisian land tenure. According to the Agricultural Census of 1957, 94 percent of the holdings are in parcels of less than 5 acres, but comprise only 27 percent of the land used at one time or another for agriculture. Sixty-four percent of this land is in parcels of 50 or more acres, as already stated. By the end of World War II estate cultivation practically ceased. The decrease in the price of Sea Island cotton in the mid-fifties resulted in a decrease in cultivated acreage, a shortage of labor due to emigration, and economic decline and stagnation.

Politically, Nevis, with a brief exception, has always been a British colony. It had an independent legislature until 1882, when it was merged with that of St. Kitts and Anguilla. This arrangement still exists: Nevis has only two representatives, whereas St. Kitts has eight.

The foregoing brief historical sketch points out that Nevis was not brought into the orbit of an imperial nation-state. Nevisian society (notwithstanding the aborigines, who were annihilated early on) has always been part of the social field of England. The concern here, however, is not with the effects of changes within the larger context — the vagaries of international markets and colonial polity — but with the immediate and local effects of intermediate variables — migration and remittances.

The Pattern of Migration and Social Class

Migration is not new to the West Indies or to Nevis. After Emancipation there were movements of laborers throughout the Caribbean. During the 1880's, some Nevisians emigrated to Venezuela to work in the gold fields at El Callao. In 1904, when the United States acquired what was to be the Canal Zone, Nevisian males participated in the large-scale West Indian labor migration to Panama. During the first quarter of this century

Nevisians emigrated to the United States, where today there are sizeable Nevisian communities in New York and New Haven. During World War II, Nevisians also went to work in the oil refineries of Aruba and Curacao, and have recently returned home bringing with them savings and pensions after fifteen to twenty years of sending remittances. Finally, labor demands in England (Peach, 1965), availability of passage across the Atlantic, and a local depression in the cotton industry, led to a major migration from Nevis in the mid-fifties. During this time another terminus for emigration became available in the U. S. Virgin Islands, with the expansion of its tourist industry and the demands for construction and hotel workers.

The pattern of migration and the changes subsequently effected can best be understood against the background of the changing class structure in Nevis before and after the 1930's. It will be seen that the lower classes have undergone a great transformation in recent years, especially in the freedom from agricultural wage labor, or from any agricultural labor at all.

A broad outline of stratification in Nevis before the 1930's would place at the top the White estate-owners and the colonial administrators, followed by a Colored middle class composed of small estate-owners, town merchants, sugar and cotton agents, tenured civil servants, and estate managers. Below this middle class would be a small group of Black non-agricultural workers: mill-hands and foremen, overseers and overlookers (field foremen), small country shopkeepers, carters, mechanics, and other tradesmen and artisans. Some owned their own house-spot, but in almost every case they had access to small plots on which to cultivate sugar-cane.[3] They were called, by their social superiors, *Special People,* because of their occupations, but were still considered part of the Negro laboring class. At the bottom of this class system stood the Negro rural proletariat, agricultural wage laborers and sharecroppers, who may have owned their own miniscule house-spots, but who, unlike the *Special People,* did not have control of productive land.

[3] How the *Special People* came to have access to productive land is discussed in Frucht 1967:297-298.

The depression of the 1930's saw the exodus of the White population from Nevis, and the expansion of the Colored middle class into landowning and administrative statuses. Since the end of World War II, however, many factors — not the least of which are emigration and remittances — have been responsible for increased social mobility and the apparent replacement of the status criterion of color by the criterion of wealth or access to cash resources. These changes can be best understood if some of the more recent periods of migration are analysed in terms of the social class origins of the emigrants. The relationship between emigration and the changes wrought in local society and economy can be seen in the nature of the social and economic ties of the emigrants to those left behind. The nature of the ties varies with social class and style of life.

The migration to the United States (i.e., to New York and New Haven) during the first quarter of this century can be characterized as middle class (refering to the pre-1930's class structure). Passage money and expenses for the first weeks or months in the new country came from the profits of the family business or savings on salaries. The emigrants I have interviewed in the United States, and those who eventually returned to Nevis, came from merchant, estate manager, and overseer families. These middle class migrants had a better education than the laboring classes (having attended the private schools in Nevis and St. Kitts), and perhaps a better education than most American Negroes. In the United States, they were employed in commercial and technical positions. Some were able to purchase property in the United States. As representatives of the Colored middle class, they carried with them the outlook, attitudes and skills of a metropolitan oriented West Indian, which may account for their easy assimilation into American urban society and their higher status than Southern Negroes within the northern community. Some of these emigrants have returned to Nevis; most have not.

This middle class migration influenced little change in local economy and society, except to hasten the already existing process of replacement of Whites by Colored in the local power structure. The middle class family in Nevis was — and is — based on a legal, conjugal tie and in many instances took the form of a viri-

local extended family; especially if estate overseer or manager was concerned. Under these conditions there were little or no demands made on the emigrant, in terms of child support or the care of indigent relatives. In the case of illegitimate children, whenever responsibility was recognized, support money was not sent directly, but through the emigrant's family. As we shall see, this is quite the reverse of recent practice. The middle class emigrants were usually young and unmarried, and any remittances sent home enhanced the already comfortable position of landowners, merchants, civil servants and the like. Money accumulated in the United States usually went into the acquisition of property *there*. Only in recent years, as some of the emigrants return to Nevis for retirement, is their money used to buy local property. This property, however, is used for residential purposes and is not put under cultivation.

This period of emigration occurred during the 1920's. The middle class came to a position of power in the 1930's, during the Depression, when many English absentee landlords sold out to local, Colored speculators, who borrowed money from local banks or used their savings. At this time they were also able to call on the resources of those relatives in the United States. The rise in cotton prices during the late thirties enabled these speculators to pay off their debts and retain the land, thus ensuring their social and economic power.

The next important period of migration came during and immediately after World War II, when some Nevisians went to Aruba and Curacao to work in the oil refineries, and to Trinidad and Antigua. As there are no reliable figures on the number of Nevisians who did emigrate during this period, the following conclusions on the nature of the social changes effected comes from interviews with those who have since returned.

The migrants to Aruba, Curacao, and other islands came predominantly from the households of *Special People*. Passage money came from wage savings or from the proceeds of sugar-cane cultivation. Social and financial responsibilities made more demands on these emigrant mechanics, artisans and tradesmen than on the emigrant *bourgeoisie*. Many of the former emigrants left nuclear family households on Nevis, and part of their wages

earned in other islands was sent back for the care of mates and children, as well as for savings. On returning they usually had bank accounts waiting, and some of these returnees still receive pension cheques from the oil companies. One of the first objectives of the returnees is the purchase of land and a shop. Their intention is to cultivate the land in cash crops, especially in sugar-cane. Due to the shortage of labor, however, and the low price of sugar-cane, the land is rented out as house-spots, used for pasture, or not used at all. The returnees are more effective as small country shopkeepers and successfully compete with the town merchants by using their overseas contacts to import their own goods. This is a shift from the traditional pattern in which the town merchant imported goods and served as wholesale supplier to the country stores.

The emigration of *Special People* effected two major changes in local economy and society. First, the increase in small holders, which characterizes Nevisian land tenure today, has proceeded directly and indirectly from this group. Many of the returnees having bought large amounts of land, sell smaller plots to local buyers, who are less affluent returnees, or laboring class people now receiving remittances from England. One estate, for example, was sold in 1953 to a Nevisian just returned from the Dutch islands, where he had spent the previous ten years. Between 1954 and 1962, he sold not less than 34 plots of various sizes to as many buyers. He used part of this capital to establish local businesses.

The second change wrought by the emigration of *Special People* is structural. Since the Colored middle class took over the top positions of local wealth and power, the *Special People* have begun to move into the abandoned positions. In a real sense, the *Special People,* as a social category, is disappearing. This is possible through their landowning and shopkeeping activities, and through extending the opportunities for upward mobility of their children. Increased cash resources have enabled these people to send their children beyond primary school. A Secondary school education enables the graduates to fill most of the civil service and commercial positions available, and hence provide monthly salaries to supplement the cash resources of the

household. Those who continue their education in overseas technical schools and colleges soon reach the top positions in the local government administration and private businesses.

The relationship between these former *Special People* and the laboring classes becomes attenuated. In style of life and attitudes the former approximate the local upper class, which emulates the middle class activities and behavior of the *bourgeoisie* of England and the United States. Under these conditions, a sharpening of class and political differences would occur, but the recent mobility of part of the laboring classes mediates potential conflict.

Finally, we come to the period of emigration which has influenced the most dramatic changes in the economy and society of Nevis. This period of emigration, which began in the mid-fifties, and which continues to the present, although at a much lower rate, is composed primarily of unskilled young adults from working class households. In these households, the major source of income is (*was,* as we shall see) agricultural wage labor or the cultivation of small plots of ground provisions, e.g., root crops which serve as the basic food. These households are landless, except for a fraction of an acre used as house-spot and provision ground. These house-spots, whether recently purchased or inherited, are used as collateral when borrowing money (at 10 percent interest) to provide passage for one member of the household to England or the United States Virgin Islands. The remittances received from the first emigrant are used to send subsequent members of the household overseas.

Between 1955 and 1959 the yearly migration rate from the British West Indies was ten to twenty thousand (Henry n.d.). In 1960, it was approximately fifty thousand; in 1961, close to sixty thousand (Davison 1962:5). St. Kitts and Nevis together ranked third, after Dominica and Antigua, among the islands suffering the heaviest migration pressure (Davison 1962: 42). Migration figures for Nevis alone are difficult, if not impossible, to obtain through local records. Some idea of the extent of migration may be ascertained through a census carried out in two settlement areas of Nevis during 1962-63. Since 1958, approximately 22.4 percent of the population of one, and approxi-

mately 15.5 percent of the population of the other, had emigrated.[4] However, only part of the laboring classes contribute to the stream of migration and even fewer receive remittances. In these same settlements, 46.3 percent of the households of one, and 56.7 percent of the other, contributed emigrants, but only 39 percent of one and 48.6 percent of the other, respectively, receive remittances.

The emigrants do not seek agricultural work. They travel to England or the United States Virgin Islands in the hope of finding factory, hotel, or construction employment. They are rarely trained for such positions and consequently must take the most menial and lowest paying jobs.

The majority of these emigrants have not returned, and some are sending regular remittances *directly* to parents, or to friends or relatives caring for their children. Money is usually sent to the emigrant's natal household, but in some cases it is sent to the mother of his illegitimate children, or, in some cases, to the one with whom he intends to live or marry on his return. Of the ten returnees known to me, five returned in order to marry the mothers of their illegitimate children. In the case of female emigrants, their illegitimate offspring reside with maternal grandparents. It is my impression that few, if any, of the women return to Nevis from overseas. Finally, remittances are sent not only because they may be the sole support of a household, or a supplement to a meager income locally earned, or a legal necessity (i.e., support of illegitimate children), but also because there is among the lower classes — especially among males — strong ties of sentiment to one's mother and younger siblings; a moral obligation to help them is strongly felt.

Migration and Social Change

The effects of this migration of laboring class young adults include increasing amounts of cash and decreasing dependency on local sources of income; a changing age structure in the

[4] I have included only those emigrants who left the colony. The figures would be greater had I included those migrating from Nevis to St. Kitts.

population and changes in the quality of the labor force; decreasing production of agricultural items; and disruption of traditional social ties.

The major and immediate consequence of this migration is the increase in the number and amounts of remittances. In 1956, at the beginning of this period of emigration, over $226,000 BWI[5] in postal and money orders were cashed in Nevis; 68 percent from the United Kingdom, 30 percent from the United States and its possessions, and 2 percent from Canada and elsewhere. Six years later, in 1962, the figure was well over $600,000 BWI; 85 percent from the United Kingdom, 14.5 percent from the United States, and .5 percent from Canada and elsewhere. The amount for 1962 is greater than the proceeds cotton growers in Nevis received during 1956, which was their biggest crop year in fifteen years. At that time, cotton receipts came to $511,126 BWI. Based on gross figures, and a total of 3,000 households enumerated by the 1960 census, the remittances for 1962 amount to almost $200 BWI per household in Nevis. In 1954, the estimated per capita income in Nevis was $182 BWI (O'Loughlin 1959). Remittances have replaced agriculture as a main source of cash income.

A further consequence of this migration and receipt of remittances is a change in the age structure of the population, which in turn affects the nature of the labor force and the nature of productive organization in Nevis. According to the 1960 census, 32 percent of the population falls within the 15-44 age group. Compared to Jamaica, which has contributed most of the West Indians in the United Kingdom and where the 15-44 age group represents some 40 percent of the population, the effects of migration appear to have taken a heavier toll in Nevis. In the two settlement areas surveyed, 27 percent of one and 30 percent of the other fall within this age group. Between 1955 and 1960, 14 percent of the population of St. Kitts *and* Nevis applied for new passports, ostensibly to emigrate. Almost 90 percent of the applicants were between the ages 17 and 40.

[5] The rate of exchange in 1956 was $1.60 British West Indian (BWI) to $1.00 U.S. The current rate, since late 1967, is almost $2.00 BWI to $1.00 U.S.

As a result, the population of Nevis is very old and quite young. In the settlements surveyed, almost 45 percent of the households were comprised of grandparents and grandchildren; the intermediate generation having "bailed out," seeking work in England and other places. In these two areas, 70 percent of the household heads, male and female, were over 50 years of age. More than half of these households received remittances from overseas. The older men and women carry out desultory cultivation of cash crops, each year decreasing the acreage they are able to work. Those persons most able to pay for workers to cultivate cash crops have also decreased their acreage, claiming there is no worthwhile labor in Nevis and that which is available is much too expensive and slow.

In recent years, as labor migrated and remittances were received, and as sugar-cane and cotton prices decreased, wages for agricultural labor increased and the unit of work — the task — decreased. Wages increased from the equivalent of 24 cents BWI, per task during the 1930's, to $1.00, per task during the World War II period. The size of the task was reduced from 600-700 feet of hoeing, planting, or cutting canes, to 400-500 feet. Since the end of the war, wages rose to $1.25-$1.50 BWI, whereas the task has become a *time-task,* that is, as much as can be done between 6:30 or 7:00 in the morning to about 11:00 or 11:30 a.m. Under the new conditions there is hardly reason to hasten.[6]

There is also a reduction in cultivated acreage in Nevis. Over a seven year period, from 1955 to 1962, there was a 70 percent decrease in cotton acreage and 50 percent decrease in sugar-cane acreage. This is not just due to decrease in cash crop market prices. The acreage decrease continues in spite of occasional rises in price, as for example in 1961, when the price per pound of seed cotton jumped from 36 cents to 40 cents; cotton acreage has yet to increase. Unwillingness to cultivate, in the face of alternative sources of cash is a factor.

Reduction in acreage, unwillingness to pay higher wages, and alternatives to agricultural wage labor compound the unemploy-

[6] This theme and the following discussion of reduced acreage is elaborated in Frucht (1966).

ment of the labor force. According to the 1960 census, 70 percent of the adult population of Nevis (above the age of 15 years) *do not* cultivate land. Eleven percent cultivate less than one acre, and 18 percent cultivate between one and four acres. The remaining 1 percent cultivate five acres or more. The unemployment picture is brought into further relief by the following: only 55 percent of the adult population of Nevis could be classified as "classifiable labor force," that is, those who, during the year preceding the census (i.e., 1959), worked *at least two days for pay or profit.*

A further consequence of migration and the change in age structure and the nature of the labor force is the disruption of established ties between households and traditional forms of cooperative labor. There are, or were, two kinds of "partnerships" or cooperative labor in Nevis: a form of exchange labor between two to four men, and a cooperative working group among six or more men. This last form is similar to a rural North American "bee" and to Jamaican "morning sport" and the Antiguan "jollification." The bee is an old form used primarily in cutting sugar-cane. The exchange form, which still exists, albeit infrequently, seems to operate only in the forking and hoeing of cotton land. Each day the partners work on the plot of one of their group in preparing his land for cultivation. Since the plots are small, the partnerships do not last for more than two to three weeks. Planting and reaping is the responsibility of each farmer.

This form of exchange partnership was once more frequent. Partnerships may have been prevalent during periods of cash shortage (e.g., the 1930's), in much the same way as sharecropping.[7] During and after World War II cash became readily available and one could not only hire labor — without entailing the obligation to pay back in labor — one could also move out of the "bush" settlements and into the main areas where there was little or no cultivation. Old men in various parts of the island who participated in partnerships in previous years claim the demise

[7] Elsewhere (Frucht 1967), I argued that sharecropping may represent a peasant-like *means* of production, during periods of cash shortage. Exchange labor groups, such as partnerships, may indeed be characteristic of the organization of peasant and peasant-like production.

of the partnerships came about because someone invariably did not or was not willing to do his share. Emigration has meant that willing and able partners are hard to find. Thus, established ties between households and partners were disrupted and ceased to exist. This can also be seen in the virtual disappearance of such communal celebrations as Tea Meetings and the various Christmas pageants. A traditional mode of life in which social relationships were mediated through neighborliness and common participation in productive and ritual tasks has been replaced almost completely by a mode of life mediated by the cash nexus, in which invidious comparisons and the "grudge" become the hallmarks of social relations.

Emigration, Remittances and the Changing Social Field

Emigration and remittances have contributed to local changes ranging from the nature of labor to traditional ties of neighborliness. There is increasing non-production in Nevis. With more laboring class children than ever before attending secondary schools, it is conceivable that there will be few, if any, agricultural laborers in the next adult generation. If life seems relaxed and relatively prosperous, it is because Nevisians are living off the hard work of their relatives in England and other places. Remittances replace agricultural labor and production. This new source of cash has visibly improved the standard of living among the lower classes and brought about a new style of life which does not include nor demand agricultural labor.

This new source of cash, however, is not limitless; already the stream of migration is slackening, primarily due to less than ideal employment conditions in the United Kingdom (Peach 1965). The influx of remittances is lessening: from $447,577 BWI in 1963 to $330,254 BWI in 1966.[8] This may also reflect the fact that as migrants in England begin to develop responsibilities there the amounts they can send home must decrease.

The productive economy of Nevis is stagnating, but the island is both poor and prosperous. Its prosperity is based on

[8] These data collected in St. Kitts and Nevis in June, 1967.

the amounts of cash available through remittances, and, for the meantime, improvement in the material well-being of most of the population. Its poverty lies in its potential. Nevis suffers loss of productive workers; agricultural production has been replaced by decreasing remittances. Emigration and remittances have been sufficient to abet crucial changes in local economy and society, but in the last analysis they may become quite tenuous aspects of the social field.

In this discussion I have not mentioned other aspects of this social field. To be sure, there is dependence on the St. Kitts sugar industry, which itself is dependent on the United Kingdom and the international sugar market. There is dependence on the United States, Canada, the United Kingdom, and other countries for food, medicines, clothing and other necessary materials. Standards of education are set in England, and there is a growing dependence in Nevis on American and Canadian tourist dollars. Finally, as recent events have proven, the Caribbean is still very much an American lake, and every West Indian island still part of the American political sphere. Thus, other aspects of the social field will play their parts in effecting even more important social changes in Nevis.

