

PILOT

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ESSAYS IN MEMORY OF DIAMOND JENNESS

edited by Pat and Jim LOTZ

ANTHROPOLOGICA
N.S. Vol. XIII, Nos. 1-2, 1971
Special Issue

CANADIAN RESEARCH CENTRE
FOR ANTHROPOLOGY
SAINT PAUL UNIVERSITY
CENTRE CANADIEN DE RECHERCHES
EN ANTHROPOLOGIE
UNIVERSITÉ SAINT-PAUL

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Special Issue / Numéro spécial

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Imprimé au Canada

Printed in Canada

La revue ANTHROPOLOGICA
est l'organe officiel du Centre cana-
dien de recherches en anthropologie,
Université Saint-Paul, Ottawa.

ANTHROPOLOGICA is the of-
ficial publication of the Canadian
Research Centre for Anthropology,
Saint Paul University, Ottawa.

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Silent Tribute

A lone Eskimo woman at the back of the chapel turned to face the centre aisle in a final farewell. She stood in stark contrast to the sea of White faces conditioned to veil visible emotion. Tears streamed down her gentle face, unashamed, a face full of affection, respect and grief. The finest tribute I have ever witnessed, to the finest man I have ever known.

A description of a lonely mourner
at the funeral of Diamond Jenness,
Dec. 1, 1969
By "A Friend"

Diamond Jenness

An Appreciation

When Diamond Jenness accepted an invitation to serve as ethnologist on the Canadian Arctic Expedition under the direction of Vilhjalmur Stefansson, in 1913, he faced a challenge and an opportunity rarely offered a 20th century anthropologist. He was to make a three-year study of the Copper Eskimos around Coronation Gulf, a virtually unknown people who had been brought to the attention of the scientific world only two years previously through the investigations of Stefansson. An account of Jenness' introduction to Arctic anthropology — of his first year among the Eskimos of northern Alaska and his two years with the Copper Eskimos, the impressive results of these three year's work, and of his many other noteworthy accomplishments — has been given elsewhere (*Arctic* 23:71-81, June 1970). Suffice it to say here that the Copper Eskimos, the least known of all Eskimo tribes and the last to be studied while their native culture was still intact, became, through the works of Jenness and Stefansson, the most thoroughly documented of any Eskimo group. This was due to Jenness' industry and perseverance under the most difficult of field situations, and to a deep understanding of the Eskimos and their way of life obtained from observing and sharing the vicissitudes of their day to day existence through all seasons of the year. Another reason why Jenness was able to accomplish as much as he did was his virtuosity as a scientist, for he was that rare phenomenon, the all round anthropologist, with professional competence in all branches of the discipline.

At the conclusion of his Arctic field work in 1916 Jenness joined the Canadian Expeditionary Force and saw active duty as a gunner with the Field Artillery in World War I. His war duties over, he returned to Ottawa as Anthropologist on the staff of the National Museum, and immersed himself in the task of



Diamond Jenness

preparing reports on his field work among the Copper Eskimos (1914-16) and the North Alaskan Eskimos (1913-14), to be published as Reports of the Canadian Arctic Expedition 1913-18. First to appear was his monograph *The Copper Eskimos*, 1923, the first part of which, *The Life of the Copper Eskimos*, 277 p., is one of the classics of ethnographic literature, still regarded as the best description of any Eskimo tribe. Part B, *Physical Characteristics of the Copper Eskimos*, 60 p., described measurements and physiological observations on 126 individuals, the first anthropometric data to be recorded for a Canadian Eskimo population. This basic monograph was followed by a more popular but no less authentic and vivid account of the Copper Eskimos (*People of the Twilight*, 1928.)

Eskimo songs which Jenness had recorded on a phonograph were published in text, translation, and musical transcription and analysis in *Songs of the Copper Eskimos* (with Helen H. Roberts), 505 p., 1925; the 137 songs recorded and analyzed in this volume represent the largest collection of songs from any Eskimo area. Jenness' data on folk-lore and linguistics of the North Alaskan and Copper Eskimos were published in other Reports of the Canadian Arctic Expedition: *Myths and traditions from Northern Alaska, the Mackenzie Delta and Coronation Gulf*, 90 p., 1926; *Eskimo String Figures*, 90 p., 1926; *Comparative Vocabulary of the Western Eskimo Dialects*, 134 p., 1928; *Grammatical Notes on some Western Eskimo Dialects*, 34 p., 1944. His last major contribution to Copper Eskimo ethnology was *Material Culture of the Copper Eskimos*, 148 p., 1946. A still later volume, *Dawn in Arctic Alaska*, University of Minnesota Press, 1957, describes his first year in the Arctic among the Eskimos of Northern Alaska.

Jenness' archaeological publications were few and short, but they exerted a profound influence on Eskimo prehistory. He discovered the two oldest cultures then known from the Arctic — the Dorset culture in the East and the Old Bering Sea in the West ("A new Eskimo culture in Hudson Bay", *Geographical Review*, Vol. 15, No. 3, 1925, and "Archaeological investigations in Bering Strait", National Museum of Canada, Bulletin 50, 1926). His penetrating insight into the problems of Eskimo prehistory is further exemplified in short summary articles such as "Ethno-

logical problems of Arctic America," American Geographical Society, Special Publication No. 7, 1928; "The problem of the Eskimo", in *The American Aborigines, their Origin and Antiquity*, edited by Diamond Jenness, University of Toronto Press, 1933; "Prehistoric culture waves from Asia to America", Smithsonian Institution, Annual Report, 1940.

Jenness made field studies among a number of Canadian Indian tribes and published numerous papers on their ethnology, history and economy. His *Indians of Canada*, 1931, is the only comprehensive work on the Canadian aborigines as a whole, Indian and Eskimo, covering all aspects of their culture, historical background, and economic status.

After his retirement from the National Museum of Canada Jenness was again active in a military role, serving as Deputy Director of Intelligence for the Royal Canadian Air Force in World War II, an assignment made primarily in recognition of his intimate knowledge of the Arctic, then becoming an area of strategic importance as air bases, radar and weather stations were being established throughout the Canadian North. From 1943 to 1946 he was Chief of the Inter-Service Topographical Section of the Department of Defence and later was responsible for creation of the Geographical Bureau, of which he was the first Director. Years earlier he had been directly responsible for the passage of Canada's Ordinance for the protection of archaeological sites in the Northwest Territories.

Dr. Jenness was a modest and quiet man, who seldom busied himself with professional affairs. Yet many honours came to him, including the Order of Canada, his country's highest, and honorary doctorates from five universities. And his colleagues elected him to the three highest offices in the profession — President of the American Anthropological Association, President of the Society for American Archaeology, and Vice-president of Section H (Anthropology), American Association for the Advancement of Science.

It seems fitting and in keeping with the character of the man that Jenness should devote his last years of research, long after his retirement, to an exhaustive study of the economic status of the

present day Eskimos and the question of their survival in the rapidly changing world of the 20th century. In a series of monographs published by the Arctic Institute of North America between 1962 and 1968, under the prosaic title of *Eskimo Administration*, Jenness traced the historical background of Eskimo-white contacts throughout the Arctic and examined the various policies of Eskimo education and administration in Alaska, Northern Canada, Labrador, and Greenland, with a critical and judicious appraisal of their accomplishments and failures. Accepting the Greenland model as the only successful one, he shows conclusively that the traditional Eskimo way of life, in Canada especially, is no longer possible, on a broad scale, under present conditions. He outlines the measures that must be taken if the Eskimos are to survive in an environment so greatly changed, and offers a program to ensure their livelihood and future existence as first-class citizens. Government administrators responsible for the education and welfare of the Eskimos are fortunate indeed to have this searching analysis of the problems Government must face, from a man whose knowledge of these problems and the means of surmounting them, was second to none.

Henry B. COLLINS

Introduction

Jim Lotz

Dr. Diamond Jenness died on November 29, 1969.

He slipped quietly away on a bright day, with the sunshine dappling the lawn, the birds cheerfully chirping, and a symphony playing on the radio.

In August of that year, I had written to Dr. Diamond from Montreal, where I was attending a Conference on Cross-Cultural Education in the North. It was a solemn conclave in which we gave the impression of wrestling with — and solving — all the complex problems of Indian, Eskimo and native education. I had not seen Dr. Diamond for a couple of years, although we had worked in the same government office for several years. He had been ill, and I hesitated to disturb him. In my note I had told him of the conference, of the twenty-four-dollars-a-day rooms, the luxurious surroundings, and the way in which the real people of the North — his people and his North — seemed so far away. He wrote back one of his short courteous notes, telling me that he was feeling well, and inviting me to visit him.

And so, on a glorious September day, as the year died in a blaze of gold and orange Pat and I, with a friend, set out to see Dr. Diamond. Our friend was studying Indians, and had never dreamed that she would ever get to meet *the* Dr. Jenness. We had some trouble finding his cottage in the Gatineau. To the people we asked for directions, his name was unfamiliar. As always, the prophet was unknown in his own country — even in his own village. Over coffee and brownies, we talked with Dr. Diamond and his wife. He showed me a typed manuscript entitled “Through Darkening Eyes”.

There was no self-pity or gloom in his manner, and he was as alert as ever. He was still Dr. Diamond Jenness, a man small

in stature and great in heart, with a quiet, dignified manner and a probing intelligence that went right to the core of a problem. I let him into a secret — that the Canadian Research Centre for Anthropology would be preparing a book of essays in his honour — and we were suitably conspiratorial about the project. He agreed to read the essays and to make comments on them. One of the aims of the project was to put him in touch with research workers who were building on his work, and extending his concern for people to the problems of Eskimos and Indians in the modern world.

Dr. Jenness' last great achievement had been the completion of the series of publications on Eskimo administration. Funds for this project had been arranged through the Northern Co-ordination and Research Centre of the Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources, and the reports were published by the Arctic Institute of North America. For this study he had travelled extensively and talked to many people. It was all done on a small sum of money, in contrast to the enormous amounts of money spent in the Indian and Eskimo research industry these days. For Dr. Jenness *was* an Eskimo. In 1914-1916, he lived with the Eskimos east of the Mackenzie Delta and was adopted by a prominent Eskimo leader on Victoria Island. There was a certain sense of fierce pride and integrity about Dr. Diamond, in which arrogance played no part. He had lived with the Eskimos, learned from them, become one of them. His mind was always open. He would listen to the most ridiculous proposal, meditate, and then say, "I'll think about that."

In the peculiar small world of Ottawa, his presence and his greatness were seldom acknowledged, as bright young men sought to solve all the world's problems before lunch. But anyone who found his way to Dr. Diamond could draw upon a great fountain of knowledge and wisdom. He never turned anyone away. You approached Dr. Diamond as you would the Colosseum, or some other great historical monument, with a mixture of awe and reverence. But his humanity leapt out at you, and you went away refreshed and relaxed. He was a serious, joyful man. He always had a twinkle in his eye, and like many other great scientists, he took his work seriously, but never himself.

And he was concerned — about the fate of Mankind and especially about that of his beloved Eskimos. There was no paternalism in his manner, just deep concern for fellow humans and friends. Always, when he spoke of the Eskimos, he conveyed the impression of a solitary small man on a windswept tundra, waiting for a seal, seeking the caribou, or trudging laden back to the igloo — a man solitary and independent, and yet concerned and involved with his community.

He told me once that a Cypriot had written to him after reading his book *The Economics of Cyprus* (1962), and suggested that he come to that strife-torn country and solve its problems. But this was not Dr Diamond's way. He was concerned about all manner of men, but he was not worried about the "plight of the natives" in the guilt-ridden, middle-class way that has almost become a standard Canadian reaction these days. He had lived with the Indians and the Eskimos, he had respected their ways and understood their validity.

He tells, in one of his papers ("An Indian Method of Treating Hysteria," *Primitive Man* 6[1]:13-20 [1933].) about being called in by a group of Indians near Hazelton, B.C. They had been using a traditional way of curing their mentally-ill people, but had been bothered by the missionary and the police, who saw only barbarous ways there. The Indians invited Dr. Jenness to witness their ceremonies, and he described them in the paper. He concluded;

Native Explanation Mrs. Old Sam had been seized by *kyan*, a mystic unseen power that haunts the mountains. It makes the patient listless and without strength subject to constant day-dreams... At times the patient becomes hysterical... The only persons who dare approach her in this condition are those who have been cured of the same complaint, or else members of the secret Kaluhlim Society, who have suffered from a milder malady of a somewhat similar nature... The "doctor" and his assistants... govern this possessive spirit with their songs and gradually expel it from her body, when the "doctor" blows it back to the mountain where it belongs.

Rational Explanation The Indians are mentally somewhat unbalanced. Believing that the world around them is full of supernatural beings who are constantly interfering in human affairs, they readily fall victims to their hallucinations... *Kyan* is supposed to be most active in the evenings as darkness begins to close in; consequently it is at this hour that auto-

suggestion brings on the hysteria. [He then describes how the hysteria is controlled by the other Indians]. Thus the hysteria is forced to express itself in slow rhythmic movements until the patient becomes physically exhausted and her mind clears. During her periods of normality she encounters no social barriers or restraints, and incurs no feeling of inferiority, because she believes that her malady was unavoidable and firmly expects permanent cure. So in time... she outgrows to a large extent the mental and pathological conditions that induce the hysteria and becomes fully normal again.

Dr. Diamond saw that there was wisdom in the "emotional", "native" way of doing things, and that such ways were as rational as western methods of curing the mentally ill.

Dr Jenness founded no formal school of Canadian anthropological thought and headed no band of followers. He was never on the staff of a university, and so had no captive audience to enslave with his ideas to the exclusion of all others. In the final volume on his study, *Eskimo Administration, V: Analysis and Reflections*, he describes the traditional Eskimo way of leadership. Like an Eskimo leader, Dr. Diamond was a pilot, not a commander. He led because he was better at his speciality than anyone else, and because he cared for others. He retained his individualism and autonomy, and he encouraged others to do the same — even if it meant disagreeing with him. He made a distinction between what a man was and what a man did. He published his research results from the Stefansson Expedition, but he would never talk about certain personal aspects of this expedition, during which there was a conflict between the "scientists" and the "explorers". He was both, and he chose to stay in the middle, doing his work.

When he was completing his study of Canada's Eskimos, there were pressures on him to put the manuscript aside or to alter it, in case it embarrassed the government. The officials of the Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources suggested that they compile a series of observations on the manuscript, and that this be published as an appendix to the Canadian report. This minuting of the memoranda, rebutting or questioning each "controversial" point is, of course, a standard bureaucratic method of self-defence. Dr. Jenness would have nothing to do with it. If the Department wished to publish their own report on the administration of the Canadian Eskimos, they

were at liberty to do so. After all, they had more resources than he had. But he sought to be judged by his peers, and by the Eskimos, and not by civil servants. And there the matter was left.

Dr Diamond had the two characteristics of every great scientist — the ability to make an intuitive leap into the unknown, and to string together a few impressions and ideas and come up with a new concept; and the capacity to work hard, digging into material, travelling, listening and thinking. Without this, the intuitive leaps mean little. Dr. Jenness always kept his feet on the ground. He discovered the Dorset Culture and the Old Bering Sea Culture as new adaptations to the Arctic environment, and his monographs on Eskimo administration were built on careful, painstaking research. As a classical scholar, he had the ability to communicate his findings in clear and precise language.

Social science seems to be coming of age in Canada, and there have been statements in recent years that the “real” problems of northern development are the social and cultural ones — as if this had not always been obvious to all men who had a concern for their fellows, as distinct from an “objective, scientific” attitude towards them. There have also been loud cries for more money for social science research. The anthropologists, sociologists and other social scientists are making sounds about being socially useful; some have become more Indian than the Indians. Dr. Diamond was never this way. He knew that the essential role of the social scientist is to carry out careful research, and to communicate his findings to everyone interested. He published a great deal, but once told me: “It’s not how much you write. It’s what you say that is important”.

Dr Diamond was not concerned with being socially useful in the hyperactive way that is becoming characteristic of so many North American social scientists who feel a compulsion to save other people — especially Indians — from themselves. He was concerned with being human, and with understanding and accepting the humanity of others. While he was working at the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, junior civil servants would slip upstairs, half furtively, to seek his advice. He never saw himself as the consultant, the expert, the authority.

An old Eskimo, Mr. Percy Ipalook Senior, from Kotzebue, Alaska wrote:

I am sure Eskimos in Barrow of my age and older will recall the "little man with glasses and a sketch book" getting around in Barrow... "Jenness" — as we knew him then — would mix around with us youngsters in our playgrounds and very courteously ask simple questions. Much of what he got out of us was "honest to goodness" expressions in Eskimo, or names and designations of anything in Eskimo. I have thought about this many a time afterwards and a common knowledge that if a person wishes an unadulterated information from anyone, ask a youngster. Invariably, the answer will be a straight truth or fact. The old professor of anthropology must have known this strategy long before he came to the Arctic.

And as just "Jenness" he will be remembered by all who knew him.

In general, social scientists are a gloomy lot, perhaps because they are called in only to study pathologies and problems when they seem to be beyond the control of ordinary men. But these essays, which cover Eskimos, Indian and the North should reveal a more optimistic perspective on the conditions of native peoples than most writings on this theme these days. They also reveal a great deal about the white man and his culture. The essay by a young Indian, Morris Isaac, reveals a cheerful bewilderment about the white man's world, and it is the sort of article that Dr. Diamond would have enjoyed. The article by Dr. George Rogers, a friend of Dr Jenness, points some ways forward for native and white people, based on experience in Alaska.

The range of essays in this volume is very wide. There are detailed papers on change in certain parts of the North — Peter Usher writes on the Western Arctic, Roger Pearson on the southern Mackenzie District, Edwin Hall on the impact of the snowmobile in Alaska, Milton Freeman on demographic changes in the Eastern Arctic. There are also summaries of northern research in one discipline (John Berry provides an overview of psychological research among native people in the North) and of one person (Donat Savoie summarizes the life and influence of another unknown Canadian — Father Petitot). The papers by John Honigmann, Derek Smith and Harry Hawthorn point out how new life styles are emerging in the North, and among Canada's Indians. Jean Usher and Bruce Trigger tell of the

impact of the white man on the Indians, and reveal the richness of the material for such studies in Canada. Robin Ridington tells of the depth and complexity of the inner life of a group of Indians. Julie Cruikshank raises some questions on how traditional and modern societies can work together in harmony. And Henry Collins' essay shows the universality of art.

Dr. Diamond did not live to see the great flowering of native people's movements that has occurred in Canada in the past two years. He did not live to hear Indian chants in a Parliamentary Committee Room, as Harold Cardinal, a young Cree leader from Alberta, confronted the government and explained the inadequacies of the new federal Indian policy. He did not live to read that the people of Sachs Harbour (named for one of the boats of the Stefansson expedition) had politely but firmly objected to oil companies ravaging their environment. He did not realize how all young people — Eskimo, Indian and white — were studying his books and finding authentic information on the past of the native peoples of Canada, information that they were using to build a saner society founded on knowledge. To the end of his days, he did not seem to realize that his personality and his integrity had provided a guide to many younger men, stumbling along a difficult path, and that his writings were providing a source of knowledge and ideas for everyone.

Yet, to the end of his days, he kept his heart and his mind open. He wrote, in a copy of *The Corn Goddess*, the following message to my two daughters.

You are young, and you can still hear and see things we older people can hear and see no longer, for our eyes have covers on them and our ears are stuffed with nonsense. But the Indians who told me these stories had good eyes and good ears, although some of them were old. They listened to the conversations of the trees in the forest, and heard the birds there talking to one another. They could see — can you? — the tiny fairy dancing in the dew-drop and the pixies hiding in the buttercup.

I hope that you too will hear and see these things all your life, and be happy.

Dr. Diamond told me once of going into a village in the Pacific when he was a young anthropologist. When he arrived, everyone had vanished. He sat down on a tree stump, pulled out

a piece of string, and began to play "cat's cradle". In a little while, the shy faces of children appeared to watch his fascinating fingers. Then the adults, reassured that this small white man meant no harm, came out of the forest.

And those of us who were privileged to know Dr. Diamond will remember him this way, playing his game of intellectual cat's cradle, a slight smile on his lips, a twinkle in his serious eyes, always concerned, always involved, always human, and always "Jeness".

Funny — I'm Still Looking for That Place

Morris Isaac

It started when a teacher counsellor told me that I was accepted in a Business College in Montreal. I had just finished my high school on the reserve so I was happy to hear that. I needed a change; the reserve was getting on my nerves. It wasn't the people who were giving me a hang-up, it was the whole atmosphere, the agency, the band council, and the committees I was on. It seemed as if they had a committee for every committee. We wanted to raise money for kids' recreation programs so we had bingos and card parties, but the people didn't have that much income. Most of the people then were on welfare, but now more and more young kids are beginning to discover high-steel. Young guys from the age of seventeen are leaving school and going into steel work. Most of them go to the States to work. One thing good about the work, it brings money into the reserve.

I was told I had to leave the following Sunday for Montreal. I packed my clothes and I was all excited to see the big city I had heard so much about. After fourteen hours on the train we pulled into Montreal in the morning. I was met by another teacher-counsellor who took me over to the place he had found for me; he called it a real wonderful place where I would have the opportunity to meet new people. I didn't know he meant children when he said new people; there must have been thousands of kids running around in the boarding place. He also asked me how my French was and I told him not bad. He was glad; he told me that I would get along just fine with the students there. None spoke English. We went into a small room and I sat down to wait, for I figured it was a waiting room. He told me that this would be my home for the rest of the year, and that they would get me a bed sometime today. I didn't want to believe him — what I had thought was a waiting room suddenly turned out to be my home. He said I probably was the luckiest guy in the building, because I was the only guy with a sink in his room. I'm sure they didn't put

that sink just for me. I didn't even have to get up from my bed when I wanted to wash; even if I had wanted to, I couldn't. The room was only big enough to open the door to get out.

The next day he took me over to the school to register. As we entered the building I noticed that the inside looked as bad as the outside. The atmosphere didn't seem too bad and some people had friendly faces. There were more girls than boys, and I knew I had made a right choice in education. As we toured the school I started to think about the reserve. I don't know if it was the building that made me think of the reserve; it was old, dirty, and very cold. The students seemed friendly — some of them were rich and probably couldn't make it in other schools, some of them were dropouts, and some couldn't afford to go to other schools. So I guessed I could identify with some of the students. The principal kept telling us that we would be moving to another building. He felt the same way about the building as we did, but he had signed a lease and I guess we had to stay till it ran out. He told us that we could study more and probably have more success in the next building. Somehow that didn't work for me; I had the same problems in the next building. I still don't know what went wrong.

I did learn some important points about life in the business training. I learned that I should try and mind my own business a little more. I spent the first year in college trying to figure out what debit and credit meant. The teacher couldn't believe me when I said that I didn't know what he was talking about. I did have a little experience with credit cause all I did was borrow money from rich friends. The guidance counsellor told me to socialize and meet new people so I used to go to night-clubs to socialize. Very often people started to talk to me and I didn't know who they were. They knew my name and they knew I was Indian. They told me later that I met them when I was at the club the last time. I guess that's part of socializing.

The first year in college was a drag, but the nine months seemed to fly by. Then it was time for me to go back to my reserve and the first person I had to see was the superintendent (they don't like to be called Indian Agents). I had to give him a report on how I enjoyed myself in a white-man's world. He

asked me, with a smile on his face, if I could balance the books yet. I asked myself what the hell he meant by that, and I thought he meant my weight. I told him that I had gained a few pounds.

I hung around the reserve for about a week and then I decided to go to Boston. I wanted to work before I returned to Montreal for my second year in business. I wanted to work for some spending money and new clothes, seeing that I had to wear a necktie every day at the school. I think that was the thing that I hated the most — wearing a necktie. I used to feel real funny, and I used to think what the fellows on the reserve would say if they saw me. They would laugh me out of the reserve.

I left for Boston on a Sunday. I got a ride with a steel-worker; I arrived Monday morning with a dollar in my pocket but it didn't worry me because I had a brother in Boston. He would tell me where there might be jobs. He said he had a good job for me if I only had arrived a week earlier. I asked him what the job was. He said with a smile on his face, a garbage collector; the funny part was that he was serious. Me, with a business administration background, working as a garbage collector for Boston. I told him that I had to maintain my pride. I ended up working in the car-wash for three months.

I had to go home on Labour Day weekend. That's when most of the steel-workers go home and I had a chance to get a ride. I had to be home in time to go back to school in Montreal. We got home on Saturday morning after a nine-hour ride. I went to see the teacher-counsellor to find out the situation about the school and if my room and board was ready. He told me that the Department refused to pay for my education. He told me that I had poor marks on my first year. I told him that I really worked hard that year and I didn't understand what had happened. I told him that I attended as many school dances as I possibly could, and I even went as far as to make posters for the dances. I didn't understand why the principal gave me poor marks. I told him that I needed more education because I couldn't get a decent job even in Boston. Finally after a good performance on what education would be to me, he said he would talk to the superintendent. A day later he told me that it was all set for me to go back to Montreal. He made me promise that I wouldn't worry about socializing and that I would study instead.

Off I went to Montreal for my second and final year. This was the year where I would learn how to balance the books. I knew the city pretty well by now. I had moved about five, six times the first year. It was real cool. All I had to say, when I didn't like the boarding place, was that the people didn't understand me. I might even bring in that word that everyone gets all excited about, "discrimination". So, the only thing to do for the poor Indian student who is trying to succeed is to get him another place where he will be understood. (Funny, I'm still looking for that place.) My second year in Montreal was more exciting. I met more people and I visited new places. The people who made me excited were a group of Indian people who kept telling me that "justice for the Canadian Indian has to come, and soon." They were exciting, at times helpful and very often frustrating. They went all out, they wanted to give me advice about everything. They told me that I shouldn't drink milk, because it wasn't good for me. I did stop for a while, because I didn't usually have milk very often. They also told me that liquor didn't agree with Indian people. I guess they meant that Indians shouldn't drink liquor, because nobody agrees with liquor when taken too much. They also told me that because I was born a Catholic I might not have a chance. I asked what chance they were talking about. They meant a chance in life. But seeing that I agreed with them a little more than some people did, they said I still might have a chance, especially because I was an Indian.

They showed me how to write letters to the editor criticizing almost every article that appeared in newspapers about Indians. The more I got involved with these people, the more I began to involve myself with the Indian situation. I started to think about the people back home on the reserve. I analyzed the situation, life on the reserve. I wanted to look back and find what kind of life I had lived and what I went through to get me where I am today. I started to ask questions to myself, What was the role of the church on the reserve? Was the church involved with the Indian too much? Was the church only concerned with God? Were they trying to interfere in Indian politics? I asked myself about the band council. Were they getting the proper assistance from the authorities? Were they having serious problems in the reserve? Were they doing their best? Were they being influenced

by the church and the government? Was the influence, if any, good for the Indian? What am I doing? What am I doing to help? Could I help? Should I help? Would I be giving the right kind of help? The important question that came to me was would the people accept any help from a young man?

At the end of the school year I made up my mind to stop asking myself these questions and go home and find some of the answers and I decided to start a newspaper. I got home about two months before the election of the Chief and council. This was a good time for me to start the paper. I made a deal with one of the men who was running for Chief that I would help him campaign, if he would help me start a paper. He agreed.

After the deal was all set, I found out I would need a typewriter, printing paper and money to print the paper. The parish priest offered to let me use his printing machine after I explained what I wanted to do. The first thing I noticed about elections at home was that very few people showed any interest in them. So I decided to write my first editorial trying to explain to the people what the election meant and how important it was for the people to be concerned. I offered space for anybody who might want to write a campaign letter to the people. I did get quite a few letters. When the first issue came out, it took quite a while for me to convince people that it was really worth a dime. Most of the people just brought it and laughed. I had figured on this so I only printed a hundred issues, but I sold every one of them and I had a hard time keeping the original for my files. By this time people started to show their interest in the election. There were a lot of issues involved: education, roads, recreation, and new projects for employment for the men. Meanwhile, I had promised this guy that I would try to help him to campaign. After a couple of days, he wouldn't listen to what I was saying. Not that I had all the answers, but I did suggest that if he appeared on TV as he had planned, it wouldn't be good. I told him that was a white way of running a campaign and it wouldn't work with the Indian people. He kept telling me about the progressive world and that the Indians have the same tactics and ideas on politics as the white-people. I told him again not to appear on TV but he did. So I pulled out. I didn't go for mixing Indian politics with white politics because it just doesn't work. After going all out with

his money and appearing on TV, he lost the election by a wide majority.

I went on working with my paper, writing about the school situation. Some Indian people claimed that the school board was trying to push the Indian children to take only trades, such as welding, carpentry, and mechanics. I knew some of the kids could go on to higher education if they had a chance and a break. So I wrote articles criticizing the school board. The councillors somehow got the point and started to fight. The battle between the school board and the council had been going on for years. The problem was that they wouldn't let an Indian on the board. The excuse was that the Indian wasn't paying any taxes and didn't really own any land. Today the children are going to Campbellton, N.B. which is in a different province from the reserve, and they are getting a better chance to succeed in school. And the Indian people finally got proper representation on the school board.

My paper lasted about a year. Seeing that profit wasn't my bag, I couldn't make any. I decided to try to preserve the paper and I asked my sister if she could take care of it for a while. I guess she tried but it was hard for her to get help and I guess she brought out two issues. Meanwhile, I went to Boston to work and try to make enough money and maybe to go back to the paper. Some people said they missed it, some said they were glad it was gone. I think one guy attempted to start his own and quit after one issue. But I had done what I wanted to do — stir up the people, get them involved in all the situations. The band council have taken over the battle and are doing a good job.

Canadian Indian Workshop

I worked in Boston for six months. I used to laugh at how some people were so ignorant about Canada and the Indian people. I told one guy that I didn't have to work — I could go back to Canada and relax in the sun and eat moose steaks. One thing that used to get them was that I couldn't be drafted, at least I said I couldn't be. One day, I got fed up. Machines started to turn me off as I turned them on. I walked over to my boss and told him that I was quitting. He didn't believe me. He said that I couldn't leave a good job like that and forget about the bright future that was involved. I took a look at him and I said to myself,

man if he's the example of my bright future, he can have it all, my part of it anyway. I had other ideas. Such as go to Nova Scotia where all my relatives are and visit for a while. I always wanted to go to Nova Scotia anyway. So I quit my job and left for Nova Scotia, not knowing what I would be doing after that. I didn't worry. I guess I must have stayed up there for about three or four weeks until one day I heard about a scholarship. It was a deal where one could apply and if accepted would attend the University of British Columbia. It was called a Canadian Indian Workshop. I had never seen Vancouver and I hadn't even gone beyond Ottawa, Ontario. I knew I had a small chance. When a co-ordinator for the course phoned from B.C. to tell me that I was accepted, was I ever glad!

By this time I had spent every last penny I had earned in Boston. I didn't even have to ask the relatives in Nova Scotia for money. They knew I was flat, so they gathered what money they could find and gave me twenty dollars. I was very happy. I could see that the people were trying real hard to help me to get to Vancouver. They, too, had never seen B.C. and I guess they wanted someone to see it and to tell them what it's all about. But I never did have a chance to go back to Nova Scotia. I found out that I would have to travel by plane, and this scared me a little. This would be my first plane ride. After travelling by car and bus I got to the airport. I picked up my tickets and only had to wait about an hour. Then I heard my flight number on the loudspeaker and I went to the gate, and there it was, the huge monster I had to board to go to Vancouver. I almost changed my mind. I was ready to turn back when I remembered how the people helped me to get to the airport and I didn't want to let them down. So I inhaled and said to myself, there's always the first time, and I got on the plane. The plane took off at 6 a.m. in the morning and arrived in Vancouver at 11:30 a.m. Vancouver time. I said to myself, it only took five and a half hours to travel four thousand miles. Later, I found out that I had to add four more hours because of change of time. So it really took us nine and a half hours on the plane. I arrived in Vancouver airport with a dollar in my pocket for I had spent nineteen on bus fare and taxi. I didn't know where the workshop was going to be held. I wasn't sure if it was Simon Fraser U. or University of British

Columbia. I had been given a number to phone and I did, but no one answered, and I didn't know what to do. I only had a dollar in my pocket and it was Sunday. I figured that there might not be anyone at the University. I remembered a phone number one of my Nova Scotia aunts had given me, a number that belonged to her sister who was living at the time in New Westminster, B.C., fifteen miles from the airport. I took a look at my dollar and I took a look at my phone number. I heard funny noises coming from my stomach. I was hungry, I was tired, and I needed sleep. I got enough courage together to phone my aunt. I had only seen her once and I was scared that she might just ask who the hell was I? I phoned and I was surprised when she got so happy to hear from me and told me to go right over. The only dollar in my pocket didn't allow me to go in a taxi. Now if you haven't travelled from Vancouver airport to New Westminster on a city bus, let me tell you don't try it. It took me one and a half hours. I was tired like old hell but I forgot all about my tiredness when I was welcomed by a beautiful, kind, grey-haired lady. She was so happy to see me. We spent another two hours talking about the folks down in the Maritimes. After that she told me to rest and I must have slept for about twenty hours. I wasn't used to the time change and besides I was tired.