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A Lexico-Statistic Dating of the Separation of Huastec and Chol

by RUTH GRUHN

RÉSUMÉ

La détermination de la date de séparation des langages Huastec et Chol par l'analyse linguistique correspond très bien aux données de l'archéologie.

Glottochronology is the statistical method developed by Swadesh and Lees for determining the time-depth of separation of two related languages (Lees 1953; Swadesh 1955). The basic assumption in the application of this method is that the rate of change of items in a basic noncultural vocabulary list is approximately constant; thus by determining the percentage of cognates of this basic noncultural vocabulary list in two related languages one can determine the approximate time at which the languages separated or diverged from a common ancestral speech.

The Gulf Coast of Mexico offers an area of opportunity for the useful application of this method. In northeast Mexico, around the Tampico region and extending inland to San Luis Potosi, is a large bloc of Huastec speakers. Huastec is related to the Mayan languages of southern Mexico and Guatemala, and it is now separated from these other Mayan languages by blocs of Totonac and Nahuat speakers. It should be possible to determine the date of this separation by glottochronology.

Swadesh attempted a dating of the separation of Huastec and Yucatec Maya by lexico-statistical analysis and found a time-depth of 32 centuries (Swadesh 1953). However, the Choloid languages of western Guatemala and eastern Chiapas are believed by Kroeber (1939:112-114) and Mason (1940:70) to be more closely related to Huastec than are any of the other Mayan languages, so that in attempting to determine the date

of final separation of Huastec from the main Maya bloc it would seem better to use one of these languages. Accordingly I have chosen Chol to be compared with Huastec.

My principal source for the basic noncultural vocabulary of Chol was a dictionary of Chol compiled by Evelyn Woodward Aulie in 1948 (*in* McQuown 1949). A supplementary source for Chol was Anderson and Warkentin (1953). The source of the basic noncultural vocabulary for Huastec was materials on the Potosino dialect of Huastec spoken in the village of Tancanhuitz and on two farms in the mountains between Tancanhuitz and Tanlajas (San Luis Potosi) collected by Manuel J. Andrade in 1933 (Andrade 1946).

The procedure followed in my analysis was that outlined by Swadesh (1955). The first step was to obtain as many of the 200 basic noncultural vocabulary items as possible for Chol an Huastec. Altogether a total of 150 matchable pairs was tabulated. Forty-four of these 150 pairs were judged to be cognate; that is, 29.4 percent. Using Swadesh's formula, with t = time depth in millennia, C = percentage of cognates, and r = index of retention per 1000 years (81 percent), the time-depth of separation was calculated as follows:

$$t = \log C \div \log r^2$$

$$t = \log .294 \div \log .66$$

$$t = \frac{9.46835-10}{9.81954-10}$$

$$t = 2.946$$

The time of separation of Huastec and Chol is thus estimated to be about 29.5 centuries ago, ± 400 years, using Lees' formula for 9/10 confidence.

It appears that the dates derived from glottochronology may be significantly correlated with archaeological evidence from the Gulf Coast area. During the early period of agricultural village life in Middle America, which is called the Preclassic period, the known archaeological cultures of the entire Gulf Coast region

from northern Veracruz to the Peten in Guatemala were evidently very closely related until around 1000 B.C. The ceramics of the Ponce phase in the Panuco area of northern Veracruz (Mac Neish 1954), the Lower Tuxpan phase in central Veracruz (Ekholm 1953; MacNeish, personal communication), the Lower Tres Zapotes phase in southern Veracruz (Drucker 1943), and the Mamon phase at Uaxactun in lowland Guatemala (Smith 1955) are extremely similar in many details. In the areas where Maya is still spoken today — the Yucatan peninsula, Chiapas, northern Veracruz, and Guatemala — there is strong cultural continuity from these early phases into historic times, indicating long stability in population and language. As MacNeish (1954: 624-625) points out, it appears that during this early period the entire Gulf Coast region was a Maya-speaking culture area. Later, Totonac and Nahuat were evidently intrusive into the central part of the Gulf Coast region.

The glottochronological evidence presented above seems to indicate that the separation of Huastec from the main bloc of Maya languages took place around 1000-900 B.C., and the available archaeological evidence also appears to indicate that the break-up of this Gulf Coast lowlands culture area was underway by this time. In southern Veracruz and western Tabasco the Lower Tres Zapotes phase was evidently immediately followed (with some overlap) by what may be called the La Venta phase, with the construction of impressive ceremonial centers characterized by the distinctive Olmec art style. On the basic of new radiocarbon dates from the ceremonial center of La Venta in western Tabasco, Berger, Graham, and Heizer (1967) date the site between 1000 and 600 B.C. The ceramic evidence from the various regions indicates that it is at the time of this La Venta horizon that the cultures of the Gulf Coast region begin to diverge; significantly, few specific similarities could be found between the Aguilar phase which follows Ponce in northern Veracruz and the Chicanel phase which follows Mamon in the southern Maya lowlands (MacNeish 1954).

Archaeological and glottochronological evidence, then, seem to correspond in dating the beginning of the separation of Huastec from the main Maya-speaking area at roughly around 1000-900

B.C. It is probable that further work on lexico-statistic dating of the separation of the various Maya languages and ultimate reconstruction of Proto-Maya speech will throw additional light on the early cultural history of the Maya area.

PRECLASSIC SEQUENCE IN THE GULF COAST AREA

		Northern Veracruz	*Central Veracruz*	*Southern Veracruz and Tabasco*	*Peten*
	AD				
0					
	BC	El Prisco		Middle Tres Zapotes	
		Chila			
500					
		Aguilar	El Trapiche		Chicanel
				La Venta	
1000					
		Ponce	Tuxpan	Lower Tres Zapotes	Mamom
1500					
		Pavon			

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BASIC NONCULTURAL VOCABULARY

(based on Swadesh 1955)

WORDS COGNATE:

ENGLISH	CHOL/HUASTEC	ENGLISH	CHOL/HUASTEC
wash	pok/pakʾa	night	akʌlel/akal
one	jumpʾejl/hún	two	cháp'ejl/tcaḇ
three	uxpʾel/oc	five	jopʾejl/boʾ
six	wakpʾel/akaʾk	seven	wukpʾel/buk
eight	waxʌkpʾejl/waciʾk	nine	bolompʾejl/beleʾh
twenty	junkʾal/huninik	hundred	joʾkʾal/boʾiʾnik
salt	atsʾam/atʾém	wind	ikʾ/ikʾ
cloud	tokal/tokou	water	ja/haʾ
stone	tun/túhu´b	tree	té/teʾ
root	iwi´/ibíl	louse	uch´/utcʾ
man	winik/inik	bone	bʌbel/béklek
die	chʌmel/tcémetc	sleep	wʌyel/wáyal
wet	achʾ/atcʾ	I	joñon/nanáʾ
thou	jatet/tatáʾ	come	tilel/tal
ten	lujumpʾejl/láhu	all	tʾpejtelel/éʿtal
star	ek´/otʾ	blood	ch´ichʾel/citcʾ
foot	ok/akaʾn	eye	wut/wal
drink	uchʾel/útcʾa	breathe	jakʾko/Θikokól
work	tronel/tʾoʿnal	cry	ukʾel/ukʾín
black	iʾik´/éhekni	red	chʌchʌk/tsakni
white	sʌsʌk/Θakni	yellow	kʾʌnkʾʌn/man
cold	tsʌnal/tsa´mai	kill	tsʌnsan/tcémΘa

WORDS POSSIBLY COGNATE:

ENGLISH	CHOL/HUASTEC	ENGLISH	CHOL/HUASTEC
day	k'in/k'itRã´	green	yʌjyʌk/yacni'
*mother	na'/nána	*father	tat/ta´ta

* possibly Aztec or Spanish loanwords.

WORDS NOT COGNATE:

we	jononla/wawatʃik	he	jini/haha''
ye	jatetla/ʃaʃatʃik	they	jinob/haha´tʃik
who	majki/níta´	where	baki/hónti
what	chuki/honto´	when	che'/hátal
how	bajche´/hóntoni´	because	kome/ábal
there	ya'i/naha´'	far	najt/cub
near	lʌk'ʌl/wélta	right	noj/ehát
here	ilayi/te	left	ts'ej/kwátap
sit	buchtʌl/k'wahat	fly	wejlel/húman
stand	wa'tʌl/kube'i	fall	yajlel/kwaᶜlan
swim	nuxijel/ko´wa´l	turn	cha'tilel/wítšši
walk	xʌmbal/bélál	throw	chok/petna'
flow	lʌmuna/aθil	tie	kʌch/wik'a
hit	jats´/tc'ata´	cut	xot'/mútc'i
dig	bok/la'k'uw	year	jab/tamuᶜb
four	chʌmp'ejl/tce	few	ts'ita/we?
many	kabʌl/ed	wide	nuklel/tcíkóθ
long	tam/nákát	thin	xejt'il/t'ili'l
narrow	lʌts'ʌl/cíli	big	kolem/púlik

WORDS NOT COGNATE (continued):

ENGLISH	CHOL/HUASTEC	ENGLISH	CHOL/HUASTEC
small	bik'it/tcík'ál	short	p'ots/mutcˀu
fish	chuy/to'ˀol	sky	panchan/kˀailál
smoke	buts´/pau	sand	ji'/kiθi´b
dust	ts'uben/pó'hoθ	lake	ñajb/le'hem
fog	mʌkʌl panimil/tcabál	leaf	yopol/séklek
flower	nichim/witc	seed	bʌk'/θákpen
stick	bara/te´ché	worm	motso'/cum
snake	lukum/tcan	bird	kuxk'uxep/tcˀitci´n
woman	x'ixik/ucu'm	child	alʌl/t'éle
ear	chikin/cutcuˀn	tongue	ak'/lékˀáb
tooth	cha'am/kamáp	egg	tumut/θakˀtš̆okˀ
back	pat/kuc	tail	nej/weu
meat	bʌk'tal/tˀúlek	feather	tsutsel mut/húlek
skin	pʌchilel/otˀ	mouth	ejʌl/wiˀ
nose	ni'/θam	wing	wic'/pabák
heart	pusik'al/itš̆itš̆	guts	soyta'/tˀiθiθ
neck	bik'/nukˀ	hair	tsutsel jol/cí'il
hear	ubin/ótcˀa	see	k'el/tcúˀu
live	kuxtiyel/kwaha´t	eat	k'ux/hayu'l
know	ujil/tcóp	bite	chˀoj/tcˀaú
sing	k´ʌyin/ahaˀt	speak	t'an/kˀáwin
dry	tikin/wáyenék	good	uts´at/álwaˀ
new	tsijib/it	warm	tikʌw/kˀakˀ
rotten	ok'benix/ɬˀatcenek	bad	jontol/átas

WORDS NOT COGNATE (continued):

ENGLISH	CHOL/HUASTEC	ENGLISH	CHOL/HUASTEC
brother	winik bʌ la kijts'in/o'koc ébál	sister	x'ixik bʌ lak chich/tR̃iθan ébál
wife	ijnam/ícal	name	k'aba'/bi
other	yambʌ/hun	burn	pulel/tᶜRíká
blow	wujtan/hútᶜRu	swell	sit'kuyel/málin
road	bij/bel	dog	tsˀiˀ/pikˀo
sew	tsˀis/tRúkui	hunt	chijtan/jwií
play	alas/uba't	dance	son/bicóm
fight	lembal/péhec		

WORDS NOT MATCHED IN CHOL AND HUASTEC:

and, if, at, in, with, this, give, hold, pull, that, float, lie, push, split, rub, scratch, squeeze, some, thick, ice, sea, snow, mountain, ashes, earth, fire, bark, grass, woods, berry, animal, person, hand, fat, belly, liver, leg, fear, think, vomit, laugh , suck, spit, old, river, rain, sharp, right, straight, smooth, dull, dirty, husband, not, freeze, rope, shoot, cook, clothing, spear, stab, fight.

SOME POSSIBLE SOUND CORRESPONDENCES

CHOL : HUASTEC

ok:ak'	pok/pak'u , ok/ak'an
ch:tc	uch'/utcˀ , ach'/atcˀ
ʌ:a	wʌyel/wayal , chʌchʌk/tsakni
s:θ	sʌsʌk/θakni
j:h	ja'/ha , junk'al/hun inik

The Algonquian Plains?

by ANTHONY D. FISHER

RÉSUMÉ

Cette étude du développement de la culture en Amérique du nord soulève trois problèmes: (1) la distinction entre les phases "pré-contact" et "post-contact" est confuse, spécialement en ce qui a trait aux habitants des plaines; (2) après examen du développement culturel des Indiens des Plaines, on discerne de grandes similitudes entre ceux-ci et les groupements algonquins du nord ou du centre; (3) ces similitudes s'expliquent par l'introduction et le développement de la traite des fourrures. On conclut que les véritables sociétés des plaines ont été formées au moins 125 ans avant la date communément acceptée.

For a considerable period of time there has been a tradition in North American ethnology of distinguishing between pre-contact and post-contact aboriginal life on this continent. Related to this dichotomy is an implicit distinction between what might be called "normal evolutionary" processes and acculturative processes. An unfortunate effect of this form of dualism is that the essential relatedness of human cultural life and its changes are obscured, and we tend to think of cultural change today as post-European and culture change prior to the beginning of the nineteenth century as something else. As a result, anthropological thinking has been denied the example of evolutionary-acculturative change occurring hand-in-glove in the creation of a peculiarly North American culture type, that of the Plains Indian.

The possibility of such an example was placed before us in 1914 by Clark Wissler:

> The distribution of the traits enumerated above indicates a fundamental similarity between the material cultures of the caribou and bison areas. The interpretation of this observation is an important theoretical problem.

However, Wissler then led us down the garden path: "... we have two major alternatives, diffusion from a single center or independent development in two or more localities" (Wissler,

1914:54). Wissler appears to imply that the similarities were locally derived and essentially independent of external forces. With modification, this view of the Plains continues with us today, despite the implications of Kroeber's (1939) inclusion of the Plains in his Eastern and Northern Culture Area and Lowie's assertion that:

> Altogether the Plains culture thus appears as a specialization of the Woodland cultures, modified by subsequent borrowings from elsewhere and by regional adaptations to a new environment. (1963:226)

Today we have the accepted explanation that the people of the Plains have cultures derived from other ethnographic areas, cultures which have become similar due to the necessity to change technology and subsistence pattern, a necessity which in turn derives from the particular ecology of the Plains (Oliver, 1962:68; Eggan, 1966:53-54). (A dissenting but similar view is that of Wilson (1963:367) that the Plains are best understood as the home of equestrian pastoralists rather than as equestrian bison hunters.)

Thus, at the recent Conference on Plains Ethnology and Archaeology, Ewers said:

> Nevertheless, the historical and traditional evidence indicates that the tribes resident in this area (the Northwestern Plains) at the beginning of the historic period had not lived within the area for an extended period prior to 1800. Rather they were immigrants and all but one (Sarsi) were Algonquian or Siouan speaking Indians who moved on the Northwestern Plains from the east. One must look to the east for the origins of the older traits in their cultures rather than to archaeological remains within the Northwestern Plains. To find meaningful answers to cultural problems involving these tribes one must look beyond the boundaries of the area. (1967: 173)

One does indeed need to look beyond the boundaries of the area, and one needs to look well beyond the Plains in historic times for meaningful answers about those cultures. It is the contention of this paper that to explain meaningfully the culture type of the Plains Indian one must look to the social organization of the Northern and Central Algonquians and to how this type of organization related to the fur trade and its expansion.

The tribes of Plains Indian type which will be the concern of this paper are those labeled nomadic "True Plains" by Oliver (p. 46):

Algonquian	*Other*
Arapaho	Assiniboine
Blackfoot	Commanche
Cheyenne	Crow
Gros Ventre	Kiowa
Plains Cree	Kiowa-Apache
	Sarsi
	Teton Dakota

As stressed by Oliver, and with Eggan concurring, these groups were strikingly similar. They "... share a basic pattern of tribes or linked bands in the summer and dispersed bands the rest of the year", "... a pattern of informal leadership", "... council patterns followed the same lines as the leadership patterns", "... the police functioned primarily in the summer months", "... had societies of some sort", "most (10 out of 12) had no clans", and "... determined status on the basis of war honors, horses, and personal influence" (Oliver, 1962:46-51). These traits will be accepted as those crucial to the similarities between Plains Indian societies. And, therefore, the arguments here will be phrased in terms of band-tribal organization, leadership and governmental patterns, societies, clan structure and the determinants of social status.

Other things being equal, the most effective way to address the problem would be to get into the social organizational similarities immediately. Unfortunately other things are not equal. Try as we might ethnologists have been unsuccessful in establishing a consistent pre-historic ethnographic baseline for either the Eastern and Northern Algonquians or for the Plains. For this reason we must first discuss the early fur trade relations and then the phenomena of Algonquian social organization.

Considerably prior to European contact and settlement of the Central Atlantic coast, contact was established with the Algonquians of the type now known as the Maritime Cluster (Abnaki, Malecite, Micmac, and Penobscot) and the Cree Cluster (Cree, Montagnais, and Naskapi) (Murdock, 1965:27, 26). However, we may never ascertain the effects of initial contact. Cartier discover the Indians of Chaleur Bay (probably Micmac) ready

and anxious to trade fur for European goods on his arrival in 1534 (Innis, 1956:10). Thus trading was probably established in North America prior to formal European colonization and exploration. We do know, however, that from 1534 to approximately 1620 the French and the Eastern Algonquians were working out trade relations, to the advantage of each side.

It is felt that in establishing mutually satisfactory trade relations each side attempted to use what existed to some degree and tried to enforce changes to some degree. Thus, by 1626 the established pattern of summer communal villages along the rivers and near the French and dispersed winter bands or extended families was a composite of Algonquian-French origin (Innis, *ibid.*). Following Hickerson (1967) and Leacock (1954) it is surmised:

> Presumably, with the transformation of the old summer fishing season into the all-important trading season, the introduction of individualized trapping methods, and the dropping off altogether of communal caribou-hunting as the animal became virtually extinct... the loose aggregate of small bands which traditionally gathered for the summer was strengthened at the expense of the winter hunting units, which in turn were shrinking in size. (Leacock, 1954:22)

As Hickerson (1967:324) asserts, this cyclical kind or organization probably has a great time depth and is widespread. Further evidence for Eastern Algonquian communal action is the disappearance of the Laurentian Iroquois from the St. Lawrence by 1581. Fenton opines that the migration from Hochelaga and Stadcona was, in part, caused by the breakdown of the "antagonistic cooperation" between the Laurentians and the Eastern Algonquians, brought about by the introduction of trade goods from Tadoussac and, possibly, Port Royal (1940:174). Thus, prior to Champlain's seventeenth century expeditions against the Iroquois, the Algonquians had successfully "liberated" the valuable St. Lawrence Valley from them.

By 1600, then, we have the beginning of the cycle of trade, displacement, reorganization, competition relating to the fur trade. It is this initial defeat by the Iroquois which was to lead to the patterning of the French fur trade. The collapse of Hochelaga and Stadcona allowed the French to proceed down the St. Lawrence to Huronia and, eventually, up the Saguenay to the

heartland of the Cree Cluster near James Bay. But this possibility was not the one and only cause of continuing Algonquian-French relations. The Algonquians were of particular cultural value to the French. Not only did they have the cyclical patterns of settlement and the geographical location, they had the custom of producing the best beaver pelts. They wore beaver robes, and, in the wearing process, inadvertently produced "castor gras d'hiver", the most desireable form of beaver pelt (Innis, 1956: 14).

Thus, by early seventeenth century the symbiosis between the Algonquian speakers and the French had developed. By mid-seventeenth century these relations were further solidified and extended by the expulsion of the Huron, Tobacco, and Neutral Nations from present-day Ontario by the Iroquois. As Innis notes:

> The penetration of European goods among the western Indians, the emergence of the Ottawa as middlemen (replacing the Huron), and the long period of diplomacy and warfare had important effects on Indian life, and in turn on the fur trade. An immediate result was the settlement of Indians who were unable to go to Montreal, ... at points, especially Green Bay, which gave them direct access to trade in European commodities brought by middlemen. (p. 55)

This statement points to the role of the Northern and Central Algonquians in this phase of fur trade expansion. It was at this time, for example, that the Ottawa "traders" journeyed to the Mississippi, contacting the Sioux, and travelled north toward Hudson's Bay, contacting the Cree. It was also at this time that the Menomini, Fox, and others gathered at points along Lake Michigan to gain access to European trade goods. Some, like the Menomini, became fur producers (Callender, 1962:33); others produced a surplus of "Indian corn" for the use of the voyageurs returning to the fur trade fairs at Montreal (Innis, 1956:61). That all were concerned with the fur trade and the competition it engendered is evidenced by the efforts made by the western Indians to interdict trade between the Ottawa and the even more westerly Indians, especially the Prairie-Parkland Sioux (Innis, 1956:54).

At this time, 125 years before the rise of Plains Indian society, we find the Central Algonquians in regular contact with, and, if we are to accept Innis' evaluation, to some extent reorganized by the fur trade. By the 1670-80's we also find that

for the most part the potential disseminators of eastern fur trade ideas have already been contacted by Indian fur traders — the Sioux, probably Santee Dakota, the Cree, the Assiniboine, the Cheyenne, the Ojibwa (Innis, 43-45; Howard, 1960:267; Jablow, 1950:2). Indeed, some members of these tribes joined the Ottawa in their summer journeys to Montreal. From what we know of the historic or proto-historic migrations of these groups we may conclude that from the fur trade relations established at this time the potential for further diffusion toward the west was here. In the absence of concrete knowledge to the contrary we may also surmise that between 1650 and 1800 the strengthening of communal institutions at the expense of band-extended family institutions among the Northern and Central Algonquians occurred in a fashion similar to that alluded to by Leacock for the Eastern Algonquians.

As it has been maintained that considerable cultural change had gone on during the sixteenth century, it is probably unlikely that the organization of the seventeenth and eighteenth century Algonquians was wholly "aboriginal", whatever that might have been. It can be maintained, on the other hand, that whatever else it might have been, it was Algonquian. It was the response of Algonquian groups to increasing cultural pressure, primarily from other Indians, toward changing relations in trade and war derived from European desires to exploit local resources.

Thus we concur with Murdock's assertion that the primary or elementary form of Algonquian social organization was that of the Cree Cluster, Callender's Northern Algonquian group, especially Cree and Saulteaux (Murdock, 25; Callender, 44). This type of social organization is characterized by a flexible autonomous band system which is ambilocal with a tendency toward virilocal extended families. What makes it distinctive, however, is the strength of the pattern of matrilateral cross-cousin marriage (Murdock, 26; Hockett, 1962:256). It is from this form that Hockett linguistically derives the other forms of Algonquian social organization, and from this, or a like type, that Murdock derives Ojibwa organization. Murdock protests that the Dakota type of the Ojibwa and the Omaha type of the Central Algonquians are "...alternative forms of patrilineal organization..." which rarely

develop out of each other. Thus he maintains differences between the Central groups and more northerly groups are such that they cannot be derived from the same source (p. 29).

Considering the similarity of acculturative forces and the nineteenth century similarities between Central and North Central groups it seems Hockett's reconstruction is the more plausible. It is probable, as Murdock suggests, that parallel developments have occurred in societies sharing the basic bilateral, band organized, virilocal-ambilocal system, and that cross-cousin marriage provides the mechanism by which the changes may be developed.

During the seventeenth century increased demands for trade surplus in the economies of both Central and North Central groups increased intertribal conflict and dislocation, and, for the Northern Algonquians, the exigencies of their western migration caused an increased emphasis upon communal activities and upon group solidarity, much like nineteenth century competition on the Plains influenced the level of tribal integration during summer months, and as indicated for the Eastern Algonquians. Beginning with the latter group, the Northern Algonquians, the effect was to keep band structure flexible, but stratified. As Dunning points out, modern Ojibwa local groups tend to be composed of both "member" males as well as "alien" or affinal males (1959:813). This is a condition which engenders considerable friction and conflict which is partially ameliorated by joking and gift-giving relations. Murdock indicates that the groups of the Ojibwa Cluster practiced bride service, a likely situation as intratribal gift-giving would detract from one's fur trade surplus.

From this the following hypothesis is proposed. The emphasis on cross-cousin marriage created essentially three groups of males in each summer band encampment — younger unmarried "member" males, older married post-bride-service "member" males, and intermediate married bride-service "alien" males — statuses which were recognized and validated by joking-gift-giving rituals. Thus, if bands tended to localize around permanent fur trading centers in summer, as did the Central Algonquians, these ritual relations could evolve into a moiety-like lineal system of reciprocal ritual rights and privileges based upon virilocal assemblages of males. On the other hand, among the more mobile Cree and other

northerners it could evolve into social groups of "brothers" in an age-grade-like system.

These conditions would allow for the Omaha, Dakota and what Murdock (p. 31) terms "Salishan" forms of social organization to develop within the 125 years between contact with fur trade middlemen and the emergence of nineteenth century forms of Plains, Central Algonquian, and North Central Algonquian social organization. With this process in mind, and with the economic pressure of the fur trade to ensure some solidarity, the Central Algonquian type of social organization becomes clear and its affinities to Plains organization more marked.

Callender states for the Fox, Sauk, Kickapoo, and Potawatomi that in 1800 there was a cyclical, seasonal economic pattern of summer farming, winter and spring hunting. Under this subsistence pattern, the groups congregated into ill-defined "village-bands", which, in the case of the Sauk, came together in large tribal groups for the summer. Within this framework of organization the authority of village chief (Okimawa) was limited and councils were "loose". Also, a camp police organization existed which was active during the spring buffalo hunt and during the march back to the summer villages; however, during the rest of the year the various "village-bands" were autonomous and social control consisted of "diffuse sanctions" p. 12-17).

Distinctively the Central Algonquians (Prairie groups) were organized into patrilineages of four generations in depth (p. 19). Relative age distinctions within and between lineages were important (p. 22). Joking relations were maintained between in-laws and between cross-aunts and uncles and their nieces and nephews, likely a remnant from the basic cross-cousin marriage system. Apparently the lineage organization did not influence marriage greatly; althought "clans" were exogamous, there was a bilateral extension of the incest taboo (p. 24). Thus, lineages were essentially corporate groups for ritual activity and for the inheritance of political office. (Here it might be commented that Prairie Algonquian lineages appear to function as do Northwestern Plains Algonquian age-grade and other societies.) Ownership of non-ritual property such as land, houses, and personal property was independent of the lineage system (p. 26). Residence

was apparently ambilocal (virilocality preferred) with young husbands required to do bride service.

Local groups were organized into two opposed "clans" or sets of clans; clans were eponymous, with few corporate functions (p. 29). Names had supernatural power and placed individuals in the organization of the supernatural world. This conception of the world tied individuals to the "power" of eponymous ancestors as well as the power of vision induced rituals. Vision experiences were given corporeal reality in what Callender has called "packs". These "packs" were assembled to represent the power of the vision. Clans and lineages were "pack organizations" with each level, clan, lineage, individual, being independent in terms of the "pack" system. Voluntary associations also held "packs" which were directed toward specific activities (pp. 30-31). (Here, too, lineages and clans appear analogous to Plains age-grade societies, while individual and voluntary association "packs" resemble the medicine bundle complex of the Northwestern Algonquian Plains groups.)

Callender finds similarities in the organization of the Woodlands type, Menomini, with the Central and Prairie types. They too had summer villages, fall communal activities, and winter dispersion; communities were organized in the same pattern as the Prairie Algonquians. However, the Menomini organization broke down shortly after they settled near Green Bay in 1740 (p. 33). Although the breakdown of Menomini organization is probably attributable to the proximity of the other Indian fur trade refugees in Green Bay, it might also be theorized that they were more vulnerable to the blandishments of the fur trader, having minimal communal agricultural or hunting organization. The Menomini also had religious "packs" and semi-annual ceremonies which approximated Prairie clan rituals (p. 35).

Callender also indicates that Illinois and Miami of the Ohio Valley were like the Central Algonquians, but that the degree of approximation is impossible to ascertain because of their pre-nineteenth century disruption (p. 36).

Before turning north again to return to the Cree, Northern Ojibwa, and Saulteaux we should summarize our view of Central Algonquian-Plains similarities. Both "True Plains" peoples and

the Central Algonquians "... share a basic pattern of tribes or linked bands (village-bands) in the summer months and dispersed bands the rest of the year", and shared informal or loose leadership and councils. The Prairie Algonquians had summer police groups and all Central Algonquians had "pack" societies with clans and lineages functioning *only* as ceremonial societies, naming groups, and political inheritance bodies.

These descriptions, phrased in terms appropriate to the "True Plains" societies (Oliver, *ibid.*), indicate the similarities between Prairie and Central Algonquians of the beginning of the nineteenth century and the Plainsmen of fifty years, or less, later. Although it would be incorrect to ignore differences between the Plains and Woodlands, it is equally incorrect to dismiss summarily the similarities as coincidence. It is felt that common experience in dealing with the outflow from the fur trade, intertribal competition which was always an adjunct to the fur trade, and international competition between various ethnic groups of fur traders provided the catalyst and the potential for the development of Central Algonquian and True Plains types of pre-colonial aboriginal society.

Looking north to the Cree, Ojibwa and Saulteaux, two phenomena appear most important. First, these northern groups shared the basic Algonquian bilateral, virilocal, matrilateral cross-cousin marriage structure and cyclical organization. Second, these groups were vigorous participants in the diffusion centers of the northern Plains. Secoy indicates that during the eighteenth century two of the major influences upon future Plains life were located in centers in the northeastern corner of the Plains — the horticultural villagers and the western-most Woodlands peoples. And he notes that the characteristic elements and complexes which characterize the Plains developed close by this northeastern region (Secoy, 1953:89-90). From the northern Plains the influences spread rapidly to other groups. He notes that the post-gun-pre-horse pattern of warfare emerged in this northern region, and he indicates that it was basically a "modification of the Eastern Woodlands pattern" (*ibid.*). To this he adds that the northwestern Plains post-gun-pre-horse pattern differed somewhat from the northeastern pattern and that the final form of Plains warfare pattern was diffused "... with the advancing Gun Frontier

to cover the whole Plains" (p. 91). We must surmise, therefore, that the ultimate form of competition between Plains societies, which was one of the constituents of Plains ecology, diffused across the Plains within a pattern derived directly from the Eastern Woodlands, i.e. Central Algonquian-Santee Dakota, and modified slightly by the northwestern Plains groups, i.e. Cree, Blackfoot, Gros Ventre. Thus the differences between the Cree adaptation to the fur trade and the Central Algonquian adaptation to the fur trade should account in large measure for the variation within what we would call "Algonquian Plains" social organization.

As Mandelbaum and others have pointed out, the western Cree or Plains Cree share with their eastern cousins the basic Algonquian social organization, the major difference being in the degree of cross-cousin marriage (of the western Cree only the "Calling River People" were known to practice cross-cousin marriage) (Mandelbaum, 1940:233). Thus, as he indicates, the Cree brought this basic Algonquian social organization to and on to the Plains, indeed, with some groups effecting a compromise between Plains and Parkland life (p. 166-167). Further, some Cree groups carried this organization into direct symbiosis with the Hudson's Bay Compagny as in the case of the "House People". The importance of this aspect of Cree life is emphasized by this statement by Mandelbaum:

> ...the Cree became an amalgam of many different tribal stocks. Not only do we find the Assiniboin, Monsoni, Ojibway and the Algonkin to the east and south lived among the Cree, but even their enemies, the Dakota, the Athapascans, and the Blackfoot occasionally camped with and married into bands of the Cree. (p. 180)

The Cree, then, are playing the role of the Ottawa, with some modification, as the middlemen in the fur trade (p. 178) and as carriers of elements of the fur trade — scattered peoples and fur trade culture — to the west beyond Lake Winnipeg. As such it is difficult to envision "the Cree" as a homogeneous cultural group. They appear to be displaced persons moving westward carrying the effects of fur trade exploitation yet keeping in touch with their exploiters. As Mandelbaum emphasizes, they were:

> ...greatly dependent upon the aliens not only for arms, clothing and utensils, but even for provisions. From the self-sufficiency plane of

> aboriginal existence, by 1740 they have passed into a state of economic subservience. They were specialists in fur trapping. (p. 176)

The Cree, this amalgam of numerous groups, dependent upon the fur trade, were the people(s) who introduced the gun to the Blackfoot in the 1730's and were likewise engaged with the Mandan in 1736 (Ewers, 1955:16; Ewers, 1954:431). Indeed, as Ewers indicates these Northern Groups dominated the trade activities in the major trading center of the Missouri drainage, Mandan-Hidatsa, until 1805. He further notes:

> The nomadic tribes who traded at the two primary centers on the Missouri appear to be particularly eager to obtain quantities of corn to supplement their primary meat diet. In January, 1734 Assiniboin chiefs of the lower part of Lake Winnipeg told La Verandrye that they were leaving as soon as spring opened to go to the (Mandan) to buy corn. (p. 433)

By this time the Cree and Assiniboin were embroiled in conflict with the Sioux (Secoy, p. 69), yet the trade in Indian corn, the staple of the fur trade, goes on. By this time those Algonquians dispersed by the fur trade are on the move heading west into the Plains, armed with the few guns procured from Indian middlemen and incautious French fur traders (Secoy, p. 70). Simultaneously, the Missouri trade centers became foci for diffusion of fur trade wealth, after the fashion of Green Bay a century earlier (Jablow 1950:22). As Jablow notes the early explorers and traders of the American west were dependent upon this ready maize supply and slipped into the trade pattern existing along the Missouri. The inclusion of White traders in this pattern caused considerable friction and, as before, the nomads with access to trade goods and the settled farmers tried to forestall the trade between Whites and more westerly Indians (Ewers, 1954:443).

As Secoy notes the intrusion of the White trader into the Plains"... provided a powerful incentive for Plains people to include a Woodlands phase in their annual economic cycle, while the traders' presence made it unnecessary for the Plainsmen to leave their ecological zone and risk disaster by entering the Woodlands" (p. 70). As Ewers indicates the old middlemen recognized their impending doom and fought. Thus, on the Plains we have a recreation of the drama played successively to Indian audiences of the Upper St. Lawrence, Stadcona and Hochelaga, Huronia, the

Saguenay, Manitoulin Island, Green Bay, the Upper Mississippi and now the Missouri, a drama reflected in the ethnography of the typical or "True Plains" Indians.

The similarities among the various Plains tribes, especially the Algonquian and Siouan speakers, is derived *not* from the ecology of the Great Plains, but the ecology of fur trade exploitation.

We may see the cyclical pattern of tribes or linked bands as a necessity under fur trade conditions, whether on the Plains or in the Woodlands. On the one hand, seasonal climatic changes dictate the pattern of trade, the pattern of trapping, the pattern of subsistence. On the other hand, intertribal competition for maize, access to trade goods and freedom of passage was inherent in the trade pattern, if not fomented by fur traders and their Indian middlemen. And, as Ewers and Jablow indicate, providing for a trade surplus means economic specialization.

Patterns of leadership, councils and police functions are also related to trade exigencies. The dependence of Indian peoples upon trade goods and the necessity for flexibility in subsistence foreordains such mechanisms of social control. Although as good a case cannot be made for the similarities here, it is important to realize the role of individuation or fragmentation of traditional Indian groups in the fur trade. It was important to both White trader and Indian middleman to promote divisiveness among their clients to forestall effective resistance to their efforts to expand their markets. As Hickerson (1967:326) notes:

> The movement of the Algonkians into the Lake Winnipeg region was dictated not by the requirements of the aboriginal way of life, but by relationships with Euro-Americans. In fact, these migrations, which began in the late seventeenth century as a consequence of the expansion of French trade into the Lake Superior region, represented a profound contradiction of existing sociopolitical forms. The old patrilineal clans occupied particular territories on the Great Lakes and in the adjacent interior. Movement in search of fur to meet increasing demand meant the disruption of established territorial patterns and the breakdown of clans into nuclear or limited extended families. Once the habit of wandering had become firmly established, the family was based not on patrilineal descent, but on simply the affiliation of one or two junior adult members... to the senior man: hence it was patrilateral and usually virilocal, but with many uxorlocal instances. Attitudes could not help

> but reflect this change from corporate descent groups toward smaller groups — families — in actual or potential competition with each other.

Such atomization would necessitate the looseness of remaining communal structures exemplified by nineteenth century Central Algonquians and nineteenth century typical Plains peoples. As noted, the patri-clans of the Central Algonquians were primarily ceremonial organizations, not corporate groups with joint land tenure. Although this aspect may be post-contact, it indicates the adaptability of those societies. The complementarity of special interest societies and individual religious "packs" among the Central Algonquians is a further feature illustrating this phenomenon — religious life could be conducted either separately or in common; so too for the True Plains. The age-graded societies are remarkably close analogies to the landless clans of the Fox and Potawatomi, and the existence of societies *per se* among all the Plains people indicates the viability of such ritual organization, and the cause of the absence of clans among ten of the twelve True Plains societies.

The competition between families mentioned by Hickerson is reflected in the emphasis on achieved status among the Plainsmen, determined by success in the fur trade and aboriginal trade patterns; war honors, horses, and personal influence. The main difference between the Plains societies and the Northern and Central Algonquians is in the ultimate intensity of trade relations, allowing the accumulation of trade surplus and in the possibility of exchanging immobile capital, tools, utensils, maize, etc. for mobile capital, horses.

The main point to be raised, however, is that these changes, inspired by the fur trade, were conducted and framed in normal evolutionary terms, terms appropriate for these societies, societies with the common Woodlands Algonquian bases. For this reason it is essential to see the divergent paths of social change of the Cree Cluster, the Central Cluster, and the Cheyenne and Blackfoot Clusters as being essentially the same process: the response of kin based societies to their changing total ecology and the "profound contradictions" implied by these changes.