The next day I spent my time making phone calls to find out which university the workshop would be held. I finally got in touch with the co-ordinator of the workshop and I was picked up and taken to the University of British Columbia. Later on, I was introduced to the rest of the Indian students who were participating in the workshop, about seventeen beautiful girls and ten boys, their ages from seventeen to twenty-eight. I was introduced as a Micmac from Nova Scotia. I didn't mind although I was from Quebec.

The workshop consisted of a course on Anthropology and Sociology with three professors from the United States giving lectures on the two main courses. We had guests from different parts of Canada. I had a real wonderful experience at the workshop. I not only had a chance to meet new friends but I had a chance to find out the feeling about the Indian situation from different Indian people from other provinces. We discussed new ideas and tried to find the solutions, if any, to what

some people call the Indian problem. The course was a very valuable experience for me. It was wonderful at times, because we had a great time but it was frustrating. The simple reason is, you just don't put twenty-seven radical-minded young Indian people in a room for six weeks and not expect arguments. When we found out some of the problems and we had so many different solutions, we were frustrated. One important thing we all felt was that we were somehow *united*. We did everything together. We cried, we laughed, we sang, we danced, and we were happy. It was sad to see each other go our different ways at the end. I guess most of us felt as if we were in a dream. We even thought of starting our own reserve, and living together for a while. But we realized that it wasn't possible. We had to go home and back to our people. Everyone promised that we would meet somewhere and bring back great memories. I guess every one of us got involved in something exciting because we never did meet. Most of the students had ideas of what they were going to do. I made up my mind to join the Company of Young Canadians. I heard about the organization at the workshop.

Company of Young Canadians

After four days on the train from Vancouver, B.C. I arrived in Restigouche, my home. The first thing I did was get in touch with the CYC. I wrote a letter to the director in Ottawa and explained my interest in the Company. After waiting about two weeks for an answer, I got a long distance phone call. They told me I had to be in Toronto on that same weekend. I left Restigouche on a Thursday night and arrived in Montreal the next morning. I had to wait for another train to get me to Toronto and my train was in the afternoon. I phoned up some of my friends in Montreal, and they said they would meet me in town. One guy started telling me his idea of starting a magazine about Indian people. He wanted me to help him. He was telling me all about the Company of Young Canadians, how destructive they were, and how there was no future with them. He told me that they still have to find some money somewhere for the magazine, though, and that didn't agree with me. I had gone through the same situation before and I knew what it was like. I just didn't feel like facing it again. I knew if I joined the CYC there would

be money, and I would not have any financial problems for a while. So I decided to go through with the Company. I wouldn't be making too much money but it was a start. My friend told me if I wanted to become a hippie, that was my business. If I wanted to smoke pot that too was my business. I asked him what he was talking about. He told me that if I became a volunteer with the CYC, that would be all I would be doing. I told him I didn't have any intentions of smoking pot or becoming a hippie. He said that's the only people they have in the CYC — they're all dirty, pot-smoking hippies. I told him I would find out for myself.

I couldn't stay long with my friends and anyway we ended up having a big argument on the CYC. They didn't want me to join. And I insisted on finding out why I shouldn't join.

I finally left Montreal and I was glad; I hadn't thought that I would have an argument so soon, not with my friends anyway. I arrived in Toronto that night. It seems as if whenever I go somewhere I don't have any money. I couldn't sleep in the hotel so I went over to my sister's place. I didn't want to bother them but I guess I didn't have any choice for I didn't have enough money to get a room. Anyway, my sister was glad to see me and I explained why I was in Toronto. I told her about the CYC. She told me that she didn't think it was a good idea for me to join. I told myself, here we go again. She had seen so much about the CYC on TV and she told me that I was crazy to become a volunteer with the organization. The more I heard about the CYC the more I was interested in joining.

I had a good rest that night and the next day I dressed up: I put on a tie to go to the CYC office. I walked into the office and everyone looked at me as if I was a private investigator. The rest of the people in the building were dressed in jeans and had long hair and a beard. When I told them who I was, they smiled. What I didn't know was that I didn't have to put on a tie. I was told at the office that we would be leaving Toronto to go outside of the city to attend what the CYC called, "Selection Weekend." This meant that we would spend three or four days talking to the director and some other volunteers and they would decide who was capable of becoming a volunteer. Someone remarked that if you're an Indian you automatically made it: what you do is you

talk your head off criticizing the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development; you say things like the government is not just with the Indian people, or maybe the Indian Act is discriminating. Well, you know, you say what they want to hear, and before you know it you're a volunteer.

So I was a volunteer. I wasn't too surprised for I guess I believed what one guy had said about an Indian you were automatically a volunteer. We were told that we would have to attend another happening called, "Orientation Week." I don't know where they get all those names. This would be spending a week somewhere finding out about CYC projects. After studying different projects, you had a chance to choose what you were interested in. I couldn't find any so the director told me to write down what I wanted to do as a volunteer. I told them I wanted to travel across Canada. I wanted to study and evaluate the different projects that were located only on the reserves. They told me to go ahead.

The volunteers were trying to do something. I guess that's enough. I didn't think too much of some of the projects, because some of the volunteers spent their time dreaming. They were dreaming about a world where there was peace, love and understanding. I don't remember running into a place like that. Some of the people didn't understand what the Indian situation was. They did admit that there was something wrong, but instead of doing something, they spent all their time admiring people who were poor. They claimed that there was love and understanding among poor people. I don't know about that. Too many volunteers had the impression that all they had to do was run into an Indian reserve and ask the first person they meet if the people needed help.

If the Company has any further plans of having any more projects in the Indian reserves I think they should do a really careful job selecting people who will be in those projects. They should train those people so that they are prepared to face any situation. The volunteers should learn about the Indian, and be prepared to respect his way of life.

After travelling for the CYC I went back to my reserve to teach up-grading to the Indian parents. I also had some plans

of starting the paper again. When I got back home I found out that a new parish priest had taken over. He had heard about the paper. He also heard about the articles I used to write about the church and he didn't think it was a good idea to use his printing press for someone else to criticize his work.

I taught up-grading for about three months and one day I received a phone call from the CYC in Ottawa. I was told that I was chosen to be a member of a NFB film crew. The idea was to train Indians to be film makers, and to make films on Indians. Seven of us were trained for six weeks, intensive training on camera, sound lighting, editing, directing and producing. After six weeks each of us went to special fields; I, for example, took film-editing. I guess I must have stayed with the Film Board for six months. One day I got fed up with the whole thing. I thought the Board was to train us to be film makers. I figured when someone makes a film, the whole purpose is to show both sides of the facts involving the situation. But that wasn't the way the Film Board saw it. They wanted us to just criticize the white man and especially the Department of Indian Affairs. I know the Indian Affairs Branch hasn't been perfect, but facts are facts and they have to be shown. Their main idea was to be anti-everything and when I attempted to make a couple of proposals, I guess they didn't meet any of the Film Board ideas. The last month with the film crew was frustrating for me and probably for the other members too. We could'nt seem to see eye to eye. I decided to leave the film crew and go to Toronto and try to enroll in an university. I resigned from the film crew and I was told that I had to resign from the CYC if I was going to have my way paid to Toronto. So I resigned from CYC and still they wouldn't pay my way to Toronto. Finally one of the instructors gave me enough money to get me to Toronto. I had a little chance there because I have a sister and a nephew up there.

I arranged to write entrance exams at York University but I would have to wait about three weeks and I was broke. I had applied for a job with the CBC but I would have had to wait till the end of August which was a little over three weeks away. I decided to leave Toronto and get to the United States where I had a better chance. There is more employment in Boston. I had to borrow the money to get me to the States and I finally

got some and left. Meanwhile, I was thinking about the CYC and I got angrier the more I thought of the way they left me stranded with no money. I got to Boston and I found a job as a roofer. I would have found a better job if I had time but I had to pay back the people I owed money to. To make things worse, I had a fight with my boss at the roofing company and he fired me after three weeks. I guess I was glad he did because I was sick of carrying tar and gravel every day. Then, to make things better I got a letter from York University saying that I had to be in Toronto to do the exams. And guess what — yes, I was broke again. I have been frustrated before but that day, in Boston, I was the saddest, most miserable person in the State of Massachusetts.

After three days of searching for dough to get me to Toronto, I went to a church, asking for assistance. I explained my situation, and I was told to go to an organization that could help me. I went to see a woman who was supposed to be able to help. Again I had to explain my situation, and after two hours I had her convinced that I did need the money for my fare to Toronto. She told me that she was going to give me the money to go to Toronto, but I had to promise that I wouldn't go back to Boston to end up in the same situation. I gladly promised I wouldn't. I had to sneak out of my room because I owed three days rent. I said the good Lord knows the story and I don't think he'd mind if I don't pay the three days' rent. After a day and a half on the bus I arrived back in Toronto.

I went to see my nephew at one of the hotels in Toronto. He was working at one of the car-washes on Bay Street. He would go to one of the hotels for a relaxing evening, so I knew where to find him. I wanted to be with him for a while because he's a good man to talk to when you're broke. He bought me a couple of drinks and we talked. I really enjoyed being with him because I liked the way he was trying to convince me that life wasn't really all that bad. I'm sure he knew more about it than I did. He is much older than I. I told him I didn't feel like going over to my sister's and he said he would find me a place to sleep for a dollar a night. He's a regular customer with the Sally Ann's outfit. I appreciated what he was trying to do: he didn't have much to offer me, but he gave me all he had. We went over to the

Salvation Army at 10 o'clock at night, that's when everyone had to be in. He whispered to me after we got in to tie my shoes around my neck. I asked him what in the world was he talking about. He told me not to ask questions just do what he said, if I wanted to walk around with shoes the next day.

The next day I went to do my test at York, and then I decided to go home. I was thinking about my family back on the reserve. My father was sick and he kept coming back to my mind. I was still broke then, so I had heard about the Traveller's Aid and I went to see them, and they told me they couldn't help me. They said seeing that I was an Indian why didn't I go to Indian Affairs, so I did. I don't know what kept me going — perhaps my nephew did. I remember him telling me that he didn't have a chance to be anyone, and I had a chance so he told me to take it. I still say he's the greatest.

I went to the Indian Affairs but I had a very funny feeling. The feeling you get when you have to go and beg for something, a feeling that I had to play a role. I didn't think too much of myself then and my morale was the lowest part of me. I guess I never in a long time ever went so low, as having to go and bum my way home. My whole attitude changed when I met a fantastic lady there; she told me stories and jokes. She really made me feel wonderful. She asked me if I was hungry and I said I was, so she gave me her sandwich and a hard-boiled egg. She knew I was hungry and I apologized and said I had been on a diet. I was satisfied with what I had put in my stomach.

They gave me a ticket to go home on the train that evening. I didn't feel too bad now that I had a ticket back to the reserve. I can remember going back to the reserve a couple of times before because I couldn't make it in the city.

Finally I was on my way home. I arrived home Friday morning; I saw my father sitting on the porch of the house, and he didn't look too good. I didn't go to speak to him and I really don't know why. To this day I keep thinking to myself that it would have been so easy for me to have just gone over to him and asked how he was. I will never know now how he felt that day because he died that same week-end, between late Saturday and early Sunday morning.

The Long Slumbering Offspring of Adam: The Evangelical Approach to the Tsimshian

Jean Usher

Franz Boas, one of the first anthropologists to study the Pacific coast Indians was deeply and immediately impressed by their physical environment. To him

the overwhelming solitude and stillness of the shores, the monotony of the dark pines and cedars, of the channels and of the roaring cascades, begat a longing for the sight of human habitation, that swallows the admiration of the magnificent scenery.¹

The loneliness and solitude of life on the northwest coast in the mid-nineteenth century was as strongly felt by the first missionary to the Tsimshian, the Anglican layman William Duncan as it was by the men of the Hudson's Bay Company's post at Fort Simpson where Duncan spent his earliest years. For the Company's servants it was the boredom, the lack of female company and amusement which were felt most keenly. But Duncan's longing was for spiritual counsel and for help in what appeared to be an impossible human endeavour. To his friend in Victoria, the Reverend Edward Cridge, he confessed that "now as I look forward, I feel almost crushed with a sense of my position. My loneliness; the greatness of the work, which seems ever increasing before me; ..." ²

In 1857, Duncan was not just the first protestant missionary to the Indians of the northern coast, but was entering a field where religion as a whole had not extended far beyond the boundaries of the few posts of the Hudson's Bay Company. Religious work in the Pacific coast colonies had been largely carried out by the Roman Catholics and the Anglicans. Catholic influence was directed, in the first place, to the French Canadian servants of the

Hudson's Bay Company and their half-breed families. Father Norbert Blanchet and Father Modeste Demers had been sent to the Pacific coast as early as 1838, and although their work was originally confined to the region below the forty-ninth parallel, Father Demers had visited British Columbia in 1841, 1842 and 1843, and had made extensive journeys through the valleys of the Fraser and the Thompson, making contact with many of the Indian tribes. Although thousands were baptized, Demers' work was largely significant in laying a groundwork for the later, more concentrated efforts of the Oblates.

Captain James Prevost's offer of a free passage to a missionary of the evangelical Church Missionary Society brought this experienced and well organized arm of the Anglican Church to British Columbia. But although the C.M.S. was thrust unexpectedly into a new mission field they organized this, their 'next assignment' with characteristic care and energy. Henry Venn, the brilliant and influential secretary of the society in this mid-Victorian period was quick to recognize the value of Prevost's own suggestion that Fort Simpson be the first centre of Christian activity among the coastal tribes. Both Venn and Prevost were well aware of the role of the Tsimshian Indians as the most important trading nation in the aboriginal economy of the coast, and recognized the function of Fort Simpson as a trade centre and meeting place for the many tribes of the region. In his journal in 1856, Venn noted that "Fort Simpson would be an admirable mission station, as on many occasions nearly 20,000 are encamped around."³ The Society's journal *The Church Missionary Intelligencer* pointed out quite explicitly that Fort Simpson was

central to all the most populous villages; and here, in the spring of each year, a kind of great national fair is held where the tribes from the most distant parts of the coast and interior assemble... On these occasions, valuable opportunities would be afforded to the Missionaries of conversing with the natives and giving them religious instruction.⁴

It was indeed an immense task that the society had set its young and inexperienced missionary. In his own terms, his aim was to reclaim from the depths of depravity, this portion of the human family, the Tsimshian, the "long slumbering offspring of Adam" as Duncan called them. In abstract terms, his mission would necessarily bring him into conflict with Indian culture and

would demand of the individual Indian a separation from the only way of life he had known, for the untrodden, unpredictable way of the Christian. Here were goals which required "immense faith and courage, and the gigantic audacity... to move uninvited into a large community of foreign and hostile people, and single-handedly assume absolute control and reshape their lives."⁵

Duncan himself was undoubtedly a man of great faith, who never doubted for a moment the justice of his mission or his vision of the ideal society for the Indians, though at times he was overcome with feelings of inadequacy, or personal inability to complete this mission. As necessary as was his personal ability, of equal importance for the success of his mission was the method or tactic he pursued, and this was dictated to a large extent by the Church Missionary Society. William Duncan was not simply an earnest Victorian on the frontier, the benevolent religious preacher anxious to save the souls of thousands. He was a determined young man, the agent of a world wide organization, which was experienced in dealing with exotic cultures and in handling large and small scale adoptions of Christianity; an organization based on the support of substantial numbers of Englishmen, many in positions of responsibility in government and business.

The spectacular accomplishments of William Duncan and his model villages of Metlakatla, British Columbia and New Metlakatla, Alaska, were well known to his contemporaries at home, in Canada and in the United States. His relationship with the Rev. Edward Cridge of Victoria and his role in the splintering of the Anglican Church have made him a significant figure in the religious and social history of British Columbia. Anthropologists, such as H.G. Barnett and others have frequently made didactic use of aspects of Duncan's work. Yet most comment has focused more on the model villages, than on Duncan's preliminary work at Fort Simpson where the original converts were made and the important principles of the missionary's work were first developed and established.

Duncan arrived at Fort Simpson on October 1st, 1857, but it was not until the beginning of June 1858 that he began active work among the Indians outside the confines of the Hudson's Bay

Company post. At Governor Douglas' insistence⁶ he contented himself in these nine months with teaching the half-breeds in the fort, attending some of the sick, taking a census of the people and talking informally with visiting chiefs or any individuals who approached him. And most important, he followed the C.M.S. instructions to learn the language of the Tsimshian and to study the people, their habits and their environment with a view to the possible introduction of new industrial pursuits.

In February 1858, before he had formally begun his mission or spoken to the Indians of Christ, Duncan sent extracts of his diary to the society and wrote his first report from Fort Simpson to the C.M.S. describing the conditions he had found and his future hopes for the mission. Indeed, after only one week at Fort Simpson, Duncan informed Venn that

there is hardly any prospect of our being able to change the pursuits of the people as far as getting their living is concerned. The physical character of the country is such as to impell its occupants to be hunters and nothing else.⁷

For as he recorded in his journal, "the land is densely covered with wood — excessively rocky, uneven and mountainous... there is so much rainfall during the year as to prevent any grain from ripening and to but barely allow some vegetables to come to any good."⁸ The immediacy with which Duncan treated this problem of Indian occupations shows that he viewed his mission in sociological as well as theological terms, and indicates that he, like Venn, saw the close relationship between cultural and economic change.

Duncan observed and recorded the ecological framework of Tsimshian life; the fishing and hunting of spring and summer, and the ceremonials of the winter season. He saw that the Tsimshian had adequate supplies of fish, seaweed, roots and berries and that food never seemed to pose any problem for them. "I must say that their food seems to agree with them for they are generally plump in appearance and very strong."⁹ The Tsimshian, he realized, were divided into nine tribes, and he distinguished five crests among them, the whale, porpoise, wolf, raven and eagle, clan membership being decided by matrilineal inheritance. Marriage within the crest was forbidden, and possible though not encouraged, within the tribe. Polygamy was not uncommon, but

most men, he found, had only one wife. Duncan also reported on the visiting customs of the people, on the carvings of the men, the weaving and the mat making of the women, the face painting, and the use of labrettes by the women, a custom already dying out according to Duncan, and on the propensity of the Indians to drink extensively and to gamble.¹⁰

He described Tsimshian dress for Venn and the other secretaries, pointing out that their hide shoes left them with continual wet feet and caused much sickness among them. He had already recommended to the Indians that they put wooden bottoms on their shoes as a measure of improvement.

To induce the Indians to adopt this measure I have got a pattern made to shew them what I mean. All who have seen it are pleased with the plan and call the cloggs *tsaush ah kan*, (shoes of wood). For men hunting a great deal these shoes would not do — but the Chimsyans scarcely hunt at all as a race. They do more in trading up the channels with other Indians.¹¹

It is important to notice here that Duncan was anxious to bring innovations to the Tsimshian, but that he was also careful that his suggestions should be approved by the Indians and should be appropriate to the already existing habits of the people. His careful observation of the Indians was not simply to satisfy his own or the society's curiosity about aboriginal peoples, but was to enable him, as Venn consistently pointed out to missionaries, to understand habits, pursuits and modes of thought of a people and thus to know how they could best be approached.

Duncan was particularly interested in the attitudes of the Indians to the so-called "medicine men", for in giving medical aid himself, he would be particularly affected by such mores. He realized that the "medicine men" of the winter ceremonials were not those called upon to heal the sick.

The Medicine profession is altogether a distinct business and the doctors a distinct class. After investigation of the Matter I am led to conclude that the Medical practitioners are for the most part those who have themselves been visited with some serious sickness and have recovered... it is believed that during the period of unconsciousness, supernatural power and skill was vouchsafed them.¹²

Illnesses were often deemed to be the work of malevolent persons, a fact which led Duncan to be extremely cautious in his work.

The potlatch and winter ceremonials were also of concern to the missionary. To a Victorian, concerned with self-improvement and thrift, the potlatch appeared particularly senseless. Duncan lamented that the Tsimshian had no pride in property itself.

They never think of appropriating what they gather to enhance their comforts, but are satisfied if they can make a display like this now and then... And thus it is that there is a vast amount of dead stock laid in the Camp — doomed never to be used, but only now and then to pass from hand to hand for the mere vanity of the thing.¹³

Much of the potlatching was in connection with house-building, he reported, and was accompanied by vocal music and much dancing. The houses themselves he found most impressive, and was pleased that the Indians spontaneously showed a tendency to improve upon their previous designs. In his report Duncan noted that in several cases improvements in the houses had been introduced. "A chief is now finishing one which will have a wooden floor and two small windows in it."¹⁴

The winter ceremonials were distasteful to him and though he abhorred the practice of face painting, Duncan noted appreciatively that "the number of designs they have and the taste they display in putting it on is really surprising."¹⁵ His ethnocentricity in fact did not appear to prevent him from admiring some aspects of the Indian culture. Nor did it prevent him from appreciating the function of the winter ceremonials in the Tsimshian society. When one of the Tsimshian chiefs pointed out to him that no guns could be fired during the winter season, Duncan was able to note that "no doubt this has been one object with the origination— to preserve peace during Months in the winter season when all the people are together."¹⁶

The missionary was interested too in the character of his people and not unexpectedly saw pride and revenge as the major characteristics of the Tsimshian.¹⁷ Of prime importance were the religious beliefs of the Indians, and Duncan was extremely diligent in reporting these and in recording the myths and legends of the natives. God was regarded as a great chief.

They call Him by the same term as they do their chiefs only adding the word for above, thus *shimanyet* is chief, and *lakkah* is above, and hence the name of God with them is *Shimanyet-lakkah*. They believe the

supreme being never dies... They do not know who is the author of the Universe, nor do they expect that God is the author of their own being. They have no fixed ideas about these things I fully believe. Still they frequently appeal to God in trouble. They ask for pity and deliverance. In great extremities of sickness they address God saying it is not good for them to die... Sometimes they show their anger against God, calling him a great slave, which is their greatest term of reproach.¹⁸

One traditional tale of the Tsimshian which fascinated the missionary was that of the flood "where they say that all people finished in the waters but a few. Amongst that few there were no Chimsyans and now they are at a loss to tell them how they have re-appeared as a race."¹⁹ The analogy between this and the Old Testament Noah's Flood did not escape Duncan, and in his later sermons this story was often used to great advantage.

A curious incident related to Duncan by both the Indians and the Hudson's Bay Company's officers was carefully reported to the society. During a previous spring season an Indian from the interior had appeared at Fort Simpson, claiming to have been sent by an angel to bring the word of God to the Tsimshian. He had promised that a teacher would soon be sent to the Tsimshian, but that meanwhile they should attend to his preliminary instructions.

The sum total of his teaching amounted to a few popish ceremonies, mixed with Indian customs. Crossing-bowing-wearing crosses around the neck — singing and dancing without laughing — were all he demanded. The enthusiasm of the man was so great and his appearance and tenets so startling that the Indians almost to a man welcomed him and obeyed his injunctions... The Officers in charge of the Fort were astounded to see how readily they responded to this man's call.²⁰

Duncan's presence could thus be fitted into an expected pattern of events by the Indians, and this no doubt partly explains why they were at least prepared to hear his message. Their lengthy contact with whites in the fur trade had also opened their culture to changes and had perhaps made the individuals more receptive to new ideas. Duncan noted too, that "the presence of the Whites and their own visits to the South have shaken their superstition and awakened inquiry but that is all."²¹ According to Duncan, there was a general belief amongst them "that the Whites do possess some great secret about eternal things and they are gasping to know it."²²

At last, Duncan spoke to the Indians assembled in groups of a hundred in the houses of their tribal chiefs, and told them of his purpose in coming among them and of the importance to them of the word of God. He had spent several months perfecting this, his first sermon, in order to ensure his initial message was as clear as possible.

Duncan had no great ambitions for a mass conversion following this first appeal to the people. He had observed them long enough, and already understood them well enough to realize that few would comprehend his mission. "I have not been very anxious to inquire what the people thought of the message, for if I had I should have gathered up, no doubt, a great deal that was not true."²³ The missionary did not expect to gain instant adherents for Christ, but was prepared to live many years among the people, teaching them not only about Christ, but of his view of the way of life of a Christian.

Duncan's visits to the sick were of great importance to his religious work, for by this means he hoped to "secure their confidence and strike most effectively at their superstition."²⁴ These visits gave him many opportunities of speaking to all the residents of a house.

I usually address them on the evil of their doings and point out the inevitable consequences of sin both in time and eternity. I then tell them of the sinner's Friend and set the blessed Gospel of Our Lord Jesus Christ before them illustrating from their own customs need of such a Saviour.²⁵

This, in fact, became his most common approach in presenting the Gospel to the Indians. First that sense of sin, without which the message of salvation was meaningless, must be induced in the Indians.²⁶ It was difficult for the Indians to understand the sinfulness of their traditional ways, such as the winter ceremonials, their secret societies, and their attachment to animistic beliefs. But although these were not acceptable Christian practices, Duncan tended to give greater emphasis to the sin attached to following the white man's way in prostitution and drunkenness.

Do not love bad ways, Love God. Bad ways make God angry and deceive us. They please us a little time then bring us to misery. The Book of God says — the wages of sin is death. We all have sinned. We all must die.²⁷

Particularly after the gold rush, the wages of sin were becoming increasingly apparent to the Tsimshian and they could well appreciate that adherence to these sins did bring misery and death.

The missionary, however, presented them with an alternative in the salvation offered by Christ. This salvation was achieved by faith, not good works. But it was not the pre-determined salvation of Calvinism, for a choice was presented to the Indians. Christ offered them salvation, but it was the free choice of the individual to accept this offer of eternal life. Lesson nineteen, *Who are Saved*, makes Duncan's position on this quite clear.

All people who rightly believe in the Lord Jesus Christ do love Him, and all who love Him do obey Him: they leave their sins and try to be good. If we do not obey Our Saviour Jesus Christ, that shows we do not love Him, that shows we do not believe in Him, and if we do not believe in Him we shall not be saved.²⁸

But having been offered the road to salvation it was imperative that the Tsimshian follow Christ. Before the missionary came they had sinned in ignorance, but now as Duncan never tired of pointing out, God would no longer forgive their ignorance. To Duncan, the Tsimshian were like the Jews, for they had received the word of God first, before the surrounding tribes of Indians, and like the Jews they would be cast out if they did not heed the message.²⁹

I said that God had pitied their forefathers a long time, although they were bad and had not destroyed them because they knew not His way and nobody was here to tell them but now He had sent them His word and if they refused to hear He would soon cease to pity and they would certainly suffer for their sin.³⁰

In preaching, Duncan's sense of timing, and his ability to seize the appropriate moment to press home his lessons were important qualities. When one of his pupils died suddenly in school, Duncan took the opportunity to address all present "on the shortness of life and the realities of eternity."³¹ He knew the importance, too, of visual demonstrations to a primitive people, and was fond of showing the Indians a broken or rotten stick and a healthy branch. The former, he would tell his audience, represented the present position of the Tsimshian, while the latter could be their condition if they chose to follow God's way.³²

Duncan's knowledge of Indian traditions, legends and religious beliefs was of great value to his religious teaching. He would often direct the Indians' attention to the Flood of the Old Testament, knowing a similar story existed in their own tradition, and would interpret it for them in a Christian manner. Similarly when the subject of sacrifice arose, Duncan was aware of the function of this in Tsimshian life, and was quick to emphasize its Christian meaning. His adult class read an illustrated scripture lesson on the Flood.

The picture showed Noah and his family sacrificing when they returned thanks to God for their deliverance. In that religious act the Indians at once recognised an old custom of their own and seemed quite astonished. I cannot describe the encouraging feeling this circumstance supplied. I had at once a capital stepping stone from their own system to the Great Sacrifice and Lamb of God. It was quite a new light to them. They saw an evident reason for the custom of sacrificing and some reason for my setting forth a Saviour who had died for us.³³

In spite of Duncan's care in emphasizing the difference between the Indian and the Christian belief, the Tsimshian must inevitably have interpreted the new ideas in the light of their own existing religious beliefs. In such a transitional situation, much of their religious faith rested on the person of Duncan. The Indians certainly appeared to feel Duncan had particular spiritual powers. One of the old chiefs remarked to him in 1860, "you see they follow you — they want to see you — they are learning from you about God and regard you as the same as God to them."³⁴

Converts were called upon to renounce many of their traditional ways, such as potlatching, participation in secret societies, face painting, and their beliefs in animal spirits. It was extremely difficult for an individual to extricate himself from the potlatch, for either he was in debt, or, if he had recently held a potlatch, others were in debt to him, and by withdrawing from the system, he was denying them the opportunity of wiping out their shame. The potlatch, with all its attendant ceremonies and the network of obligations it established, was the greatest obstacle encountered by missionaries of all denominations among the coastal Indians.

Duncan had not expected early conversions and the C.M.S. would have been suspicious of any mass adherence to Christ. The society always emphasized the need for care in the selection of

the first converts. The *Intelligencer* in 1867 expressed the policy clearly.

It is better to wait until true converts come to hand, than precipitately to use individuals concerning whom we have misgivings... so heavy will be the pressure that unless by faith they are enabled to rest on Christ as their foundation, they will never be 'stedfast, immovable'.³⁵

Although some Tsimshian may have committed themselves to Duncan by 1860, there were no baptisms or acceptance of candidates for baptism until the arrival in 1861 of the Reverend L. Tugwell who had been sent by the C.M.S. to take spiritual charge of the Fort Simpson mission. It is sometimes assumed that the first converts of any missionary will be those who are dissatisfied with their present condition, who have little stake in their own society and will lose nothing by adopting the way of the missionary.³⁶ H.G. Barnett has claimed that Duncan's early followers were people who were not entrenched in the system of privilege and power, among them orphans, slaves and illegitimate children, "for whom the future held no prospect of emancipation or gratification of the social ambition accredited in the Tsimshian system of values."³⁷

There is, however, little information available on the class or status of the first converts and catechumens, although it is certain that no chiefs were among this group. Between July 1861 and July 1862 fifty-eight Tsimshian were either baptized or accepted as candidates for baptism. Of these, thirty-seven were males and twenty-one females. Twenty-two of these were under twenty years of age; twenty-seven were aged between twenty and thirty; five were between thirty and forty and only four were over forty. Thus, youth was certainly the major characteristic of Duncan's followers. Two tribes, the Gitlans and the Gitzaklalth dominated the list of converts, but there were representatives of each of the nine tribes in the baptismal registers at Fort Simpson.³⁸

The Christian Gospel was only part of the new culture that was offered to the Tsimshian. The Church Missionary Society and most Victorians believed that the Gospel must be accompanied by the introduction of civilization if it was to be at all successful. Duncan too was aware of this problem, and was prepared to devote a good deal of this energy to civilizing the Tsimshian, for

he saw it as a vital part of his religious mission. In March 1860, he realized that "I must wait for circumstances to change and for the Indians to gain some knowledge of civilization before I press the Gospel upon them".³⁹

Duncan's school was the major civilizing work undertaken at Fort Simpson. Here the Indians learnt the English, the reading, the writing and the arithmetic that would hopefully enable them to comprehend and to survive in the white man's world. At school, too, the pupils were taught European habits of cleanliness and clothing, deportment and demeanour, that would make them acceptable as civilized people. Clogs were recommended to the children for "naked feet are a hindrance to our progress in school."⁴⁰ To those who complied with his suggestion, Duncan promised a shirt, perhaps one of those which were being made by the fifteen girls in the sewing class he had begun in October 1859.⁴¹ The close link between the Gospel and civilization was brought home forcibly to the missionary during his first winter of school work, when he found he must clothe his pupils warmly if they were to be able to continue with their education. "I had appointed today to give away some baize to the children to make garments out of — for the weather is now extremely cold and it is with great difficulty we can go on with the school work."⁴²

Trained as an elementary schoolmaster by the C.M.S., Duncan excelled in teaching and in communicating his ideas. The organized systematic approach, characteristic of all Duncan's work, was most evident in the schoolroom. "Over eighty children at school today, I spoke to them in the morning about what God expects from us, being our maker, which is point No. 1 in my course of oral lessons."⁴³ The Tsimshian were also introduced to the Victorian mode of self-examination. Duncan gave his first class copy books and asked them to record their own thoughts in their own way, at home after school.⁴⁴ Shooquanah's journal reveals the values that were being impressed on the Tsimshian, the emphasis that was put on the importance of work. It also indicates the sense of sin, or guilt, so necessary to Christian salvation, that had been introduced into the Tsimshian mentality.