We may therefore conclude that in large measure the distinction between pre-contact and post-contact Plains Indian societies is

spurious and misleading. The peculiarity of Plains Indian societies is not primarily a result of "White-contact" nor is it primarily a matter of "independent invention" or "parallel development". It is the result of the efforts of European groups to exploit this continent and the potential of those exploited, the Woodland Algonquians, to adapt or respond to exploitation.

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Stylistic Stratification in an Oral Tradition

by SALLY SNYDER

RÉSUMÉ

L'auteur examine le contenu et le style de certains contes propres aux Indiens Skagit.

The assumption that a people's literature projects the very essence of their social life is old in Western thought. An hypothesis I have borrowed for story analysis from Jacobs is that some, perhaps much, social conflict which was unresolved in realistic ways found expression in narrative art. Jacobs, for example, has shown for Clackamas Chinook folklore that content centers about stress situations in the daily life of Clackamas, points of especial conflict between society's members (Jacobs, 1959:127-208). Jacobs treated myths much as Fromm treated dreams. Fromm suggested that dream content consists of two basic types of projections: those of wish fulfillment and those of anxiety (Fromm, 1951). This applies, too, to the content of Clackamas stories as well as to the content of Skagit Indian stories upon which this paper is based.[1] As in dreams, both anxiety and wish-fulfillment may be magnified out of proportion to reality or even to possibility. Or both may be expressed as trivialities which mask the real meaning or mitigate affective response to it. Either may express feelings of hostility, or its opposite, love. And both may refer to the same objects or situations, sometimes within

[1] Skagit tales and myths, along with ethnographic materials, were obtained between the years 1952 and 1954 from elderly natives living on and off Reservations in Skagit and Whatcom Counties, northwestern Washington State. The story collection numbers 21 tales and 111 myths.

the same story. One of Fromm's maxims for dream interpretation is, "What we think and feel is influenced by what we do" (Fromm, 1951: 29). And as humans we are notorious for being mixed in our feelings about what we are doing. Conversely, our ambivalence influences our behaviour. But in oral literature, because it is a public depersonalized creation and reproduction, the destructive side of ambivalence — the socially discountenanced act and feeling — can be given freer play without drastic personal or social consequences. Thus, the more bizarre content of oral literature — its symbols which are most removed from the reality of everyday life — come to have great significance for the analyst of culture.[2]

To what extent story-telling discharged or alleviated feelings about irresolvable problems we cannot say. For the Skagit Indians narration of stories was also educational, entertaining and explanatory. But the fact that narration concentrated on problems must mean that the act of stating them, sometimes laughing at them, and turning them into highly interesting fictions, had still another function — to make life more pleasant.

Fromm pointed out that dreams function to free the dreamer from the restraining logic of reality, but that dreams have another logic which is experiential (Fromm, 1951). That is, dreams express experience affectively. In *An Essay on Man* Cassirer said much the same thing for myth. Calling mythical categories "physiognomic characters," he saw them as subjective perceptions of nature which have no scientific objectivity. But as features of human experiences, physiognomic experiences have a claim to reality. Myth contributes a truth of its own as a psychological vision of reality through its own symbolic forms (Cassirer, 1953:97-104).

Skagit Indian recitalists expressed a similar view about their own mythology. And examination of Skagit stories discloses that

[2] The distinction I make between culture and folklore is only for convenient reference, and rests on no presumption that folklore is different from and not a part of culture. Skagit stories are simply data of Skagit ethnography which must be examined in order to discern certain features of culture. And going to folklore to discover features like moral precepts, personal and social values, areas of social tension and inadmissible feelings is taking as direct an approach as description of economic life enables the scholar to construct from it the economic system.

the two kinds of reality intermingle. Truths of Skagit myth, as Cassirer describes mythical truths, need to be carried by literal expressions, a reality-substance in order to give them context for meaning and continuity for plot. In a mythology characterized by a blend of literal and figurative categories, such as Skagit, the first task of the analyst is to distinguish one from the other: which of its elements are faithful reflections of culture, and which are stylized distortions of it?

Oppenheimer conceived of style as a writer's solution to handling the implicit: "The problem of doing justice to the implicit, the imponderable, and the unknown is of course not unique to politics. It is always with us in science, and it is one of the great problems of writing and all forms of art. The means by which it is solved is sometimes called style." (Oppenheimer, 1949:30-31)

With such concepts about the psychological functions of mythical thought, and a minimum definition for style, by which is meant pattern of communication in a sense of problem-solving, the folklorist can examine a body of folk literature from some particular tradition and usually discover among the stories striking contrasts both in style and content which parallel one another. The discovery of this correlation suggests that a consideration of style apart from content provides a poor working construct for analysis of either aspect of literature, and has typically led to the setting up of classifications for stories within single traditions as well as typologies assumed to be of universal application.

Literary categories are revealed variously, but nearly always they suggest an historical progression. Nineteenth century European folklorists generally viewed myths or stories that have archaic, pre-Christian elements as being of greater antiquity than heroic legends, romance and nursery tales, to which in that order old Germanic belief, for example, disintegrated according to the Brothers Grimm. Early in this century Friedrich von der Leyen (1912) furnished for his edition of the *Nursery and Household Tales* nine categories, arranged chronologically from *I Primitive Belief* (Märchen or myth) to *IX Jokes and Anecdotes,* the latter of which is presumably the most recent in meaning, function and symbolism. The European collections upon which stratifications are based are unique because they survived to be recounted within

literate traditions. Thus, the tales of Europe are considered to be vestigial. But such schemes as these which give myth historical primacy tell little about mythical thought as a psychological process, and for all they tell about origins, myth might well have sprung full-blown from the brow of man.

There seems to have been real confusion among the early and some recent folklorists about origins, and curious theories have, accordingly, been invented for genesis of myths, ranging from "disease of language" to Jungian archetypal imagery in a human collective mentality, because validation has been impossible or disregarded when possible. Native classifications usually refer one set of stories which we popularly call "myths" to an era preceding the present one of modern humanity, or to a "myth-age". The second set, typically lacking in supernatural elements and frequently alluding to historical figures and events, is supposed to be based in fact and refers to the historical present. Native classifications are valuable to the ethnologist's comprehension about native cosmology and values; but, as for the early European scholars native schemes do not explain origins of myths, as a creative process. For a live oral tradition, unlike the dying or dead one of early nineteenth century Europe, it is possible for the folklorist objectively to "see" myths in the making. The analysis undertaken of Skagit story transmission suggests that myths are older than non-myths, but not simply because the content of myths refers to a prehuman condition or because of the mere presence of archaisms, but for reasons of patterned change through transmission itself. Furthermore, the process of change in style and content reveals that the evolution proceeds from tale to myth, not myth to tale, although myths in a collection are more ancient than tales.

Most of the Skagit myths and tales were recorded in English from bilingual Skagit Indian recitalists. There was considerable variability in English vernacular style because of more or less familiarity with English among the several narrators. And certain portions of stories were given in the native language and translated, when they became too difficult for immediate Skagit-to-English delivery. Quality of narration and repertoire size varied among narrators due, I think, not to degree but to kind of religious acculturation. Inquiries and observations revealed that within

stylistic limits a good recitalist is also a melodramatist, who conducts a narration as a one-person play, impersonating and projecting roles as he or she sees fit. Judging from the profundity of myth actors' dialogue, and the vocal mannerisms and numbers of songs, dances and gestures required to project stories, theatrical projection contributed to what Skagit considered to be a good narrative style.

For recitation of myths, good Skagit narrative style is compactly trenchant. Content is placed in actors' performances first, words second. Asides and soliloquies are absent and even dialogue is at a laconic minimum. Two conspicuous features of the verbal art are ellipses and obliquities. Stories are action-packed, actors are extroverted and introspection is rare. Most of what actors think must be filled in by the audience, and the seasoned Skagit audience understood minimal cues to meaning and intention. Real talent was needed to satisfy these criteria of style, and it was a talent not so much of original creativity as of technical mastery. Direct expression would expand Skagit verbal artistry to conversational circumstantiality. Omission of literary figures would reduce the story to mere plot outline. In either case, entertainment value would be lost.

The limits of individual creativity which good style permits have to do with elaboration or omission of descriptive materials that are not essential to character and plot development. Details of fishing, hunting, collecting, butchering, preparation and serving of food, etiquette, gambling, spirit-power quests, shamanism, and ceremonial dancing and singing may or may not be included, depending upon narrators' choice. Even so, descriptions of these activities are circumscribed. Their inclusion is not meant to be didactic, I think, but to serve as literary devices to delay action for the sake of suspense.

Skagit literature is lacking in psychological realism: feelings are externalized into situations which are interpersonal and are not "within the soul of the character," as, for example, Racine conceived them. And so notations on personality are rare, beyond what the standardized action and dialogue of story actors tell. They consist, at the most, of thoughts or plans expressed in a few words. Emotional states of performers, their private thoughts,

and especially hints to forthcoming plot development, are given by indirection through dialogue and action.

Purely descriptive notations which nearly always are omitted from stories are features of landscape, statements about weather, appearance and particulars of villages and houses, and of actors who are supernumeraries and plot expeditors. A single clue like the mention of a wealthy headman let the audience know that the village is large and prosperous. Or where a father-daughter relationship is the focus of a story, reference to wife and mother may be omitted. Skagits felt no need to provide a general setting or atmosphere, for their audience needed no acclimatization, and such notations create no suspense. My inquiries on "untold" story material revealed that Skagits included only personal relationships which are vital to plot. Narration about foods and ceremonial do not confuse plot as unnecessary actors and their delineations might. Consequently, as soon as actors are no longer useful to the story, they are dropped without reference to their respective fates, a feature often disconcerting to the Westerner who feels need to follow through to the outcome of personalities once they become at all important. Skagit thought of people in terms of social interaction. Delineation of personality for its interest alone was meaningless to them. Even the Skagit characterization of a principal story actor is extremely terse. A principal may be limned by as few as one or two traits and these are really only clues by which the audience creates a character type. But what otherwise might be meagre representation is manipulated by several literary devices which operate to heighten the significance and to relieve the starkness of the character. One of the most effective and common is the presentation of actors in contrasting pairs, conforming nicely to the Law of Two to a Scene, which is often regarded as a device of simplification, but which actually for Skagit, at least, through hyperbole serves meaning. By varying combinations of actors throughout the literature, Skagit present many facets of a single personality type. Thus, the total literature, when analyzed for delineation of personality type is not barren in this respect, but rich. A device that augments significance of personality traits within individual stories is multiplication of a personality. This form appears as a series of actors, usually siblings of the same sex who act in succession but as a unit to

represent a single type. For such teams stories sometimes present minute differences of character between the several actors for the type that they represent. This stratagem is particularly well-adapted to Skagit tenets of good literary style since it does not really increase numbers of actors which would, in terms of Skagit esthetics, only clutter up the plot. Thus, nuances of character within a stereotype can be portrayed in a most economical way. The multiple hero also functions as one of the standard means of building to story climax: it nearly always is expressed by pattern-number, and it combines with one of the most important themes of the literature which is the "youngest-smartest."

Characterization of Skagit plot is a matter that again forestalls content analysis. Alternate versions show variation in identification of minor myth actors, omissions and inclusions of scenes and supporting actors, and stresses on actors and situations. Since informants' sources differ for each set of cognate stories we cannot ascertain how much difference is due to source and how much to recombination of scenes and forgetting at the hands of my recitalists. For complete stories, a plot is present: that is, there is an introduction, one or more crises, and closure. Raconteurs indicated whether or not the stories they told were complete. Examination of stories shows that they must do one or several of the following:

1) make a moral point. Stories that present content overtly usually end on a strong ethical note. Stories of this type often tell of combat between individuals or groups whose values differ.

2) point up problems, which is most characteristic of stories for which central themes are masked. Moral lessons are embedded within these stories, but their expressions are covert, and hardly discernible to a non-native. The entire story content must be analyzed for our comprehension.

3) or be explanatory, although no myth of this collection is purely so. Explanatory content of myth consists largely of appendages by which the story is neatly capped off in a pleasant way. Historical Era tales are more inclined to be explanatory in themselves.

My determination of what are stories and what are variants thereof is arbitrary since I did not have the opportunity to test informants on this matter. But that they considered their own

renditions complete, unless otherwise specified, is certain. Even acculturated Skagits were compulsive about telling stories "right." If a story was imperfectly recalled, it was wrong to "guess", meaning to pad, improvise, or omit. It was better not to tell it at all for it is dangerous to omit scenes or to shorten myths. Nubile women in the audience might give birth to deformed children, incomplete or malformed like the abbreviated or truncated story. And shortening of myths would shorten the lives of all listeners. Perhaps the tendency of Skagit myths to be short was influenced by these compulsive ideas assisted by the principal tenet of oral art — terseness.

Skagit recitalists' delivery of stories was in a spirit of good-natured relaxation, probably much like that of old-time Skagit story tellers. Although stories were told for entertainment, the weightiest lessons and deepest truths of human existence were purveyed by myth, their full appreciation essential to enculturation. And although the tenor of myth recitals was probably light-hearted, narration of myth had to be accompanied by certain oral ritualism on the part of both raconteur and audience. The recitalist must introduce the myth by the word *habo'*[3] followed by a terse standardized introductory phrase such as "High-class (people) live there." These brief prefaces do not serve as true titles since the introductions to several myths are identical. But, like titles, they do intimate to the audience something of what will follow. Throughout the myth narration the audience responded with *habo's* to indicate "go ahead" to the story-teller, should he pause, or to signify "I know. Proceed." Skagit believed that unless the audience participated, prompted and signalled alertness in this way future generations would be harmed. So listening to myths had as formidable a conscientiousness about it as their telling. Interruptions were tolerated, and exhortations to young people on ethical precepts suggested by myth material occasionally broke narration. But moralizing was not considered a proper part of the story nor even a digression since it was phrased in such a way that it interfered in no wise with precepts of laconic style and indirection of myth-telling. In other words, it neither added to nor detracted from the story.

[3] This word may be related to the word *siyaho'b,* "myth."

Skagit myth has language forms of its own. That is, actors sometimes are referred to by terms never used in everyday parlance. In one myth Mink is called not "Mink" but *ɬi'ɬqʷəlqe,* "Wet-hair," which is a euphemism. Myth actor Wolf is never called *sɬəkai'u,* "wolf" of common speech, but *ɣa'ɣadəb* or *so'b'xəd,* both untranslatable. Mink in several stories employs a Myth-Age language of his own, composed of suggestive nonsense syllables. This allows for development of humour through punning and word-play. But it is more significantly rooted in Skagit belief that there was a universal language understood by all men, animals and objects in the animistic era, the Myth Age, which preceded the present one. Esoteric language, believed to be a Myth Age survival, was important to formula magic and shamanism. The retention of these speech-forms in the dialogue of some myths bespeaks the fidelity of recitation if not the retentive minds of the better Skagit narrators.

Skagit classification of stories puts them into two named groups: that of myth, *siyaho'b,* set in an era before the present one, and the *təɬsiyɛ'c'əb* to which I refer as tales and which are supposed to have occurred within the present era. The Skagit word *təɬ,* a stem of *təɬsiyɛ'c'əb* ("true story") means "true." This would seem to cast some doubt on the "truth" of the Myth Age in a Skagit world-view. But the Myth Age and myth constituted another realm of reality to Skagit, but one which no longer exists, therefore is no longer true in the present-day world. However, there is no doubt in Skagit minds that the meaning, the content of myth is applicable to all times. It is merely the external wrappings of myth, its symbols and vehicles which are modern impossibilities. In the Myth Age the world was populated by creatures who metamorphosed at will from human to animal form and back again, or even to inanimate objects. Some had wondrous powers to defy distance and every conceivable obstacle, while others were wretchedly human. Slaying monsters plundered the myth-world and monster-slayers pursued and wiped them out. All stories possessing these characteristics were told as myths, and Skagit readily identified any story in which there are anthropomorphized animal actors as *siyaho'b.*

In addition to myths and tales there is a vague category that refers to a period transitional between the Myth Age and the

present, which natives refer to as the "Change." They include a group of stories which feature the Skagit transformer, *Duk^{w}ibəɬ̓*. The stories are told as myths because they refer to the terminal Myth Age. The Skagit transformer seems to have been a literary afterthought by which the world was hastily prepared for modern humans. Informants compared him to Jesus Christ or George Washington. This pallid actor in human form is very different from the vividly portrayed and often amoral trickster-transformers and trickster-announcers of other myths. The *Duk^{w}ibəɬ̓* stories are few, and brief. Informants had little to say about this transformer and his works. The *Duk^{w}ibəɬ̓* concept is not at all well integrated into Skagit cosmogony and seems to have been of recent acquisition. Other stories of the "Change" were unclassified as to myth or tale. They contain elements principally of well-mythicized "true stories." Their principal actors are personifications of spirit-powers and have marvelous powers of transformation. Like many tales, one of these tells of spirit-power acquisition. There are no clear-cut features of stories about the "Change", and most of them combine features of style and content pertinent to myths and tales.

When did the historical era begin? This is not a rhetorical question. Skagit provided an answer through genealogies which carry back seven or eight generations to tribal founders named in tales of the "Change" and the early historical present. Thus, the beginning of the historical era was no more than eight generations before the immediate present. And the Myth Age, too, keeps pace behind the "Change." In other words, lacking a concept of time in years and written historical and genealogical records, Skagit history, from our point of view, has forward progression in time. And for any Skagit, whether alive today or two-hundred years ago, the beginning of the modern era is only several generations ago.

Skagit historical-era tales display a wide range of style and content and some do not differ appreciably from myth. Generally, their telling allows for greater latitude in style of delivery, which for some approaches conversational circumstantiality, as compared to the succinctness, abstractness and obliquity of myth style. Nor is the telling of tales ceremonialized by the utterance of standard-

ized prefaces and by *habo's* throughout narration. Tale-telling is not hedged in by the raconteur's needs compulsively to duplicate the story as he originally heard it. All that has been said so far on narrative style applies primarily to myth recitation and less so to tales, depending upon how much the tale has been subjected to mythicization. Some whole tales nearly fall short of meeting the minimum criteria of plot. Many are attempts to be explanatory when they relate merely extraordinary events. And then these are probably founded upon unique experiences which hardly had wide appeal to Skagits: they lack content and amount to citations of curious situations. Another feature of all tales is that they are humourless; they are even devoid of clever pleasantries. Humour is a central feature of many myths and intrudes as comedy-relief upon some of the most sombre of them. Story analysis reveals that most myth humour is reaction-formation against social tensions; humour appears to have been a manipulation of content of the highest order, requiring many years, many raconteurs, and many audiences.

Some tales appear to be in process of becoming mythicized as to use of symbols. For example, the wide-spread dog-husband story explains the origin of a lower-class lineage out of an upper-class village. The tale handles in a literal way the concept of the species dog which Skagit associated with lower-class behaviour, so that a mere dog is represented as the lineage founder. Unlike a true myth would do for this actor, the dog of the tale is not anthropomorphized as Dog. A version of the same event is told not in tale form but as fact. This account says that a dispute between villagers led some of the lower-class amongst them to establish a new settlement. In content the two versions are similar, but with the tale form moralizing on the iniquities of the lower-class as Skagit myths never fail to do. Another mythicized tale is such a hodge-podge of historical fact and of myth elements that it confounded its narrator who could scarcely believe that it is a "true story," as he was told, because of its performers' abilities to metamorphose to animal forms.

As a tentative hypothesis, I suggest that the best of historical era tales of wide circulation and repeated narration became mythicized by piecemeal artistry in the hands of many raconteurs and critical audiences over many generations. Examination of one

of the transitional tales suggests how this process might have occurred. In this story the human actors and their spirit-powers became identified as one by recitalists. The female principal has a spirit-power associated with fog. A recurrent mythical association is fog-Wolf-vengeance-slave-raiding. The protagonists' problem is to rescue a kidnapped relative from an enemy camp, and in a sneak attack through fog created by the woman her brothers transform to Wolves and in the style of slave-raiding recapture the youth. Thus, by manipulating data of "true stories" which have reference to myth elements, secondary associations to myth symbols are included and a myth is in the making. Probably only the rare favourites among "true stories" ever survived retelling and remodelling so as to eventually contribute to the repertoire of Skagit mythology. To add to the reconstruction of myth-making processes, I might indicate that content analysis of Skagit mythology reveals that many of its actors function as humans or as anthropomorphizations on the one hand, and on the other as their own spirit-powers. Myths of the most archaic content in other respects present actors in this dual role of supernatural and human. An intermediate form of such fusing of *personae* is seen in tales as well. For example in two tales spirit-powers are personified as kinsmen or villagers to become, in the future, spirit-powers which do not reside among and marry with humans, but which must be sought out by them.

At the other extreme there are tales which lack myth elements and which tell solely of outlandish experiences, spirit-power acquisition, shamanism, or curiosities like humans who transform into animals without supernatural or naturalistic explanation. Yet these tales, which are probably grounded in recent fact, show signs of fictionalization. Two of them tell of occurrences that date two generations before that of their present narrators, and both stories are remarkable but not as remarkable as mythicized tales. One of these and a third came to me only second-hand, told to my raconteurs by individuals who were personally associated with the respective events. These stories, at the hands of two narrators and their audiences, already reveal a great deal of imaginative refashioning by the filling-in of dialogue and detail, and of stylization by the use of pattern number. Apparently the creation of story out of fact involved an initial expansion of

content so that intriguing details are present that never were necessarily part of the facts as they were originally understood. Stylistically "new" stories, then, are turgid and usually recounted in conversational style except for structuring here and there.

This process of "invention by inflation" may be experimental, a test of audience response to determine which portions of the embryonic tale should be dropped and which portions should be retained. After this comes reduction and further stylization of the tale material, along with what further distortion of fact that style creates for plot interest, content and the like. Then a good story is produced. As the story becomes mythicized by acquiring traditional symbols and stylistic features of myth, it will perhaps be eventually remodelled into a full-fledged myth according to the processes already outlined. I would infer that audience criticism was most influential on story-creation in regard to half-fictions, in other words, to "true stories." And perhaps it was with this particular art-form that Skagits' individual creativity was unclimaxed, for here, permissibility of imagination was unbound provided, of course, that it went in the right direction — toward myth. Real myths, on the other hand, at least those that had been part of the Skagit story repertoire for many generations, had already attained relative perfection and could only be discussed but not altered significantly unless their cultural context changed, too.

Skagit esthetics, verbal art style, artistic creativity, unconscious fabrications and symbolism were interwoven with their epistemology. Stylization in verbal communication of factual knowledge of the present world occurred through traditional symbols and led to the most paradoxical of communicative modes which is myth — paradoxical because it anneals the ultimate of truth with the ultimate of non-truth.

Processes of tale-creation and myth-making may be arranged along this continuum which ranges from experience or fact to myth, with examples given from the Skagit story collection. The four steps of Skagit literary growth, presented below, are only convenient abstractions to illustrate points along its evolutionary sequence, and they do not represent Skagits' classification of their oral literature.

Step 1: Yarn spinning

Experience, if second-hand or more remote, is particularly subject to "invention by inflation." It is human to highlight, by detail and exaggeration, what is interesting and to underplay what is trite. A yarn is spun by shaping experience into a plot and emphasizing situations that provide climax and closing. Good continuity may be subtly introduced by filling in with fictions such as dreams, which really consist of a flight of ideas and are often recalled by the dreamer as having logical sequence and sometimes plot. Skagit recounted fairly recent experience in this manner. Much ethnographic information, I suspect, was presented as semi-fiction, and in a style similar to the diffuse, blown-up, informally conversational tales of this first step. Through her dictation, the narrator of a story of this type invited listeners' comments for the opinions and interpretations about motive, and the responses she got may have well influenced her next recitation of the tale. This is why I speak of "test of audience response." The auditors' reinterpretations and displays of approval and disapproval are vital to the fate of the story — if the raconteur is alert to the audience. New stories which survived to become retold probably were of rich content in terms of values. That is, they were moralistic or potentially so, or presented problem material as several of these do which point to new social stresses set up by contact conditions.

Step 2: Tale-creation

Stories of Step 2 have survived the prolix yarn-spinning of Step 1. They have been reduced and simplified by narrators, auditors, and community discussions. Elements which remain are essential to plot and exhibit good Skagit verbal art style. Nevertheless, some of them approach zero content. Of these, one might anticipate eventual loss or absorption into more meaningful tales or into myths. As succinctness in presentation develops, a story sharpens in focus. Only then can the worth of the story be evaluated. For example, one of the tales which is not yet reduced from Step 1 could evolve in one or several directions in thematic stress. It could come to center upon oedipal feelings,

status of women, or on upper-ranking men who behave scurrilously; these are some dominant stresses of Skagit society. But as the tale was recounted it was inchoate and stylistically undeveloped. The stories of Step 2 contrast with those of Step 1 because they are true tales in terms of style: pithy reductions to one or two points. For example, a tale which tells of the transformation of a woman into a horse expresses only the feeling that women become like the men who want and love them. Another very new tale still shows here and there signs of expansion in its retention of some incidental detail and dialogue, but in most parts it has the succinctness of good verbal art. And by slight mythicization, through animal-human metamorphosis, it expresses neatly a significant attitude which Skagit had toward older women.

Others of this second group of tales show early signs of mythicizing by their association of story data with traditional myth symbols. For example, as in Skagit myths, good women are identified with bears; a modicum of personification of spirit-powers is another kind of identification found in three of the stories, and the gifts bestowed by spirit-powers are personified in two tales. Four other tales have elements of the miraculous but are primarily explanatory. There are no true animal anthropomorphizations in tales of Step 2, nor are there close and frequent associations with myth symbols. The *double-entendre* of laconic myth dialogue and the multiple connotations of myth symbolism are lacking. These tales therefore convey far less than myths.

Step 3: Mythicizing of Tales

The study of Skagit mythicized tales of Step 3 reveals as much if not more about the nature of myth than the study of true myths. It discloses what there is about a story that puts it into the category of tales (Steps 1, 2 and 3). By elimination we can then discern why all remaining stories are called "myths." Even given a formula for separating tales from myths, the non-native must examine closely the mythicized tales and myths to understand how they differ. For that reason myths will also be discussed in this section.

Rudimentary mythicizing, exemplified in some tales of Step 2, gives the impression of tentative and uncertain identification of actor with symbol, and contrasts with tales of Step 3 in which personifications are definite, and other symbolic associations, too, are made. Several of these stories are chronicles of spirit-powers, from their Myth Age modes of existence to their spectral forms in the historical era.

In one of these, an anthropomorphized spirit-power marries a human female. Myth-like, the in-law families have magical powers of transformation to become like one another; that is, they become land-dwellers or water-dwellers. But the offspring of the alliance of human with spirit, although sired by a spirit, is like any modern mortal who must seek supernatural assistance.

In another tale, spirit-powers are personified as brothers who function as culture-heroes. As in myths, the brothers are named after their attributes — Fire, Knife and *Sk^{w}di'liƛ* (a spirit-power). They create two human beings, a male and a female, and give them fire and show them their foods and how to prepare them. Then they announce that, in the future, people must earn their foods through spirit-power relationships. They will never again be given something for nothing, as in this tale. And the brothers metamorphose into features of the countryside, recognizable today.

The mythicized elements of the dog-husband tale consist of a symbolic association of class-status with the concept "dog." But the tale lacks real anthropomorphization of any of its actors. The father is a mere dog. His litter of twelve human-dog offspring have removable dog-skin coverings which, when worn, conceal their essentially human forms. But one of the children, a girl, cannot completely shed her canine covering, so that the stigma of the paternal ancestry is ever-present, represented by her half-dog, half-human face.

Most stories grouped under Step 3 carry into the modern world, bridging the Myth Age and the historical era. The latter begins when a mere human is born of a union of human and spirit, when the brothers Fire, Knife and *Sk^{w}di'liƛ* retire from human society, and when the dog children found a Lower Skagit

village. The fact that the later scenes of these stories are in the historical present may warrant their classification as tales, but chronology is secondary to Skagits' categorization of stories. Other traits of Skagit myths must be examined to show why mythicized tales are not myths.

I have discussed in broad terms the stylistic features of myths and how they set a standard for good verbal art form. And I presented stylistic features of tales to show that they are unpolished products of Skagit literary art. In addition, myth style differs from that of tales, even those which are most mythicized, in its use of real symbols which intensify the laconicism of style. Selective reduction produces some laconicism; but real myth symbols increase it greatly.

The myth symbol is loaded so as to convey incisively ideas that otherwise would have to be represented by lengthy circumlocution. For example, the stereotype of a myth actor (which is a stereotype expressing values about character) itself expresses in a single word everything that there is known about that type of story performer. We may therefore say that the language of myth tends to be connotative; that of tales, denotative. Thus, the identification of a story actor as a man tells no more than that he is a man. But the identification of a myth actor as a man named Coyote summons the image of a colourful, many-faceted personality. This mechanism applies not only to personality stereotypes but to other symbolic representations, too. In one of the most archaic myths of Skagit the psychotic Grizzly Woman serves her family feces, calling them "good berries." The story could merely have said that she serves spoiled berries, a phrase which would yet function excellently to provide a contrast to her co-wife, Bear, a good wife and housekeeper who serves good food. This would be fine style for any tale and many a myth since it selects a single act to set forth succinctly two feminine character types and a value about women. But the substitution of feces for berries is symbolic of much more than housewifely inefficiency. It also refers to regressive anal sadism, a psychotic fantasy that feces are berries, and the hostility of the insane which is directed toward anyone and everyone. The selection of feces shows crazed hostility, which spoiled berries could never do.

Another type of story symbol which is common to myth and also appears in some tales of Step 3 expresses ideas that seem illogical but are nevertheless true. Such ideas are presented as situations or acts which are contrary to modern custom. For example, two myths are about oldsters who live alone without kin, despite the fact that elderly persons had secure positions in Skagit households. These myths really express inner loneliness, the feeling of no longer being useful, which is difficult to express in a more direct fashion because it hardly makes sense in terms of the externalities of social life. Another myth tells of young women who seek out husbands and take the initiative in marriage without family intervention. Their action is opposite to normal conduct, but it reveals feelings that Skagit had about women as being their society's real aggressors. Again, the familiar theme, in a number of myths and some tales, in which a recreant son or daughter is abandoned, does not mean that such children were physically deserted. The theme simply expresses emotional desertion, disapproval and rejection.

A major feature in which myths differ from all tales is that of expressive content. Tales project principally feelings which are admissable to consciousness. But myths often communicate unverbalized attitudes with many of which any Skagit in his right mind would never have openly sympathized. For example, in two of the myths, a woman, Crow, is abused by her vicious brother, Raven, because she is too competent and skilful. She constitutes a threat to his masculinity. These myths conclude with the sadistic man escaping punishment, not in accordance with cultural expectations. Appropriate justice meted to Raven would devalue Skagits' real but inadmissable feelings about such women and thereby negate the cathartic function of this myth projection. In tales, on the other hand, women who are maligned are creatures who deserve to be despised. But myths allow hostility to be shown toward women just because they are women. In real life, like their expression in tales, social controls did not permit mistreatment of females unless there were provocations in terms of other controls.

Humour has been mentioned as a feature peculiar to Skagit myths and not to tales. Humour ties in with the function of myth;

that is, myth is a screen upon which feelings and ideas are projected that cannot be given expression in real life. Humour is one of the most effective theatrical devices of Skagit mythology because it so disguises inadmissable feelings that they may be projected without arousing anxiety. The brutal Raven is a myth-actor whose manoeuvers, whether harmless, silly, or horribly sadistic, are nevertheless comical. It is not that murderous hostility *per se* was funny to Skagits; it is how murder is accomplished that can be funny. Raven's murderous character is amusing because it is his great voraciousness that compels him to kill; and the slaughter is funny because he kills in such a manner that he defiles himself. Plot interest centers on Raven, whose character is well-delineated, not on his victims who receive less depiction. So, the audience is more interested in how Raven's treachery may backfire than in the feelings of the comparatively anonymous supporting actors. Nevertheless, these actors are stereotyped as exuberantly competent women, and so they arouse positive feelings, whether these be empathic, as in some female auditors, or hostile, and therefore in accordance with most myth projections of such women and with Skagit feminine status.

Since all tales which I collected lack humour, I suggest that burlesquing of the tragic or disapproved is a final step in myth-making. Perhaps community discussions on story material which was uncomfortably listened to, which precipitated guilty hostility, were responsible for myth comedy. We are aware of the nervous giggle or have felt embarrassment over jokes which are in poor taste because they are at the expense of some unfortunate. Humour is a means of denying identification with the scapegoat; it objectifies the situation so that we are involved by neither guilt nor identification. Once victim and situations are patently fictitious, the giggle is not so very nervous, and it may be a hearty if not hostile guffaw at what is now a good joke. Skagit can therefore laugh at matricide, incest and adultery committed by myth actors. Although I did not observe any mythicizing in process by means of joking, travesties in Skagit myth are so dexterously integrated with other features of style, such as laconicism and indirection, that they must have already received many years of literary handling.

An outstanding trait of regional oral art style is saturation. It often is effected by one humourous episode after another, so that a slapstick is produced. Saturation is also a device for creating suspense, which is most effective through a concatenation of horror scenes, as in the Grizzly Woman stories. Grizzly is understandably disadvantaged because she has an attractive, competent and younger co-wife in her polygynous marriage. But her character develops as a literary hyperbole, a stereotype in the guise of a ferocious beast. And saturation with horror carries Grizzly Woman's relentless pursuit of her kin so such extremes that, when she is finally murdered by her own daughter, no member of the audience can sympathize with Grizzly, only with the daughter and the necessity for matricide. Saturation is a device discernible in tales of Step 3, but frequent in myths.

Step 4: Myth-making

Prominent features of Skagit myths have been discussed under Step 3. Accordingly, it is clear that there is no hard and fast line stylistically between mythicized tales and myths. Skagits distinguished a myth from a tale not by one but by several diagnostic traits. Furthermore, there was not always agreement among narrators as to how certain stories were to be classified. Certainly, the animal actors are a central feature of Skagit myth, a point raised by every recitalist. And I have indicated that there are a number of traits of style and expressive content by which myths typically contrast with tales. Two questions, then, arise in reference to certain borderline cases of myths which seem more like tales and tales which seem more like myths: (1) Why do not spirit-power personifications, which are the most mythicized elements that appear in tales, justify the classification of such tales as myths? (2) What are the characteristics of some myths that render dubious their status as myths?

In answer to the first question, even the most indisputable personifications of spirits in tales do not represent true stereotypes; they are delineated no further than by the attributes they bequeath. Such personification is close to facts of the historical present, for visionary manifestations of spirit-powers were often in human forms. Personification of supernaturals does not mask any perva-

sive truth of any and all existences as a true symbol does; instead, it amounts to an imaginative and stylized representation of reality. Other animistic aspects of Skagit religion project human will and emotion into food animals. Therefore, anthropomorphization of guardian-spirits and their food-gifts barely mythicize a story, compared to myth representations of supernaturals.

The compacting of spirit-power and recipient-owner into a single actor in a myth is a far more complex literary manipulation than mere personification of the supernatural. To consolidate spirit and human partner into one representation is to express in a single stroke a relationship which personification alone cannot convey. Thus, the stereotyped myth actor is a true symbol for a relationship that is expressed in tales in a protracted way, as, for example, by a human and spirit-power marital alliance.

To answer the second question, I offer first an example in a myth which, although classed as a myth, has the characteristics of a highly stylized tale of Step 3. Except for its explanatory ending, which is definitely myth material, this story lacks much mythicizing, even personification of any kind. Its epilogue appears to be an afterthought tacked on, but it alone justifies the telling of the story as a myth. Its scenes, such as the manner of killing a faithless wife, are well-stylized. But a fully-developed version of the story might, to give a hypothetical example, allow the avenging brother of the woman to transform himself to a female rather than to disguise himself as one in order to kill his brother-in-law.

In the case of another story, because of its protagonists' human and animal transformations, the raconteur wished to call it a "myth" instead of a "true story," although he had been told that it is a tale. It was because the story lacked a stylized prologue that he could not accept it as a myth. It appears from this that there was a lag in Skagits' classification of story content: until there was general agreement that a story is indeed a myth, it would not be given a myth preface, and such a preface meant position in the myth inventory. The most remarkable instance of lag, if that is what this amounts to, concerns a story which was told to the narrator as a "true story." He insisted that it must be a myth, although neither he nor his source chose to elevate it

formally to that stature by providing it with a ceremonial introduction. The raconteur recognized it as a myth because its actors are Coyote's son and Salmon People, and it includes other myth motifs such as magical rejuvenation and inexhaustible food production from a miniscule dish. It is an exceptionally advanced mythicization of a tale about spirit-power acquisition by a man who once lived and whose name is still remembered. But because this name is not represented in the genealogies of the living, classification of the story is difficult for Skagit to make.

Skagit myths themselves display degrees of mythicization, according to this reconstruction of mythicizing and story evolution. But any evolutionary arrangement is perforce hypothetical, as is the scheme of four steps of literary processes for stories. Such deductions must be made from internal evidences and informants' opinions. It is obvious that sheer quantity of mythical elements are principal determinants that establish the relative antiquity of a story. And the quality or characteristics of the individual symbol or mythicized item aids in this relative dating.

Society acts out many complex values by simple gestures which stand as terse statements of those values. But when such action is expressed in tale-form, despite certain symbolisms, it cannot be credited with having received much literary treatment. For example, Skagit exposed adulterous wives to public humiliation and then usually killed them, or, more rarely, sent them back to their natal villages. It would be impossible to accomplish the alternatives except in fantasy as in a myth where the delinquent wife is murdered by piercing atop a tree; that is, she is in public view and in sight not only of her husband's village but of her own. Dying and humiliated she is, in effect, returned to her own family. Although there is no equivalent expression of the handling of adultery elsewhere in the collection, its representation in the story is not really a symbolized statement, for it carries several activities through two scenes, and is merely an extravaganza and compacting of real-life drama.