I could not sleep last night. I must work hard last night. I could not be lazy last night. No good lazy — very bad. We must learn to make

all things. When we understand reading and writing, then it will very easy [sic]. Perhaps two grass, then we understand. If we no understand to read and to write, then he will be very angry Mr. Duncan. If we understand about good people, then we will very happy [sic].⁴⁵

Cleanliness was also important at the Fort Simpson school and face painting and the wearing of nose rings were actively discouraged. "I inspect them every day and so most have now got in the way of washing hands and face."⁴⁶ The C.M.S. reminded its missionaries of the Apostle's prayer that "spirit, soul and *body* may be preserved blameless," and hoped its emissaries would "come to the conclusion that the good Missionary, who thus tries to train his boys in manliness and hardihood, as well as in Christian knowledge and mental culture, does well in regarding all three parts of human nature as alike objects of God's fatherly care, and designed for his service."⁴⁷

The school was the most important and most direct agent of acculturation at Fort Simpson. It was successful in teaching the elements of reading and writing to several dozen Tsimshian. It provided an opportunity for Duncan to give some daily instruction in Christianity and to make explicit the acceptable habits and way of life of prospective Christians. Duncan was certainly well satisfied with the work of the first year.

They can sing hymns and are learning God Save the Queen... they know the consequences to us of both courses of conduct, bad and good. They have learnt what are the proper expressions in prayer. They can count alone to 100... They have learnt how to speak in terms of civility to their fellowmen and have had several of their ways corrected.⁴⁸

During his stay at Fort Simpson Duncan became increasingly concerned by the poverty of the Tsimshian. He felt that a good deal of what he considered their destitute state, could be attributed to the effects of the potlatch, for much property was stored away never to be used by the people. Yet apart from this, Christian civilization would demand a great deal more capital outlay by the Indians for shoes, clothing and household furnishings, and Duncan felt it was imperative that additional means of earning money should be made available to the Indians. Venn had urged all his missionaries to seek opportunities to expand native industries and trade, and though Duncan was careful in noting the artistic, building and entrepreneurial skills of

the Tsimshian, he could do little to develop these for the Indians' benefit. The dominance of the Hudson's Bay Company, and his own dependence upon the hospitality of the Company, made it extremely difficult at this time to introduce alternative means of employment at Fort Simpson.

Self-help was to be Duncan's major means of accomplishing the social change he thought necessary in order to bring civilization to the Tsimshian. This was an approach which arose naturally from his own experience and his attitude to his own society, for the principles of self-help had elevated William Duncan to his present position.⁴⁹ Henry Venn had also explicitly applied these same principles to the problems of civilizing native peoples. Addressing the missionaries to Sierra Leone in 1852, the Secretary of the Church Missionary Society advised them to "keep in mind the importance of introducing from the first, the principles of *self-support and self-government* among the converts."⁵⁰

I intend from the first to demand co-operation. And from that, advance if possible to the self-supporting system... They are taught in their dealings with the white man that they never get anything for nothing — now if we set about doing all for them — I firmly believe they will suspect some deep laid plot and perhaps heap upon us every annoyance.⁵¹

Self-help was to be of double significance for the Indians. Not only was it the method by which they would reach civilization, but it produced the type of sturdy, independent, native Christian that the C.M.S. and Duncan saw as their goal.

From his first week at Fort Simpson, Duncan made clear to the chiefs and the people with whom he was in contact, that eventually he would need their help in building a school and mission house outside the fort. The Indians certainly had different expectations from Duncan, one chief asking if he intended to pay the parents to send their children to his school. "How absurdly unreasonable is man without the Gospel,"⁵² the missionary commented. Although the Indians, in conversation, agreed to help Duncan build his school, he was cautious enough to wait until the idea had become more firmly established in their minds. He felt it was "a pity we cannot put their sincerity to the test at once but I feel it would not be prudent to do so."⁵³ This policy was successful, for the following year, Duncan received a great

deal of assistance from the Indians, observing "their determination to supply me with plenty of boards for the school — *without buying* — which they say with emphasis."⁵⁴ The Tsimshian appeared to have absorbed well their first lesson in self-help.

By 1862, Duncan had achieved more than a modest success in his mission. Over fifty Indians had publicly committed themselves to him, while more than a hundred were prepared to work for him or attend his school. There had been no generation of religious excitement in the Indiana camp, no mass services, or large scale baptisms. Proselytizing had been largely carried out in the schoolroom, in small groups, or in personal conversations. The work at Fort Simpson was made spectacular by the fact that fifty-eight Tsimshian were prepared to renounce the potlatch and most of their traditional ways, to follow the unknown path marked out by a young, inexperienced, English missionary.

Undoubtedly one reason for Duncan's remarkable success was that the C.M.S. had made a fortunate choice in the Tsimshian. Having had a long contact with Europeans, these Indians had been opened to the novelties of cultural change for at least a generation before the arrival of the missionary. Yet being distant from white settlement, they were better able to avoid the physical and cultural breakdown that befell the tribes near Victoria. As the great traders and intermediaries of the coast, they in fact had been in a culture-contact situation with many tribes over a long period of time, and might well have become skilled in integrating into their own culture the artistry and legends of others. The European missionary thus might have found them exceptionally interested in new ideas and techniques, and well able to make use of them in their own lives.⁵⁵

Duncan's personality, and the tactic he used in his work were major reasons for his success in dealing with the Tsimshian. He seemed inexhaustibly patient, and was always willing to engage in long conversations about Christianity with anyone who wanted to speak with him. In spite of the fact that he experienced extreme discomfort in the wet climate at Fort Simpson, and probably had a form of tuberculosis throughout his stay in British Columbia, his energy was astounding. Each day he taught sometimes two hundred children, tended the sick of the

whole camp, and transcribed the Tsimshian language or translated English prayers and hymns. His energy was perhaps only exceeded by his quiet determination that the mission should succeed. Duncan saw himself as part of a world wide movement of evangelization, and though he might never be able to see the results of his own work, the Divine Master, to whom he was responsible, assured him of ultimate success.

Although a determined individual, Duncan was neither domineering nor uncompromising. He knew Tsimshian society well, and was prepared to compromise with it and to adapt himself to Indian ways as much as was commensurate with his own principles. This approach contributed greatly to his success.

Realizing the economic importance to the Indians of the spring fishing, Duncan wisely decided to close his school during that season.

I want to prove no hindrance to their procuring food as has been their custom. I have had several ask me whether they are to take their children to fish or whether they are to leave them here to attend school. But I invariably recommend them to go, for if distress for food was to arise by and by, there would be plenty among them ready enough to put me and the school down as the cause.⁵⁶

A more rigid policy, applied by a less thoughtful missionary could easily have led to a disastrous situation under those conditions.

Similarly, Duncan recognized the significance to the Tsimshian of the manner in which a speech is delivered. "They have a great idea of strong talk. Unless they feel affected at what is said to them, they regard the speech as weak. If you can stare them out and speak loud, that is a strong speech."⁵⁷ This was an important discovery for a missionary who must talk to many people, and make countless speeches. Here too, Duncan made a conscious effort to adapt himself to the Indian way. "The Thimshian people say that Mr. Duncan was a more eloquent orator in their language than the orator of their people."⁵⁸

In dealing with the chiefs of the Tsimshian, Duncan was at great pains to treat them as they were treated by their own people. This was in great contrast to the attitude of the Hudson's Bay Company where the factor sent Old Sebassa to the kitchen for his dinner announcing, "I have no idea to make the mess room or

my quarters a publick place of entertainment to every *chief* that likes to come."⁵⁹ Venn's advice was to "be wise in reference to the *governing powers* of the country... convince the governors that you do not wish to lower their authority,"⁶⁰ and it was this course which Duncan attempted to follow. On a journey up the Nass in 1860, a chief was Duncan's guide. Realizing that a chief should be treated differently from the rest of the party, Duncan offered him his own tin plate to eat from, while the others ate off wood. The chief, "though contented to eat with the others at other times was glad enough to show his pride of rank when occasion offered."⁶¹ At Fort Simpson, no chief committed himself entirely to Duncan, but none made a serious attempt to obstruct his work. They saw that he had gained some influence among their people and on occasion when their goals coincided with his, they sought to use his influence for their own ends. After Duncan had given a sermon on the evils of prostitution "there was a great meeting at the head chief's house. All favoured my views... He (the head chief) begs of me to speak strong against the prostitution and to shame them out of it."⁶²

The prestige of the chiefs within their tribes was of obvious value to Duncan, and as far as possible he accommodated himself to their wishes. Faced with an invitation to a festival he personally preferred not to attend, he nevertheless tried to understand the reason for holding the feast, and what role it played in the whole culture. The Indians assured him that this was only their way of welcoming his arrival amongst them, and that

their performance and drum beating was to them what the Book was to us. I think they meant that as we met to hear the Book so they met to hear the Spirit speak through the chiefs on these occasions — or else they meant that as we give a paper to those whom we love and wish well to, so they exhibit their wonders to those whom they respect and admire. As I had no desire in the least to offend them, I thought I had better go.⁶³

But to the Tshimshians, Duncan had himself become a source of prestige. Although they did not all accede to his views, they nevertheless felt a group pride in the fact that they had been chosen before other tribes to receive the Book from this messenger of God. When work on his schoolhouse had stopped for a time, the chiefs came to him to beg him to continue building. Many

tribes along the coast knew of his presence and purpose at Fort Simpson, and they feared the Tsimshian would be shamed if he ever left them.⁶⁴

The Fraser River gold rush which wrought such great changes in Victoria after 1858 also affected the distant coastal tribes. It had long been the habit of some of the northern coastal Indians to come to Victoria in the summer to trade. The Victoria of the gold rush, with its excitement, entertainment, greater opportunities for prostitution and easier access to spirits, increasingly became the mecca for entire tribes. On an extended visit to Victoria in 1860,⁶⁵ Duncan began to understand the strength of this external threat to his work. In the winter, most Indians returned north to Fort Simpson, bringing increasing amounts of liquor and disease to the rest of their people. Both the Hudson's Bay Company and the missionaries saw that the social conditions in the Indian camp were deteriorating rapidly. From 1860 most of the Indians took their furs to Victoria where it was easier to obtain rum and tobacco. By 1861, they were demanding what seemed to be exorbitant prices for their marten at Fort Simpson, and any respect or fear of the Company seemed to have disappeared. Hamilton Moffatt, the Chief Trader, complained to Victoria.

I am sorry to say that we have been exceedingly annoyed by the Indians up to the time of their going to the fishery. I have been fired at 4 times, and our canoe as she was returning from the Rafting received a shot from Lagaic [sic] the head chief, which fortunately did no damage. 700 pickets have been torn down and stolen besides other little injuries to [sic] numerous to mention. All this as they themselves acknowledge has been done from spite as they say they cannot now obtain Rum and Tobacco for nothing. If something is not done to stop these annoyances there will soon be no living here.⁶⁶

The Reverend L.S. Tugwell was also struck by the rampant hostility among the Tsimshian. During the winter of 1861 there was open fighting between two particular tribes, and though Duncan had attempted to establish peace, he had met with no success.⁶⁷ The school was very thinly attended that winter. There were demonstrations against Duncan's work and at least one attempt on his life by Loocoal, a medicine man. Duncan himself later acknowledged that his decision to move to Metlakatla was hastened by the warring attitude between the camps of the various tribes at Fort Simpson.⁶⁸

The elements of social breakdown themselves, the growing violence, prostitution, and above all the insatiable demand for liquor, were not new to the Tsimshian. But the scale on which they were present after the gold rush meant this was no longer an Indian dominated society, where Indian solutions for social problems were still viable. When only one or two canoes went to Victoria each year, a traditional society could still exist at Fort Simpson, and largely maintain the old norms and ways of life. But when almost the entire population migrated to Victoria as they did in 1860, the norms became those of the drunken, hostile Indian camps that had so appalled Duncan at Victoria. It was this way of living that was now being transferred to Fort Simpson, and which disturbed both the missionaries and the Hudson's Bay Company. Many of the Tsimshian realized the depths to which they were sinking, but recognized too, that they could no longer control themselves or their society, as they had in the past. In such a situation, the role of the missionary, who offered a different way of life, provided a set of guidelines, and promised happiness and prosperity was greatly magnified.

Duncan could see little future in his remaining at Fort Simpson. Economically the Indians no longer needed the fort, as they tended now to take their furs to Victoria. They were also able to trade with the free traders in the schooners, who were becoming more familiar sights along the coast, after an absence of forty years. As early as 1860, Duncan pointed this out to the C.M.S.

Other facilities for trading are opening up. A schooner, not the Company's, is at this moment in the harbour doing a famous trade with the Indians. Indeed I may assure the Committee that the importance of Fort Simpson as a central trading post is gone. Very few Indians from other places come here now as they used to and fewer and fewer will continue to do so.⁶⁹

By 1861, Duncan was convinced that the fort might be abandoned by the Company "because the fur trade with the Indians has nearly passed out of their hands."⁷⁰ He was also becoming increasingly fearful that the gold rush might directly affect Fort Simpson, for gold had previously been found nearby in the Queen Charlottes and on the Skeena. "Next winter we expect Fort Simpson to be deluged with profligate miners, and having nothing else to do will spend their time in the grossest immoralities

— so that if I do not go, I may have to witness much of my work overthrown, especially among the young.”⁷¹

The necessity of keeping the Indians from the destructive influences of Victoria had become a matter of vital concern for the future of the mission. Duncan felt work must be found for them at their own homes, and he hoped to be able to introduce some industrial pursuits which would provide employment for the Indians. Without this, the children who left his school “may be able to read and write, ... [yet] still are obliged to go back to the Indian mode of getting a living, and thus they are little better off than the Indians who have had no such education.”⁷² Employment at Fort Simpson would preserve the Tsimshian physically, for death was the fate of so many at Victoria. But the introduction of industrial arts was a basic part of a mission which saw Christianity and nineteenth century, protestant, English civilization as inseparable, and would inevitably have been a basic part of Duncan’s work.

Thus by 1862, Duncan had many pragmatic reasons for deciding to move away from Fort Simpson and to establish a new, model, self-supporting village for those Indians who wished to follow his way.⁷³ The C.M.S. had established self-supporting villages for converts in Africa, India and New Zealand, while Fowell Buxton and David Livingstone had advocated the establishment of Christian villages in Africa as cells of civilization, spreading the light to the heathen villages of the area. Similarly on the northwest coast, Duncan saw it as desirable to “place our example of order and industry in the shape of a Model Indian Village before the numerous Indian Tribes around here, shewing them the *proper* road to improvement, wealth and happiness.”⁷⁴

At first glance it perhaps seems incredible that after only four years among the Tsimshian, this small, young, English missionary was able to take a sizeable number of Indians away from their homes and establish a new Christian settlement. On close examination, however, there are several significant reasons for the success of Duncan’s plan.

Most important perhaps was the social condition of the Tsimshian after the gold rush. Some of the Indians, conscious of

their misery were prepared to give more attention to a missionary who promised wealth and happiness. Duncan was offering them a set of rules to follow and the promise of eternal life if they followed him, and this was no doubt attractive to a disoriented people. Perhaps also the Tsimshian, associating their present conditions with the environment at Fort Simpson, believed that migration from there would alleviate their problems.

The way in which Duncan presented his idea to the Tsimshian was well calculated to achieve his goals. Venn had advised the missionaries to "avoid putting yourself before the people as a leader; rather stand behind them as a prompter and counsellor. Prompting to self-action is more important than inducing men to follow a leader."⁷⁵ Similarly, Duncan prompted the Tsimshian, rather than made decisions for them, and spent many hours listening to their ideas about the location and future of the new village.

The idea of a model settlement was first presented to the Tsimshian in the summer of 1859. When an old chief and his son complained about the drunkenness in the camp, Duncan hinted to them about "the probability of some day dividing them. The Good going away to some good land and establishing a village for themselves where they could be free from the drunkenness and the bad ways."⁷⁶ This new village became a topic of discussion for the Tsimshian for the next two years, and this was certainly a deliberate policy on the part of Duncan. In 1861 he noted in his journal that he had decided to delay the move to the new village for yet another winter, "as I do wish to get the regulation of the new place well thought over and understood by the Indians before starting."⁷⁷ Duncan's patience, his forethought and his ability to involve the Tsimshian themselves in the decisions that would fashion their future, were important factors in his success in gaining Indian adherents for his new venture.

The location of the model village was itself suggested by the Indians.

Had several Indians here as I have every day to talk about our going to start a New Village. They all universally recommended the site of the old village about 15 miles from here. It is pleasing to hear their talk about the old home.⁷⁸

Duncan accepted their suggestion, being favourably impressed by the physical beauty of Metlakatla and the advantages it offered for the establishment of industries. This was an important decision, for it meant that the Tsimshian were now not only discussing the ideas presented by Duncan, but were actively initiating proposals for the new village.

To the Indians, though many who followed Duncan had been born at Fort Simpson, their old home would be associated in their minds with a precontact situation, a place where they had been able to control their own lives and where their families had been comparatively happy. Duncan noted that "many of the Indians have expressed a desire to return to their former home and there begin on a better footing a new history... May God grant this their desire."⁷⁹

From Duncan's point of view, and to some extent from the Indian point of view, the migration to Metlakatla was a radical move. Yet the choice of the ancestral home of the Tsimshian as the new site, indicates that internally at least, the Indians harboured strong conservative motives for their decision to follow Duncan. It should be noted too, that the west coast Indians were a highly mobile people and that the Tsimshian had already relocated themselves once from Metlakatla to Fort Simpson. They were accustomed to moving from their fishing camps to Victoria to Fort Simpson. Their removal from the fort to Metlakatla need not necessarily be considered as disrupting an experience as it might have been for a more stationary people.

In May 1862, a small group of canoes carrying a band of fifty Tsimshian left Fort Simpson to establish a new settlement at Metlakatla. The *Intelligencer* reporting the news to Victorian England, told of Duncan's aim to build "a model Christian village reflecting light and radiating heat to all the spiritually dark and dead masses of humanity around us."⁸⁰

Notes

1. F. Boas, *The Indians of British Columbia* (Bulletin of the American Geographical Society, vol. 28, New York, 1896), p. 229.

2. W. Duncan to E. Cridge, Fort Simpson, March 3, 1858, *Church Missionary Intelligencer* hereafter cited as *CMI*, 1863, p. 195.
3. H. Venn, Journal, December 3, 1856, cited in W. Knight, *The Missionary Secretariat of Henry Venn B.D.*, (London: Longman, Green & Co., 1880), p. 136.
4. *CMI*, 1856, p. 168.
5. W. Duff, *The Indian History of British Columbia*, vol. 1. *The Impact of the White Man*. Anthropology in British Columbia. Memoir No. 5. (Victoria: Provincial Museum of Natural History and Anthropology, 1964), p. 92.
6. James Douglas was concerned both for the safety of the missionary and the security of the Hudson's Bay Company men at Fort Simpson. In return for considerable practical and material aid from the Company, Duncan was expected to follow Douglas' instructions to exercise all due caution and for the first few months to deal only with those Indians who worked for the Company or who came into the fort on business matters. Church Missionary Society papers, CMS/A80 W. Duncan to H. Venn, Victoria, July 27, 1857.
7. CMS/A105 W. Duncan to H. Venn, Fort Simpson, October 6, 1857.
8. William Duncan papers, WD/C2154, Journal, October 7, 1857.
9. WD/C2154 Journal, February, 1858, *First Report from Fort Simpson*.
10. *Ibid.*
11. CMS/A105 *First Report*, February, 1858.
12. *Ibid.*
13. *Ibid.*
14. *Ibid.*
15. *Ibid.*
16. WD/C2154 Journal, December 3, 1859.
17. CMS/A105 *First Report*, February, 1858.
18. *Ibid.*
19. *Ibid.*
20. *Ibid.*
21. WD/C2154 Journal, January 14, 1858.
22. *Ibid.*
23. WD/C2154 Journal, June 15, 1858.
24. WD/C2154 Journal, September 17, 1858.
25. Provincial Archives of British Columbia, PABC F395/16 W. Duncan to E. Cridge, Fort Simpson, February 7, 1860.
26. H.A.C. Cairns, *The Clash of Cultures. Early Race Relations in Central Africa* (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1965), p. 179.
27. WD/C2159 *Language and Translation Notebook*, 1859.
28. *Ibid.*
29. WD/C2155 Journal, November 7, 1860.
30. WD/C2155 Journal, November 1, 1860.
31. CMS/A105 Journal, November 9, 1859.
32. WD/C2154 Journal, September 8, 1860.
33. CMS/A105 Journal, May 24, 1859.
34. WD/C2155 Journal, December 23, 1860.
35. *CMI* 1867, p. 67.
36. Cairns, *Clash of Cultures*, p. 187.
37. H. G. Barnett, *Innovation, the Basis of Cultural Change*. (New York: McGraw Hill Book Company, 1953), p. 405.

38. WD/C2159 Baptismal Register, 1861-1862.
39. WD/C2154, Journal, March 6, 1860. It is interesting to note that at this time Duncan was reading a biography of Samuel Marsden, the first missionary to the Maoris, who had advocated so strongly that civilization and the Gospel were indispensable to each other. That the first Tsimshian convert, Shoo-quahnats, was to be baptized as Samuel Marsden indicates Duncan's great respect for Marsden himself and for his theories of mission work.
40. WD/C2154 Journal, November 2, 1859.
41. WD/C2154 Journal, October 28, 1859.
42. WD/C2154 Journal, November 9, 1859.
43. WD/C2154 Journal, June 7, 1859.
44. CMS/A80 W. Duncan to C.M.S., Fort Simpson, August 24, 1860.
45. Journal of Shooquanahts, 1860, cited in Sheldon Jackson, *Alaska and Missions on the North Pacific Coast* (New York: Dodd, Mead and Company, 1880), p. 287.
46. WD/C2154 Journal, November 15, 1858.
47. *CMI* 1865, p. 141.
48. WD/C2154 Journal, February 18, 1858.
49. Born in rather humble circumstances near Beverley, Yorkshire, William Duncan had risen to the ranks of the lower middle classes becoming a travelling salesman for a leather firm in Beverley. He was a devotee of the various kinds of self-help literature which flourished in Victorian England, and as his previous employer commented in later years, "besides discharging his duties to myself most faithfully and effectively, he planned out his spare time for self-improvement and laboured most industriously to make up for his want of earlier education." CMS/A124 G. Cussons to the C.M.S., Beverley, January 2, 1886.
50. *CMI* 1852, p. 20.
51. CMS/A105 W. Duncan to H. Venn, Fort Simpson, October 6, 1857.
52. WD/C2154 Journal, October 16, 1857.
53. *Ibid.*
54. CMS/A105 Journal, October 1, 1858.
55. See F. M. Keesing, "Some Notes on Acculturation Study," *Proceedings of the Sixth Pacific Science Congress*, 1939, cited in G. Kushner, M. Gibson, J. J. Honigman and R. Nonas, *What Accounts for Sociocultural Change* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1962), p. 30.
56. CMS/A105 Journal, March 8, 1859.
57. WD/C2154 Journal, June 8, 1859.
58. WD/C2158 Diary and Notes of Mathilda Minthorn, New Metlakatla, Alaska, 1945, p. 38.
59. PABC Fort Simpson Post Journal, February 17, 1860.
60. *CMI* 1852, p. 19.
61. WD/C2154 Journal, September 7, 1860.
62. WD/C2154 Journal, March 17, 1859.
63. WD/C2154 Journal, September 8, 1860.
64. WD/C2154 Journal, August 18, 1858.
65. Governor Douglas took a particular interest in Duncan's work at Fort Simpson and when the missionary visited Victoria in 1860 he and Douglas spent many hours discussing Indian affairs and formulating a new policy for the Indians around Victoria. This policy, involving the establishment of tribal villages, industrial pursuits and an Indian police force, was never

carried out, due largely to a lack of funds for such purposes. It did, however, form a basis for Duncan's later policies at Metlakatla.

66. PABC H. Moffatt Letter Book, H. Moffatt to the Board of Management, the Honourable Hudson's Bay Company at Victoria, Fort Simpson, April 9, 1861.

67. CMS/A105 Journal of the Reverend L. S. Tugwell, December, 13, 1860.

68. WD/C2158 Notebook of Mission History, n.d.

69. CMS/A105 W. Duncan to C.M.S. Fort Simpson, October 25, 1860.

70. CMS/A105 W. Duncan to C.M.S., Victoria, May 14, 1861.

71. CMS/A105 W. Duncan to C.M.S., Fort Simpson, April 28, 1862.

72. CMS/A80 W. Duncan to C.M.S., Victoria, May 14, 1861.

73. The 1840's and 1850's, the decades when Duncan matured, was an age of models, when reformers devised such ideal towns as Saltaire, or like the Prince Consort at the Great Exhibition, designed model dwellings for the working classes. The activities of the Moravians and the Church of England Self Supporting Village Society are evidence too that others had considered the idea of a self-supporting religious community as an ideal form of society. See W.H.G. Armytage, *Heavens Below: Utopian Experiments in England, 1850-1960* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1961).

74. PABC F395/28 W. Duncan to E. Cridge, Fort Simpson, April 24, 1862.

75. CMI 1860, p. 90.

76. WD/C2154 Journal, June 2, 1859.

77. WD/C2155 Journal, September, 9, 1861.

78. WD/C2155 Journal, September 20, 1860.

79. WD/C2154 Journal, May 2, 1860.

80. CMI 1862, *Recent Intelligence*, n.d.

The Survival of Small Societies

H. B. Hawthorn

I did not choose this topic solely because it was close to one of the continuing interests of Diamond Jenness. Gauging the identity of small and subordinate societies has been one of my own interests for a number of years. But for many more years Diamond Jenness had been concerned about the survival of Indian and Eskimo cultures,¹ with the syncretic and other adjustments they made to find order in their changing world,² and with the administrative acts and regulations that set external and often arbitrary constraints to life in their communities.³

The issues within this discussion are the directions, the scope and the net result of cultural change in the small and comparatively powerless communities associated with Indian reserves. Anthropological writings contain little that is directly aimed at this group of issues.⁴ Anthropologists have not been neutral, but the subject has. It has been concerned with the analysis of change but not with its evaluation. Anthropologists have always been the champions, albeit often ineffective, of Indian rights as they saw them, speaking up for traditional customs and values when those officially charged with Indian welfare opposed them, and of later years upholding freedom of Indian choice and self-determination. But the anthropologists have been forced to march under a very uncertain banner of theory. Their professional knowledge was relativist and their commitment thereby almost neutralized. Professional knowledge provided no scope or scale for deciding when the Indian was better or worse off or even whether or not he was becoming less Indian. Anthropologists struggled individually to find their commitments and usually arrived at them from the stance of decent, humane, anti-colonialist people. Of later years their position has become increasingly anti-bureaucratic. Without

any professional technique of evaluation, the anthropologists bypassed many dilemmas of Indian life by the advocacy of an enlargement of Indian choice and decision whatever it might be.⁵ I have advocated this as much as anyone. The support of free choice has the advantage of fitting both democratic principles and our knowledge of the motivations of change.

But the Indian politician has not been restrained in this way. He has said what he thinks about the directions of cultural change quite clearly. Usually he has denounced what has happened over three centuries as the loss of land, values, language, religion, art and all.⁶ From our neutral position on cultural gains and losses we anthropologists can ask whether this is mere speechmaking to gain support and power for whatever purposes or whether there is an intrinsic validity to his denunciation. But we can no longer avoid trying to give an answer ourselves. Anthropology must be linked with Indian interests, as they are and also as the Indians see them.

The issue is comparatively old in the concerns of practical anthropology where the directions of change, its losses as well as gains, were inevitably considered. Such questions underlay the 1954 survey of the Indians of British Columbia and the 1965 survey of the Indians of Canada in their inquiries into employment, organization of reserves, creation of band corporations, education and so on.⁷ The ascertaining of cultural flow and its direction entered also into the fashioning of recommendations. Guidelines could not be drawn for action on matters such as education if the actual as well as the desired directions of change were unknown to those most concerned. And while the objective analyst has often shunned the question, the Indians, the teachers, the administrators and the politicians have all claimed to know the answers.

Canadian pluralism, like the melding forces in all large contemporary nations, is not very effective in the drastic reduction of minority cultures to an indistinct location somewhere among its middle values. Nor, with some exceptions, does it produce lasting ethnic slum communities. Many groups, some of them quite small, have remained separate and distinct in city as well as rural areas.⁸ Indian communities are among those that remain culturally distinct and their members see themselves as such. This is the

present fact. What is the outlook, and can anything be said about the costs and benefits of the trends of cultural change?

How distinct are the Indians going to remain? Will they become merely another nominally distinct ethnic group, a named majority in some rural areas and elsewhere a small barely recognized minority? They have now merged with other people for schooling, and increasingly for employment. As Indians move into the cities, a Skid Row area houses some, but others live throughout the city located as individuals or single families. There are few social barriers to intermarriage and those are only slight, especially in the cities. The adjustments that urbanizing peoples make have been studied elsewhere more fully than in Canada but some of the general findings in Africa, Oceania and Asia are pertinent here also. Urbanizing has not meant the immediate severance of cultural ties and many Indians in the city retain their links with relatives and with the cultural forms of the home community. Perhaps in Metge's terms they should be seen as part of rurally-based Indian culture.⁹

The separate identity of Indians may well be determined more by what happens to people in a reserve community than to individuals in the cities and raises the question of how viable is the reserve in the contemporary world, an issue to which the 1965 survey devoted much attention. How practicable is a move towards autonomy of the reserve, perhaps through management of its own affairs as an ethnically separate municipality? How much effort will people find it worthwhile expending on the teaching and learning of languages that are very local and on maintaining their cultural traditions, perhaps through reducing them to written form? Obviously many of their choices in relation to other political and economic issues will be coloured by their decisions on these matters.

Some of the types of change among Canadian Indians, the rates and extent of cultural change, are those found nearly universally among small communities in plural societies.¹⁰ The disparity in numbers alone does not make it impossible for a small community to retain its cultural identity nor does it halt its absorption into the matrix of the large society, but short of a conscious decision by a community, an analytic approach to cultural change,

or unusual conditions of prestige and power, very disparate numbers indicate that cultural influences will flow more from the larger to the smaller group.

The effective disparity between the size of the Indian communities and the Canadian matrix is even greater than suggested by the census figures. The disparity between 250,000 Indians of official status, or the possible total of 500,000 and the national population of 22,000,000, must take into account the dispersion of the 559 bands over a vast area, with very limited bonds between them. Language and cultural differences divided the Indians in the past just as space did, their division not created by a divide and conquer policy framed to make administration easier; the earlier dispersion of groups with wide cultural differentiation had already determined their political weakness. Recently the new political associations have begun the struggle to bind Indians together beyond local groupings, but in spite of dramatic growth of the associations the task is far from over.

Following the influences of mass and power, the cultural flow has continued at a high rate, and has been predominantly in one direction. The Indian contributions to Canadian history and culture were made early and enabled the nation to survive and grow,¹¹ but the growth of the nation has been mainly along lines set by the European origin of its immigrant population. In contrast, the Indian cultures have become Europeanized extensively but in recent years have had little countervailing influence on the development of Canadian society.