A well-developed symbolic presentation of the same expression toward unfaithful wives would incorporate within a single act all alternatives of dealing with them. It could, for example, send

(magically) the genitalia of the offending woman to her parental community. Although such a motif does not appear in the Skagit collection, it would be consonant with Skagit stylization and symbolic representation. I suggest that the relative age of myth motifs may be estimated by inventorying the number of meanings in terms of attitudes and actions that each represents. And the more fantistic the representation (such as the synecdoche of genitalia), the more it can include. I mentioned this earlier as being accomplished by compacting of *personae,* and it applies as well to almost any object or situation. One of the most highly symbolized representations of Skagit literature is Coyote's "excrement advisors." This motif comprises, all in one, notions of class-status, spirit-power acquisition, and negative attitudes toward a certain personality type. These items amount to a summary of values which are central in Skagit culture.

Some loaded representations which are not bound to particular actors, as excrement advisors are to Coyote, attach freely to actors in stories that are otherwise less developed. So in order to estimate the relative age of a full story it is necessary to examine it as a totality. From this point of view the Grizzly Woman myths seem to be the most archaic of Skagit stories, the least in touch with exoteric circumstances of reality because of their wealth of symbols. Content analysis reveals, not unexpectedly, that they are the richest for stories of their length. Nearly every character is a stereotype, and there is hardly any significant action which is not represented symbolically. Many of the elements are among the most compact of the literature.

The stylistic finesse of myths like those about Grizzly Woman raises a question as to whether Skagit set limits to obliquity, terseness, stereotypy and other features of good verbal art style. May all tenets of style be carried to their conceivable ultimate and remain good? The answer is No, although Skagit literary manipulation of these features is always in the direction of symbolization. Good style demands that narration be terse: too many symbolic representations could clutter plot with irrelevancies, which would be tantamount to prolixity. Plot requirement demands that there be continuity: and transitions which connect scenes are necessarily contentless. That which lacks meaning over and above

what it denotes, such as the journey which carries an actor from scene to scene, cannot be represented symbolically; it is merely stylized. Thus plot requirement, along with other features of style, exclude total symbolization lest the effect become surrealistic: pure symbols cannot be given continuity, and continuity cannot be provided through symbols. Nor, for that matter, are there a large number of Skagit literary symbols which are far removed from social reality. Excrement advisors is one of the few extremes. And even such highly esoteric figures are always presented in a context which has social reference. If such a frame were not provided for these most oblique and esoteric motifs, it would be impossible for the folklorist ever to fathom their intent so as to analyse for expressive content. Thus, there must a hypothetical point of development at which myth achieves saturation, and is perfect; and beyond which, it would no longer properly convey its intent or conform to story pattern. Like a flight of ideas it could be interpreted too variously to fulfill its normalizing function.

Regional comparative folklore discloses that no plot types, actors and very few motifs and themes are uniquely or typically Skagit. For example, the distribution of Coyote actors extends far to the east and south of the Northwest Coast culture-area; and on the Northwest Coast, Mink to the south and Raven to the north and east of Skagit tribes. It is possible that none of the myths in the Skagit collection and few myth components originated with Skagit in spite of the fact that informants identified most stories as "belonging to" one or another Skagit bands. Consequently, the processes of tale-creation, mythicizing and myth-making which I have given must be accepted as applicable to an area far wider than Skagit. The processes of literary manipulation deduced from Skagit folklore must have occurred beyond the Skagit area as well as within it, for most myths probably came to Skagit in well-developed forms which Skagit then subjected to alterations to conform to their own values of style and world-view. Except for a few non-Skagit myths and tales which have specific loci it is impossible to estimate the time during which a story has been Skagit property. It is possible only to assign relative dates to stories in terms of the contiguous area which shows in its oral literature basic features of style and symbolization exemplified by Skagit.

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Social Sanctions

by STUART PIDDOCKE

RÉSUMÉ

Depuis Malinowski et Radcliffe-Brown, le concept de sanction sociale semble avoir été délaissé. Les auteurs modernes en parlent peu ou ne font que répéter ces deux pionniers. Pourtant il existe encore beaucoup de confusion autour de ce concept et, surtout, on l'a trop utilisé de façon incomplète et ethnocentrique.

I

The concept of social sanction seems to be taken for granted, or even to have been abandoned, by current anthropological theory[1]. Malinowski's *Crime and Custom in Savage Society* (1926) and Radcliffe-Brown's "Social Sanctions" (1952), particularly the latter, remain the basic references for the idea of social sanctions. Apart from cursory and passing references in textbooks and in some other writings, since Malinowski and Radcliffe-Brown little has been added in the anthropological discussion of social sanctions. Raymond Firth explicitly discusses sanctions in his introductory work *Human Types* (1958:114-9), and repeatedly refers to them in *Elements of Social Organization* (1961), but he does not go beyond Radcliffe-Brown's discussion. Nadel in *Foundations of Social Anthropology* (1951:110-111, 137) refers to social sanctions in discussing the perseverance of institutions, but does not seem to consider the concept of sanctions as particularly illuminating; in his later *Theory of Social Structure* (1957) he does not mention sanctions at all.[2] Goldschmidt (1959:99) in

[1] Portions of an earlier draft of this paper were read at the Southwestern Anthropological Association meeting at the University of California at Davis, on 7 April 1966. I am indebted to Dr. Harold Barclay and Mr. Bruce Cox of the University of Alberta for their comments on that same draft.

[2] Nadel does, however, refer several times to sanctions in his paper on "Social Control and Self-Regulation" (1953:265-273). This paper focusses on values and on conscience as important social controls, and not on social sanctions as such.

another introductory work sets sanctions in the context of authority systems, but otherwise adds no new ideas to the discussion. And outside, on the edge of the more strictly anthropological tradition, Parsons and Shils in *Toward a General Theory of Action* (1962: 154, 191) have tied sanctions to role theory, but their contribution has not been followed up. Beyond these few writers, I can find no one who has taken the concept of sanction beyond the point where Malinowski and Radcliffe-Brown left it.[3]

This impression that current anthropology has ceased to regard social sanctions as significantly problematic is further borne out by the tenor of recent ethnography. If we examine an ethnographic description, we will find in it an account of normative practice and their attendant sanctions; but unless the work be an explicit study of legal processes (e.g., Gluckman 1955; Pospisil 1956), the concept of social sanctions is not likely to be mentioned. Ethnographic papers such as those of Schneider (1957) or Dewey (1962) which do use explicitly the concept of sanction are the exception rather than the rule.

I do not know why the concept of social sanction has been neglected in this way. Perhaps the idea of social sanctions was felt from the beginning to be relatively clear and unproblematic, and it was therefore so taken for granted as shortly to slip out from the forefront of anthropological concern. Perhaps concentration on social sanctions seemed to become theoretically fruitless, and this line of thought was therefore abandoned for more promising ones. Whatever may be the causes for this neglect or abandonment, it was, I think, somewhat hasty. The concept of social sanctions is still in an unsatisfactory condition, with a number of

[3] These writers are but the highlights. To document my assertion that the concept of social sanctions has been taken for granted in recent anthropology, let me simply list such references to or discussions of the concept of sanction as I have been able to find since 1949: Beattie 1964:165-181; Firth 1957: *passim;* Firth 1958:114-119; Firth 1961:*passim;* Gluckman 1955:25, 78; Goldschmidt 1959:99; Goldschmidt 1966:114; Goodenough 1963-39, 328, 443; Herskovits 1955:425; Hoebel 1954:14-15 & *passim;* Homans 1950:123; Jacobs and Stern, 1952:323; MacIver and Page 1957:139-143; Mair 1965:130-1, 210, 263; Murdock 1949:82, 84, 288, 295; Nadel 1951: 110-11, 112, 117, 137-38; Nadel 1953; Parsons and Shils 1962:15, 154-55, 191, 431-32; Piddington 1952: 324-327; Pospisil 1956:751; Royal Anthropological Institute 1951:145-46; Whiting and Child 1953:29-30. Most of these take the discussion very little beyond where Malinowski and Radcliffe-Brown left it.

unanalysed confusions. There is as yet no logically exhaustive classification of types of social sanctions, nor one that in fact does justice to the pressures and institutions that control social behaviour; the now-traditional division into penal, moral, and ritual or supernatural sanctions is both incomplete and ethnocentric.

This paper is an attempt to sort out some of these confusions, to outline an improved and culturally unbiased classification of social sanctions, and to suggest some uses of the concept of sanction in thinking about society.

II

The concept of social sanctions has been, at least since Malinowski and Radcliffe-Brown, part of a set of conceptions about the nature of society and the maintenance of social order. According to this perspective, a society is a system of *norms,* i.e. of patterns of behaviour considered by most members of the given society to be desirable and therefore to be practiced; and the institutions of society are clusters or complexes of norms within the total social system. Since the individuals who live in a society do not automatically or instinctively obey the norms, the maintenance of society requires that these individuals be rewarded for complying with the norms and punished for deviation from them. These rewards and punishments are the *sanctions* of the norms.

There are, however, some serious confusions in the idea of norm which impede our effective use of this idea. Most serious is the confusion between "norm" in the sense of the *expected* pattern of behaviour and "norm" in the sense of the *most frequent* pattern of behaviour. This confusion, for example, vitiates Hoebel's (1954:3-28) discussion of the nature of law and Nadel's (1951: 107-144) attempt to define institutions. "Norms" in the second sense of the term refers properly to the statisticial norm or, as I prefer to call it, the *mode* of behaviour. Often, as Sumner (1960: 41) and Hoebel (1954:15) have noted, the most frequent pattern of behaviour is also the expected pattern of behaviour, and there is a definite tendency for "what most people do" to become "what

everyone ought to do". But it is also often true that the mode may deviate from the expected or desired pattern, especially if the latter be regarded as a "counsel of perfection" or "ideal" (Homans, 1950:124) which we may without blame fail to achieve.

Allied to this confusion between norm and mode is another, that between the norm and the enactment of that norm. A norm in its strictest sense is an idea in the minds of human beings, and the behaviour which we call "normative" is the partial enactment of that idea. Of those persons who have written on the concept of sanction, the only one whom I have been able to find who seems to recognize this distinction is Homans (1950:123-124), writing, "A norm, then, is an idea in the minds of the members of a group, an idea that can be put in the form of a statement specifying what the members or other men should do, ought to do, are expected to do, under given circumstances", and again, "One point must be made very clear: our norms are ideas. They are not behavior itself, but what people think behavior ought to be".

We must distinguish norms from modes and the *normative order* from the *behavioural order*. The normative order is the collection of norms or expectations concerning what people should do, and exists as ideas in the minds of the members of society. The behavioural order is the collection of the behaviours of these people, and is the partial enactment of the people's various expectations. If we conceive society as a normative system, therefore, we conceive it as a system of more or less complementary sets of expectations held in the minds of the people who carry that society. Social structure and social organization then may be correspondingly conceived as the networks and the types of relationships obtaining between these various expectation sets. Social change, finally, may be construed as change either in the content of these expectation sets or in the pattern of relationships between them; and the maintenance of society is likewise to be construed as the maintenance of the expectations in question.

In thinking about the maintenance of society, we should keep two facts in mind. First, change and not conservation of the status quo is primary and inevitable, and therefore the main-

tenance of a particular social order requires the constant suppression of tendencies to change and the constant attempt to return to the original state of affairs from the deviated states brought about by the ever-present pressures for change. Second, expectations are learned, not genetically inherited. The constant fight to maintain society therefore requires that these expectations be replicated in, i.e. learned by, the new members of society, and once learned these expectations must be constantly reinforced in the minds of societal members lest they be forgotten or even deliberately abandoned. In these two aspects of *replication* and *reinforcement* we have, respectively, the Malinowskian cultural imperatives of Education and Social Control (Malinowski 1944: 125). How then may such replication and reinforcement be achieved?

Three possible methods suggest themselves at once. (I) Ensure that the practices specified in the norms as desirable will in fact, whether or not the people are aware of it, satisfy most of the needs and desires of the societal members, and that the practices forbidden by the norms will in fact be dissatisfying to the persons practicing them. People will then by simple positive reinforcement come to do the required behaviour, will become accustomed to doing it, and will develop expectations that it ought to be done. (II) Repeat the norms constantly in stories, poems, plays, movies, myths, rituals, or whatever message-forms exist in society, in order that societal members may always have the norms in the forefront of their minds; this method may be coupled with the diminution or elimination of messages promoting alternative expectations. (III) Attach to the expectations rewards for adherence to them and punishments for deviance; these rewards and punishments are the sanctions of the norms whose maintenance is in question.

Describing social control in this way raises a question about the notion of sanction. Should we use the word "sanction" to refer to all consequences of an action that encourage or discourage its repetition, whether or not the actor perceives these consequences as so doing; or should we restrict the word "sanction" to cover only those consequences which are perceived by the actor as rewarding, or punishing his behaviour? Radcliffe-Brown's (1952:

205) usage, followed by the great majority of anthropologists, is closer to the second alternative. But there is a definite analogy of function between the consequences of behaviour referred to in method I and the sanctions referred to in method III. I should therefore like to extend the term "sanctions" to cover both alternatives, and to distinguish between them by calling the first type *natural sanctions* and the second *social sanctions* in the strict sense.

Natural sanctions may be formally defined as those consequences of an item of behaviour which serve either to favour the survival of the actor and so cause the perpetuation of the behaviour pattern (positive natural sanctions), or to hinder the actor's survival and so eventually cause the extinction also of the behaviour pattern (negative natural sanctions). The pattern may cease to exist either because its practitioners die without replicating it, or because they abandon it for new ones. Natural sanctions operate in the behavioural order and not in the normative order. They are called into operation only by actual behaviour, and are so evoked whether or not the actor is aware that he has so behaved. It is worth noting, however, that while human perception of the natural sanctions does not affect their being called into effect, it does make a difference to the responses given in turn to these sanctions.

Natural sanctions operate at a fundamental level in biological evolution as well as in human behaviour. They are the pressures through which natural selection takes place: those forms adapted to their environment, i.e. whose needs and dispositions can be met by the environment, will be rewarded for their adaptation, i.e. will continue to exist and perpetuate their type. Those who do not fit their environment, or who do not make their environment fit them, will die and not pass on their particular propensities to behaviour.

The concept of natural sanctions may also help us to comprehend why some societies persist and others do not. No society will long endure with the same form in the same locale unless the natural sanctions of its actual behaviour are pro-survival or positive. If a society's norms recommend behaviours whose natural sanctions are negative, either the society and its members will

dwindle and die out, or they will migrate to a new environment where the natural sanctions are positive, or the norms will be widely disobeyed and extensive social change will result.

The second method of replicating and reinforcing the normative order may be called the method of *propaganda*. Nadel (1951: 137-138) hints at this method when he refers to what he calls "dramatizations", i.e. "the demonstration of desired modes of action in the context of ceremonial and aesthetic performances". The range of propaganda, however, is far wider than that of dramatizations. It extends from such things as primers and textbooks, whose ostensible purpose is "teaching", to the further ends of literature, art, and all the products of the communication media whose overt purpose is not instruction but "entertainment". Under propaganda we must also include advertising in industrial market society: having the overt purpose or manifest function of maintaining the economy, advertising with its massive repetition also has the effect of reinforcing certain of the values of society and drowning out others (Potter 1954:166-188). As such, advertising is an important institution of social control.

When such propaganda emanates from sources considered by the members of society as worth listening to and even obeying, the descriptions of behaviour and the judgments of approval or disapproval contained therein constitute a kind of moral social sanction.

The third method of reinforcing the normative order is that of *social sanctions*. This is the provision of rewards for compliance with the norms (positive social sanctions) and of punishments for deviance therefrom (negative social sanctions). As already insisted, an event is not a social sanction unless it is perceived by the sanctioned individual as relevant to what he ought not to do. There is therefore a close connection between the concept of social sanction and the concept of norm, the existence of norms being a necessary condition for the existence of social sanctions. The question may be raised whether or not norms can exist without sanctions, i.e. whether or not ought-expectations can really be said to exist without those who comply with them receiving some verbal approval at least, or those who deviate from them receiving some verbal disapproval. Homans

(1950:124) has restricted the word "norms" to those expectations which are supported by sanctions, and has used the word "ideals" to refer to unsanctioned ought-expectations. But what makes an "ideal" an ideal? Is it not that it is held in some manner to be "desirable", if not necessarily obligatory or even often possible? And how can it be upheld as desirable if this expectation is not expressed in judgments of approval for those persons who in some measure achieve the ideal? Such a consideration as this leads me to suggest that if an expectation isn't sanctioned in some way, it isn't an expectation. That is to say, social sanctions are the behavioural correlates of ought-expectations, and the existence of a social sanction is the outward expression of the norm.

We must also distinguish between the social sanction itself and the expectation or anticipation of that sanction. The sanction itself is the actual event which rewards or penalizes a given behaviour. The actual occurrence of the sanction depends on the prior actual occurrence of the behaviour thus sanctioned. What immediately determines whether or not the particular behaviour will be carried out, however, is the potential behaver's *expectation* of the sanction. As Firth (1958:115) put it, "The action of any individual in respect of a rule is governed not only by his immediate personal interests and the degree of temptation which he has at the moment felt, but by his recognition of what a variety of people will say, think, feel, and believe, and by what he knows them to have done in the past". Radcliffe-Brown (1952: 205) also describes the sanctions as being the actual reactions by the members of society to behaviours which are thereby approved or disapproved, and indicates that these sanctions often operate through the behaver's anticipations of their application.

When Parsons, and Shils (1962:191) placed sanctions in the context of role theory, however, they failed to distinguish between the sanctions themselves and the sanctions-expectations. We may improve Parsons and Shils by saying that a role is a set of norms specifying the behaviour to be enacted on a particular occasion or kind of occasion, and that this set is accompanied by expectations specifying the ways in which the performers of complementary roles will respond to the enactment of the first role. Some of the sanction-expectations of the performer of the first

role will coincide with some of the role-expectations of the performers of the complementary roles. But if we are to think clearly about the ways in which roles are locked with other roles, we must nevertheless draw a sharp distinction between behaviours, on the one hand, and expectations concerning behaviour, on the other, and we must maintain this distinction throughout our conceptual scheme.

Since it is the sanction-expectations that immediately govern behaviour, the sanctions themselves need not always occur. But if the sanctions do not occur (or do not seem to the actors to occur) often enough to make profitable the actors' taking the sanctions into consideration when making decisions, the expectations will lose their force and will cease to govern the actors' behaviour.

If the responses, actual or anticipated, of other people to one's behaviour are to be interpreted by him as sanctions, he must see these responses as being made in defense of norms held by these other people and which they desire him also to abide by. But unless he values as rewards what they offer as rewards, and as punishments what they offer as punishments, the sanctions will not be effective — they may, indeed, even achieve the opposite of the sanctioners' intentions. The death penalty, for instance, will not dissuade a would-be martyr for whom death is but the gateway to a bliss beyond earthly possibilities. Sanctions cannot achieve their end without the consent of the person against whom they are applied; this consent must be arranged by other means.

What makes a response (whether actual or merely anticipated) a sanction is not any feature of the response itself, but rather the way it is connected to other events. This is especially true of social sanctions: a change in the actor's expectations, in other words a change in the definition of the situation, may be enough to turn a sanction into the very opposite. A study of social sanctions is therefore *ipso facto* a study of social relationships. By the same token, if a response may, connected in one way, serve to maintain the social order, it may in other connections serve to disrupt or transform the social order. The concept of social sanction needs therefore to be balanced by the concept of *social contrasanctions:* the contrasanction being those con-

sequences of an action which serve to reward and reinforce deviation from the relevant norms and to penalize and inhibit compliance therewith, and so act counter to the system of social sanction of the society.[4]

Finally, the sanction does not necessarily always have to follow the behaviour supposed to provoke it. Not infrequently, *prophylactic procedures* may be undertaken to avoid the effects that normally make up the sanction. For example, where the blood feud operates, a murderer and his group may pay blood-money to the group of the murdered man in order to avoid the retaliation of the latter.[5] Of course, prophylactic procedures may themselves be regarded as sanctions.

III

The classification of social sanctions has not been developed beyond the distinctions made by Radcliffe-Brown. In his essay on social sanctions (1952:205-211) he classifies them along two parameters, "positive/negative" and "diffuse/organized". The positive/negative differentiation is simply that between rewards for compliance and punishments for deviance. The "diffuse" social sanctions are "spontaneous expressions of approval or disapproval by members of the community acting as individuals", and the "organized" are "social actions carried out according to some traditional and recognized procedure". We might re-

[4] This terminology is awkward. Perhaps it might be better to change the meaning of "positive social sanctions" from "rewards for compliance with norms" to "rewards for compliance and punishments for deviance", and change "negative social sanctions" correspondingly from "punishments for deviance" to "rewards for deviance and punishments for compliance". Since we already have the words "reward" and punishment" it is not strictly necessary to use "positive" and "negative" as synonyms. If we made such a change, we should also have to expand the meaning of "social sanction" to cover any event seen by members of a society as rewarding (or punishing) either compliance or deviance, and thus being relevant to the maintenance of a norm. Such an extension of the concept of social sanction would align it with Bierstedt's (1950: 733) linking of power and sanctions. But then again such a change of terminology might be simply confusing. It does depart quite considerably from the conceptions held by Radcliffe-Brown about sanctions and the nature of society.

[5] Another example of prophylactic procedures is the use, among Trobrianders, of various spells and rites to ward off the sores, disease and death supposed to follow clan incest (Malinowski 1926:79-80).

express this by describing the "organized" sanctions as being more institutionalized than the "diffuse". This second classification overlaps with a distinction between "moral" and "penal" sanctions, the moral sanctions tending to be diffuse and the penal sanctions organized.

In the same essay, Radcliffe-Brown also distinguishes between "primary" and "secondary" sanctions. Primary sanctions are the action of the community upon individuals, and secondary sanctions are, dependent upon the primary sanctions, "concerned with the actions of persons or groups in their effects upon other persons or groups" (1952:209). He instances retaliation, indemnification, and duelling as secondary sanctions, and points out that behind these lies the force of the community which supports them as institutions. But it seems to me that this distinction reifies the community and fails to make clear that *all* direct social sanctions are the actions of individuals upon other individuals. The sanction-agent may be viewed as the agent of a "community" or he may not: in either case, if the sanction is to reaffirm the norm effectively, he must be viewed as having the right to act as he does The distinction is not, I think, very useful. It also overlaps with the diffuse/organized dichotomy, the primary sanctions tending to be more organized or institutionalized than the secondary.

In another article Radcliffe-Brown (1940: xvi-xvii) simplifies this classification into three types: "moral", "penal", and "ritual or supernatural" sanctions. This simpler distinction appears to be the one most commonly followed in anthropological usage. "Moral" and "penal" sanctions appear to be opposite ends of a continuum; Radcliffe-Brown instances boycott as intermediate between them. Moral sanctions he sums up in the words, "the individual who does wrong is subjected to open expressions of reprobation or ridicule by his fellows and thus is shamed". Behind the penal sanctions appears to be the idea of physical force, but this is not explicitly stated.

The most unsatisfactory part of Radcliffe-Brown's classification is his discussion of what he calls "religious", "supernatural" or "mystic" (1952:206-207), and "ritual or supernatural" (1940: xvi) sanctions. From his accounts it is clear that Radcliffe-Brown

considered these sanctions as a special sub-class within the diffuse sanctions, but at the same time special enough to warrant a fair degree of attention. That they are a distinct class of sanctions I think we will agree. But there are three points on which I feel constrained to modify Radcliffe-Brown's theory:

(1) These sanctions are too different in character from both the moral and penal sanctions to be put with the moral sanctions into the same class of diffuse sanctions.

(2) By confining his discussion to "religion" and "magic", Radcliffe-Brown did not bring out clearly the way in which these sanctions operate as sanctions, and he missed certain significant similarities between these "religious sanctions" and some other social phenomena we do not ordinarily class under the same heading.

(3) The terms "religious" or "supernatural" or "mystic" or "ritual" sanctions are not satisfactory, and fail to indicate why this class of sanctions is significant. In fact, the associations of these terms befog the issue.

Of the four names applied by Radcliffe-Brown to this class of sanctions, "religious" is the least objectionable. It can be given a fairly precise meaning if we follow his reference to "gods or spirits" and understand the word "religion" to mean a complex of human beliefs and activities concerned with gods and other spiritual beings whose wills may affect human affairs. But there is in fact no consensus in anthropology as to the meaning of "religion", and the term "religious sanctions" is apt to be drawn into this same confusion.[6]

The term "supernatural" is more unsatisfactory. It suggests that the societies described as having "supernatural sanctions" recognize a distinction between the "natural" and the "supernatural"; if the ethnographer does not so imply, then use of the

[6] See Cohn (1962), Geertz (1966), Goody (1961), Horton (1960), Spiro (1966) for further discussion of this issue. But as documentation for the lack of consensus on the meaning of "religion" in anthropology let me just point to seven different definitions picked more or less at random from the anthropological literature: Durkheim 1961:62; Herskovits 1955:233; Howells 1962:21; Lessa and Vogt 1958:1; Radin 1957:3; Sapir 1951:347; Tylor 1958:8.

term represents an imposition of the ethnographer's own cultural categories on those of the people studied, with a consequent partial falsification of the data. Contrary to some common assertions, the concept of the supernatural is *not* found in all human societies.[7] The word "mystic" is no better; it has a precise meaning for students of mysticism and mystical theology, but as anthropologists have used it, it seems to mean little more than "supernatural" or "ritual" or even "superstitious", namely, pertaining to powers invisible to the anthropologist and not believed by him to exist. Describing such sanctions as "supernatural" or "mystic" commonly also implies a judgment concerning the truth or falsity of the beliefs held by the people being studied concerning the sanctions so named by the observer. But in making judgments about the truth or falsity of people's beliefs, except when these are beliefs about culture or society, the anthropologist ceases to be strictly an anthropologist and becomes, depending on the subject matter of the beliefs, a physicist or theologian or biologist or magician or practitioner of some art other than anthropology.

The term "ritual sanctions" is unsatisfactory for a different reason. It draws attention to *rites*. In what way, however, does a rite act as a reward or punishment relative to a particular norm? Rites are, properly speaking, not sanctions at all but are dramatizations serving like other forms of propaganda to reinforce the ideas and sentiments in the minds of those watching or participating in the rite.

The significant fact masked by this unsatisfactory terminology is surely that these sanctions are conceived as being applied by agencies other than living human beings. Such agencies need not be limited in conception to God, spiritual beings, deceased ancestors, or occult forces: they may also include such things as the laws of nature, archetypal ideas, electromagnetic fields, germs, air masses, or even vitamins. If, for example, cleanliness is valued among a people, and they believe that uncleanliness leads to unpleasant diseases by encouraging disease germs, the sanction here is *referred* to a non-human agency: the consequences

[7] Compare Cohn (1962), Goody (1961). Also worth noting is Lewis (1960:24-74) on the history of the meanings of the word "nature", including reference to the supernatural.

for maintaining the norm of cleanliness will be much the same as if the people believed that uncleanliness provokes the displeasure of the gods, with consequent misfortune. In either instance, rules of interpretation are required to determine whether a particular disease or misfortune is really linked by germs or displeased gods to the violation of the norm. And in both instances, likewise, disbelief in the existence of the sanctioning agent will undermine the norm and require more direct sanctions for its maintenance. Because of this referral to agencies other than living human beings, I propose that this class of sanctions be known as *referred* social sanctions. Sanctions supposed to be applied by living human beings may be known as *direct* social sanctions.

Referred sanctions may be further subdivided into two main classes, depending on whether the sanction is conceived to be applied automatically by the sanction agents without human initiative, or whether the sanction agent must first be set in motion by some living human being other than the person to be sanctioned. I call these two classes *self-initiating* and *human-initiated* respectively.

As I have already suggested, an important requirement of a system of referred social sanctions is a set of *rules of interpretation* (or *divination procedures*) for deciding when a given happening constitutes the sanction for the norm believed to be so sanctioned. Between the act that upholds or breaks the norm and the event that supplies the reward or punishment for the act there is a gap in time or space or logical continuity so that it is by no means obvious to the uninstructed that the event in question is the sanction for the enjoined or prohibited action. If the event is to be interpreted as a sanction, this gap must be bridged, and it is the beliefs concerning the connection between act and sanctioning event that supply the required explanation and thereby also provide rules for deciding when a given event occurs as a sanction for some norm. The intervening causes between act and consequent sanction are the agencies to which the application of the sanction is referred. So long as these beliefs are held, the event as interpreted can act as a social sanction and uphold the norms of the society; when the beliefs are challenged, the event may cease to serve any longer as a social sanction.

The types of beliefs and belief-systems involved in referred sanctions may be characterized as either *open* or *closed*. i.e. as capable of being falsified by experience or as incapable of being falsified by experience.[8] Belief systems which are not falsifiable by experience thereby render themselves impregnable to a great many challenges that must be faced by the open, falsifiable systems, and may therefore be reasonably expected to promote social conservatism. On the other hand, the possession of closed systems might reduce their holders' capacity to respond to changes induced by causes other than falsification. In any event, such considerations as these suggest that knowing whether a society's referred sanction system is open or closed may be of considerable importance in understanding that society.

Another important aspect of referred sanctions is the extent to which their sanction agents are *personified*, i.e. conceived as having motives similar to human motives and as being subject to similar sorts of influences. Where such agents are conceived as persons, it becomes possible for a member of society to apply to their prediction and control the same concepts and techniques that he has learned by living in society. This possibility would seem to be a likely explanation for such personifications being as widespread as they are. Since in his attempt to comprehend the unknown, the personifier is applying concepts derived from his social experience, the chances are also excellent that such a personified referred sanction system will also be a projective system reflecting that social experience onto the rest of the world.

Direct social sanctions are applied by living human beings. Following Radcliffe-Brown, we may distinguish a moral and a physical aspect to these sanctions, and may classify them as *moral* or *physical* sanctions according to which aspect is dominant. Moral sanctions operate through their effect on the sanctioned person's self-image or his concern for what other people think of him, and are associated with such sentiments as pride and shame or anxieties about being different. Physical sanctions, on the other hand, make their effect by expanding or restricting the sanctioned individual's power and freedom of action.

[8] Azande witchcraft provides a classic example of a set of referred sanctions based on *closed* beliefs (Evans-Pritchard 1937).

We may also distinguish a third class of social sanctions, viz. the *self-imposed.* Whereas the referred social sanctions are applied (supposedly) by non-human or non-living human agents and the direct social sanctions are applied by other living human beings, the *self-imposed,* as the name implies, are applied by the actor upon himself. The component within the psychic structure of the actor which imposes the sanction may be called the "super-ego" or "social conscience". The sanctions imposed include such things as guilt-feelings, psychosomatic illnesses, obsessions and fears, and the like.

It is the self-imposed social sanctions which tie the concept of social sanctions most firmly with the problem of how social structures become internalized or anchored within the individual. In fact, we could arrange physical sanctions, moral sanctions, and self-imposed sanctions along a continuum of increasing internalization (cf. Goodenough 1963:349-351). But so far as I know there has been no real study of character and social sanctions along these lines. The closest that comes to such are Nadel (1953) on values and their internalization as a means of social control, Gerth's and Mill's (1964) discussion of character and social structure, Riesman's, Glazer's and Denney's (1954) classification of "tradition-directed", "other-directed", and "inner-directed" characters, and, more remotely, some aspects of Fromm's (1941) study of social character, Kardiner's (1945) "psychodynamics" and Wallace's (1961) notion of "mazeways". There is much on character formation, but little of it is tied in to sanctions as such. A major question concerns the extent to which norms are internalized so that the actor comes to judge himself and to sanction himself for compliance or deviance. Cultures may be expected to differ in the degree of internalization accomplished during socialization: clearly such differences may be expected to have further consequences for the society.

Up to this point I have described social sanctions as being applied against the person whose behaviour is to be controlled. This need not always be what happens. If the sanctions are threatened or actually applied against persons to whom the actor is attached by some sentiment of solidarity, the actor's behaviour may be controlled just as firmly, and sometimes even more so,

as if the sanction were applied against himself. Since I have already used the word "direct" for a different use, let me appropriate the words *primary* and *secondary* to denote, respectively, sanctions applied to the person whose behaviour is to be controlled and sanctions applied against persons to whom he is attached.

Secondary social sanctions are very widespread in society. They are, I suspect, at least as important in controlling human behaviour as the primary social sanctions. The idea of collective responsibility (e.g., in feuds) and the use of hostages and of various forms of emotional blackmail are, after all, very old phenomena in human history. Marriage (to take another example) has often been observed to be a stabilizing influence in society: one reason is surely that in marriage persons who otherwise would be uncontrollable except by primary sanctions develop sentiments attaching them to other persons whose sufferings (actual or threatened) thereby become means of influencing the persons whose acts are in question. Many men have put up with unpleasant and dispiriting work in order to get the wherewithal to feed, not themselves, but the families dependent on them; left to themselves, they would simply have run away. Anonymity protects not only the anonymous actor himself, but also those individuals with whom he feels sentiments of solidarity. By the same token, many human beings have done things not for the rewards accruing to themselves as such, but for the benefit of other human beings whose welfare they felt in one way or another to be righfully dependent upon them. This theme could be pursued further, but for now I think these brief notes on secondary sanctions will be enough to hint at their importance in maintaining society.

Before I leave this attempt to classify social sanctions, let me point out that this classification (and also the classification of social control mechanisms in the preceding section) is a classification according to function or the part played by the sanction-event in maintaining society. Consequently, it is quite possible that a given empirical event will fall into more than one class simultaneously. But since I am classifying according to relationships, no confusion of categories is thereby implied.

IV

The concept of social sanction is part of a larger view about the nature of society and of its maintenance. If the considerations in the previous sections are correct, however, neither the resources of the wider theory nor the particular implications of the concept of social sanction have been fully exploited. Both society and its continuance have, I think, tended to be taken for granted, and the focus of analysis has been on relating the parts of society to one another or on explaining social change. Consequently the existence of social sanctions has been taken as obvious or unproblematic, and the issues involved have been largely missed or else barely touched on in passing in a number of scattered references. But when we view change as inevitable and societal survival as problematic, the notion of social sanctions immediately becomes of appreciable importance in explaining how societies may be maintained. The study of the sanction systems of particular societies, furthermore, is a direct entry to the description and understanding of these societies as organized or structured sets of more or less complementary expectations in the minds of the members of these societies, an approach which I venture to aver will prove a most fruitful approach in comprehending human social behaviour.

The concept of social sanction, however, may also act as a bridge between such an expectations-theory of the nature of society and a number of other important perspectives. One of the most promising viewpoints of current social theory is that which regards societies and cultures as self-regulating systems having negative and positive feedback. Now, quite simply, social sanctions in a stable system are a kind of negative feedback and social contra-sanctions are a kind of positive feedback. Like feedbacks, also, social sanctions and contra-sanctions are such not because of their inherent properties, but because of the way they are connected with other parts of the social system. A description of the sanction-system of a society is thus immediately also a partial description of the society as a self-regulating system.

Social sanctions, though their effects are directly upon the normative order and indirectly upon the behavioural order of social life, are themselves within the behavioural order and are thus directly observable events (though their *connections* as social sanctions are matters of inference rather than of simple observation). As such, they are a bridge between society conceived as a body of ordered behaviours and society as a body of ordered norms or expectations.

A simple behaviourist approach to social phenomena, of course, is ruled out by sanction theory. Social sanctions affect the behavioural order through the minds of individuals, who respond or not according to their perceptions of the sanction-situation. Put another way, it is the minds of societal members which determine whether or not events are to be regarded as social sanctions. This "mentalist" reference in sanctions theory is integral to the whole approach and contradicts the restricted viewpoint of behaviourism. But since sanctions (whether natural or social) are observable events sanction theory has at the same time the behavioural referents so insisted upon by behaviourist approaches.

As already mentioned in section two, roles and social sanctions are intimately connected. A role being essentially a set of expectations, social sanctions are evidences of roles-in-play. Sanction-expectations are motivations in the minds of role-players and, from the observer's point of view, constitute explanations or parts of explanations for why the roles are played as they are played. The complex of role-expectations, sanction-expectations, role performances, and social sanctions which occurs in every human activity thus constitutes the basis for both the description of that activity and a partial explanation of that activity, and is the place, at least on the micro-social level, where theories about society must finally be tested. Roles are seen by some authorities (e.g., Nadel 1957; Banton 1965) as the basic units of social structure. This implies a close linkage between social structure and social sanctions, sanctions being in fact one way by which the structure is maintained. Hence a description of the sanction system of society is both a way of beginning the study of the society's structure and a way of making a description of the structure empirically concrete.

The concepts of social sanction and of sanction-expectation further cast light on the nature and operation of power in society. An individual in society has power when he can get other people to do things for him even when they don't want to. But he gains this power over them only through the social sanctions (or, sometimes, psychological manipulations — but this is another topic) which he can bring to bear on them. But when they say "No!" and mean it, even to death, he has no power over them. The absence of effective sanctions implies the absence of power (Bierstedt 1950:733). Perhaps seeing social sanctions as a correlate of social power extends the concept of sanction beyond the idea of its being merely a support of norms, for power can be used to change as well as to maintain; we could, however, apply the term "contra-sanctions" where power was exerted to change society. But certainly sanctions and power are very closely related, and the sanction-analysis of any social situation exposes very clearly the strengths and weaknesses of whatever power relationship are involved in that situation.

Finally, sanction analysis also helps us to understand why people so often put up with societies they find irksome and oppressive, and against which they would otherwise revolt. The weak points in a society's sanction system are those places where change is most likely to come, either as the places where revolt is most likely to start or as the places where new social controls will be imposed to remedy the lack thereof. In the latter eventuality, change will occur in the attempt to prevent change.