The changes in Indian life have often been directed by others and always, until very recently, were responses to programs that were conceived and administered by the churches, or by the government agency with administrative responsibility for the Indians, now the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development. Neither the motivation nor the design of them emerged from the Indians to any great degree. The partial and uneven success of the programs has been characteristic of imposed change everywhere throughout the world. Tuberculosis control could be directed and carried out by the Department of Health personnel and yet have obvious benefits that have needed no stressing; it has been remarkably successful. In contrast, agri-

cultural work and improvements must be carried out by the Indian farmer himself, and will be carried out only if he wants them and judges them to be advantageous in his own value system; in relation to the length of time the Department has pushed farming, and in spite of everybody's assertions about its contribution to the betterment of life, it has been remarkably unsuccessful.

The programs of change and development were intentionally selective, the authorities being more interested in effecting some changes rather than others and showed no interest at all in perpetuating any aspects of the local cultures, which few officials knew in any detail. Except where small handicraft industries grew up, they did not care whether Indians continued some of their crafts like basketmaking or let them die out, but they did care whether Indians continued give-away feasts and ceremonies involving bodily mutilation or even ceremonies of long duration that took them away from work. They also cared whether Indians became literate and individually self-supporting on the Canadian pattern. But the suppression of institutions was easier than the initiation of them, at least in the short run. The result of Departmental action was usually negative or a cultural loss, in that people could be compelled to give up institutions and proscribed behaviour but could not be compelled to believe and seldom could be compelled even to act. Few Indians who had not been farmers began to farm. Fewer still began to believe in the benefits of a civilization that produced disadvantages for them. Changes were at first adjustive in a minimal sense: the Indians did what they had to do and stopped what they were compelled to stop. Then changes became accumulative as key structures of the tribal societies began to fail.

A fully satisfactory definition of the terms cultural gain and loss is elusive.¹² Cultural relativism tried to rescue anthropology from the philosophic morass of making judgments while claiming objectivity when universal values either do not exist or are very hard to discern. But as stated above, many Indians have no doubts that they are now worse off and continue to regret what they regard as their losses. From his position, the museum ethnologist also has few doubts; how could he, when the collections are now irreplaceable? But beyond material culture, life has altered

and the changes can be summed up at least impressionistically. The net long-run result has almost certainly been cultural loss.

Indian cultures have less content than they did. The days and seasons are less shaped by the demands of social and even economic institutions; there is less form in art, less symbol and ritual in religion, fewer techniques with less style in them. The incorporative process suggested by Vogt as the mode of adjustment of Indian cultures does operate on the reserves but it is a more useful description of an earlier phase.¹³ After that as the cultural matrix that incorporates the innovation has less structure and coherence, loss and replacement are handier variables. Many cultural replacements have been made, as obviously people get a living still, and some go to church and some now watch television and read papers and magazines and make purchases guided by aesthetic variables; but until recently there have been fewer things to take part in or even to observe, and there are still for many people days and seasons that are more formless and less filled with culturally prescribed and styled events than there used to be. Possibly the hours are now filled with more conversation and with gatherings that have less shape and organization; it is equally likely that good fieldwork will continue to reveal the less obvious structures in the new. Yet the invisibility of structures poses problems for their maintenance. The insider also can lose sight of them when they exist as tenuous understandings or only as statistical modes.

The new things in Indian life entail a series of adjustments in their turn. Some of the replacements have been made in a highly rational manner, as is the case when men adopt new techniques that gain the same result in a more efficient way. No persuasion has been needed to induce the fisherman and trapper to use superior gear if he can afford it. Yet other replacements have not yielded such a clear gain and their inception has often been forced. The growth in the use of English (and for a few, French) has enabled people to use the language of power, it is true. Even with widespread schooling it has in past years been inadequately mastered by most, so that it has been a poor tool for manipulation of political and economic destiny. At the same time the use of the traditional languages and the capacity to use them has lessened, and very dramatically so in the past two decades in some com-

munities. At least one language has completely disappeared in that period. Many people appear to possess a smaller total vocabulary albeit in two languages, and to control a more impoverished syntax than did their parents.

The exceptions are still many. Oratorical talents are perhaps common in cultures without writing; certainly they are possessed by many Indians today — probably more commonly than among whites in spite of the inhibiting influences of the older special schools for Indians. Much of the effectiveness of the emerging Indian political leaders rests on this gift; as access to television increases, the oratorical talent of many Indian leaders may have formidable results.

Nor is all of the non-standard English inadequate. At times it is used by very eloquent speakers and its variations from the standard, including the double negatives that speakers of standard English are now inhibited from using, become a source of strength. It is just possible that the varieties of English used by the Indians of Canada may develop creatively and take their lasting place by the side of those spoken and written in Africa, the West Indies, India, Australia and the United States. But the small numbers of Canadian Indians would appear to limit the likelihood, and the strengthening influence of schools operating with Provincial standards would seem to diminish it further.

A loss with unequal replacement has also been suffered in the systems of art, religion and magic. There are regions where a Christian church, a revival or continuation of traditional religion or a new synthesis of traditional religion and Christianity offers an ordering and interpretation of Indian life and a participation in ritual and ceremony that are possibly as full as existed before. More commonly, however, a few people attend a skimmed service that has an uncertain linkage to their daily life and that offers no comprehensible interpretation of its meaning. And the rich theatre of magical performance has vanished entirely.

The erosion of art is the most visible loss. Control of everyday art has passed from the community. Of course people operate with aesthetic values still, but the decoration of clothes and utensils, and the use of cosmetics and the styling of hair are now stand-

ardized variants of commercial fashions. With the loss of meaningful form has gone the loss of the role of the artist. What remain are some crafts that employ hide and weaving materials, usually simplified from earlier forms, turning out objects that can find a sale to whites. For ceremonies there is commonly a replacement of local dress by costume of Plains and Central American styles, which indeed offers decorative pleasure but loses the symbolism of the localized art.

There are people who stand out in art as in politics, sport and business, who have taken the base of traditional art and become creative artists, living by the sale of their work on a national or international market. But their contribution is to the sophisticated segment of the national culture that enjoys their work, and their influence on Indian cultures and the reserves is not yet significant.¹⁴ Few Indians could now afford to buy work of the contemporary artist at prices as high as hundreds of dollars for a bracelet or a small carving in argillite, or of thousands of dollars for a complex mask.

Although the total structure of Indian life has been affected, the forces making for change have been different at the various points of the structure. Systems of Indian belief and action have been of greater interest to the trader, the agent, the courts and the police, the missionary and the welfare worker respectively, and pressure has been applied to alter these systems where they were in conflict with the rules of the authorities. At first it was of concern to the trader and the agent of the government to have a responsible person to deal with. Hunting and gathering societies do not create centralized political systems, and often the chief who could give an undertaking on behalf of a group had to be created. The Indian Act specified who he should be or how he should be chosen. After a century of carrying out certain imposed offices, the role is now becoming an integral one, partly because the offices now include the management of assets that are coming to be significant in size.

While the creation of the desired form of authority was an uphill battle, the undermining of the existing form was easier. Major punishments of an offender became the prerogative of the government, new and important sets of offenses were defined

by law and people of high traditional status lost some mechanisms of power and occasion for using it.

Both government and church aimed at the destruction of the existing systems of magic, religion and healing, with the results already mentioned.

The latest Indian institution to receive the direct attention of authority is the family with its attendant network of kin beyond the nucleus of parents and children. School, health, and welfare officials, armed with the numerous laws and codes of a contemporary nation, are intensely concerned with the care and training of the child and the support of the older dependent, and the tone of family life from birth onwards will need to continue to alter to accommodate the standards and the requirements of the welfare state.

Adjustment is major and continuous. While there may not always be a net loss as a result, the replacement of Indian culture seems to be unabated. The question arises whether anything can halt cultural loss in the Indian and other small communities which are now found within larger ones? Must they always continue to adjust and adapt until they are an indistinguishable part of the national society?

It has been believed that personality structures may persist, still fostered and produced within the more conservative bonds of the family.¹⁵ But the public health nurse, other welfare workers, and the pre-school program are all now involved in what happens to the infant and young child. It is not easy to think that their involvement will maintain the traditional system of upbringing and personality formation.

With all of these pressures for homogenization what then can be the scope of a conscious decision to remain Indian and to foster Indian culture? Enough examples now show that under some conditions small nations and large tribal societies can assert the value of a culture and for the space of some decades or even centuries maintain it as the life of their members. Political utterances of Indians have increasingly called for holding to the Indian way of life. The utterances have usually been non-specific and perhaps usually should be seen as rallying cries rather than as

labels for anything clear in the way of program. But a growing number of people now call specifically for the local language to be taught in school and have demanded that this be fitted into the official program of bilingualism, as is now proposed in Manitoba. This, along with the teaching (and first the collecting) of Indian history, of Indian myth and tales of heroes, is one of the most feasible and important proposals now being made. So far it finds school systems unprepared and informed teachers in short supply, and even writing systems for many languages undeveloped.

Perhaps the effectiveness of an Indian decision to remain Indian should first be assayed in relation to the sorts of changes that are now occurring. Some of the cultural changes in the 559 bands across Canada show variation too wide to summarize. But many of them show strong similarities from reserve to reserve that stem from their relatively small size and their relationship to the large and dominant national society. They are not unlike those occurring in small and subordinate communities elsewhere in the world. From the sample of thirty-five bands studied socio-economically in the 1965 survey and the others which were reported on from various points of view, some of the changes that have taken place and are seen as likely to continue are summarized and offered as statements that can lead towards generalizations about the paths of cultural flow in small communities.

Canadians have applied new names to many Indian bands and cultural groups; these names have gained currency both within and outside of the group, thereby altering their self-view.

Occasionally the name is a translation or approximation of an extant local name but more often it has a completely extraneous background and origin.

For example, the Indians now called Thompson after the river named for the explorer, and earlier called Couteau by the Hudson's Bay Company, had previously named their whole group and its hamlets with names mostly descriptive of the localities. The new name is now standard written usage, employed by whites and by the people themselves.

The commonest result of the new nomenclature was a blurring then a widening of the self-view, as Thompson people became also Indians or Natives. But the wider categories have not yet become communities capable of unity of action and the price paid by this group or others has been confusion of cultural identity; misunderstandings in communication with officials and other outsiders; defensiveness where a name was unflattering; and plain annoyance at being misnamed.

A parallel discussion might show that the re-naming of individuals for the convenience of mission and school use also had its effect on self-regard.

The prevailing technological, legal, economic and administrative patterns of an industrial society now favour the emergence of nuclear families and tend to lessen that integration of the small community that depends on lineage and similar structures.

This sort of statement has been made countless times for the Canadian Indian and other tribal peoples affected by large-scale governmental and industrial patterns. It is at best a statement that contains the greater part of the truth. Many contrary instances have been studied and reported where the more extensive kin structures persist under the operation of similar administrations and pressures. Nevertheless, the inducements for the isolation and emergence of the nuclear family are always present. The Indian Act, which certainly has not shaped all of Indian life but has exerted a continued pressure on some aspects of it, specified descent and inheritance without any mention of the mother's brother, whose bond to his nephew is a key link in many kin structures. The relevant sections of the Act are concerned with the support of the wife and the children above all, and treat inheritance as determined by the degree of consanguinity equally for the mother's or the father's line.

The effect of contemporary welfare laws and administration is now even greater than that of the Indian Act, and the nuclear family unit is supported as the basis of society. The design and the financing of a house have a husband, his wife and their few children in view. Automobiles, furniture, cooking and serving

vessels, and even television screens suit a unit the size of the smaller nuclear family. In keeping with these consistent pressures, wages and salaries are paid to the individual, commonly are spent by him, and he is held responsible for debt as the husband and father. Enterprises of the wider kin group are less usual than they were and are likely to be undertaken by a group of brothers, a section of the nuclear family grown to maturity.

A corollary is that the integration of the community is lessened if the more extensive kin structures are weakened. This is self-evident unless they are replaced by some other grouping and bond. And no new bond is automatically brought into being by these contemporary changes.

Economic adaptations have entailed successive moves away from indigenous cultural forms (e.g., in order, these are likely to be successive abandonments of: goods exchange, kin distributions, seasonal work, subsistence undertakings such as fishing, value systems backed by indigenous supernatural sanctions).

This generalization describes a common historical sequence in work and exchange. The trader introduced a new system of purely material exchange in which the aims of trader and Indian were reduced to the balancing of material values. Usually there was need for little beyond the communication with things. In some instances there were variations on the purely material pattern, when the taking of an Indian wife created other obligations for the trader and his new kinsmen, or when the trader was given fictional membership in a tribe. Furthermore, the Indian trapper often entered into a paternalistic relationship that bound him through advances and debt to the particular trader.

The trade in goods and furs grew at the expense of exchange between local and kin groups, although in a period of transition and to a lesser extent today the purchased goods were also given in exchanges between Indians. The annual round altered as some particular part of it became of greater commercial importance. For example, the development of commercial fishing on the Pacific Coast brought its own and special requirements for residence. Fishermen and their families came to live in cannery

towns and gave up their other places of residence, or spent less time at them. Subsistence hunting diminished as the game dwindled and the trader supplied food as did the Department in times of great need. Later the hunters, trappers, fishermen and farmers were required to operate according to the Game Acts, the Fisheries Acts, and the advice of agricultural supervisors rather than according to the direction of the shaman.

New enterprise in a reserve has been more likely to see a pooling of capital and labour from close kin and near neighbours than from others. The greater availability of capital from outside sources has not yet altered this tendency although in instances where the interest of external investors is very great, as in the development of urban reserve lands, a new class of reserve entrepreneurs may be arising.

Close kin and near neighbours are among those who meet more often, are already in the habit of exchanging information and may have passed the point of needing to ask whether they want to work together. It is likely also that they have shared ownership in the past of substantial items like houses, cars and trucks, livestock and fishboats, and that they have shared work in a logging, harvesting or fishing crew. They may have surmounted some of the barriers to management of an enterprise on a reserve and have embarked on a joint venture.

But enterprises that employ kinsmen do not expand readily. They must undergo a qualitative change if they are to include others on a fully equal basis.¹⁶ And if they remain restricted to kinsmen they are likely to arouse the understandable antagonisms from others that will limit their effectiveness.

Externally organized co-operatives and corporations may present alternatives to kin enterprises. Co-operatives and corporations interested in the resources of the reserve or in supplying services to it may open partnerships and employment to reserve people on a basis of universality. Such organizations may follow rational, invariable and open rules and procedures for authority and compliance, for arriving at decisions, carrying out production, collecting debts and distributing benefits. Alternatively they may avoid both traditional legitimacy and open operation through spe-

cial arrangements between reserve entrepreneurs and external ones. Even if fully open and univeralistic their difficulty is likely to be in the uncertain flow of information to reserve people about their procedures. Words and figures that are ordinarily adequate will not necessarily allay the suspicions that are directed towards the outsider and that have some basis in experience.

Welfare payments may maintain a small reserve community when otherwise its resources would fall below a minimum level and those people who could do so would leave to live elsewhere.

From the coming of the trader, through the operation of the Department to the present day, external support has kept some bands in existence when earlier they would probably have gone under, perhaps through merger with more successful bands. To-day payments under welfare programs maintain families on a reserve and hence keep some bands extant. The alternative that some Indians prefer to receiving welfare and remaining on a reserve that is short of employment and exploitable opportunities and resources is migration to an urban centre and some bands have lost a considerable proportion of their numbers. Without the support of welfare, it is likely that many more would have left.

Power holders in a reserve community are likely to try to gain some control over welfare payments and development funds from outside agencies.¹⁷

Those who hold power are likely to be the elected chief and council, or the leaders of dominant lineages, who may endeavour to maintain their positions by directing the flow of benefits through alliances with officials and external entrepreneurs. Thus they may continue to render decisions on protection, on comfort and on the distribution of wealth. The irruption of the trader disturbed their relative position less than that of others. Indeed, by the presentation of special clothing and other gifts, the trader and the treaty-maker endeavoured to enhance the position of the leaders. The missionary had a greater motive for altering the social order, in part because he might find it easier to gain for his church the adherence of those who had no power in the old order and in part because of the frequent identity of the secular and sacred orders. The Indian Act and the Canadian legal

system prescribed a concern for individuals equally, and the Department therefore was always a potential threat to men of power. The successful power-holders were those who coped with the threatened disruption by co-operation or judicious opposition.

Today the universal availability of welfare payments in forms such as family allowances and old-age pensions offers sustenance independent of the goodwill of anyone on the reserve. Even more, developmental and other funds threaten the existing internal order. In the past, astute power-holders have been likely to proffer their services as guides to administration, and external organizations seeking co-operation were likely to accept them. With the growth of larger Indian regional associations which promise to have considerable political influence and with changing public attitudes, the men who want to exercise power find that open independence and, when necessary, public opposition to officials are often now more valuable to them.

There is no discernible link between religious affiliation of a reserve and business success, as measured by average earnings of the band.

It is a part of Canadian folklore that the bands converted to Protestant Christianity are more successful in their adaptation to contemporary life than those converted to Catholicism. This belief is often put forward by people who have read neither Weber nor Tawney nor indeed the recent challenges to their conclusions. In the bands studied in the survey no significant correlation was found between material advance and religious affiliation of bands.

In the examination of this issue the sample was corrected for differentials in location, in type of traditional livelihood, and for the mixed affiliation of some bands. The result was derived from the comparison of income in like bands.¹⁸

The goal of travel away [from the reserve] has been one of the prime stimulants of work and saving while on it.

As with many tribal and peasant communities in the contemporary world, people on reserves tend to move to centres of higher population density. The movement for reserve populations

may be occasional and short-term, seasonal or permanent. The goal may be recreation as well as employment. Some people save up for travel and it acts as one of the stimulants of work and earnings. Travel has different effects on children going away to school; on youth seeking city excitement; on the older and well-off going to winter vacations in warmer climates; on families going away for seasonal labour; on skilled workers following opportunities for employment; on men and women — the latter less likely to return to the reserve; on the adjustments of the migrants and those required of the remaining reserve population.¹⁹

Extensive use of English or French, the languages of commerce, employment and administration, is inevitable for people on a reserve.

Schools, which nearly everyone has attended for at least several years, have taught only the dominant languages, with few exceptions until recently. Other influences have reinforced their use. There has been little opportunity for employment for anyone not speaking one of them. Increasingly, the dominant language has become the language of the home, and younger people speak less of the local Indian language than do their parents, if indeed they speak any at all. The possibility of slowing or halting this process is discussed below.

Adoption of a national language leads to various forms of cultural exchange which results in a net loss.

This is a highly impressionistic conclusion. The acquired language is seldom accompanied by full participation in the dominant culture because most Indians have lacked the opportunity to become creative in the new arts and techniques. And on the other hand the acquired language is inadequate for participation in many aspects of the Indian cultures.

Several responses of the small reserve societies may affect the processes of language change and cultural gain or loss. For example, marginal languages and local variants have arisen and may have slowed down cultural loss.

A trade jargon used in the West arose in a particular situation and was hardly adequate for more than the particular pur-

poses of superficial contact and trading, and consequently could play little part in cultural transmission. Some missionaries used the Chinook jargon for some of their services but its adequacy for technical, political and aesthetic communication was very limited. And at the present day the localized variants of English screen communication in a similar way. This argument is not dependent on a finding about how far a local variant might develop given time and the sort of support advocated by Hall for Pidgin and must here bypass the issue raised by Hymes of the extent to which language is needed for cultural transmission across boundaries.²⁰

It appears that some reserve and regional communities, even some with numbers no greater than a few hundred, are about to embark on a program of language teaching. This is in some cases an unofficial program, separate from the schools, only a few of which teach in a local Indian language. The program may not lessen all of the types of cultural flow from the dominant society — in contrast, it is almost always initiated with the support and guidance of linguists or anthropologists and association with universities — but it seems certain to increase the retention of Indian culture.

Along with the programs of formal language teaching must go the development of writing systems, which will further supplement the oral transmission of culture. They may also contribute to greater language stability in situations where the change decade by decade is now very rapid.

Radio, television and magazines have been among the influences bringing about extensive value changes. There are some new radio programs in local languages which might even aid in the retention and regeneration of the languages.

*Drinking has been an adaptation to the dominant society and to the stresses of deprivation and may have slowed down further adaptations.*²¹

Before the coming of the whites, the Indians of Canada did not brew or distill alcoholic drinks, but with the advent of the trader they accepted and sought liquor as one of the trade items. The drinking of rum and other distillations and brews met several

Indian needs. Commonly people had sought ecstatic and hallucinatory states through fasting, physical pain, long isolation and other measures. There were also the needs of hospitality with prestige dependent on the consumption or presentation of valued commodities. Finally the events, often disastrous for the Indians, that followed the incursion of the whites created an increasing social instability and a growing uncertainty about food and life itself. The new pattern of drinking deadened the shocks and the anxieties common to reserve life and also operated to provide a new stability, for a while lessening the need to adapt further.

It is a commonplace of the commentary on cultural boundaries that conflict and identity are linked together. For the reserve community a marginal conflict at a certain low level with the surrounding one has countered cultural erosion.

Alien and external police forces have raised boundaries of mistrust and in the short run at least have created a solidarity of values and reinforced the cohesion of reserve communities.

Contrasting results follow the readiness of the surrounding communities to accept people from the reserve. In regions where the national society is more open in matters of housing and jobs this readiness poses a greater threat to the cultural survival of the reserve than where the larger society is more closed. Where the surrounding communities are open more people leave the reserve to live elsewhere. If the surrounding communities show little acceptance of Indians, the ability and willingness of people to move away from the reserve is reduced. The cultural influence affecting the reserve will be greater or less accordingly.

Other effects follows more or less directly from the demography of smallness. What happens if young people see more of outsiders than of their own group? If free to travel and mix from school onwards, they are more likely to find spouses outside the community. The extent of this likelihood is probably determined by the size of the group, by the years and conditions of joint schooling, and by the freedom of access to jobs; it is an index of the openness of the boundary between the small community and the majority. Similar variables enter into determining

where the couple will set up residence and consequently what is to be the nature of their participation in community life.

Many other generalizations can be formulated about change in areas where external influence is considerable. Such are the ones that could be linked with the locus and scope of decisions. The major society inevitably removes from the small group many decisions about affairs which concern it. What is the likelihood that people with certain kinds of ability will try to regain the power of decision, will struggle against its loss, will ignore the change or will move into the larger society where more power commensurate with their abilities may be exercised?

In summary, while it is clear that the processes of change in small communities are not limited to what was once simply labelled acculturation, it is also clear that change is continuous and far-reaching and has directions that can be ascertained. Although there may not be an end-point for the existence of many small communities, the sum of the adaptations has so far increased the similarity of all of them to the national community.

For the museum-centred anthropologist this cannot even be the subject of query. Only the observer innocent of knowledge of material culture, of technology and substances, could be oblivious to this type of change in Indian life — the diminution of people able to prepare and manufacture; the dearth of craftsmen not replaced; the paucity of employment of technical terms that were in use two generations ago. On the other hand, new materials have replaced or even added to the old; tools have been manufactured with additional or substituted cordage, nails, rivets and iron; dresses, blankets and headdresses adorned with new materials have served the same final purposes as formerly; electronic devices and the internal combustion engine are everywhere; this list could be as long as the advertising pages or the mail order catalogue.

Technology and materials have played their determining role as well as their instrumental one. Cash purchase has effects different from those of collecting and fabricating. With the technical change, the allocation and amounts of time, the work groups and their composition have altered and the ethnoscience of plants, fauna and substances is different or no longer needed at all.

A different type of change in small communities is that of becoming or staying open or closed to an outer world.

The prying pressures of the majority are ceaseless. They vary from openly repressive in intent to supportive. It is not easy to say which groups have been responsible for exerting most pressure on Indian cultures, nor whether the pressures for change from a surrounding majority that lacks any interest in Indian cultures are less than those which have emanated in the past from would-be suppressors.

Indian societies have responded in several ways. Some new aspects of life, even ceremonial life, have become more open. Audiences are welcome to many ceremonies as well as the widespread "Indian Days" where modified dances are presented, sports events are organized and traditional food may be prepared for the visitors as well as the participants. In contrast, other aspects of life have been drawn back behind a protective wall which the white outsider is discouraged from penetrating.

Is there a different future for the survival of the institutions that shield themselves and those that invite spectators or outside participants? I have written elsewhere of changes in institutions that become secret to a high degree.²² (I am not of course referring to those Indian "secret societies" whose secrecy consisted only of the special knowledge and preparation of some of the participants in an open ceremony.) It would seem that the degree of secrecy attained by some of the societies, e.g., the company and potlatch system of the Carrier,²³ is roughly comparable to that of contemporary Masonic lodges but not to that of the Sons of Freedom Doukhobors in which secrecy confused the purposes and organization of the group to such an extent that variations became intolerably divergent and the society broke down.

But the issue of closed societies might emerge with greater significance at some future time. The major society is avid for news of colourful difference; the ubiquitous television and film crews search every nook and cranny. Small societies are exotic and those which endeavour to keep to themselves will need to build a higher and higher wall which eventually may hide even from themselves what they are doing.

The purpose of this discussion has been to raise issues and put forward hypotheses. It began by asking if there could be any conclusions about the direction and the amount of cultural flow, and if one could gauge the usefulness of these conclusions about the change in small and subordinate societies.

Most of the answers put forward here have been rather vague, but not all of them need to remain so. In the 1965 survey a study of a selected number of groups enabled a reasonable testing of the linkage between religion and economic development to be carried out. A number of other hypotheses related to development were also tested.²⁴ Perhaps many others are amenable to a quantitative trial. Hypotheses dealing with migration are especially open to quantification of some of the variables, even if others dealing with topics like the locus and scope of decision must be managed verbally.

At times, the part played by the anthropologist in the contemporary life of small communities is more that of the shuttlecock than the champion he would choose to be. But his position could be improved and his utility extended if he saw his role with fuller clarity. If he becomes an advocate of the rights of the small community he will be a better advocate if he can show full scholarly support for his position. His position is not completely altered if he is an Indian studying and participating in his own culture. Advocacy and scholarship still need to be reconciled. Anthropologists working among Indians must do so at the Indians' behest, and their work will be justified in large part by their assessment of the direction of change and their provision of soundly based guidelines for action.

Notes

1. "Clearly, for better or worse, the new era has dawned, and only the future can decide whether the natives will survive or go under." (*The Life of the Copper Eskimos*, Report of the Canadian Arctic Expedition, 1913-18, vol. 12, pt. A [Ottawa, 1923], p. 249). Even earlier and many times in later years Jenness wrote on the topic of cultural survival.

2. For example, *The Faith of a Coast Salish Indian*, Anthropology in British Columbia, Memoir no. 3 (Victoria, B.C., 1955).

3. This is documented in his magnificent final contribution, *Eskimo Administration*, Technical Papers nos. 10, 14, 16, 19, 21 of the Arctic Institute of North America (Montreal, 1962-8).
4. Notable earlier exceptions include W.H.R. Rivers, *Essays on the Depopulation of Melanesia* (Cambridge, 1922), and more recent ones, G. and M. Wilson, *The Analysis of Social Change* (Cambridge, 1954); R. Redfield, *The Little Community* (Chicago, 1955); B. Benedict, *Problems of Smaller Territories* (London, 1967).
5. An exception is the well-known letter on the potlatch written by Boas and published in the Vancouver *Daily Province*, March 6, 1897.
6. Indian denunciations of loss can be found in the *Minutes of Proceedings and Evidence* of the Special Joint Committees of the Senate and the House of Commons appointed to examine the Indian Act, in the 1946-8 and 1959-61 sessions, and also in the Consultative meetings on the Report of the Indian Act held during 1968. Also, see the discussion in B.J. James, "Continuity and Emergence in Indian Poverty Culture," *Current Anthropology* 11:435-452 (Oct.-Dec. 1970).
7. H.B. Hawthorn, C.S. Belshaw and S.M. Jamieson, *The Indians of British Columbia* (Toronto, 1958); H.B. Hawthorn, ed., *A Survey of the Contemporary Indians of Canada*, 2 vols (Ottawa, 1966 and 1967).
8. Current research on the viability of small communities in Canada includes that of F. Vallee on French-speaking communities outside of Quebec.
9. J. Metge, *A New Maori Migration: Rural and Urban Relations in Northern New Zealand* (London, 1964).
10. Benedict, *Smaller Territories*, especially chapter 4.
11. Diamond Jenness, *The Indian Background of Canadian History*, National Museum of Canada Bulletin no. 86, Anthropological Series no. 21 (Ottawa, 1937).
12. Well-known attempts include Sapir's 1924 article, "Culture, Genuine and Spurious."
13. E.Z. Vogt in *Perspectives in American Indian Culture and Change*, ed. E.H. Spicer (Chicago, 1961).
14. The carving and erection of a totem pole in Massett by Vancouver-based artist Bob Davidson in honour of his grandfather may be the beginning of such contributions. *Vancouver Sun*, August 23, 1969.
15. For one example of many, A.I. Hallowell, *Culture and Experience* (Philadelphia, 1954), chapters 18 and 19.
16. For a fuller statement, see Benedict, *Smaller Territories*, p. 51, but Benedict overlooks the advantages of kin and friendship groups as a basis for enterprise.
17. *Ibid.*, p. 53.
18. Hawthorn, ed., *Contemporary Indians of Canada*, Vol. 1, pp. 130-134. This section was written by S.M. Jamieson.
19. Some of these issues were explored in a colloquium conducted in 1970 by Joan Metge and Susanne Storie, and the results may appear in various theses and papers.
20. R.A. Hall, Jr., *Hands off Pidgin English* (Sydney, 1955); D. Hymes, "Linguistic Problems in Defining the Concept of 'Tribe'," in *Essays in the Problem of Tribe* (Seattle, 1968).
21. Ernest Beaglehole discusses a somewhat similar situation in *Social Change in the South Pacific* (London, 1957).
22. "A Test of Simmel on the Secret Society: The Doukhobors of British Columbia," *American Journal of Sociology* 62:1-7 (July 1956).
23. Personal communication, Vernon Kobrinsky.
24. Hawthorn, ed., *Contemporary Indians of Canada*, vol. 1, chapters 5 and 6.

Champlain Judged by His Indian Policy: A Different View of Early Canadian History

Bruce G. Trigger

Father of New France, colonizer, administrator, soldier, diplomat, prospector, historian, amateur ethnographer — many are the epithets that have been applied to this key figure in the early history of Canada. Yet, in spite of this, surprisingly little is known about Champlain's life and personal ambitions. So little is certain about him prior to 1603 that romantic writers have felt free to suggest that he was either a convict who had escaped from the gallows or a Spanish agent whose mission was to sabotage the development of New France.¹ More than one historian has expressed doubts about the veracity of his account of a trip to the West Indies between 1599 and 1601 and this has generated further uncertainty about his early career.

In spite of this, Champlain's biographers, and North American historians generally, have treated him with a respect that often verges on adulation.² They praise Champlain's resourcefulness as an explorer and his fortitude in struggling to establish a French colony on the St. Lawrence in spite of official indifference and the hostility of fur traders seeking quick profits. There has also been a tendency to endow him an omniscience and a sense of judgment that rarely admits of any failing. Champlain has thus become an archetypal hero in a drama that is filled with heroic figures. In this paper I wish to examine in a more objective fashion his dealings with the Indians of the St. Lawrence lowlands. This is the one aspect of this much-studied man's life-work about which my anthropological training may permit me to make some fresh observations.

It has generally been assumed that because Champlain travelled, hunted and went to war with Indians, he was a man

who understood and got along with them. He has also been praised for his desire to see the French and the Indians intermarry and become one people although, as we shall see, this merely indicates a lack of racial, as opposed to cultural, prejudice. Trudel states that Champlain treated the Indians with great civility, "making them laugh" and "forgiving their offences"³ and Morris Bishop has argued that because Champlain was horrified by the enslavement of the Indians in the West Indies, he was opposed to using force to convert the Indians of Quebec.⁴

An older generation of historians criticized Champlain's forays against the Iroquois as having given rise to the prolonged struggle between the French and the Five Nations. More recent studies have shown, however, that this pattern of aiding the Algonkians was established prior to Champlain's arrival and was inevitable if the French were to retain for themselves the trade of these tribes. It is also evident that Champlain's early raids did not incur the implacable wrath of the Iroquois, who attempted many times thereafter to make peace with the French.⁵ As a result of these studies, Champlain's reputation as an Indian diplomat has been enhanced.

Yet these assessments are based largely on Champlain's activities prior to 1616, when his active explorations ceased, although he continued his work at Quebec until his death in 1635. Since anthropologists have been interested mainly in his descriptions of Indian life, their concern with him generally ceases with his travels. On the other hand, historians who have dealt with the later phases of his career have lacked the ethnographic background necessary to consider his treatment of the Indians from a native point of view. My aim in this paper is to assess Champlain's dealings with the Indians in the St. Lawrence Valley from 1608 to the first seizure of Quebec by the British twenty-one years later. This omits his final brief tenure of office at Quebec, which is of little importance for my purposes and during which relations with the Indians were greatly complicated by events that had taken place during the period of British occupation. It is my hope that this study may shed light on early Indian policy in the fur-rich northern regions of North America and that it may provide clues that are of potential value for understanding Champlain's personality and behaviour. For reasons that will be evident, the

period before 1616 will be treated separately from that which follows.

1608-1616

In the first phase of Champlain's dealings with the Indians he concluded a series of alliances with various tribes, which allowed the French to tap trading networks that ran deep into the interior of the continent. During this period, Champlain worked in effect as the agent of a series of trading companies who maintained a post at Quebec, but who were unable, prior to 1614, to enforce a monopoly over commerce on the upper St. Lawrence. Champlain was not personally responsible for the conduct of trade, but was employed to manage the colony, to explore, to maintain alliances with the Indians and to forge new ones.⁶

The policies that Champlain pursued during this period were ones that had been worked out, at least in general outline, by Pierre Chauvin and possibly by other traders prior to 1603, and which apparently had received royal approval. Their aim was to foster goodwill among the Montagnais and the other Algonkian-speaking tribes with whom the French traded, by providing them with iron weapons and promises of aid in their struggle against the Mohawks.⁷ The Mohawks appear to have been attacking these groups in an effort either to acquire trade goods by force of arms or to clear a way for themselves to trade on the lower St. Lawrence.⁸ From a French point of view, Algonkian successes were desirable because they served to open the St. Lawrence as an artery of trade into the fur-rich regions north of the Great Lakes.

To our knowledge, Champlain and the *arquebusiers* who accompanied him were the first Frenchmen who attempted to win the respect and confidence of the Algonkians by accompanying them on their expeditions against the Mohawks. In 1609, Champlain paddled up Lake Champlain to the borders of the Mohawk country, where a battle was fought, and in 1610 he helped his allies to defeat a band of Iroquois near the mouth of the Richelieu River. In both campaigns the use of guns, which were unfamiliar to the Mohawks, played an important role in securing easy victories for Champlain and those who were with him.

Desrosiers has estimated that in the first decade of the seventeenth century the Mohawks may have lost as many as 250 warriors in their attacks on the St. Lawrence, which would have been a sizeable percentage of their total force.⁹ As a result of these losses and the development of European trade in the Hudson Valley, the Mohawks ceased to pose a serious threat along the St. Lawrence prior to 1634. The prestige that Champlain acquired as a result of these campaigns made it possible for him to travel inland in order to conclude alliances with important tribes, although the Indians who lived in the St. Lawrence and Ottawa Valleys had wished to retain the trade with these inner regions for themselves. Only polite resistance was possible against a man to whom they were so indebted. In 1615, Champlain travelled as far as Georgian Bay, where he made a series of alliances with the tribes of the Huron confederacy and accompanied their warriors on a raid against a large Iroquois settlement south of Lake Ontario.

We do not know if Champlain was the first European in this region to conceive of Frenchmen accompanying Indian war parties; nevertheless, this idea was to play an important role in the development of Franco-Indian relations. While the Hurons and Algonkians might have been willing to trade with the French without Champlain's aid, his commitment to assist them with French soldiers helped to bind these tribes permanently to the French cause.¹⁰ These alliances also made it easier to settle the disputes which frequently arose when French and Indians gathered to trade without a proper alliance. Trade was an important feature of the treaties that Champlain concluded, but it was embedded in a matrix of reciprocal military and political obligations and in bonds of hospitality, reciprocity and fictional kinship. When the Indians came to the St. Lawrence to trade each year, entire days were devoted to speeches, feasts and the exchange of valuable presents, before and after the barter. As the negotiator of these alliances, Champlain received the most valuable gifts that the Indians had to offer.¹¹

One feature of these alliances was an exchange of children. This was insisted upon by Champlain, but it may also have been an aboriginal custom practised among trading partners who belonged to different tribes. Such an exchange was evidence of

trust and goodwill and provided hostages to ensure against treachery.¹² As a result of these exchanges a number of Huron and Algonkian boys journeyed to France, while young Frenchmen wintered with the Indians. The latter acquired a knowledge of their hosts' languages and ways which permitted them to play an important role as agents or intermediaries in the fur trade in later years.

These alliances were an accomplishment of considerable importance and suggest that, on the surface at least, Champlain was a skillful diplomat who was able to understand the Indians of eastern Canada and to deal with them successfully. Nevertheless, the question remains, Was the personal influence that Champlain exerted on the headman with whom he had dealings the result of special skills and a superior understanding of the situation, or was it merely the result of the military assistance that Champlain was prepared to offer these groups? In terms of their own code of diplomacy, the Indians could probably have asked for no better assurance of Champlain's friendship than his participation in their wars. Because of this, headmen no doubt were willing to overlook most shortcomings in Champlain's dealings with them.

There is considerable evidence that, even in these early days, Champlain was temperamentally incapable of understanding the Indians on their own terms. A relatively unreflective and self-centred man, he automatically used the prejudices he derived from his own culture as a yardstick for measuring other people. From an anthropologist's point of view his chief merit was his ability to observe detail, which perhaps reflects his training as a cartographer. In his willingness or ability to understand an alien way of life he falls far short of Marc Lescarbot, Gabriel Sagard and many of the Jesuits.

Although he spent an entire winter living amongst the Hurons, Champlain was unable to understand how the Indian societies of eastern Canada maintained order, relying only on consent and public opinion and without punitive sanctions being placed in the hands of some publicly-acknowledged authority. To his way of thinking such societies, by their very nature, lacked every vestige of law and government.¹³ Champlain was

equally critical of the Hurons' refusal to use corporal punishment to discipline their children and his strong religious convictions led him to deny that they worshipped any god, although he admitted that they might respect the devil. Later, the Jesuits were to note that Huron society managed to function quite well, even though it lacked many European institutions, and their intellectual curiosity was to lead them to enquire how it did so. Champlain, however, lacked such curiosity.

From the first time Champlain met Indians, he believed that it was necessary to civilize them. By this, he meant that it was necessary for the Indians to adopt French habits and ways of thinking.¹⁴ In reporting the speeches of Huron chiefs, he put into their mouths such sentiments as "we shall easily abandon our life and adopt yours, as our life is wretched in comparison with yours."¹⁵ If such a speech was ever made, it was clearly no more than a formal reply in which Champlain's own sentiments were politely being echoed for his own benefit. Later he spoke of the need to put an end to the "filthy habits, loose morals and uncivilized ways" of the Indians and he argued that ultimately compulsion would be needed to make them change their style of life.¹⁶

Such attitudes may indicate no more than a rather commonplace ethnocentrism and lack of sensitivity on Champlain's part. It is, however, useless to argue that nothing different could be expected at this period, since at least one of Champlain's contemporaries who had been to Canada, Marc Lescarbot, had a much more open and self-questioning approach to native ways of life.¹⁷ Indeed, the ethnographic writings of this early disciple of Montaigne deserve far more careful attention than they have received to date. It is clear that Champlain's attitude not only limited his understanding of the Indians but also adversely affected his ability to work with them.

While Champlain wished to travel with the Indians in the hope of exploring new territory and was willing to fight alongside them, he does not appear to have relished living even with the most sedentary and prosperous tribes. The only time that he did so was in the winter of 1615-16, but this was an accident occasioned by the refusal of the Hurons to return him to Quebec once their foray against the Iroquois was over. Bishop is probably

correct in his belief that the Huron did this because they feared that if Champlain were to travel down the St. Lawrence he might fall into the hands of the Iroquois or that he might even be planning to visit them.¹⁸ Only a few years before, various rumours about Champlain's dealings with the Iroquois had been current among the tribes that were allied with the French.¹⁹ At first, Champlain was afraid that the Hurons were ill-disposed towards him, but later he concluded, with characteristic lack of modesty, that they were keeping him with them over the winter to defend their villages against Iroquois reprisals.²⁰

When he described the raids that he accompanied, Champlain frequently criticized the indiscipline of the Indians and their inability or refusal to carry out his orders. On his first campaign he regretted that he was unable to give orders to the Indians in their own language,²¹ but thereafter he took no account that his instructions may have been badly translated or totally incomprehensible.²² He assumed that a European's knowledge of warfare was inevitably superior to that of the Indians and that this gave him the natural right to lead them and to censure any conduct of which he did not approve.

Champlain made no effort to understand the nature of Indian warfare or even to determine why particular wars were being fought. He apparently assumed that raids were made for the same reasons that wars were fought in Europe and that differences were entirely the result of the technological and tactical inferiority of the Indians. He was especially abusive to the Indians concerning the torture, though not necessarily the killing, of prisoners, not realizing that this practice had important ritual implications. Because of his lack of understanding of Indian warfare, Champlain seriously misjudged the aims of the Huron expedition that he accompanied against one of the central Iroquois tribes in 1615 and he therefore failed to comprehend the role he was expected to play in it. For Champlain, the object was to destroy a large Iroquois village; for the Huron, it was almost certainly a traditional raid, with blood revenge as the primary goal. Champlain was furious when the Huron failed to press the attack as he had directed. The Huron, on the other hand, appear to have been interested only in forcing the warriors of the village to come out and fight with them. In Champlain's estimation the expedition was a total failure, the

more so because he himself had been wounded. Yet, reading between the lines of his description, one can see that the Hurons did not regard it as a failure at all.²³

Champlain never believed that it was necessary for him to learn to speak an Indian language and his insensitivity about linguistic matters produced numerous misunderstandings in his dealings with the Indians. Champlain recounts how, on his first voyage to Canada in 1603, he harangued the Montagnais headman Anadabijou through an interpreter on the tenets of the Christian religion.²⁴ He was apparently unaware that much of the Christian terminology he was using had no equivalent in Algonkian and that therefore much of what he was saying was meaningless without detailed explanations. The irony of his behaviour was not lost on Lescaobot, who singled out this address for special ridicule.²⁵ Sagard reports that in 1627 an assembly of headmen reproved Champlain for never having taken the trouble to learn their language so that he could take part in their councils and communicate with them without an interpreter.²⁶

Champlain was not the best judge of character, whether he was dealing with Frenchmen or Indians. On at least one occasion, he appears to have been seriously hoodwinked because he failed to take Indian policies into account and underestimated the ability of Indian leaders to devise stratagems for deceiving him. This occurred in 1613, when he travelled up the Ottawa River with Nicolas de Vignau, who had spent the winter of 1611-12 living with the Kichesipirini, or Islander Algonkians.²⁷ Vignau claimed to have journeyed with the Indians as far as a "Northern Sea", where he had seen the wreck of an English boat. This story appears partly authentic, because we know that the Nipissing tribe, who lived just north of the Kichesipirini, travelled as far as James Bay each year and that Henry Hudson had been cast adrift and his rebellious crew attacked by Eskimo in Hudson Bay in 1611. Therefore, even if Vignau had not reached the "Northern Sea" in person, as Trudel believes he may have,²⁸ he might have obtained his information from a reliable source. Champlain aimed to visit the "Northern Sea" himself, but such a trip was not to the liking of the Kichesipirini, who did not wish him to conclude alliances with tribes to the north whose trade was passing through their hands. Under extreme pressure from the Kichesipirini, Vignau was

compelled to retract the whole story. Champlain, unaware of the coercion, denounced Vignau as a liar who had been planning to murder him. The Kichesipirini, for their part, expressed the desire to kill Vignau. The wretched man was ordered not to return to the French posts and disappears from the pages of history. Champlain returned downriver describing Tessouat, the wily headman of the Kichesipirini, as a "kind old chief".²⁹

Champlain also seems to have been deceived, and to have overestimated his importance, when he was asked to mediate a violent quarrel that broke out between the Ahrendarrhonon Hurons and some Algonkins of the Petite Nation who were spending the winter near the Ahrendarrhonon village of Cahia-gue.³⁰ The Huron informed Champlain that if this dispute were not settled they would be unable in future to travel downriver to trade with the French. No doubt because Champlain was a friendly ally of both parties his services as a mediator were valued but, considering the close alliance that existed between the Ahrendarrhonons and the Petite Nation, it seems clear that this dispute inevitably would have settled itself. The main reason Champlain was asked to mediate appears to have been to prevent him from joining the Nipissings, whom he had persuaded to take him north with them. Both the Hurons and the Petite Nation had a vested interest in preventing this from happening and their dispute was a useful excuse to persuade Champlain that he had to remain in Huronia.

Thus, in these early years, we see Champlain pursuing a successful policy, but with less understanding of Indian ways and less sympathy for them than many historians have claimed. His attitude was, in fact, one of notable ethnocentrism and personal inflexibility. His successes therefore appear to be attributable more to the situation than to the man. In the next section we shall see how, as the situation changed, Champlain's personal weaknesses became more apparent.

1616-1629

Champlain never again attempted to explore new regions or to accompany his Indian allies to war. At first, he offered various

excuses for his inactivity and gradually the Indians came to accept the change. Champlain was now about fifty years old and may not have been as energetic as he had been previously, but one cannot escape the suspicion that his reluctance to venture forth was a reaction to his enforced sojourn among the Hurons. Henceforth, while priests and *coureurs de bois* served as his emissaries to distant tribes, Champlain remained at Quebec.

Champlain's altered behaviour also appears to be linked to a growing tendency to view himself as a colonizer and a vice-regal official, rather than as the employee of a trading company. Henceforth he was to denounce the traders for their failure to provide settlers and adequate defences for Quebec; a failure which is only too easy to understand considering the insecure conditions under which the trading monopolies were held. Champlain had risen in rank from being a cartographer serving on other men's expeditions to being in charge of a colony which was undeveloped, but which he nevertheless dreamed might lie astride an immensely profitable trade route to the Orient. No longer young, Champlain must have seen his future closely linked to that of his colony, which he was anxious to see developed as quickly as possible. It is little wonder, under these circumstances, that fur traders who could think only of their short term profits soon became his enemies.³¹

Henceforth, the only Indians with whom Champlain was in regular contact were those who lived in the general vicinity of Tadoussac and Quebec. Other tribes are referred to in his writings only in so far as they interacted with these groups. We see Champlain seeking to utilize these groups in his schemes to develop the colony and, later, finding them a growing hindrance to his plans. In the following sections, we shall examine Champlain's policies with reference to law, subsistence patterns, political organization, intertribal and interpersonal relations.

Law

For over fifty years, the Montagnais who lived in the vicinity of Tadoussac had been trading with the Europeans. During this period they had become dependent on many imported items, including French biscuits and dried vegetables, which they

purchased with their surplus furs. Sagard informs us that by 1623 they had ceased to manufacture stone tools and birch-bark cooking vessels and that they no longer made fire by rubbing sticks together. Instead of travelling down the St. Lawrence in their frail canoes, they were buying French shallops for this purpose.³²

The Montagnais were noted for being not only active but also clever traders. Before the monopoly was enforced, they were in the habit of driving down prices by forcing the Europeans to wait until a number of rival ships had arrived before they began trading.³³ At first, they welcomed the establishment of a permanent trading post at Quebec, as this provided them with additional protection against the Iroquois and a source of food when hunting was unproductive.³⁴ However, when the price of trade goods started to rise after 1614, as a result of the trading monopoly being enforced, the Montagnais began to have reservations about the French presence at Quebec.³⁵ Their resentment was fanned by clandestine traders who continued to offer the Montagnais goods at cheaper prices and who, as early as 1620, were selling them guns and ammunition, to the horror of the residents of Quebec.³⁶

While the Montagnais recognized that certain benefits accrued from having a French settlement in their midst, it is not surprising that their resentment concerning the monopoly gave rise to occasional outbursts of individual and collective violence. In 1623, Erouachy,³⁷ who was the headman of one of the Montagnais bands in the Tadoussac area, ordered his followers to seize the cargo of a French vessel and to give only what they wished in return to the French. He apparently did this because he was angered by the small present that the French traders had given him. Fearing an incident, the French stood quietly to one side while their ship was plundered. That evening, the Indians judged what they had done to be impolitic and made a large reparations present to assure that the French would return the following year.³⁸

In 1617, a Montagnais, apparently a man named Cherouuny,³⁹ was attacked and beaten by a French locksmith and his companions while he was visiting the settlement at Quebec.⁴⁰ We do not know what motivated this attack, although the Indians'

habit of carrying off goods that the French left lying about in the open (and which the French interpreted as theft, although the Indians did not) frequently gave rise to quarrels. In any case, Cherououny was very angry and with the support of another Indian he resolved to kill the locksmith. When the locksmith and a friend went hunting they were both slain, although they had guns and their assailants had not, and their bodies were weighted down and thrown into the St. Lawrence.

While the motive for these killings was clearly personal, it must be observed that such murders did not occur among the Hurons, who had no alternative source of trade goods and who therefore highly valued their alliance with the French. While we must allow for Montagnais society being more loosely structured, it seems unlikely that Cherououny would have felt free to kill these men if the Montagnais as a whole had not been annoyed with the French. Champlain reports that in 1624 the Montagnais were boasting that if they killed all the French at Quebec, other vessels would come and they would get their goods more cheaply.⁴¹

In the spring of 1618, the bodies of the locksmith and his friend were cast up in the spring flood, and the French realized for the first time that their missing companions had been slain. Seeing the French arming themselves, the Montagnais feared blood revenge and withdrew from Quebec. Sagard says they gathered at Three Rivers, where they plotted to annihilate the French.⁴² More likely they had clustered together to protect themselves until the murders were settled in the manner traditional among the tribes of eastern Canada, through the payment of blood money. This system did not inflict direct punishment on the murderer for fear that the latter's kin might decide that this action also required retribution. Yet, by requiring his relatives or tribesmen to pay out a substantial amount, these settlements imposed a burden that the murderer and his relatives would be anxious to avoid in the future. As the Jesuits were to discover, such payments constituted a highly effective form of legal sanction.

However, when Erouachy arrived at Quebec under a flag of truce, he found the French unwilling to accept the proffered reparation as a settlement for the murders. The Recollet priests were particularly insistent that, as they put it, a Christian life should not be sold for pelts. They argued that a group of people

could not accept responsibility for the actions of individuals and that to agree to such a settlement would be to legalize murder.⁴³ The French were, however, too few in number to enforce the death penalty. It was therefore agreed that the reparations payment should be accepted as a deposit and children required as hostages, while the final settlement of the dispute was to be deferred until Champlain returned from France that summer. When Champlain did return, he and the other French present decided not to imperil the fur trade or the lives of Frenchmen who were living among the Indians by attempting to seize and execute the murderers. The matter was thus dropped and Cherououny, although apparently provisionally pardoned, was warned never again to come to Quebec.

Because the French were unable to enforce their concept of law and unwilling to accept that of the Indians, the matter of retribution for murders could not be resolved in a manner that satisfied either group. Cherououny's reputation was enhanced because he had been able to kill two Frenchmen without his band having to pay formal reparation. The Montagnais as a whole not only disliked, but now felt able to despise, the French. Champlain was obviously unhappy about this blow to French pride and noted with bitterness that because of these killings, Cherououny had been made headman of his band.⁴⁴ Champlain's attitude towards Cherououny was one of undisguised abhorrence.

Champlain's behaviour succeeded only in fanning Cherououny's ill-will and increasing his prestige among the Montagnais. In 1622, Champlain demanded that Cherououny and his father be expelled from an important feast that he was providing for the Indians. When the other chiefs refused to ask him to leave, Champlain grew angry and threatened to shoot Cherououny if he did not depart.⁴⁵ He also snubbed Cherououny at the peace talks that were held with the Iroquois at Three Rivers soon afterwards.⁴⁶ In the summer of the following year, Erouachy informed the French that Cherououny had won the support of a majority of the Montagnais, who were planning to attack Tadousac and Quebec.⁴⁷ Whether this story was true or was merely a rumour told to frighten the French, it had its effect. On July 30th, when the tribes had gathered to trade, Emery de Caën, who had apparently discussed the case with the King the previous

4 pilot...

winter, gave Cherououny an official pardon and distributed presents among the tribes to win their friendship. As a symbol of this pardon, the French threw a sword into the river. Champlain complained that this pardon would be interpreted as further evidence of the weakness of the French.⁴⁸ He appears to have been correct, for the following winter even the far-off Huron were joking that it cost little to kill a Frenchman.⁴⁹ Yet, because he failed to understand Indian justice, Champlain was unable to offer an alternative solution. Had he appreciated that accepting a reparations payment was not the same as selling a man's life, a solution might have been worked out that would both have been practical and restrained further attacks. Failing this, Champlain was bound to be frustrated and angered in his attempts to deal with Cherououny. A year later, he was describing the Montagnais as his worst enemies.

That Champlain learned very little from these first efforts to settle a legal dispute with the Indians is shown by his handling of another pair of murders committed in 1627. In October of that year, two Frenchmen were slain by Indians while they were driving cattle back to Quebec from the grazing land at Cape Tourmente. This killing was apparently the result of a quarrel between an Indian and a French baker who refused him a crust of bread. Because it was the eel-fishing season, Indians from many distant points had gathered in the vicinity of Quebec. The French were short of food and ammunition and thus fearful of any action that might lead to full-scale war with these Indians. In spite of such fears, Champlain demanded that the murderer be produced. Being informed of the probable identity of the man by Chomina,⁵⁰ a Montagnais headman much given to alcohol and possibly because of this unusually obliging to the French, Champlain demanded three children as hostages until he was produced. One child was the accused's son, the others were the sons of important headmen. He also ordered all the French to go about fully armed and to shoot any Indian who came near them without permission.⁵¹

The following spring, Erouachy came with the accused man to Quebec. Erouachy protested the man's innocence and hinted that he should be dealt with lightly by pointing out that many Montagnais suspected that the French had been slaying Indians

by witchcraft. This story appears to have arisen when an Indian named Mecabou died of food poisoning after being fed by Father Massé.⁵² Champlain dismissed this accusation as a lie learned from Protestant traders and insisted on arresting the man and holding him for trial.⁵³ Such behaviour appeared especially cruel and unwarranted to the Indians, who did not imprison people and regarded such a practice with abhorrence.⁵⁴ Unused to confinement or to a French diet, the prisoner became ill and by the next spring he was unable to walk.

Erouachy alternated between threats and blandishments to try to secure the prisoner's release or to induce the French at least to treat him better.⁵⁵ No supply ships came through in 1628 and the French were desperately short of food. Therefore, when the autumn fishing was over, the Indians decided to seek the prisoner's release and to retaliate for the high prices that the French had charged them for many years, by agreeing to sell them only a small number of eels at the exorbitant price of one beaver skin for every ten eels.⁵⁶ In this manner they forced the French to pay out 120 beaver skins from their storehouse. When Champlain remained adamant about the prisoner, the Montagnais held another council and agreed to supply no food whatever to the French until the man was released. Only the obsequious Chomina, no doubt overcome in part by his thirst for alcohol, broke this agreement. When the spring came and once again no ships arrived from France, Champlain decided that it was best to release the prisoner.⁵⁷ Even so, he made an effort to get the Montagnais to agree to numerous demands that they supply food and obey his orders. In spite of their headmen's formal acceptance of these demands, Champlain doubted that they had any intention of fulfilling them. Once again, Champlain's efforts to impose French law on the Montagnais had failed.

Both of these cases demonstrate Champlain's basic inability, or his unwillingness, either to comprehend Indian customs or to accept the realities of the situation in which he found himself. In view of the fundamental differences between French and Montagnais procedures for dealing with murders, the French could only have hoped to impose their views by brute force. Yet, the Indians vastly outnumbered the French at Quebec and, moreover, had contact with independent European traders downriver. Thus,

by failing to accept the validity of Indian law, Champlain ruled out the possibility of a legal settlement which the Indians would have respected and which would have served to restrain their behaviour in the future. The result was that on two occasions, the French, after behaving in a manner that was cruel and incomprehensible to the Indians, finally dropped their claims in a manner that elicited contempt.

Subsistence Patterns

In 1615, at Champlain's request, four Recollet missionaries arrived at Quebec. Although receiving only the most grudging support from the trading company, the Recollets persevered in their work until 1629. On almost every issue, including Indian policy, Champlain and the Recollets found themselves united in opposition to the fur traders. Since the Recollets' policy towards the Indians appears to have been established already in the first year they were in Canada, one wonders to what degree Champlain had a hand in formulating this policy or whether he sought Recollet support because their preconceived ideas were in line with his own.

The Recollets assumed that a hunting and gathering way of life was incompatible with the discipline required to be good Christians. It was therefore necessary to compel wandering tribes to settle down and adopt French ways before it was possible to convert them. Finally, it was only possible to teach the Indians how to live like Frenchmen once they were settled in the midst of French colonists, who would provide a model for them and support the priests in their efforts to maintain discipline.⁵⁸ Even Sagard argued, in his later semi-official writings, that it was impractical to expect priests to accompany small bands of Indians into the bush and that it was easier to have the Indians learn French than to have priests master a multitude of native languages.⁵⁹ He also maintained that experience elsewhere had shown that Frenchmen who went to live among the Indians soon became savages, whereas the aim of the missionaries was to civilize the Indians.⁶⁰ The traders neither welcomed further pressure on them to bring settlers from France nor did they relish the idea of the Montagnais being encouraged to abandon hunting and take up

agriculture. Some of these traders informed the Recollets that if the latter attempted to settle any Montagnais near Quebec they would use force to drive these Indians away.⁶¹

Champlain believed that much practical good could be derived from the Recollets' policies. One of his major concerns was with the failure of the colony to be agriculturally self-sufficient; the Recollets argued that both French settlers and Indians should till the soil. Champlain also maintained that sedentary Indians could be controlled more easily and thus would be more trustworthy than they were at present. They would also be more willing to help the French to explore the interior than were those who were trying to maintain a monopoly over trade with that region. Finally, as hostages, they would assure the safety of Frenchmen who went to live among related groups that continued to hunt and fish.⁶² Champlain had no scruples about using compulsion to put an end to native customs of which he did not approve, but he argued that force could only be applied successfully once the Indians had been made to settle amongst the French.⁶³

In spite of Champlain's enthusiastic endorsement of Recollet policy, he made only a few tentative efforts to persuade the Indians to settle down. When Anadabijou's grandson Miristou sought Champlain's support for the leadership of his band in 1622, Champlain suggested that in return Miristou should agree that he and his followers, who numbered about thirty people, would settle near Quebec and grow corn for their own use.⁶⁴ Although these Indians were hunters and gatherers, agriculture played a marginal role in the subsistence patterns of the Algonkian-speaking tribes who lived farther up the St. Lawrence Valley and along the Ottawa River. Once the Iroquois menace had ceased, the Indians living near Three Rivers appear to have cleared land and planted crops on their own initiative.⁶⁵ Hence it is not improbable that the Montagnais had some knowledge of a rudimentary form of agriculture, even if it had played little or no role in their subsistence patterns prior to this time. Miristou and his companions cleared about seven acres of land and eventually they sowed a test plot with corn, but the experiment appears to have come to nothing. Henceforth, the missionaries attempted to persuade individual Montagnais to become farmers, but with no lasting success. The main motive that the Indians had for settling down temporarily was

their need or desire to receive material assistance. Neither Champlain nor the Recollets had the resources to provide much assistance, and because game was still relatively abundant, few Indians were willing to pay the price of even superficial conformity to demands that they should change their way of life. Moreover, the hostility of the French traders was all too evident and the Indians were ultimately far more dependent on them than they were on Champlain or the priests.⁶⁶

Political Organization

Champlain suffered his most severe setback in his efforts to extend his influence over Montagnais politics. This was largely because he insisted on interpreting Montagnais political behaviour in terms of his own understanding of European government and thus failed to comprehend its true nature. Champlain saw power as being delegated from above and conferring authority upon office holders to exercise control over those beneath them. Champlain believed that his own authority as a vice-regal official extended by right over the Indians who were allied with the French, and in particular over the Montagnais, who lived near Quebec. In attempting to exercise this imagined authority, he assumed that the Montagnais headmen had a European type of control over their followers and hence could be held responsible for their actions.

In fact, the Montagnais were made up of a number of small patrilineal bands, each of which recognized a headman whose position frequently was passed from father to son, but only with the approval of the band. Because of their outstanding qualities, some of these headmen exercised considerable influence over the Montagnais as a whole; however, there was no official sanction for such leadership. A headman was appointed and obeyed because of his ability as a hunter, warrior or diplomat and he retained his office only as long as he continued to command the respect of his followers. No headman had the power to compel other men to obey him; instead, he had to rely on public opinion and personal consent as each new issue arose.

Champlain's first excursion into Montagnais politics occurred in 1622 when Miristou, whose father had died recently, sought

Champlain's support to become headman of his band.⁶⁷ Champlain states that several men were competing for the office. Whether or not this was so, comparative data suggest that Champlain's support alone would not have secured Miristou's election. Because headmen handled relations with other bands, it was normal for any group appointing a new leader to seek the approval of other headmen before he was installed in office. To refuse such support was to meddle in the internal business of another band; hence, under normal circumstances, approval was given as a matter of course. The rituals associated with the asking and giving of such approval served to reaffirm alliances among the groups involved. Many years later, when the Hurons asked the Jesuits to name a new headman to fill an office largely concerned with dealings with the French, the Jesuits realized that this offer was a purely formal one and returned the choice, with thanks, to the clan involved. Champlain, however, chose to interpret Miristou's request for support as evidence of his own leadership in Indian affairs. He decided to use the occasion to extract various promises from Miristou and to demand that the Montagnais recognize his right to appoint new headmen to rule over them. These promises included the one to clear land and settle down, noted above. Miristou must have been surprised at such a request, but felt that Champlain's goodwill was worth cultivating, since his father and grandfather had prided themselves on maintaining good relations between the French and the Montagnais. Champlain gave a feast at which he explained why Miristou should be appointed. Miristou and his brother were presented with swords, and it was explained to them that henceforth they were required to bear these arms in support of the French. Champlain assumed that this ceremony demonstrated his right to appoint new headmen and that he had now acquired a "certain control" over the Montagnais. The Montagnais probably viewed it as the normal sort of feast that was given by an ally to celebrate the appointment of a headman. Incomprehension must have robbed Champlain's pretensions of all significance in the eyes of the Montagnais and simultaneously averted the consequences of his folly.

Champlain did, however, push matters too far early in 1629. With a British attack imminent and without previously consulting

the Indians, Champlain demanded that a council of headmen be established, which henceforth was to regulate affairs between the French and their Algonkian-speaking allies. The Indian that Champlain insisted be appointed head of this council was Chomina,⁶⁸ the man who had obliged Champlain in 1627 by revealing the identity of the two Frenchmen's murderer and the following year, by supplying food to the French in spite of the Montagnais ban. Chomina had once been more aloof in his dealings with the French and even in 1627 had opposed the baptism of one of his children.⁶⁹ Yet Chomina and his equally alcoholic brother Negabamat were the only Indians to rush to Quebec to help defend the settlement when the British had sailed upriver the previous year.⁷⁰ Champlain no doubt hoped that by conspicuously rewarding Chomina's loyalty he would encourage other Indians to emulate him. By this time, however, most of the Montagnais had lost all respect for either Chomina or Champlain.

The other members of the council included Erouachy from Tadoussac, Batiscan from Three Rivers and Tessouat, the leader of the Kichesipirini.⁷¹ All were highly respected headmen, who while maintaining a friendly relationship with the French, had always put the interests of their own people first. Champlain's proposal to make Chomina head of this council was an insult to them. These headmen were angered further when Champlain made their acceptance of this council and of Chomina's position on it a condition for releasing the murderer, who by now was almost dead as a result of his confinement. The headmen agreed to Chomina's appointment with the ironic comment "you have made others chiefs — so shall you make this one."⁷² The Indians made little effort to conceal their resentment of Champlain. The latter had hoped to inaugurate this council formally when the ships arrived from France. As the summer wore on, only Chomina and his relatives remained at Quebec and continued to aid the French. The rest were at Tadoussac celebrating the arrival of their British liberators.