V

In summary, I have tried in this paper to clear up some of the confusions afflicting our current conceptions of social sanctions, to provide an improved classification of social sanctions, and to suggest some of the ways in which the concept of sanction may prove useful. I have not presented any hypotheses about sanctions or sanction-systems as such, but have simply attempted to sort out the variables that should be studied. I have also tried to indicate where I think our lines of categorization may most fruit-

TABLE SHOWING, WITH EXAMPLES, THE REVISED CLASSIFICATION OF SOCIAL SANCTIONS

I. *Referred Sanctions:* agent is other than a living human being.

A. *Self-Initiating:*	B. *Human-Initiated:*
Events interpreted as — natural sanctions, — operation of natural laws. — good or bad luck. — due to God's will, or the action of gods or spirits. — favour or disfavour of the ancestors. — effects of breaking a taboo.	Events interpreted as due to the action of entities such as in I-A, when set in motion by some human being other than the doer of the sanctioned behaviour.
Such events commonly include — health or sickness. — favourable or unfavourable coincidences. — good or bad weather.	Curses. Sorcery, and the casting of spells, which affect the sanctioned person. Being killed by magical weapons such as an Australian aborigine's "pointing bone". In some instances, effects of breaking a taboo.
Rewards and penalties given in a presumed next life for one's behaviour in this.	Rewards and penalties given in a presumed next life for one's behaviour in this.

II. *Direct Sanctions:* agent is a living human being.

A. *Moral:*	B. *Physical:*
Judgments of approval or disapproval. Granting or withdrawal of esteem and prestige.	Granting of social membership or withdrawal (excommunication, exile, ostracism) of same.
Public eulogies or public ridicule. Withdrawal of communication or co-operation or both ("sending to Coventry", shunning, boycott, strikes, excommunication).	Granting or deprivation of social status (promotion or degradation). Granting or deprivation of liberty (special liberties and immunities, or imprisonment).
This particular sanction is on the borderline between moral and physical sanctions.	Granting of property (pensions) or deprivation of same (fines). Forcible public exposure to ridicule (pillory, branding). Deprivation of life and limb (executions and mutilations).

III. *Self-Imposed Sanctions:* agent is the person himself.

Feelings of shame, guilt, remorse.	Some neuroses and psychosomatic illnesses.

fully be put. The concept of social sanctions can also, I think, act as a bridge concept, drawing together several different and useful ways of looking at society, and I have sought to point out some of these linkages. Looking at societies as systems of sanctions should therefore be an enlightening way of looking at societies. All I have done in this paper, however, is to raise such possibilities, not to explore them. That would be a major treatise.

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Recensions — Book Reviews

Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy: Lord and Peasant in the Making of the Modern World. Barrington MOORE, Jr. Boston, Beacon, 1967. xix, 559 pp. $2.95.

This is a survey of the roles peasants and landed élites play in the transition from agrarian to industrial societies. The author traces this transformation in England, France, the United States, China, Japan, India, and less fully in Russia and East Germany. The burden of this book is not foreign to anthropology; anthropologists commonly deal with peasants in developing societies, if less frequently with élites in these societies.

Moore defines peasants as a rural group with a "history of subordination to a landed upper class recognized and enforced in the law ... sharp cultural distinctions, and a considerable degree of *de facto* possession of land" (p. 111). In this view, Black sharecroppers in the southern United States are peasants *(ibid.)*. Moore's view is useful, since it avoids largely academic arguments as to whether peasants must be small proprietors, or whether rural workers with kitchen garden plots are peasants. Ethnography, however, requires a more specific definition of peasantry; one circulating among my colleagues draws on Moore and Eric Wolf, and is more explicit:

> A peasant is a rural cultivator who, by means of subsistence and cash crop production on small plots under his effective control, produces a surplus which, in the form of rent, is drawn off by non-peasant power groups.

A fundamental question which must be raised about books by non-anthropologists is: why should an anthropologist read them? I wish to suggest a few reasons which I find personally significant.

First, this book is an antidote to a conservative bias in peasant studies. Moore criticizes a view which sees the peasant as an "object of history" (p. 453). In part, this view stems from what Moore calls a subjective analysis of landlord-peasant relations. This view holds that the term "exploitation" can only be defined arbitrarily or subjectively. Baldly put, subjective analyses say that peasants will put up with whatever they will put up with. Moore, on the contrary, maintains that it should be possible to state under what objective conditions peasants find their lot intolerable. Obviously, these conditions can only be set forth in general terms; but this is not to say that they cannot be predicted at all. For any given set of market and ecological conditions, there must be some limits to what peasants will regard as tolerable working arrangements. For example, the author asks, "How can nine-tenths of

the peasants' crop be no more and no less arbitrary an exactation than a third?" (p. 471).

Secondly, *Lord and Peasant* provides perspective for the anthropological study of peasant revolts. A recent symposium of the American Anthropological Association, *War: The Anthropology of Armed Conflict and Aggression* (held November 30, 1967), dealt in passing with revolutions. Nevertheless, anthropologists have not been much concerned with this topic. For example, a recent anthology subtitled *The Anthropology of Conflict*[1] ignores revolution altogether. It is not too much to say, surely, that revolutions are a form of conflict, and that they are by no means rare in the agrarian societies commonly studied by ethnographers.

A possible reason for the neglect of revolution as an anthropological topic is the lack of a sufficiently general working definition. Moore proposes one which is both broad and, I believe, quite useful:

> One sense of revolution is a violent destruction of political institutions that permits a society to take a new course. (p. 149)

In this view, the American Civil War was a revolution (Ch. 3) and journalistic pronouncements on the "Black revolution" in the United States are not without foundation.

Even if he overstates the case, Moore performs an important service by looking for the roots of radical social change in rural unrest. If I read Moore correctly, the road to modernization has often started in the sort of peasant communities which ethnographers commonly study. For some time now students have been urged to take up urban anthropology, or the anthropology of complex societies. However, it may be that anthropologists can best write the anthropology of the developing nation by continuing to learn about the interrelations of peasants and rural elites.

Finally, this book serves as a reminder that apologies for the status quo are not in themselves "objective". Moore's book is by no means a polemic; he refuses to search for history's villains. But this is not to say that his writings lack compassion. He feels, as he maintains all historians should, "sympathy with the victims of historical processes" (p. 523). These sympathies are part of the working equipment of all effective students of society:

> Objectivity is not the same thing as conventional judiciousness. A celebration of the virtues of our own society which leaves out its ugly and cruel features, which fails to face the question of a connection between its attractive and its cruel ones, remains an apologia even if it is spoken in the most measured academic tones. (p. 522)

Bruce Cox

[1] P. Bohannan, *Law and Warfare: Studies in the Anthropology of Conflict*. Garden City, Natural History Press, 1967.

Three Prehistoric Iroquois Components in Eastern Ontario. James F. Pendergast. Ottawa, National Museum of Canada, Bulletin 208, 1966. xviii-247 pp., illustrations.

Three prehistoric Iroquois sites in southeastern Ontario are described in this monograph. The sites, believed to be involved in the early development of the Onondaga-Oneida group, are all located near the headwaters of tributaries north of the upper St. Lawrence River.

The reports consist almost entirely of descriptions of the great proliferation of pottery and pipe types so characteristic of Iroquois sites. Bone artifacts form the largest proportion of non-ceramic artifacts, although ground stone celts, mortars, and beads are present in addition to a few ground slate tools. The rare flaked stone knife and point was encountered. The inhabitants of these sites apparently made their living by a combination of hunting, fishing, gathering, and the cultivation of maize and tobacco. One of the sites reportedly was surrounded by an earthwork, but there was no evidence that the others were palisaded.

Pendergast apologizes for the lack of synthesis, which will be forthcoming after more sites are excavated in this area north of the Adirondack Mountains.

Alan L. BRYAN

The Democratic Revolution in the West Indies, edited by Wendell Bell. Cambridge: Schenkman Publishing Company. 1967. xxiv + 232 pp. Photographs. $3.95.

This book is a series of articles written by members of the West Indies Indies Study Program, under the direction of Wendell Bell. The research was carried out in the British West Indies. The purpose of the book is stated in an introduction by Bell and Ivar Oxaal:

> ...the conceptual framework we formulated as a result of our work directly derives from our research task — understanding the recruitment, socialization, and above all, the performance of new national elites..." (p. 4)

They call this approach "the decisions of nationhood", and the basic question they ask is: "What must men really do and really become in order to establish and maintain the type of organization called a nation-state?"

The underlying assumption of the studies is that contemporary social and political change is but a continuation of the "democratic revolution" which "Europe and America of the latter eighteenth century gave birth as a realizable human aspiration in this world" (p.4). Thus, in their surveys of attitudes and sentiments among British West Indian leaders they stress the Enlightenment values of liberty, equality, and fraternity, which they call political democracy, egalitarianism and social inclusiveness.

Of the ten chapters, seven deal with surveys of attitudes and sentiments of British West Indian leaders towards such topics as democracy, equality, independence, global alignments, progress, and national character. In these studies, the attitudes are correlated with such categories as political type (e.g., democrats, authoritarian idealists, cynical parliamentarians, authoritarians), economic ideology (radical, liberal, populist, conservative, and reactionary), and with selected social characteristics such as age, education, color and wealth.

Only two of the chapters are not typical sociological presentations of tabulated correlations. One of these is a useful historical essay, by Ivar Oxaal, on the ideological and educational background to the independence movement in Trinidad. The other is a study of class, race and power in Barbados, which was previously published by Raymond Mack in another volume by the same publisher.

Space confines me to review the volume as a whole, instead of dealing with each study separately. In my view, the similarity in approach of at least seven of these studies warrants an overview critique.

The authors of these seven studies (Charles Moskos, Jr., Wendell Bell, James Duke, Andrew Phillips, and James Mau—Moskos and Bell together are responsible for three) simply describe and correlate the attitudes of the British West Indian élite with reference to the problem of nation-building. As in much sociology, analysis is merely the explanation of tabular presentations. It is, however, a truism in social science (or should be) that what people do and what they say are often two different things. Whereas these authors describe the sentiments of the leaders of various countries towards liberty, equality and fraternity, there is no analysis of the problems of realizing these goals, in the very *actions* of these leaders. There is no discussion of the problems of political independence and survival in a neo-colonial context.

Some of their findings would be interesting if they allowed us to understand *events* in the West Indies. Take for example this statement from the summary of the chapter on Attitudes Towards Democracy: "...attitudes favorable to democracy are most pronounced in Jamaica where modern democratic political institutions have been in force for the longest time" (p. 84). How does this enable us to understand the repressive measures which are taken in Jamaica against radical intellectuals, and towards the importation of so-called "seditious literature" (e. g., radical American monthlies)? It doesn't help us at all. There is nothing here to help us understand the crisis in Guyana or the attempts to incite rebellion in St. Kitts. Description of values without close analysis of the nature of the social structure is a futile exercise in contemporary social analysis.

A last comment relating to the emphasis on interviewing the elite. Given the nature of mass nationalist, peasant, and proletarian movements in effecting nationhood in today's world, how come nobody thought of asking the West Indian laborer what he felt?

Richard FRUCHT

Pioneers of American Anthropology: The Uses of Biography, June Helm (editor). University of Washington Press, Seattle, Washington, 1966. xiv + 247. Illustrations. $5.95.

Pionneers of American Anthropology is not, as one might expect from the title, an account of such men as Schoolcraft, Morgan, or Powell. Rather, it consists in part of a brief résumé of the early women in American anthropology, and is primarily concerned with selected aspects of the life and work of Franz Boas. No one would doubt that these individuals are indeed pioneers of American anthropology, but the rationale for placing these particular papers alone between two covers is not exactly clear.

Jacob Gruber contributes the first essay "In Search of Experience: Biography as an Instrument for the History of Anthropology". In this he makes an appeal for comparative biographies of anthropologists as a device by which we might more readily appreciate the theoretical and other conflicts within the discipline and build a story of anthropology.

The essay "Women in Early American Anthropology" by Nancy Lurie follows the theme of comparative biography launched by Gruber. In it six women are singled out for discussion: Erminnie Smith (who was the first woman to do field work), Alice Fletcher (an early student of the Omaha), Matilda Stevenson (who introduced the Zuni to soap), Zelia Nuttall, Frances Densmore and Elsie Clews Parsons. In weaving the story of their lives Lurie also tells us the brief history of the Women's Anthropological Society (1885-1899). Lurie considers these women to be outstanding anthropologists. This may be true, but it is one thing to be an outstanding anthropologist in a day when you are the only anthropologist, another in a day when you are one among thousands. What is outstanding about these women, as with pioneers or innovators anywhere, is their courage in stepping into a new and strange world.

The main reason for the Parmenter essay, "Glimpses of a Friendship", would appear to be to provide an extended transition from early women anthropologists to the main focus of the volume, Franz Boas. This paper, another study in comparative biography, details the relationship between Zelia Nuttall and Franz Boas and is based on the eight letters from Nuttall to Boas and ten letters from Boas to Nuttall, apparently their total correspondence over a period of three decades. It is difficult to see how a relationship involving such a meagre correspondence and apparently an almost equally minimal amount of personal contact can be honored with the term friendship, and particularly when neither Boas nor Mrs. Nuttall ever addressed each other in anything but the most formal way. It is also not quite clear what makes this relationship so important as to form the basis for an article covering a quarter of the whole book. Aside from the dim light it sheds on Boas and Nuttall, the paper provides some material on the establishment of the Anthropology Department at Berkeley and on the short-lived International School of Archaeology and Ethnology in Mexico.

Ronald Rohner's discourse on "Franz Boas: Ethnographer on the Northwest Coast" addresses itself to an important problem in Boasiana, namely the

claim that Boas' greatest contribution to modern anthropology has been the establishment of field work as the foundation of modern American anthropology. Rohner seeks to determine Boas' "activities in the field, his attitudes towards field work and his relations with the Indians of the Northwest Coast". The author approaches the problem through Boas' letters and diaries written in the field, which are liberally quoted in the text. He also conveniently provides the reader with tables showing the duration of Boas' field trips on the Northwest Coast, the locations visited during each field trip and his major activities during each trip. Regardless of what may be the value of such pursuits one cannot, I think, help being here reminded of a Biblical fundamentalist scholar who devotes his life energies to such enterprises as counting the number of times Christ used this or that word. Aside from this, one of the tables does illustrate that while Boas spent a great deal of time in the total in the Northwest, he actually never stayed in any one community more than a very few days. In the text we learn that only once did Boas ever bring his wife along on a trip, that he did participate at least in communal activity, although on the basis of the data provided it seems highly unlikely that one could say that he was truly a practitioner of participant observation. It is also obvious that Boas, once in the field, had a great compulsion to collect and not to "waste" time. He apparently would have had little patience with the field technique which I think Alan Holmberg called "judicious loafing". Nor does it appear that he would have had the patience to acquire the type of rapport necessary for perceiving and understanding cultural values and the subtle nuances of culture.

While Boas may have established the concept of field work and field work in the native language, it certainly has remained to others after him, and I would single out Malinowski particularly in this regard, to define what are today considered the more viable techniques of procedure.

Pioneers of American Anthropology is a collection of miscellania — an assemblage of bits and patches which remains just that and sometimes is hardly more than bits of trivia.

Harold BARCLAY

The Ontario Iroquois Tradition. J.V. Wright. Ottawa, National Museum of Canada Bulletin 210. 1966. xii-195 pp.; 20 tables, 19 plates, 4 figs., 5 maps, 7 charts. $3.00.

This monograph describes the development of that part of the Northeastern Iroquois Tradition distributed in the province of Ontario from about A. D. 1000 until the mid 17th century. Wright supports the view that the Ontario Iroquois Tradition developed *in situ,* most likely from an earlier Point Peninsula base. The Ontario Iroquois Tradition is divided into three stages. During the Early Ontario Iroquois stage, dated from *ca.* A.D. 1000 to A.D. 1300, two complexes developed in relative isolation from one another, the Glen Meyer branch in southwest Ontario and the Pickering branch in southeastern Ontario. It is believed that at the end of this period the people of the Pickering branch

conquered and absorbed those of the Glen Meyer branch; and the resulting fusion gave rise to the Middle Ontario Iroquois stage, marked by cultural homogeneity over most of southern Ontario and part of southwestern New York for a period of about 100 years. This stage is divided into two substages, Uren and Middleport. The Late Ontario Iroquois stage saw the divergence of the four historic tribes — the Huron and Petun, and the Neutral and Erie — from a common Middleport substage base beginning by A. D. 1400 and terminating with the destruction of these tribes by the League of Five Nations in the mid 17th century.

In formulating his complexes and reconstructing cultural processes, Wright depends very heavily on ceramic analyses. The amount of information on culture history which Wright is now able to glean from detailed study of Iroquois ceramics testifies to the success of the intensive efforts of the archaeologists who have worked in the area. There is only a minimum description of the ceramics placed within the text; additional data on settlement patterns, house types, burial patterns, and associated stone and bone artifacts help to fill out the reconstruction of each stage in the development of the Ontario Iroquois Tradition.

This part of culture history should be known by all Iroquois ethnologists.

Ruth GRUHN

Métis of the Mackenzie District. Richard Slobodin. Ottawa: Canadian Research Centre for Anthropology, 1966. xii-175 pp., 20 tables, map, drawing. Price $4.00.

The scarcity of adequate studies of the Métis is a partial indication of the underdeveloped state of modern social anthropology in Canada and of the inadequate support for Canadian Studies along modern social scientific lines. Professor Slobodin's monograph, besides being a very solid contribution towards bringing scattered data on the Mackenzie District Métis into meaningful focus, is an example of the high quality of anthropological craftsmanship which future students of this ethnographically and historically complex society might well seek to emulate.

The present work is based on Professor Slobodin's fieldwork in several settlements in 1963, supplemented by material collected in previous field trips between 1938 and 1962 and a careful study of published and unpublished reports and records. His chapters on "Regional Distinctions and Community Settings", "The Family", "Kinship", "Occupations", "Education", "External Relations" and "Métis Identify", followed by appendices on "Ethnicity of Lovers and Spouses" and "Native Languages of District Métis" provide comprehensive yet succinct depictions of the various aspects of Métis institutions and social system. Particularly illuminating are the author's careful analysis of the biological and cultural meanings attaching to the term "Métis"; his distinction, going beyond the purely historical aspect, between the "Red River" and "Northern" Métis

populations; the treatment of kinship; and the attempt to apply the concept of value-orientation to the study of Métis idenity.

Having said that this book constitutes an excellent model for future ethnographic treatments of this important Canadian minority, I would nevertheless urge that the time has come to think also in terms of studies that go beyond ethnography in the usual sense to deal more directly with the question of class and power relations between Métis and "White Canadian" social systems. To my knowledge the only attempt at analysis along such lines is contained in Peter Worsley's little known, mimeographed report for the Centre for Community Studies in Saskatoon in the early 1960's in which the concept of internal colonialism was applied to data on northern Saskatchewan. Surely further studies framed in terms of such concepts could help to lay bare the roots of the Métis' condition and make for greater comparability with studies in other "underdeveloped" areas of the world.

Charles S. BRANT

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