Intertribal Relations

After 1616, Champlain's interventions into intertribal affairs tended to be responses to events beyond French control rather

than new initiatives, and in later years an increasingly unrealistic element began to enter into his thinking about such matters. Champlain's main goal was to preserve peace on the St. Lawrence so that trade and contact with the interior was not interrupted. Although LeClercq mentions an Iroquois foray against Quebec in 1622,⁷³ the Mohawks appear to have caused little trouble on the St. Lawrence after 1610. They even abandoned their attacks along the Ottawa River once Frenchmen armed with guns began to travel to and from Huronia.⁷⁴ Desrosiers attributed this decline to losses they had suffered at the hands of the Algonkians prior to 1610 and to further defeats in skirmishes with the Susquehannocks between 1605 and 1615.⁷⁵ By 1622, the Mohawks had begun to explore seriously the possibility of a formal peace treaty with the Algonkian-speaking allies of the French.

These negotiations preceded by only two years the outbreak of war between the Mohawks and the Mahicans, whose tribal territory surrounded the Dutch trading post at Fort Orange. It is generally assumed that this war began because the Mohawk wished to eliminate the Mahican, who were impeding or seeking to control their trade with the Dutch. There is, however, little evidence to support such a conclusion.⁷⁶

Nevertheless, we do know that about this time the Dutch were seeking to persuade the Montagnais and the Algonkins from the Ottawa Valley to trade with them rather than with the French. To do this, they appear to have been exploiting the friendship that existed between these tribes and the Mahicans, with whom the Dutch traders had an alliance. The Dutch also controlled the sources of wampum along Long Island Sound and their ability to provide these much-desired beads served to lure the northern tribes to their posts.⁷⁷

From a Mohawk point of view, the possibility of an alliance between the fur-rich tribes of the north, with whom they had long been at war, and the Dutch, on whom they were dependent for their trade goods, must have been extremely alarming. The Mohawks had fewer and less valuable furs to offer the Dutch and it was clear that the latter, who until that time had regarded them as being of little importance, were prepared to resort to violence if the Mohawks attempted to interfere with their plans to expand their trade northward.

Under these circumstances, the Mohawks, who had already suffered greatly in their efforts to secure a fair share of European goods, must have decided that the only course open to them was to drive the Mahicans out of the Hudson Valley. Thus, they could take control of the territory around the Dutch trading post and compel the traders, who were few in number, to make an alliance on their terms. In this manner, they would prevent the Dutch from concluding trading alliances with the northern tribes. However much the Dutch might object, this was a trade which the Mohawks would either control as middlemen or prefer to see diverted to the French.

In order to prepare for war with the Mahicans, it was obviously in the Mohawks' interest to seek peace with their other enemies, particularly those to the north. Such a peace would secure their northern flank, open up trade with the French in competition to that with the Dutch, allow an exchange of prisoners and permit hunting in the no-man's land between the Mohawk villages and the St. Lawrence River. This zone, which had long been dangerous to hunt in, was at that time overflowing with game.

Champlain was much in favour of peace with the Iroquois; this he felt would ensure the peaceful use of the St. Lawrence, open up new opportunities for the French to trade and explore in the interior, make territory safe to hunt in and possibly provide an opportunity to win the Mohawks over to the French.⁷⁸ Champlain sent presents to the Mohawk headmen as tokens of his goodwill and used his influence and that of the traders to restrain Montagnais war parties.⁷⁹ A formal peace treaty was ratified according to Indian custom in 1624, the year that war broke out between the Mohawks and the Mahicans.⁸⁰

In 1627, however, things began to go wrong for the French. Champlain discovered that some of the Indians from Canada who had been visiting New Holland had accepted presents from the Dutch to break their peace treaty with the Mohawks. Certain headmen were inciting their followers to join the Dutch and the Mahicans in an attack on a Mohawk village.⁸¹ At this point, Champlain became very angry and threatened to provide military assistance to the Iroquois if war should break out.⁸² Many of the Algonkian chiefs were opposed to a renewal of war at this time

and Champlain and the French traders were well on the way to putting an end to the scheme when a party of young warriors treacherously captured two Mohawks who had gone fishing and began to torture them. Champlain persuaded the Algonkians to release these prisoners and to reaffirm their peace with the Mohawk.⁸³ A party made up of Pierre Magnan,⁸⁴ Cherououny and several others set out to do this, but were slain when they reached a Mohawk village, possibly because a Kichesipirini who disliked Cherououny informed the Mohawks that he was coming only to spy on them.⁸⁵ By this time, Mohawk fears probably had been fanned by news of the negotiations going on between the Canadian Algonkians and the Dutch.

While Champlain's official policy of promoting peace with the Iroquois had suffered an irreparable setback, he ultimately expressed few regrets about what had happened. It had probably become clear to him and to the French traders that peace with the Iroquois lessened the value of a French alliance in the eyes of the Montagnais and the other Algonkian tribes. This, in turn, encouraged them to make contact with rival European traders to the south. On the other hand, the Mohawk victory of 1628 temporarily eliminated the possibility of the Indians of the St. Lawrence Valley being able to play French and Dutch traders off against one another and thereby to lower the price of trade goods. The hostility between the tribes that were allied with the Dutch and those who were allied with the French long served to eliminate alternative sources of trade goods for each group and thus kept the prices of furs low, to the benefit of the European traders.⁸⁶

Comforting as the new *status quo* must have been to the fur traders, Champlain was henceforth to view the Iroquois, however harmless they were to the French at the moment, as a potential threat to communications and exploration and as allies of colonial powers that menaced the existence of New France. Thus, after 1627, Champlain consistently advocated the extermination of the Iroquois. In the disastrous winter of 1628-29, he even considered that if no help came the following spring, he would go with fifty or sixty men and seize an Iroquois village. The French would then reinforce it against counter-attack and live there on the corn

they had captured until the following spring.⁸⁷ Such a dream was obviously a fantasy of desperation.

It was not a fantasy that was easily forgotten, however. When Champlain returned to New France in 1633, he was hoping to form an army of 120 French soldiers, armed with explosives, and several thousand Indian allies and to use this army to conquer the Iroquois and "impose our laws on them, giving them what laws and customs we should desire".⁸⁸ In terms of geopolitics this was not a bad plan and it was often suggested, and occasionally attempted, in later times. The failure of the plan, even when New France was many times more populous than it was in 1633, clearly shows, however, how unrealistic was Champlain's understanding of the enemy he was preparing to fight. The logic of the trader was more suited than that of the soldier to the conditions that existed at the time.

Interpersonal Relations

Champlain's final shortcoming is evident in his personal dealings with the Montagnais. In late January 1628, a band of Indians who were hard-pressed by hunger came to Quebec to seek relief, in return for which they offered to leave with the French three girls aged eleven to fifteen.⁸⁹ The priests, who had grown pessimistic about their chances of civilizing and converting Montagnais adults, had been seeking boys who they could keep and educate as Christians, in the hope that later they would form a nucleus of the faith amongst their own people. Some of these boys had been sent to France for further training, sometimes with very sad results.⁹⁰ Up to this time, however, the Montagnais had refused to turn over any girls to the French, even though a French surgeon had asked for one to educate and marry.

The band was clearly in a desperate state to be willing to make an offer of this sort, but as relations with the French were not good they probably knew that the latter would agree to feed them only if they were willing to leave some children as hostages to guarantee their good behaviour. It is possible that they offered girls because their relative, Chomina, knew that this would please Champlain.⁹¹ The French themselves were short of provisions

and the traders were reluctant to give food away under any circumstances. Champlain feared, however, that the Indians would grow resentful if they were not fed and was anxious to secure the girls so that he might send them to France. It is uncertain whether the girls' parents were fully aware of Champlain's intentions. Because the priests could not have the girls living with them, Champlain personally undertook to look after them. He gave them the charming names of Faith, Hope and Charity.⁹²

We do not know what sort of life these girls had with Champlain. In view of his wife's youth at the time he married her and the subsequent history of their marriage, it has been suggested that his interest in them was far from healthy, but there is no evidence to confirm or deny such charges. In any case, his lack of knowledge of the Montagnais language must have limited his ability to communicate with them. Moreover, the Indians in this region abhorred physical punishment as a means of controlling children, to the horror of the French, who believed that it was essential to raise them properly. Champlain informs us that he personally instructed the girls in needlework.⁹³ Faith quickly ran away, but the other two remained with Champlain until the capture of Quebec in 1629.

After the capture of Quebec, Champlain was determined to take the two remaining girls back to France with him, even though, under the circumstances, neither might ever see Canada again.⁹⁴ Permission was refused when Nicolas Marsolet,⁹⁵ a French Indian agent who, like so many others, preferred to stay in Canada and even to work for the British rather than to return to France, informed his new employers that a council of all the headmen and leading Indians had met at Three Rivers and demanded that the girls be returned to their parents. Marsolet also reported that the Indians were likely to harm the British if the girls were not released.

Champlain claimed that the entire story was invented by Marsolet, who was hoping to get hold of the girls for carnal reasons. Champlain states that Hope reported that Marsolet had made improper advances to her and that she had denounced him publicly in a fiery and impassioned speech.⁹⁶ It must be noted, however, that the speech has an artificial and highly theatrical

ring to it and that all or part of it may be Champlain's invention. It is more significant that Champlain wanted to offer the Indians 1000 *livres* worth of trade goods to be able to keep the girls, an offer which the British prevented him from making.

The two girls were returned to their own people and we hear no more about them. While their failure to greet Champlain on his return to Quebec in 1633 might be because both had died in the interval, Champlain's failure to mention them suggests that no fond memories of their devotion to him remained to be recorded. Champlain's adoptive parental relationship with these girls appears to be yet another, and possibly the most pathetic, of his illusions.

CONCLUSIONS

Important as Champlain's contributions to the early development of Canada have been, his dealings with the Indians were far from heroic. At all times, Champlain appears to have viewed the native peoples of the New World as a means to an end and in later years his treatment of them became increasingly callous. Champlain had no doubts about the superiority of all aspects of European civilization and was fully convinced that he had the right, and ultimately the obligation, to render the Indians subject to French control and to impose European ways upon them. In this policy, he was ably seconded by the Recollets, who believed it necessary to make "men" (that is, Frenchmen) out of "savages" before they could make them Christians. Champlain was frustrated in his dealings with the Indians by his chronic financial and military weakness, which made it impossible for him to impose his policies on the Montagnais by force.

Champlain was unwilling to make an effort to understand Indian ways except at a very superficial level. Because of this, he frequently erred in his interpretations of Indian behaviour and formulated policies that were thoroughly unrealistic and self-defeating. He failed to grasp the basic concept which was to provide the key to much of the Jesuits' success in later years — that if a small number of Europeans wish to alter the behaviour of a much larger number of people whom they are unable to control, they must seek to understand their culture and work to

change it from within. From an anthropological point of view it is a great pity that the early *coureurs de bois* or trading agents who lived with Indians, learned their languages and often inter-married with them according to local custom did not leave behind a written record of their experiences. The maintenance of good relations between the Indians and the French in these early years must have been largely their doing, and in the case of the Montagnais, they must have succeeded in spite of the ill-will that Champlain's blustering and erratic behaviour produced.

A final question that we must ask but cannot answer, in this paper: Was Champlain's treatment of the Indians the product of a not unusual ethnocentrism and an isolated facet of his personality or was it typical of his attitude towards other people in general? If it was the latter, this study may serve as the starting point for general re-evaluation of Champlain's life and works.

Notes

The research on which this paper is based was carried out while the author was the recipient of a Canada Council Leave Fellowship. Variant versions of most of the incidents discussed in this paper may be found in the early sources. Because of lack of space, it has not been possible to analyze these variants in detail; nevertheless, in each instance the conclusions are the result of a careful comparison of all the available material. Even if alternative versions were to be preferred, the major thesis of the paper would not be affected. Although this paper deals with events that took place long ago, it was my hope that Dr. Jenness would have seen in these events a portent of some of his most vital contemporary concerns.

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Beaver Dreaming and Singing

Robin Ridington

Diamond Jenness must have been a magnificent field worker, for the description he gives us of the Indian worlds he visited are rich in the kind of detail that only a trusted and sympathetic friend would be told. In his fine ethnography of the Sekani Indians he gives us fifteen pages of vivid first person accounts of Sekani religious practice.¹ We are told of people who died and returned to become medicine men, and of a variety of personal medicines and spirit quests. Because Jenness's account is so detailed, concrete and true to what he was told, one glimpses that the Northern Athabaskan conceptual world must be more complex than their social institutions, a world of totemic thought set in a shamanic cosmic structure. Nonetheless, the descriptive excellence of Jenness's work and a great deal of North American ethnography in the Boasian tradition leaves the reader tantalized but curiously unfulfilled because of its inability to find an appropriate conceptual framework with which to translate the meaning of what it describes.

I think it right that a paper in honour of Diamond Jenness should attempt, in terms relevant to our present needs and understandings, to discover and translate the meaning of totemic and shamanic symbolism among the Beaver Indians, close neighbours of the Sekani, with whom I have worked. Like the Sekani, the Beaver have men and women who have died and brought songs back from heaven as well as, in Jenness's words, "the belief that man and the animal world are linked together in some mysterious way and that animals possess special powers which they may bring to man if he seeks them in the proper manner."² As Jenness intimates, these two religious forms are manifestations of a single cosmic order and the underlying link between the two is in dreaming and songs. Elsewhere I have written of the Beaver

“messianic” practice as a form of shamanism;³ in this paper I will concentrate on explaining the underlying medium of dreaming and singing that connects Beaver shamanism with the quest for medicine power.

What I know of Beaver thought is incomplete both in detail and adequacy of conceptualization, yet in the short space of this paper I will have to ask the reader to take some of my statements on trust, particularly where an interpretation comes from knowledge of a large body of myth which I cannot reproduce here. The reader’s problem in following what I say directly parallels my problem in following what the Beavers say to me because in both cases the context that gives an event meaning is an extensive culturally patterned background of experience. For a participant in Beaver culture, the symbols penetrate every level of experience but the outsider attempting to enter that world of symbolically mediated experience must find shortcuts through abstractions within the context of his own culture’s symbolization. A Beaver Indian cannot “tell you the meaning” of the vision quest and its symbols in your terms unless he has a symbolic key to unlock your experience, but he can tell you about it in the terms through which he conceptualized it, those of his own experience and his culture’s symbols. The anthropologist must take on trust that it is meaningful and find experiences and symbols that will bridge the cultural gap. In this paper I shall attempt to communicate to you something I know is meaningful to both the Beavers and to me.

My background as an anthropologist attempting to translate Beaver meanings includes my formal education, my experiences in Beaverland and my experiences teaching Beaver ideas to others. My understanding of Beaver thought depends upon my willingness to take what they tell me seriously and personally (learning from them rather than merely about them), and my ability to find a symbolic framework that will encompass their experience, my own and yours as well. There is no qualitative difference between the symbolic transformation involved in bridging the gap between my experience and yours and the transformation involved in bridging the gap between mine and theirs. We are all humans enclosed in the ultimate solitude of our subjectivities, but as humans we all share the common capacity for giving each other experiences through the interaction that symbols make possible.

You and I cannot directly enter each others' experiences and I cannot recreate within you either my own life history or that of a Beaver Indian; but I can abstract and describe, through a medium common to our cultural understanding of each other, my understanding of the experiences of Beaver life within whose context their dreaming and singing is meaningful. The meaning of their symbols is neither imposed upon nor derived from but is rather inherent in the experiences of their lives. Thus, before I talk of symbolic abstractions I must give you some idea of the way in which the reality of Beaver life is constructed. I will talk about how Beavers learn about being human. Being a male myself, my account will undoubtedly show a male bias and be more from the perspective of a boy growing up in Beaverland than that of a girl. Crossing cultural gaps seems enough of a task at the moment without also crossing sexual ones. My neglect of women in this account does not imply that Beaver culture neglects women.

Human infants live in a world of experience unmediated by symbols, and Beaver infancy is not sufficiently discriminative from our own (and no more easily fathomable) to warrant discussion on my part. I shall begin at the stage of life where experience begins to encounter symbol. A Beaver child generally sleeps with his mother and father until he is weaned, on the birth of a new baby. Later he may sleep with an older brother, uncle or grandfather until he moves into a camp that some unmarried boys have set up. His sleeping is as important to him, in its own way, as his daytime activity. Every night and day of his life impresses upon him, gently and unselfconsciously, the unquestionable and almost unspoken realities of existence. Night comes when the sun sets (*sa na'a*, literally "daytime sun goes under"), each sunrise and sunset moving "one chicken step" toward its winter or summer time turning point, and each day increasing or decreasing in length according to season. While night lasts, the night time sun, *hatlege sa* or moon, is seen as it follows its own revolutions. It is the shadow of the sun just as "ghosts", about which a child hears much talk, are the shadows of men. The people always sleep toward the sunrise place in anticipation of its return. The experience of sleeping in that way is so much a part of the back-

ground and fabric of life that a child can hardly be consciously aware of it, yet as he will discover at some point in his life it is as important to him, and as unobtrusive, as his breathing.

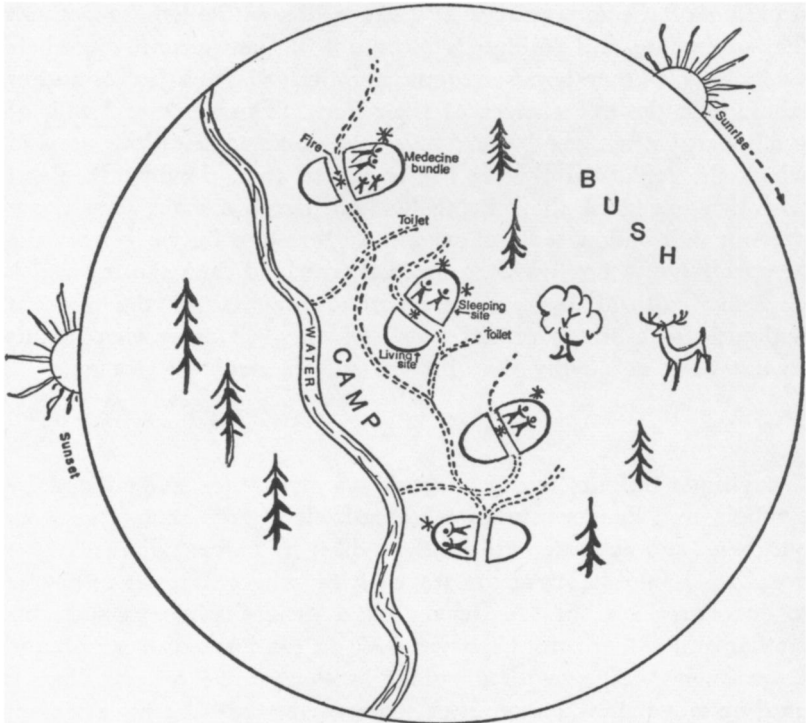


Figure 1 Beaver Camp

A typical Beaver nomadic camp is shown in figure 1. The houses are a sort of double lean-to with a fire in between the two halves. At times during the winter people may live in circular log tipis, more recently in log cabins. Now they rather confusingly find themselves in prefabricated government designed pastel plywood boxes set in rows. The double lean-tos are still in use by some of the people some of the time, and I have lived in and around camps like the one shown here. Children do not seem to know that they sleep facing the sunrise place because, I think, they do not yet know what it means. Yet it is obvious to a child as he

observes countless camps set up and struck on the family's yearly rounds that the orientation (an appropriate symbol from our own culture that you may have used without knowing what it meant) of a camp is part of the way things are. The living space of the camp and its relation to the cosmic cycles of sun and moon, form a constant backdrop for the large and small events of a child's life.

Children can recognize men before they can understand them, for their understanding must ultimately come from within their own experience. A man is unmistakable because of his medicine bundle hanging behind where he sleeps and testifying to his existence even in his physical absence. Children are not told directly about the content or meaning of a medicine bundle, but many people my own age told me that as a child they had fooled around with the bundle of some relative and received a terrible fright because there were things in it that moved; they were alive. The medicine bundle usually hangs from one of the poles of the lean-to above where a man sleeps, and he leaves it there during the day when he is away from camp. Children know, from the very special way it is handled and referred to, that it is somehow connected with the deepest powers of an adult's understanding. In my own experience of Beaver camp life, the medicine bundle seemed a constant presence, and I picked up the quality of respect with which it is treated long before I knew anything about its symbolic meaning. A child feels its power as he might feel the power of a gun from the respect with which adults treat it.

Sometimes a child will find himself precipitated into the powers of the medicine bundle long before he begins to understand it. Nearly every Beaver child has at some time in his life been seriously ill, and in this uncertain and otherworldly state of mind has been touched by someone's medicine bundle. When this happens, the familiar yet mysterious medicine bundle leaps out at him from its place in the background of his everyday experience and touches him with the force of life and death. It is a reminder of the power that exists in the universe and the understanding that he will seek as his experience grows.

Children learn from experience that the space behind where a man sleeps, behind his medicine bundle, is somehow different from

the space in front of a camp. When families camp together no-one puts his house between another's house and the sunrise place. There are no trails behind the houses. As a child learns the spaces within which people order their lives he is also learning the spaces within which experience becomes symbol.

I am told that traditionally men and women, boys and girls used different places for leaving and entering a house; men to the north and women to the south. The most important difference I observed between men and women in their use of space had to do with a distinction between bush and camp. On the camp side of a house there are trails connecting the houses of a camp together, and leading from each to wood, water and toilet. Everyone is free to walk these trails and it seems natural to follow them rather than strike out across unbroken terrain. On the other side of the house there are no regular trails. Men and children may walk there but women, particularly women who might be menstruating, may not cross behind where a man sleeps, behind his medicine bundle. This means that for every camp there is a camp area where cooking, hide-working and other domestic activities take place, and a bush area that is exclusive to the hunters. The camp is associated with women and family life and the bush with men and the animals they mysteriously go out to hunt and miraculously bring back to be transformed into food by the women.

From an early age children hear stories of giant animals that existed long ago and hunted men. They are told that these animals are still sometimes seen in the bush, that the culture hero, Usakindji, both divided and dispersed them in their present form and drove them to a place beneath the ground. The bush is a place that both surrounds and sustains every camp through the actions of men, and also the place where the creatures of the stories actually exist. It is an ultimate reality testified to by the past and surrounding the present; a place of living symbol, a mythic dimension. Ghosts are also found in the bush but they can only go around to the places where people used to camp along the trails of their own past lives. They pass through the bush but are not of it and seek the camps that are no longer there.

As children learn the physical layout of the world in which they play they also begin to observe its immaterial terrain. Certain

spaces belong to the activities of women and others to the activities of men. The medicine bundle links a man to the bush realm and the sunrise place, the world where giant animals may still be found and from which the actual animals he eats every day have come. Hardly a day passes without some mention of a dream and its possible relation to past, present or future events. Nearly every time a hunter brings meat into camp he connects the event to his dreaming and his dreaming is related to the bush through his medicine bundle. The North and East are associated with men, the South and West with women. This symbolic terrain is laid out in a variety of ways in the stories a child hears.

Singing and dreaming and eating, sunrise and sunset, birth and death, winter and summer, bush and camp, myth and experience, build into a totality as a child grows. Dreaming, medicine bundles and songs are a mystery to children but not an exclusive one. They know them in their way and as they grow older they grow into knowledge appropriate to their new experiences. Even children under five often find themselves away from the trails of camp and into the bush realm, a symbolically charged transformation even if they are barely out of earshot of their people. When it is discovered that a child has wandered into the bush, the parents think and dream about what animal might be calling him. As children grow older and begin to learn the stories, they are prepared, told to fast and abstain from drinking water, and sent out early in the morning to spend time alone in the bush. By the time a child is eight or ten he is ready to receive experiences that will change the character of his later life.

I cannot tell you what "really happens" to children in the bush, just as they cannot tell other people their experience directly. I was told that if a child has the right thoughts, if his head is in the right place, a medicine animal will come to him. There is a moment of meeting and transformation when he is "just like drunk" or in vocabulary more familiar to us, "stoned", or in a dream-like state. In this experience he can understand the animal's speech, and the animal speaks to him. It may seem to him that he stays with the animal for days or even weeks. The animal usually tells him when to leave, and when he starts to re-enter everyday reality he lurks in the bush outside the people's camp, afraid of the smell of smoke and unable to understand human speech.

Eventually the people spot him, bring him in and give him food and water. An older man puts his medicine coat around him and he sleeps. When he wakes he has returned to the world of men. He can talk to them again but cannot reveal anything, because he has not fully understood what happened in the bush.

What actually happens in the bush? I believe that children do live with animals and learn to speak their language. If ethologists can do this, surely Indians whose way of life brings them onto intimate terms with animals can attain the same rapport. So much for the physical events that may happen. A more complex question is, What does it mean? I can only begin to answer that question just as a Beaver child newly returned from the experience can only begin to learn the answers over the rest of his life. However it is clear that the experience goes far deeper than learning the habits of animals and attaining a rapport useful for hunting in later life. Although it is all these things, it is also and more fundamentally the beginning of a path of seeking to understand his own humanity. They do not find animals in themselves, but rather begin to find themselves in the natures of animals. Each species has its unique and distinctive nature, and people can see in themselves qualities that are most like the qualities of a particular animal species. Animals, besides being themselves, are symbols for men of the varieties of human nature and a man can learn his combination of qualities through getting close to the qualities of animals. The experience with a medicine animal in the bush is the culmination of childhood and the beginning of adulthood. Children do not find their medicines then but they do find the path that will lead them to this discovery later on. It is a path of dreaming and singing.

Children no longer seek to live with animals after puberty. For girls puberty is marked by an important ceremony on her first menstruation, and for boys the first kill of every major species of game is the occasion for a giveaway and dance. Their vision quest experiences are not exactly forgotten but are pushed to the background of an exciting busy adolescence. When a boy-man becomes one of the core adults of a band and has his own children (sometimes not until he is around thirty since he is likely to marry an older widow first), the experience of his pre-

adolescent vision quest and post-adolescent maturity come together in a powerful symbolic synthesis. He dreams. Of course he has always dreamed and known that dreams are crystalizations of reality, but these first dreams of maturity are special because they show him his medicines with the clarity of wisdom that adds a new direction to the innocence of childhood and to the illumination of the vision itself. This clarity and wisdom can only come when he has entered responsibly into the lives of others and learned to see himself in them. He has always in a sense known his medicines, but now he knows what they mean. The path his life has taken from the moment of his birth has come full circle, and he is ready to begin other paths to the completion of other circles. In the dreams he sees himself as a child living in the bush and knows that the stories he has both taken for granted, and taken literally, are about *him*. When he entered the world of animals as a child he also entered into the stories. The animals he knows and *is*, are the animals of the creation.

The knowledge that comes through dreaming is absolute because it comes from a level of symbolic association that is deeper than consciousness. Throughout Beaver life, this link through dreaming to a level of absolute certainty is given the importance it deserves. Dreams reveal the often hidden significance of events, and the immediacy of their imagery is accepted as an important gift. In this respect dreams for the Beavers are linked with songs since songs are experiences that convey the imagery of a dream into the conscious realm and allow this kind of experience to be communicated. Both songs and dreams are paths that take one into the realm where symbol and experience merge. The most important dreams a Beaver can have are those in which he follows a song, for the thread of a Beaver's song is the path his mind can take into the deepest realms of his subjectivity and out to reach the subjectivities of others. It is frustrating to have to use words to describe what must essentially be heard and experienced, but the reader must use his imagination and perhaps some experience with Indian music to see how songs become the medium of this inner journey. As you follow the turns of the song and learn them you are learning the inner paths of the mind. The Beavers translate *songs* into English as prayer because they reach simultaneously inward and outward.

The Beaver word for medicine is *mayine*, his or its song, and the central symbol of a man's medicine dream is a song given to him by his medicine animal. The songs are those sung by the giant animals when they hunted men, and the medicine dream reveals that the childhood experience with the animals was also the mind's journey into its song. The dreams also reveal to a man how to assemble a medicine bundle of objects symbolizing the powers of the mythic animals and instruct him to avoid certain foods or situations. By these signs other men know that he "knows something."

A man's medicine bundle hanging above where he sleeps toward the rising sun is a focus for his dreaming, a point at which the paths of thought and song begin and end. Through dreams he can receive and assimilate the flow of events into a significant order. Let me try to explain my understanding of what is, after all, the innermost subjectivity of people in a culture very different from mine. Hunters nearly always say that a successful hunt has been preceded by a dream. Elsewhere I interpreted this as an *ex post facto* claim for having caused the outcome.⁴ Now I believe it would be more in line with what I know of their dreaming to say the dream grasps the essence of a particular moment rather than causing it in our objective sense of cause and effect. Perhaps it would be better to say that the dream brings an event into being from the multitudinous events of possibility. There are many more possible occurrences than can actually be realized and in hunting, as in gambling, one seeks to know the dimensions of possibility and to know something of the odds with regard to various classes of possible events. There are many animals in the bush, and any one could be willing to give himself to the people. When man and animal do meet it is a moment of transformation, like the moment of meeting in the vision quest when the child enters the animal's world of experience and is devoured by another realm of consciousness. In hunting, the animal enters the man's experience and his meat is eaten by the people. Through their meeting the man can be instrumental in bringing into actuality a transformation that existed before only as a possibility, just as through the meeting of child and animal in the vision quest the child is given a path to the realization of his humanity. The vision quest symbolically transforms the child's meat into spirit,

and the hunt transforms the animal's spirit into meat. But the moment of killing is also a moment of creation for it brings potential into actuality, the manifesting into the manifested. The hunter's dreams come from the sunrise, the place where the new day is created, and come to him through his medicine bundle, the symbols of his entry into the world of animals and myth.

The Beavers symbolize the creative mystery of this transformation by saying that the shadows of animals killed in hunting return to the sky to be born again in the meat of another body. This completes and begins the circle of creation, for the animal's spirit continues its journeys through the peoples' respectful acceptance of its meat. That is why the Beavers place such a great emphasis on proper care of meat and respect to the remains left at the kill site. The hunter's dream is as much of a shadow waiting to be born as it is of an animal preparing to die. The dream does not cause the meeting between man and animal, but it puts them into the proper sense of understanding that can make the meeting possible and meaningful. The dream emanates from an unconscious repository of the man's whole lifetime of experience and reaches out to touch a possible moment of creation. At every stage of his life his culture has provided symbols that help him organize and understand his experience, and these symbols are almost literally compacted and bundled together in a little pouch that hangs above his head as he sleeps in anticipation of the sun's return to the earth and an animal's return to the sky. The songs of his medicine are always in his inner ear for they tell him what it is to be a man.

I have only once heard a Beaver medicine song, *ma yine* ("his-its" song), for they stem from the deepest reaches of a person's subjectivity. They are the songs of the medicine animals within the man, and they well up and reach out only when he, or one close to him, is in some way close to death, either in a fight or grave illness or great need to succeed in hunting. The only time I heard them was when an old man was preparing to die. But although the medicine songs are seldom sung in public, they are always in a person's mind and in his dreams.

Ma yine medicine songs carry a person's mind up and down the abysses of his subjectivity, but there are other gentler songs

that reach out horizontally to touch the subjectivities of others through a sharing of common experience. These are the songs a man sings in his camp when he is not out hunting and the songs that bring people together to dance. They are called *ahata yine*, God songs or *nachene yine*, dreamers songs, because they are brought back from heaven by a man who has died, a dreamer or shaman. The dreamer (*naachi*) can bridge the gap between subjectivities, because he has followed the vertical dimension of mind to its polar extremities and discovered that they form a circle into another dimension that links his mind to those of The People. He follows the inner path, led on by a song he hears in his dreams to the point of death, the ultimate in subjective isolation but also the point of transformation, to find that beyond is a realm where all subjectivities merge into one. This is heaven (*yage*) from which six dreamers, six grandfathers (actual men who are remembered by their descendents), have sent down a *nachene yine* whose turns are the path of heaven. If he can follow the song's path, "grab hold of it with his mind", in what we would call a state of trance or deep meditation, and they call dreaming, he will become the seventh of the grandfathers and return to the ordinary world as a dreamer carrying a new song for the people. The dreamer is actually seven men and his earthly person becomes the seventh shaman. Dreamers are the only men who sleep toward the sunset. The ultimate source of dreamers' songs is in the animal world for they are the prayers that animals sing when they have hard times. The dreamers in heaven have heard the animals dancing and singing and sent the songs down into the dreams of the seventh shaman, who then gives them to the people. Every song that the Beavers sing is both an animal's song and the song of a particular dreamer. The songs bring people together to dance in prayer, and every man knows that when he dies he will follow the path of a dreamer's song to heaven.

There is much more I could say about the penetration of dreaming and singing into every aspect of Beaver life, but in the short space remaining I would like to leave you with a picture of a Beaver ceremonial, shown in figure 2. The Beavers dance, usually in a large tipi, clockwise or as they say, "following the sun" around a fire. The fire is the centre of the circle and its

column of smoke joins heaven and earth, the axis of subjective experience. Extending horizontally out from the fire is a circle of people. The singers and drummers are mainly young adults, the hunters. They sit in the direction of the sunrise, just as they sleep in their own camps toward the sunrise. Older men sit toward

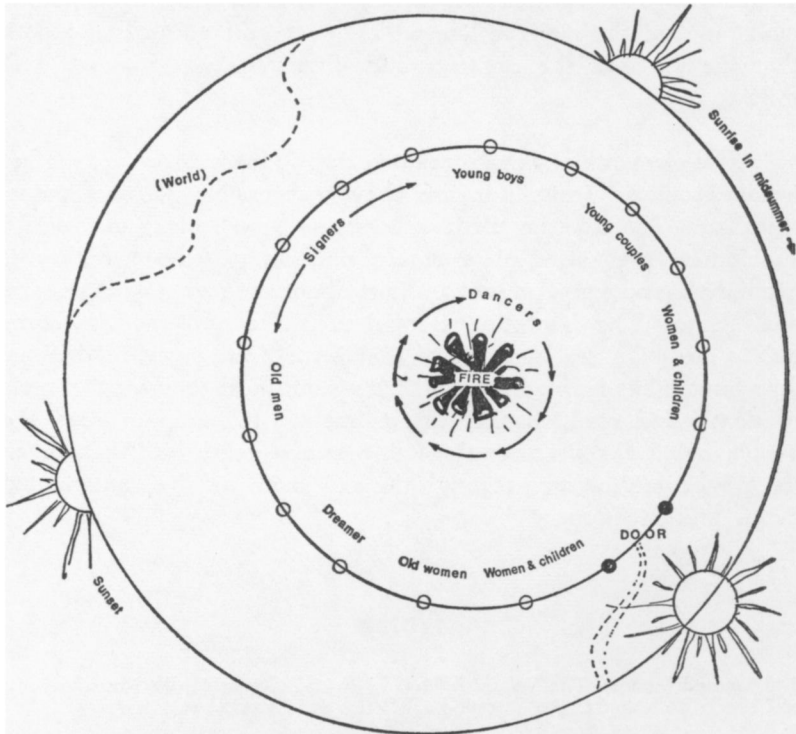


Figure 2 Dance Lodge

the north, and the very old, as well as the dreamer if he is present, sit toward the sunset. Women and their children sit along the southern circumference of the circle and the door is generally the dividing line between men and women. The singing and dancing goes on for three or four nights, and during the day the dreamer may dream for the people or talk to them about his dreaming. A comparison of figures 1 and 2 will reveal that the

dance lodge is a ceremonial extension of the domestic camp whose metaphor is extended to include all the people who have come together to dance. The singers sit to the east and sing, but instead of medicine bundles that bring medicine songs to their minds, they have drums that carry heaven songs out to the people. The dance is a hopping shuffle around the fire. They say it is walking to heaven. The rhythm is a steady, powerful beat, evocative of walking, and the melodic line with its intricate turns is the path that the animals, the dreamer and ultimately you yourself will follow.

The elements of Sekani religion that Jenness describes are not isolated culture traits nor are they inaccessible to our understanding. Among the Beaver, personal medicines and public shamanism are parts of a single philosophy whose reality is grounded in common understandings about the meaning of dreams and songs. The hunter's personal medicine and the dreamer's public medicine are both songs that have been given in dreams. The hunter has learned through his vision quest to enter the cycle of death and creation that brings meat into camp to feed the people, while the dreamer through his own death has been given the gift of guiding men through the experience of their anticipated death and creation.

Notes

1. Diamond Jenness, *The Sekani Indians of British Columbia*, National Museum of Canada Bulletin 84. Anthropological Series no. 20 (Ottawa, 1937).
2. *Ibid.*, pp. 67-68.
3. Robin and Antonia Ridington, "The Inner Eye of Shamanism and Totemism," *History of Religions*, in press.
4. Robin Ridington, "The Medicine Fight: an Instrument of Political Process Among the Beaver Indians," *American Anthropologist* 70:1152-1160 (December 1968).

The Potential of Traditional Societies, and of Anthropology, Their Predator

Julie Cruikshank

There is an uneasy awareness among some students of anthropology that their exclusive concern with small, isolated societies is becoming an obsolete line of inquiry. Not only are anthropologists rapidly running out of "primitive peoples" on whom they can stake claims, but their conventional association with "primitives" is encountering new difficulties. The symbiotic relationship which anthropologists have often enjoyed with colonial governments in the past has given rise to a stereotype which is difficult to exorcise: they are being barred from certain African countries where rulers reject them in favour of sociologists whose presence suggests that an African nation has "arrived". Closer to home, many Indian and Eskimo communities are outspokenly raising objections to becoming grist for the anthropology thesis mills.

However, anthropology is unlikely to become obsolete if it expands its scope to examine broader issues. One possibility lies in the examination of transitional and modernizing societies. Because values and culture are the substance of anthropology's subject matter, the discipline must contribute to an understanding of the contemporary world in which countries with different cultural traditions are meeting and competing for dominance. Oscar Lewis, who has alternately been praised as providing new insights and damned as a "parasite of the poor" has a compelling point when he notes that

...anthropologists have a new function in the modern world: to serve as students and reporters of the great mass of peasants and urban dwellers of the underdeveloped countries who constitute about 80 per cent of the world's population... . Many Americans, thanks to anthropologists, know more about the culture of some isolated tribe in New Guinea with a total population of five hundred souls than about the way of life of

millions of villagers in India or Mexico and other underdeveloped nations which are destined to play so crucial a role in the international scene.¹

A further possibility which has been little discussed, and with which this paper deals, is that of exploring and analyzing the designs for living found in those traditional cultures which are currently being drawn into the western economic and political sphere. Despite the subtle complexity of many of these cultures, externally generated programs of "development" geared at creating replicas of "western man" are initiated with practically no understanding or interest in what traditional peoples might be able to teach *us* about coping with our modern man-made environment. As Harrington points out: "Up until the re-entry of the non-white millions into history, it was logical to assume that the cultural standards of the western world were as superior as its technology."² It is not necessary to look to Asia or Latin America for such lessons. By focusing on Canada one can see combined the material advantages of the "developed" countries and the problems of many so-called underdeveloped countries. Failure to appreciate the distinct cultural traits which could be useful in the modern world could well limit the country's potential for development.

In this context it is instructive to consider certain aspects of social change occurring in the North, especially since the North has often been suggested as a particularly good "laboratory" for research into the problems of physical, social and cultural adaptation. It is necessary to examine the context of this particular instance of culture change and to consider whether there are indications of static approaches to development in northern Canada, particularly in the area of the Yukon Territory, where the writer has had some field experience. This paper will remain at the speculative level: the extent to which the suggested approaches to change would be practically useful would have to be tested in an empirical situation.

Context of Change

In the North a broadly specialized culture from one environment has filtered into another environment and has displaced a

culture formerly highly adapted to that environment. But by introducing the technological appendages of this new complex culture, its members have substantially altered their physical surroundings. In the Yukon Territory, for example, the Indians underwent numerous changes from proto-historic trade contacts with other Indian tribes. However, the rate of change has accelerated unevenly since the gold stampede in 1896-98 broke the Tlingit blockade which had kept the interior Indians from contact with whiteman.³ Soon followed the handful of missionaries eager to bring salvation. The next major influx of population came with the building of the Alaska Highway in 1943-45. After the steamboats were removed from the Yukon River in 1953, most Indians relocated along the Alaska Highway or other major arteries radiating from Whitehorse. Although there are still extended family groups who camp along the highway, most Indians live in villages, all of which are shared with non-Indians. Hence the once specialized Indians, without whose technical assistance the whiteman could not have penetrated the Klondike, have now become the least specialized in coping with the man-made changes in the physical and cultural environment. Ironically this displacement in no way indicates that their values are outmoded; on the contrary they are theoretically in a position where they once again could contribute a great deal. As aims, goals and strategies of entrepreneurs from the South become increasingly rigid, the need for new approaches to development becomes vital.

There is a pervasive myth in Canada, as elsewhere in North America, that economic solutions will prove a panacea to human problems. Yet it seems that this focus has been a limiting factor, not only for the development of our own society, but in its implications for the people on whom we impose these measures. For example, the federal Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development is charged with making the area "north of sixty" economically productive as well as with administering the affairs of the native peoples. The implication in the lumping of these two distinct government branches seems to be that Keynesian principles apply both to economic development and to social-cultural problems. Thus a number of ritual expenditures are rationalized by the Ottawa policy-makers, and native Indians and Eskimos become victims of programs which are supposed to "help" them.

They are built "suitable houses" about which they are not consulted.⁴

Mines are opened at considerable government expense in the hope that they will provide jobs for Indians and Eskimos, who are never consulted about whether they have any desire to be employed in such jobs.⁵ Programs of relocation for northern Indians and Eskimos embarrass the government and do irreparable harm to the native people when they do not produce the anticipated results.⁶ It has become increasingly difficult to assess the extent of social damage as these policies snowball.

In the North today, adult Indians are literally experiencing transition from stone age to jet age in a single lifetime. By circumstance and government design, they are being dragged into the twenty-first century, yet it seems that only by physical dislocation, cultural disruption and ruthless socialization can they become full citizens of modern Canada. The present scheme of things seems to lock Indians and Eskimos into low level economic positions. The acceptable niches are defined by members of the dominant culture, and since those defined as prestigious are filled by non-native entrepreneurs; only bottom level niches are left for Indians and Eskimos. This is not peculiar to the North: John Porter's rough occupational hierarchy of ethnic groups throughout Canada lumps Indians and Eskimos together at the bottom, 60 per cent of those unemployed being in unskilled jobs.⁷ The current policy seems committed to making them into "productive citizens" without specifying just what is to be produced and whom it is to benefit. One might ask whether there are ways in which Indians and Eskimos can move directly into the twentieth century while still maintaining important aspects of their value systems. The popular alternative seems to involve abandoning a way of life which until recently has been sufficiently elastic to absorb changes, and might well provide guidelines for members of our own culture.

In northern Canada, the visible problems introduced by the non-Indians who come to change the North, make references to the "Indian problem" a blatant misnomer. The North has often been called the "last frontier". On American frontiers, individualism has always been valued, but the northern frontier is not a replica of others familiar in the history of the continent. The

American West was a frontier ecologically similar to that from which the entrepreneurs came. The northern frontier, physically quite different from the contemporary urban South, creates special problems of readjustment, and the need for co-operation and for the acceptance of one another. The real problems of the North are less mechanical than social and are caused by isolation, long winters, job competition, use of leisure time, etc. Now the Indian and Eskimo populations are being presented with the whole gamut of these problems. A consideration of certain aspects of the traditional culture would suggest that many of the tensions which exist in the North were traditionally managed by the native people, and that anthropologists could learn and teach a great deal about broader contemporary human dilemmas by considering the variety of social mechanisms which have been employed. Anthropology is essentially the study of alternative ways of organizing behaviour, and definitions of such alternatives are greatly needed in the modern world.

Work-Leisure Dichotomy

McLuhan aptly notes that "... work ... does not exist in the non-literate world. The primitive hunter and fisherman did no work any more than does the poet, painter or thinker of today. Where the whole man is involved there is no work."⁸ The concept of leisure in our society was created as a by-product of work and now, confronted with non-work time, there emerges the baffling problem of what to *do* with it.

No trait of Western man is more evident than his determination to load himself with work, to find in work the main values of life and to use his gains to extend his work into wider areas... Not only has Western man forced work upon himself and learned to like it, he tries with missionary zeal to stimulate others in accepting his strenuous way of life. Those who do not respond with energy are regarded as backward.⁹

The problems native people face in adapting to industry parallel the problems western man faces in adapting to leisure. Yet the attitudes of northern Indians toward work seem to parallel closely the attitudes of many professionals, scientists, writers, artists, and students in our own society who somehow manage to synthesize work and leisure. Energy is expended unevenly; periods of work are followed by periods of relaxation in no pattern. This

is precisely the direction in which technocratic society is moving, and the synthesis will have to be effected more widely for all people in this society. In some parts of North America and Scandinavia, industries are making efforts to maximize employer-employee satisfaction by letting employees choose the hours of the day during which they wish to work. A woman may be home to prepare all three meals for her family and fill in her work time around this, or a man may fish until three in the afternoon and come to work late in the afternoon and evening. Where this has occurred, indications are that production has increased and waste has been substantially reduced; the result is greater profit for the industry as well as more job satisfaction.¹⁰ It would seem that the North could be a good testing ground for such industrial policies.

The expanding breach between work and leisure is accentuated in the North by the kinds of work available. Most southerners who go to the North in government employ soon learn that there is little emotional satisfaction to be gained from their work, a situation which virtually forces the dichotomy. They find that the easiest way to get through the year or two on the margin of the world is to go through the motions of busyness from nine to five and then leave work totally behind. Those who are unable to do this often find that the pressures of their job ineffectiveness drive them from the North even sooner.

On the other hand, non-industrial cultures seldom define leisure as a bothersome category separate from the rest of life. Salz' study of Equadorian Indians indicates that they lacked the concept 'leisure'.¹¹ They worked steadily when necessary and otherwise engaged in such structured activities as fiestas, dances, weddings, etc. But the attitudes taken to these activities were different from western ideas of fun-making and involved execution of rights and obligations. Helm's description of gambling, games, dances and of New Year's eve celebration as a spontaneous rite indicates that some northern Athapaskans cope with recreation in similarly structured ways.¹² In the not-too-distant future, western notions of work will have to be replaced with more creative ideas involving a combination of production and leisure. Since models for such time management exist in other cultures, our culture might do well to examine them more closely.

Communications

The study of communications is gaining both theoretical and practical significance in the North. Examination of cross-cultural communication in northern Canada could clarify specific cues to which different people react; for example, a transaction between an Indian person and a non-Indian administrator brings into focus a number of issues involved in role bargaining, since each party operates under a different set of constraints and toward different goals. Yet neither fully understands the constraints or goals which motivate the other. Indians are sensitized to a whole spectrum of behavioural cues which are, in effect, "educated out" by our programmed classroom socialization. It is not difficult to identify areas in which the Indian cultures have a great deal to offer in terms of social and psychological sensitivity; the difficulty is for non-Indians, trained strictly in auditory and verbal categories, to learn to respond to more subtle cues.

As a corollary of the system of ordered verbal communication, western cultures have expanded the written tradition, the cultural assumption being that rules once written down become legitimized. Western cultures then try to tie traditional cultures to an out-moded written tradition; for example, many officials protect themselves from contact with real problems by operating strictly by rule books. They further present Indians with a rule book which the whiteman has written for him called the "Indian Act". Paradoxically, at the same time the oral tradition is being reborn through electric technology; radio and television, telephones, tape recorders and films present new possibilities for oral, person to person communication in which Indians could be directly involved.

Some advantages which might follow from having Indians assist teachers in schools would seem to be self-evident. Besides helping Indian children to bridge a considerable culture gap, they could introduce both native and non-native children to new patterns of thought and new respect for each other's traditions. All children are sensitive to a number of cues which few elementary school teachers in the North have the capability for, or the interest in, developing. If Indians could be drawn into the education system on their own terms, some of these sensitivities could perhaps be

creatively developed rather than destroyed, and could benefit children from many cultures.¹³

Interpersonal Relationships

Co-operation. Traditionally, an Indian's manhood was actualized by participation in male activities such as hunting, and his social position was confirmed by his willingness and ability to share. Safety valves existed in different cultures: the medicine fight among the Beaver Indians enabled a man to save face despite success or failure in the hunt.¹⁴ Sharing had both economic and social functions. The successful hunter shared his bounty with others thereby gaining prestige for himself; others could consume meat assured that the next time, they might be the ones to contribute. Maintenance of shared obligations helped to stabilize the kinship network by clearly reinforcing rights and obligations. Tanner's description of the history of the fur trade in the Yukon shows how group co-operation was also important among native trappers during the period when white traders dealt directly with Indian trading chiefs.¹⁵

Despite the high level of technology and skill required to hunt and trap, non-Indians have now defined hunting, a co-operative venture, as less prestigious than holding a regular job, an individual activity. Blishen's socio-economic index scores 320 occupations found in Canada, as they were rated by a representative sample of Canadians, and puts hunting and trapping at the very bottom.¹⁶ This shows the fallacy of imposing categories of one culture on the activities performed in another. However, this lack of prestige, combined with an improved technology, decrease in game and in fur prices, and loss of skills by young men who are partial products of the non-Indian school system, makes men reluctant to hunt. The scant remuneration from jobs available to native persons provides no surplus for sharing and its by-product, prestige. Government welfare checks are uni-directional and originate in a foreign redistribution system; this precludes any possibility of sharing and of establishing oneself as the potential saviour of one's group.

Now it is decreed by the dominant society that manhood is achieved through competition. Competition was never absent

among Indians, but it never operated in the undisguised fashion in which it has been introduced. Among northern whites, many of whom see themselves facing a hostile environment, individualism is often carried to extremes. Their social adaptations may result in a segmented "every man for himself" approach. The value of co-operation, once necessary for survival in the North is breaking down, yet at the same time the absolute need for co-operation remains and is increasing in a large area with a limited population originating from a variety of backgrounds. The new competitive patterns often preclude exchange, even of ideas, with a rival. Paradoxically, individualistic competition, the gift of the newcomers and the source of so many difficulties, is still touted as the solution to, rather than the actual cause of so many problems. Educators, especially, express keen interest in having children learn to compete. It would seem that the North provides a unique opportunity for real co-operation toward common goals and that non-natives could learn a great deal from Indians and Eskimos about how to cope with the constraints in their environment. Fragmented western man, trained to compete with his peers, yet experiencing alienation in the process, may be moving into an era when co-operation — economically, socially and politically — will be necessary if he is to survive. As attitudes on major social and political issues become increasingly polarized, opportunities for real social reform decrease. If we are to make realistic efforts to solve some of the major social problems facing us, we would do well to internalize some of the general principles, such as co-operation for survival, used in non-western cultures.

Coexistence. By subtle but structured use of their kinship network, Indians were able to manipulate their social environment in order to minimize social tensions. In the Northwest, this network was infinitely expandable and threatening persons were often adopted, put into a framework and given an identifiable role. McClellan and Tanner have both described how Tlingit Indians blockaded the Athapaskans from direct contact with white traders and held the role of middlemen in fur trade relationships prior to the gold rush; however, they minimized potentially hostile relationships by incorporating the sub-dominant Athapaskans into their kinship network.¹⁷ Tlingits gave women to Athapaskan men as wives, involving the inland bands in reciprocal relationships

while simultaneously introducing considerable Tlingitization into the interior. In the southern Yukon, partnerships resulted from economic motives, but further north among the Kutchin bands, partnerships were initiated as a security measure, with or without trade obligations.¹⁸ The same process continued after the gold rush: those whitemen who stayed often took Indian wives. Indians are still able to "adopt" individuals into their social network, placing them into some kind of a known context and removing the threat from new roles. Non-Indians are usually less able to do this and may regard new persons as potential competitors and hence, as a threatening force.

Non-Indians could benefit considerably by learning about the principles by which Indians handled early contacts with cultures other than their own. We could make more effective use of our own potential "kinship systems" which could be based on common interests and activities rather than on genetic ties. The kinship analogy could be of practical use when applied to an area where people might be drawn together by common concerns: knowledge, information, and ideas flow from person to person in ways similar to the bush kinship system. Such kinship systems become self-perpetuating and self-reinforcing as they grow and expand.

Isolation. The physical environment places certain constraints on activities in the North. Winters are long, cold and dark. Combined with the effects of relative isolation, this generates considerable stress for those newly arrived from the South. Throughout modern urban society the individual is seen as an isolate: the crowd isolates him, but this is a kind of psychological, rather than physical isolation. The isolation in the North, involving separation from people of similar interests, presents an unfamiliar and often difficult experience.

Darkness and isolation seldom generated such tensions for native persons born and raised in this environment. Traditionally they had a limited and known number of primary interpersonal relationships in an animistic world which included non-human as well as human social beings. Further investigation of how they handled hostilities which emerged in their world could unearth new approaches to social behaviour. There is no doubt that one of the most pressing problems for modern man is psy-

chological alienation and the feeling of isolation. Indians have much to teach us about coping with isolation in the modern world. The possibilities of silent contemplation are more familiar to Indians than to western man who places greater value on activity for its own sake.

Conclusion

Cultures act as selective forces on one another, but it would seem more logical to encourage complementarity among cultures than the manufacture of weak replicas. The introductory Research Statements for a series of projects to be carried out in the eastern Arctic by Memorial University in Newfoundland suggest looking for possibilities of such complementarity. If, as the researchers propose, "...the nature and degree of complementarity between two or several cultures and other behavioral systems is within the power of men to influence if not yet to control...",¹⁹ then it is necessary to examine possible directions. Paradoxically, critical lessons for western man — in personal relationships, co-operation, person to person communication, creative use of leisure, and others — are all embodied in the very cultures which he is systematically trying to destroy.

The search for panaceas which will cause problems magically to disappear in the North continues, but there persists the naive belief that only non-Indians are capable of devising them. Yet, there are no "right solutions" to "problems", because the solutions, like the problems can reflect only the interests and perceptions of specific groups. Dr. Edmund Leach has pinpointed one of the most serious hindrances to co-operation in the modern world. The education system in the western world places great importance on analyzing and breaking down all elements of behaviour and slotting all experience into categories which were developed by the Greeks in the 5th century B.C. When experience proves so complex that it will not fit neatly into expected patterns, people alter neither their categories nor their expectations but persist in trying to make the two coincide. Within any one culture the categories are relatively clear, but when different cultures structure experience differently, non-communicating systems build up which must somehow be interconnected. Leach also points out that what

kept human beings from speciating in the evolutionary process was not interbreeding but the ability to communicate.²⁰

Only by enabling people to define channels through which ideas can be openly exchanged will any effective starting point be achieved. This is certainly not uniquely a Canadian problem. Mannoni, speaking of colonial Africa argues:

The social and mental state of the native is certainly not to be expressed as a fraction in which the numerator represents the proportion of Western civilization he has absorbed and the denominator the amount we think he ought to absorb.²¹

The possible role for the anthropologist suggested in this paper is not to be interpreted as one of saviour or missionary, but rather one of providing sound advice in areas where he is competent. Anthropologists have sometimes been employed to assist western powers in introducing technological and social changes to traditional societies: a more significant role might well involve teaching people of western cultures how they might learn from those peoples whom they high-handedly assume must simultaneously modernize and westernize. By working with real situations involving real problems of real people, rather than with pure abstractions, anthropologists might well solve some of their own pressing problems. The niches in anthropology as it now exists are finite in number and some anthropologists will have to move beyond the delimited work of pure academe to bridge the theory with the practical possibilities. This need not and should not mean a distinction between theoretician and technician, for if separated (as they so often are) neither would be further ahead, nor could problems be tackled adequately. It could well mean that development of new roles and a continued link between the university and the outside community could give the field scope for balanced development which has not yet been achieved.

Notes

1. Oscar Lewis, *Five Families* (New York: Mentor, 1959), p. 15.
2. Michael Harrington, *The Accidental Century* (New York: Penguin, 1967), p. 31.

3. "Whiteman" is a category used by the Indians in the Yukon to distinguish members of the dominant society from themselves. It is pronounced, not as two words, but as one, and includes all non-Indians when used in a general sense. I also heard it used as a derogatory term applied to Indians who were trying to assume non-Indian values and standards of behaviour.
4. A letter asking to what extent Indians were consulted about their potential houses was sent to an architectural firm involved in Indian housing projects in northern Manitoba, Saskatchewan, and Alberta. Despite the ambiguity of the reply, the answer was obvious:
 "As regards the influence of opinion of housing, in the area we covered, most conditions were of a low subsistence level and the obvious areas to cover were quite basic. For this reason, coupled with the vast separation between need and supply of housing, there is little attempt on the part of the Indian to affect the housing but rather the attitude is to accept what is given." Dec. 1967.
 The whole subject of Indian housing, and the attitudes many Indians express toward the houses which this firm indicates they passively "accept" deserves much more consideration.
5. See Jim Lotz, "Myth of the Rich North," *Canadian Forum* 47:217-219 (January 1968).
6. Jamieson Bond, "A Report on the Pilot Relocation Project at Elliot Lake, Ontario" (Report submitted to the Indian Affairs Branch, Dept. of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, Ottawa, 1968); David Stevenson, "Relocation of Eskimos" (Draft of a Report submitted to the Northern Co-ordination and Research Centre, Dept. of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, Ottawa, 1967).
7. John Porter, *The Vertical Mosaic* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1965).
8. Marshall McLuhan, *Understanding Media* (New York: McGraw Hill, 1964), p. 138.
9. Nels Anderson, *Work and Leisure* (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1962), p. 2.
10. Nancy O. Lurie, "The Indian Moves to an Urban Setting," in *Resolving Conflicts — A Cross-Cultural Approach* (University of Manitoba, Dept. of Extension, 1967).
11. Beate R. Salz, "The Human Element in Industrialization — A Hypothetical Case Study of Equadorian Indians," *Economic Development and Cultural Change* 4:100-102 (1955).
12. June Helm, *The Lynx Point People: The Dynamics of a Northern Athapaskan Band*, National Museum Bulletin no. 176 (Ottawa, 1961), pp. 92-107.
13. In one village in the Yukon, Indian women specifically mentioned that "Indian stories" should be taped and used in the schools. Because the school is accepted in this village it is possible that they see it as a vehicle by which legends could be legitimately taught and validated beyond the home.
 The Indian Affairs Branch has instituted a "Teacher-aid program" in some western provinces. Here, Indian mothers are trained to help in classrooms by relieving teachers of non-professional duties and by helping the child adjust to school. However, it seems that the Branch is overlooking two important facts:
 a) By subjecting these women to a training program, they are perhaps discouraging the use of many of the important qualities the women may have to offer. They are really doing little more than teaching non-Indian categories to Indians and seem to be doing little more than 'window-dressing' by putting the women in the schools.
 b) By limiting them strictly to 'non-professional' duties, they are reinforcing a situation in which the white is always in an authority position. There are probably a number of things that the Indian mother could teach which would help both the students and the teacher.

14. Robin Ridington, "The Medicine Fight: an Instrument of Political Process Among the Beaver Indians," *American Anthropologist* 70:1152-1160 (December 1968).
15. Adrian Tanner, "The Structure of Fur Trade Relations," (M.A. thesis, University of British Columbia, 1965), pp. 37-43.
16. Bernard R. Blishen, "A Socio-Economic Index for Occupations in Canada," *Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology* 4(1):41-53 (1967).
17. Catherine McClellan, "Culture Contacts in the Early Historic Period in Northwestern North America," *Arctic Anthropology* 2(2):3-15 (1964); Tanner, "Fur Trade Relations."
18. Tanner, "Fur Trade Relations," p. 35.
19. R. Paine, ed., "Identity and Modernity in the East Arctic," Research Statements (Dept. of Sociology and Anthropology, Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1968).
20. Edmund Leach, *A Runaway World. The Reith Lectures, 1967* (London: Oxford University Press, 1968), pp. 77-92.
21. O. Mannoni, *Prospero and Caliban: the Psychology of Colonization* (New York: Praeger, 1964), p. 23.

Psychological Research in the North

J. W. Berry

A decade ago Vallee challenged psychologists to go North;¹ most have been content to stay South. However some research has been done in the interval to supplement the meagre work done earlier, and this paper will attempt a selective and topical review of it.

Research with northern native peoples by psychologists, as well as psychiatrists and psychologically sophisticated anthropologists will be surveyed under four headings:² cognitive skills; attitudes; personality; and some psychological effects of culture contact and social change. The first section will include perceptual and intellectual abilities, and potential for western (southern?) education; the second will be concerned with attitudes, values and motives; the third will survey evidence for a "northern" personality; and the fourth will examine changes (adaptations and reactions) in cognitive skills, attitudes and personality during acculturation. A final section will focus on the role and responsibility of the psychologist in northern development, and make suggestions for urgent and essential research.

Perhaps a word need be said at the outset to establish why psychologists are, or should be, interested in the North. Firstly, behavioural variation as a function of ecological and cultural variation may be admirably studied in the North; from our point of view it is a unique human laboratory capable of producing essential knowledge about human behaviour in its widest context. Secondly, there are rapidly growing psychological problems in the North stemming from the search for an exploitation of material resources by other scientists and technicians who typically have minimal regard for the human resources of the North; here we can help, but only if our basic research, conducted for the first reason, has been well-initiated. For both these reasons, I echo Vallee's

challenge into the seventies, and hope that more take up the task than responded in the sixties.

Cognitive Skills

More research has been carried out by psychologists in the North on the kinds of behaviour known as cognitive skills than on any other aspect of human functioning. This research has focused primarily on perceptual and intellectual development, and on educational potential; the impetus for it seems to have stemmed from a concern both with pure research and with applied problems (education, wage employment and health).

Probably the most interesting consistent finding is that Eskimos differ very little from southern norms on tests involving perceptual skills or those abilities tapped by "performance scales" of conventional intelligence tests.³ It is often found, of course, that non-western peoples (e.g. in Africa and among American minority groups) perform significantly lower on these tests, and so this northern result is in many respects a unique finding. Interpretations of this relatively high perceptual development have been offered in terms of a functional adaptation to the demands of the northern environment where perceptual-motor skills are highly useful.⁴

A corollary to these results is the lack of sex-difference in these skills among Eskimos;⁵ the usual finding among other groups is that females perform significantly poorer than males, but this is not so in the North. Interpretations have been offered for this in terms of socialization practices and role requirements in Eskimo life.⁶

Several studies of Indian and Metis peoples have indicated a level of perceptual development almost as high as that found among Eskimos, suggesting the existence of a "northern" cognitive style.⁷ Since this category of cognitive skill (as opposed to "verbal skills") is so important in a technological economy, this general finding for Eskimos, Indians and Metis bodes well for the acceptance of southern technology by northern peoples; however other problems inherent in social and technological change may interfere with this traditional high level of development of these

skills, and render this solid base less useful than it might otherwise be to the individual contemplating change.

Other kinds of tests have been employed from time to time in the North, among them the Piagetian tests for "equivalence."⁸ Although Eskimo and white school children were virtually equal on a conventional test of intellectual development, attainment of superordinate cognitive categorization was not as frequent among the Eskimo children. This finding was considered to be a result of traditional emphasis on "the concrete individuality" of physical objects, obscuring any overriding equivalence among a set of objects. This tendency to deal with discrete units in the environment was also noted by Berry who found that, despite equivalent visual acuity, Eskimos were significantly more aware of slight variations in their visual environment, than were other groups tested;⁹ these observations are reinforced by the finding that Eskimos tend to retain the identity of pictorial material, and reproduce it with fewer distortions than other groups tested.¹⁰ All these results indicate that Eskimos tend to perceive objects in their environment with accuracy, and as discrete individual entities, and suggest a further interpretation in terms of traditional demands on perceptual development made by the qualities of life in the North.

From a specifically educational point of view, MacArthur and Vernon have examined Metis, Indian and Eskimo school children in the Western Arctic, and discovered that on a variety of predictors of educational success, these pupils perform creditably (though slightly lower than whites) on these western derived and western biased tests.¹¹ In practice, then, traditional intellectual development has prepared northern peoples reasonably well for our notions of education.

Before leaving the educational field, it is perhaps worthwhile to point out that little work has been done in the North on the "culturally deprived" or the "culturally disadvantaged". It is hoped that this situation is due to the recognition by potential researchers that these concepts have no valid place in a society guided by an ideology of cultural pluralism. However it is probable that this lack is a reflection of the general lack of psychological research in the North, and not due to any ideological sophistica-

tion; we may yet read that some enterprising researcher has pronounced our northern peoples to be culturally inadequate!

Attitudes, Values and Motives

Considering the widespread research on intergroup relations in other countries, it is somewhat surprising to discover that so little has been done with native ethnic group relations in Canada. What does the southerner think of the Eskimo? What does the Cree or Slave think of the southerner? We do not know!

Admittedly we have informal evidence bearing on these questions (from speeches, documents, and every-day comments) but there have been, to my knowledge, no published formal studies of these attitudes. One paper has yielded a list of word associations commonly made to the stimulus word "Indian",¹² and another has collected some psychological data on Indian-white relations in Southern Alberta.¹³ An unpublished thesis by Wills has examined Indian attitudes toward the western world.¹⁴ Basically their concerns were for money, which whites seemed to have plenty of, but which Indians could not share; readers familiar with millenarian movements will recognize in this report the basis for a cargo-type movement. Vallee has also written on ethnic relations, but his material from Baker Lake is primarily sociological, and although providing an excellent base for future psychological research, cannot count as an example of a psychological study of northern intergroup attitudes.¹⁵

With respect to values, again little of a formal nature seems to have been done from a psychological point of view. Leitch has examined the respective values of Indians and of the Department of Indian Affairs (concentrating on the former) as they entered into the series of consultations on the proposed Indian policy; from a content analysis of the transcripts, he was able to conclude that the final outcome stemmed predictably from the initial values.¹⁶

Perhaps the best known study of values in the North has been carried out by Lantis, using Nunivak Island Eskimos' mythology as a source.¹⁷ Her characterization of the Eskimos as observant and analytic supports the psychological findings in the

last section, and her description of them as individualistic, self-reliant, and self-confident anticipates a discussion in the following section on personality.

Another study of Eskimo values is a model of well-documented and incisive research in the North.¹⁸ Dr. Briggs has concerned herself with emotions which are central to the value system of Chantrey Inlet Eskimos, and has used linguistic analysis as a major tool. However, she has searched beyond the verbal evidence and worked with behavioural cues and behavioural contexts of the emotions. Her general conclusions point up *nurturance* and *reason* as qualities most valued, both being defined broadly.¹⁹ The first is considered to include warmth, food, safety, service and emotional support, and the second encompasses calmness, equanimity, moderation, voluntary conformance, pragmatism and a high regard for the autonomy of others and oneself.

Motivation, especially "achievement motivation", has received generally wide attention recently in many parts of the world, but not in the North. A single study appears to have been carried out with B.C. Indians (band not specified).²⁰ Predictably, Indian children (along with working-class white children) produced less evidence of achievement motivation during testing than did middle-class white children. However this kind of research has been recently widely charged with an ethnocentric bias for not taking into consideration traditional goals and examining traditional sources of motivation; much more work is obviously required in this area, especially work which is consistent with this latter point of view.

In sum, there has been very little work done in the North on attitudes, values and motives, and the work which has been done has been only marginally psychological. Although work is currently being carried out by Nelson Graburn on Indian-Eskimo stereotypes, and George Parsons is preparing a report on ethnic relations in Inuvik, an area as crucial as this for the comprehension of northern peoples urgently requires more attention.

Personality

Although more work has been done on aspects of Indian and Eskimo personality than on cognitive skills, almost none of it

is the work of psychologists. Psychologically sophisticated anthropologists and a few psychiatrists have examined mental health, psychopathology and basic personality trends in the North; excellent reviews exist for the first two, and hence only brief comment need be made here. Boag has twice surveyed mental health in the Arctic and included extensive commentary on psychopathology, particularly on *pibloktok* and *witiko* psychoses.²¹ Parker and Chance have also reviewed aspects of the area, while Vallee has taken an *emic* approach, attempting to view mental illness from the Eskimo's point of view.²² Readers wishing to gain a more extensive knowledge of northern mental health and psychopathology are referred to these readily-available papers.

While not wishing to perpetuate the myth of "basic" or "modal" personality in this review, it is a worthwhile endeavour to search for consistencies and regular patterns of observations made by various researchers in the field; insofar as an individual personality is shaped both by genetic and cultural factors, and insofar as both the gene pool and aspects of culture (especially socialization practices) tend to be functionally adapted to the group's ecology, one might reasonably expect a homogeneity of personality traits across the northern regions. To this end, four studies of Eskimos by Ferguson, the Honigmanns, Lubart, and Berry may be examined.

The Ferguson report is based on nine Rorschach protocols from Great Whale River.²³ While generalization is inappropriate from such a small sample, the author did speculate that the evidence of a repressed, unimaginative and emotionally constricted person contained in the protocols is a dynamically possible substrate lying "beneath the Eskimos' smiling exterior." In fact, such a pattern of traits, she concluded, may be functionally adaptive in the northern physical and socio-cultural environment.

In the study in Frobisher Bay, the Honigmanns included a chapter on "the Eskimo as a Person." The flavour of their description can be communicated by listing the kinds of adjectives they applied: optimistic, venturesome, individualistic, not reared for routine or repetition, a people with weak and informal leadership, and a reluctance to press too closely on one another in expecting conformity.²⁴ This description is consistent with pre-

vicious observation, and along with their description of Eskimo emotional withdrawal, fits well with the Ferguson report.

The paper by Lubart is highly descriptive, is sometimes inconsistent, and avoids reference to earlier work on the topic.²⁵ It is thus difficult to assess the objectivity and, hence, the validity of the description offered of the Caribou Eskimo personality. One point of inconsistency relates to the degree of independence *vs* conformity in the Eskimo personality: on one hand he opines that "the Eskimo is, in general a marked conformist..."²⁶, while later he considers him to be "very much an individualist".²⁷ A comparative study carried out in Pond Inlet and Frobisher Bay concluded that these Eskimos tended to be strongly individualistic (independent and self-reliant), a conclusion based on an experimental task involving judgements in the face of an incorrect suggested group norm.²⁸ This description is consistent with earlier reports of Lantis and Chance from the Western Arctic,²⁹ and with the Honigmanns' reports.

The early work on northern Indian personality is so well-known that it need not be detailed here; the series of papers by Hallowell and, further south, by Spindler and others, have set the stage for recent work with northern peoples.³⁰ Note again, however, that none of the work has been carried out by psychologists, and that the number of studies is small.

As a qualification of the "modal personality" approach, Helm *et al* have explored personality *variations* within a Slave family group using Rorschach's TAT's.³¹ In spite of their interest in diversity, they are able to comment on modal tendencies which they saw as a constrained emotional life including a repression of hostile impulses, a high "valuation on personal autonomy", and a "reliance on techniques of avoidance, withdrawal and flight from sources of anxiety".³² The similarities between this description and the generalized description emerging from the review of Eskimo studies, suggest a "northern", pan-ethnic, adaptation of personality characteristics to traditional conditions of life in the North.

The existence of self-sufficiency (corresponding to the above discussion of independence and personal autonomy), has been

explored by Cohen and Van Stone using a content analysis of Chipewyan stories.³³ They found about equal presence of self-sufficiency and its opposite, dependency, in these traditional stories which were collected in the early part of this century, and a relatively stronger decline in self-sufficiency in recently collected Chipewyan children's stories (at Snowdrift, 1961). The presence of dependency (equal to self-sufficiency) in the traditional stories does not fit too well with the more general picture already painted, but the relative increase in dependency during acculturation fits well with observation in Africa.³⁴

Psychological Effects of Acculturation

Essentially in this section an attempt will be made to survey the psychological effects of culture contact and social change in the North. A convenient organization is to follow the order of the previous sections, and attempt to trace changes in cognitive skills, attitudes and personalities during acculturation.

There is a good deal of evidence that during westernization, cognitive skills generally of non-western peoples become more like those of the West; as familiarity with our ways increases, school performance, perceptual characteristics and IQ's gradually come closer to our norms. Since education is itself an *agent* of acculturation, there are interaction effects, so that clear-cut research is impossible; but it may be taken as a truism that, at least until personality problems arise, usually during adolescence, school performance improves with increased use of English or French and increased familiarity with the instructional situation.

Not so obvious, however, is the finding that the already high level of spatial perceptual skills in the North tends to increase with acculturation, reflecting the combined effects of traditional and modern educational influences on these skills.³⁵ Moreover habits of perceptual inference alter with acculturation, as evidenced by a changing pattern or response to visual illusions, so that Eskimo susceptibility to certain illusions approaches that of western perceivers.³⁶

For other cognitive skills and intelligence test results, changes also occur with increased contact. Vernon found differences in performance on a variety of cognitive tests between town and

bush Eskimos and Indians,³⁷ and similar results are reported in a variety of unpublished reports and informal observations by teachers and administrators in the North.

With respect to attitudes changing during acculturation, only two studies have come to hand, those of Yatsushiro and Holden.³⁸ The first has explored Frobisher Bay Eskimo attitudes toward wage employment, which of course requires greatly different attitudes from those inherent in their traditional livelihood. Briefly, he found that despite the predicament the town Eskimo finds himself in (the desire to maintain traditional attitudes and sources of food *vs* the desire to have money for western goods) he has made a reasonable attitudinal adjustment. A majority were satisfied with their jobs and their earnings, but their predicament was articulated by their concern about having enough time off to hunt. However, overall, a large majority agreed that the Eskimos in Frobisher Bay were leading a better life than than they were twenty years earlier.

The second attitude study, with Cree in Northern Quebec, was made by Holden as part of the McGill Cree Project. An eight item modernization scale was developed which was able to discriminate between town and bush dwellers, and included items concerned with attitudes toward wage employment, education, and who should be "listened to", old people (Indians) or whites. In addition to differences being found between town and bush dwellers, significant relationships were detected with age and education. Such a scale might conceivably be expanded and generalized to make it applicable in many areas of the North.

By far the largest body of literature on psychological aspects of acculturation in the North is in the area of personality change. Once again, however, most has been done by anthropologists (with a few psychiatrists), pointing up the lack of work by psychologists. To review all the work in detail would take more space than is available; hence a mention of key works only will be made, without reference to specific content, and a broad overview will be given without always acknowledging the numerous specific sources.

First, two large interdisciplinary projects should be mentioned: the McGill Cree Project, directed by Norman Chance,³⁹

and the Identity and Modernity in the East Arctic project directed by Robert Paine at Memorial.⁴⁰ Although neither has an overall psychological orientation, each has some aspects devoted to psychological effects of acculturation. In the McGill project, the psychological concern is shared by Wintrob and Sindell in their report on education and identity conflict among the Mistassini and surrounding Cree⁴¹. They have focused on the effects on adolescent personality of being educated away from their own people; major findings include the statement that almost half of those given the Adolescent Adjustment Interview (developed for the purpose) suffer a high degree of identity conflict, and that this conflict is being resolved differentially (toward a "white" model, toward a "traditional" model or towards synthesis of the two) depending upon the student's degree of emotional commitment to western education. The Memorial project is still going on, but a preliminary unpublished report on the psychological portion is available; although mainly descriptive, it provides a useful baseline for the study of the effects of change.⁴²

The study by the Honigmans mentioned previously was also concerned with personality change, as the Baffin Eskimo moved into Frobisher Bay.⁴³ In their judgement, the Eskimos personality is compatible with "The town's incessant, built-in change", and readily accepts the white man's notion of "progress".

A number of studies, in addition to those already mentioned, have been concerned with the stressful and more negative aspects of acculturation; their concerns have been with alienation, emotional disturbance and patterns of psychopathology.⁴⁴ Since much of this work has been well-summarized by Vallee little need be said here. In his paper, Vallee has made a useful distinction for future researchers on these problems: that between crises which are primarily *communal* and those which are primarily *personal*. He makes a case for keeping separate those aspects of acculturation which place stress directly on the individual and those which stress the group, and through that, affect the individual.⁴⁵

Two reports by Lubart which have been published since Vallee's review require some comment. His 1969 study is largely a re-statement of his views of Eskimo basic personality and devotes only the last few pages to problem of adaptation, where

alcohol use and prostitution are discussed as indices of social breakdown.⁴⁶ His 1970 report for Northern Science Research Group is a considerable improvement, including as it does clinical data and case reports on a wider range of problems of adaptation. However, a tendency to very broad generalization and a persistent use of psychoanalytic jargon limit the appeal of the report.⁴⁷

Finally, mention may be made of current work known to the reviewer. Ann McElroy (University of North Carolina) is working on Eskimo psychological adaptation to Arctic urbanization in Frobisher Bay and Pangnirtung, and the present reviewer is examining the pattern of psychological response to acculturation (including marginality, alienation, psychosomatic stress, deviance, attitudes toward modes of relating to the dominant white society and ethnic identity) among James Bay Cree.

Responsibility of the Psychologist: Research for Development

As a final note let me comment on the responsibility and potential role of the psychologist in the North, and on the kinds of research he must urgently do.

For a psychologist, the term "development" implies a "progressive change ... continuously directed toward a certain end condition."⁴⁸ That is, a person who is in state A now develops toward state B: for us to have "development" then (and not just exploitation) we need to know and describe quite precisely what state A is; we need to be able to specify our goal, state B; and we need to know how to get from state A to state B, coping with problems along the way.

From an examination of the psychological research accomplished to date, no one could argue that we know even very much about state A; what, psychologically, are the people of the North, what are their particular strengths, their problems?

What is contained in state B, the goal? Who specifies it, those in the North or those in the South? If it is to be those in the North, how do we encourage an expression of their goals, and how do we monitor it? We must not assume merely that state B is best left unspecified, to appear as an epiphenomenon of technological change in the North.

Finally we know only a little about the path and the problems to be encountered between state A and state B. We do know that transition is psychologically difficult in many circumstances; we also know that it is not inevitably so. We must devote considerable research effort to these problems, to help ease the transition where necessary.

For centuries, we were the "learners" in the North; we need to return to this stance if we are to come to understand its people and the problems generated by our presence.

What, then, are some concrete research topics, those which are urgent and essential for the psychologist wishing to work in northern *development*. To continue the A-B model, we need to work intensively on the following:

- A basic cognitive and personality characteristics of northern Indians and Eskimos; the fundamental perceptual and intellectual abilities, and emotional tendencies fostered in traditional life.
- B goals and aspirations of the people, and motives that can be marshalled in pursuit of these goals.
- C psychological problems of transition during acculturation; psychological substrate of ethnic relations, including the selection of southerners for northern work (in terms of ethnocentrism, authoritarianism, and potential adaptation to northern living); implications of cultural pluralism as an ideology for a Indian/Eskimo educational system.

If we do not take up our responsibility and concern ourselves with the human resources of the North, then we cannot blame the physical scientists and other agents of technological change for *their* lack of concern when they scramble for the material resources of the North.

Notes

1. F.C. Vallee, "Suggestions for Psychological Research Among the Eskimo," *O.P.A. Quarterly* 14:39-45 (1961).

2. Although it would be useful to have a review of studies of whites living in the North, this paper has been arbitrarily limited to a survey of research with native peoples. As studies dealing with white adaptation to northern living increase in number over the next few years, it would seem appropriate to make them the subject of a second survey.
3. Caroline Preston, "Psychological Testing With Northwest Coast Alaskan Eskimos," *Genetic Psychology Monographs* 69:323-419 (1964); J.W. Berry, "Temne and Eskimo Perceptual Skills," *International Journal of Psychology* 1:207-229 (1966); P.E. Vernon, "Educational and Intellectual Development Among Canadian Indians and Eskimos," *Educational Review* 18: 79-91, 186-195 (1966); R.S. MacArthur, "Some Cognitive Abilities of Eskimo, White and Indian-Metis Pupils Aged 9-12 Years," *Canadian Journal of Behavioural Science* 1: 50-59 (1969).
4. e.g. Berry, "Perceptual Skills."
5. *Ibid.*; Preston, "Psychological Testing"; R.S. MacArthur, "Sex Differences in Field Dependence for the Eskimo: Replication of Berry's Findings," *International Journal of Psychology* 2:139-140 (1967).
6. Berry, "Perceptual Skills"; MacArthur, "Sex Differences".
7. G.H. Turner and D.J. Penfold, "Scholastic Aptitude of Indian Children of the Caradoc Reserve," *Canadian Journal of Psychology* 6:31-44 (1952); R.S. MacArthur, *Assessing the Intellectual Ability of Indian and Metis Pupils at Fort Simpson, N.W.T.* (Dept. of Northern Affairs and National Resources, Education Division, Ottawa, 1962); Vernon, "Educational and Intellectual Development"; W.H. Gaddes, A. McKenzie and R. Barnsley, "Psychometric Intelligence and Spatial Imagery in Two Northwest Indian and Two White Groups of Children," *Journal of Social Psychology* 75:35-42 (1968); E. Wiltshire and J.E. Gray, "Draw-a Man and Raven's Progressive Matrices (1938) Intelligence Test Performance of Reserve Indian Children," *Canadian Journal of Behavioural Science* 1: 119-122 (1969).
8. L.C. Reich, "On Culture and Equivalence," in *Studies in Cognitive Growth*, eds J.S. Bruner et al. (New York: Wiley, 1966).
9. Berry, "Perceptual Skills".
10. J.W. Berry, "Ecology and Socialization as Factors in Figural Assimilation and the Resolution of Binocular Rivalry," *International Journal of Psychology* 4:27;-280 (1969).
11. MacArthur, *Intellectual Abilities*; P.E. Vernon, *Intelligence and the Cultural Environment* (London: Methuen, 1969); *idem*, "Educational and Intellectual Development".
12. R.C. Gardner and D.M. Taylor, "Ethnic Stereotypes: Meaningfulness in Ethnic-Group Labels," *Canadian Journal of Behavioural Science* 1:182-192 (1969).
13. H. Zentner, "Cultural Assimilation Between Indians and Non-Indians in Southern Alberta," *Alberta Journal of Educational Research* 9(2).
14. R.H. Wills, "Perceptions and Attitudes of the Montagnais-Naskapi of Great Whale River" (M.A. thesis, University of North Carolina, 1965).
15. F.G. Vallee, *Kabloon and Eskimo in the Central Keewatin* (Ottawa: Canadian Research Centre for Anthropology, 1967).
16. G. Leitch, "Value Orientations and Political Negotiations: the Indians of Canada and the Government" (Honours thesis, Queen's University, 1970).
17. M. Lantis, "Alaskan Eskimo Cultural Values," *Polar Notes* 1:35-48 (1959).
18. Jean Briggs, "Utkuhikhalingmiut Eskimo Emotional Expression," Northern Science Research Group Report (Dept. of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, Ottawa, 1968); *idem*, *Never in Anger* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1970).

19. Briggs, "Utkuhikhalingmiut," p. 49.
20. A. Cameron and T. Storm, "Achievement Motivation in Canadian Indian, Middle- and Working-Class Children," *Psychological Reports* 16:459-463 (1965).
21. T.J. Boag, "Mental Health in the Arctic," *Excerpta Medica International Congress Series* no. 150 (Proceedings of the IV World Congress of Psychiatry, Madrid, 1966); *idem*, "Mental Health of Natives Peoples of the Arctic," *Canadian Psychiatric Association Journal* 15:115-120 (1970).
22. S. Parker, "Eskimo Psychopathology in the Context of Eskimo Personality and Culture," *American Anthropologist* 64:76-96 (1962); N.A. Chance, "Conceptual and Methodological Problems in Cross-Cultural Health Research," *American Journal of Public Health* 52:410-417 (1962); F.G. Vallee, "Eskimo Theories of Mental Illness in the Hudson Bay Region," *Anthropologica* 8:53-83 (1966).
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*Bibliographie d'Emile Petitot
missionnaire
dans le Nord-Ouest Canadien*

Donat Savoie

Les missionnaires oblats sont présents dans l'histoire du Nord-Ouest Canadien depuis le milieu du XIX^{ème} siècle. Parallèlement à leur travail d'évangélisation des Indiens et des Esquimaux, ils observèrent les coutumes de vie de ces peuples. Cette contribution à une meilleure connaissance de ces cultures est historiquement très importante. L'un de ces missionnaires, Emile Petitot (1838-1916), fut une figure dominante dans le développement de la connaissance scientifique de ce vaste pays.

A l'opposé des thèses évolutionnistes (Klemm, Morgan, Tylor) qui considéraient l'histoire et le développement de l'espèce humaine selon une échelle de complexification sauvagerie — barbarie — civilisation, Petitot expose une thèse de la dégénérescence où l'état de perfection caractérisait le peuple originel et où l'histoire et le développement représentent des états de moins en moins parfaits.

Dans ses explications scientifiques, Petitot se réfère constamment à la thèse de l'unité de l'espèce humaine qui à l'origine s'identifierait au peuple hébreu. Il admet qu'à un moment donné, il se produisit une division de ce peuple, suivi d'une migration universelle et d'une multiplication des langues. Les sociétés actuelles deviennent dans ce schéma des fragments du peuple d'origine. Ce sont les sociétés dites primitives qui se rapprocheraient le plus de cet état originel.

Petitot tente, par analogies, de relier les peuples entre eux et de prouver la communauté d'origine. Certains chercheurs ont cri-

tiqué l'utilisation que fait Petitot de l'analogie, car selon eux, les analogies de langues et de coutumes ne prouvent rien en fait de races. A ceci, Petitot répond :

C'est là une dénégation sans fondement. Il nous semble au contraire que les analogies prouvent beaucoup. Sur quoi donc repose nos classifications de tous les règnes de la nature? N'est-ce pas l'analogie des individus entre eux qui vous fait ériger des variétés. L'analogie des variétés ne constitue-t-elle pas l'espèce? Celle des espèces, les genres; celles des genres, la famille; celles des familles, le règne? Et cela pour les minéraux aussi bien que pour les végétaux, pour les zoophytes aussi bien que pour les vertébrés. N'y aurait-il que l'homme, que l'homme seul qui échapperait à la démonstration de notre puissance comparative? Pour lui seul, il nous faudra être en contradiction avec nous-mêmes.

(De l'Immigration asiatique, p. 251)

Au cours d'un séjour (1862-1882) dans le Nord-Ouest, Petitot s'intéressa surtout à la géographie de cette contrée et à l'ethnographie de ses habitants. En outre, il apporta une contribution à la géologie, la paléontologie, la zoologie et à la botanique.

Dans le domaine anthropologique, ses publications concernent trois groupes culturels: les Esquimaux Tchiglit, les Indiens Dènè-dindjié et Algonquins. La partie la plus substantielle porte sur la culture matérielle où gravures et dessins viennent compléter ses observations. Ses études linguistiques contiennent entre autres la publication d'un *Vocabulaire français-esquimau* et d'un *Dictionnaire de la langue Dènè-dindjié*.

Son recueil de légendes est remarquable, car à la version originale en langue indigène, il ajoute une traduction littérale. Un autre domaine est celui des relations inter-ethniques où le missionnaire fournit des observations sur divers groupes et domaines d'activité (économie, religion).

Il considère que l'un des buts de l'étude des langues est de démêler, par les mots, l'origine des peuples qui les parlent et l'ancienneté de leurs coutumes. L'autre but est de communiquer les idées avec précision. Les analogies qu'il établit entre les langues esquimaude, dènè-dindjié et autres le portent à croire à l'existence d'une langue primitive et universelle, dont on recueillerait aujourd'hui quelques épaves dispersées. D'autres preuves sont fournies par l'étude des armes et ustensiles de pierre, des légendes et des traditions.

En guise de conclusion à sa monographie des Dènè-dindjié, il écrit :

Si donc nous voulions conclure à l'origine hébraïque probable des Dènè-dindjié en particulier, d'après les similitudes qui existent entre les coutumes, le caractère, les mœurs, l'état social, les traditions de cette nation et ceux du peuple hébreu rebelle, les saints livres eux-mêmes nous fourniraient un critérium de grande probabilité.

(Dictionnaire de la langue Dènè-dindjié: XLIII).

Presque la totalité de son œuvre fut écrite en langue française et publiée en France. Vers les années 1880, il commença à publier certains travaux en langue anglaise et par la suite, d'autres écrits furent traduits en allemand.

Il publia en cinq volumes les détails de son long séjour parmi les populations du Nord-Ouest. Plus tard, il fit paraître certains ouvrages (dictionnaires, mythologie) et plusieurs notes et articles.

Bibliographie

Toutes les lettres et rapports qu'il faisait parvenir à ses supérieurs nous fournissent de nombreux renseignements sur la vie qu'il menait dans ce pays. Certains ont été publiés dans les *Missions de la Congrégation des Missionnaires Oblats de Marie-Immaculée* et dans les *Missions Catholiques de Lyon*.

Un certain nombre de travaux sont demeurés manuscrits. Ils comprennent surtout des lettres personnelles, des données sur la linguistique dènè-dindjié, des livres de piété en divers dialectes, des chants et musique dènè.

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Note

1. Le présent travail a été rendu possible grâce à une subvention du Bureau des Recherches Scientifiques sur le Nord du Ministère des Affaires Indiennes et du Nord Canadien.

The Canadian Western Arctic a Century of Change

Peter Usher

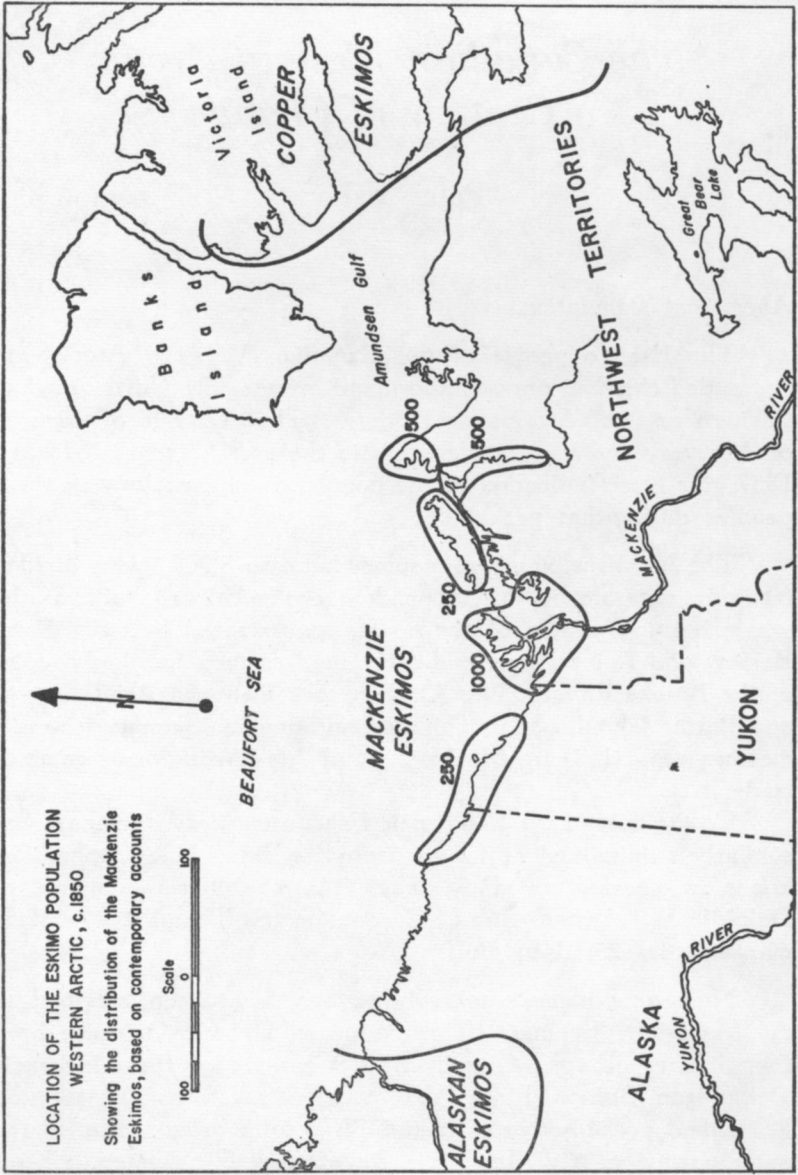
Aboriginal Population.

The Eskimo people of the Canadian Western Arctic¹ are descended chiefly from two aboriginal groups: the North Alaskan Eskimos and the Mackenzie Eskimos. The accounts of voyages of discovery and trade undertaken in the area between 1826 and 1857 give some indication of the population and ecology of these peoples during that period.

The Alaskans, numbering somewhat over 5,000,² were divided into two separate but interdependent ecological orientations: the whale hunting people of the coast, concentrated between Point Barrow and Point Hope, and the inland caribou hunting peoples of the Brooks Range. The Alaskan coast between Point Barrow and Barter Island was uninhabited, although in summer it was a meeting ground where Mackenzie and Alaskan Eskimos came to trade.

To the east of the Mackenzie Eskimo territory, the coast was similarly uninhabited as far as Staphylton Bay. The Copper Eskimos, numbering as many as 1,000,³ inhabited the shores of Dolphin and Union Strait, Coronation Gulf and the eastern margins of Amundsen Gulf.

Numerous names and subdivisions have been ascribed to the Mackenzie Eskimos. There appears, however, to have been five distinct groups. One lived to the west of the Mackenzie Delta; from Shingle Point, Y.T. to as far west as Demarcation Point, and possibly Barter Island. A second group occupied the outer portion of the Mackenzie Delta, from Shoalwater to Kugmallit Bays, with their main settlement at Kittigazuit. The third group lived along the Tuktoyaktuk Peninsula in villages between



Toker Point and Cape Dalhousie. A fourth group inhabited the lower Anderson River Valley and Liverpool Bay, while a fifth was centred around Cape Bathurst, from Maitland Point to about Whale Bluffs.

All of these groups were essentially sea oriented. The Cape Bathurst group hunted both black and white whales, and so probably did the Herschel and Tuk Peninsula groups. Seals were also an important food source. The outer Mackenzie Delta being ecologically unsuited to the large black whales, the Eskimos there hunted white whales, which frequent the area in large schools in summer. The Anderson River group hunted caribou, seals and walrus.⁴

The richness of the seas and the abundance of driftwood allowed a relatively dense population to flourish on Canada's northwestern shore, and indeed gave rise to villages of a size not even approached in the remainder of the Canadian Arctic. At the largest, Kittigazuit, perhaps 1,000 people gathered, at least for a fair part of the year.⁵ Father Emile Petitot believed there were altogether about 2,000 Mackenzie Eskimos.⁶ Stefansson believed there had been double that number,⁷ but this seems rather high on the basis of contemporary accounts.

Over 100 Eskimos were seen between Shingle Point and Barter Island in 1826, and this group may have totalled at least 200 to 300.⁸ Stefansson believed there were at least 500 Eskimos in the Atkinson Point area, although the accounts of Richardson and Armstrong do not indicate so large a number.⁹ Again, there may have been at least 200 or 300 in all.

The Anderson River Eskimos are thought to have numbered about 500,¹⁰ and there were likely another 500 in the Cape Bathurst area, although there are varying estimates for this group even from the same voyage.¹¹ With the 1,000 at Kittigazuit, this gives 2,500 people in all, which may be taken as a minimum estimate.

This mid-century distribution of population was essentially but not entirely similar to the aboriginal one, for until about 1840 there had been Eskimos around Franklin Bay and Cape Parry. They apparently moved west in response to new regional trading

patterns resulting from the penetration of Russian and British trade goods from the west and south.¹²

The Beginnings of the Fur Trade.

White-Eskimo contact during the exploration years was ephemeral, and its effects on Eskimo culture were very limited. Apart from minor changes in the distribution of population, and a few additions to the array of implements, the aboriginal culture was retained throughout the period of discovery, and indeed throughout the subsequent period of inland trade with the Hudson's Bay Company.

Eskimo visits to Fort McPherson began in the early 1850s and soon reached such proportions that the Company opened Fort Anderson specifically for the Eskimo trade in 1861.¹³ The fur trade served to acquaint the Eskimos with the fact that the arctic fox, although of little value to themselves, was greatly desired by the white man. However, contact with whites was minimal, the items of barter were in the main familiar to the Eskimos, and as foxes were still taken in the traditional manner no adjustments were necessary in the cycle of economic activity.

With the fur trade came European diseases, which had an extremely disruptive effect. In 1865 for example, a scarlet fever epidemic decimated the Anderson River Eskimos, who, after the closing of Fort Anderson the following year, vacated the valley to regroup with other Eskimos further west on the coast.¹⁴

The Whaling Interlude

The first truly significant changes in Eskimo demography, ecology and culture in Northwestern America were caused not by the fur traders but by American whalers, who reached Herschel Island in 1890. Between then and 1907, when the baleen market collapsed, whaling ships wintered at Herschel or Baillie Island every year, obtaining an average of almost a million dollars in bone per season.¹⁵

The Alaskan Coastal Eskimos had been in contact with the whalers since the 1850s, and by the time whaling commenced in Canadian waters, many of the changes which were to occur

on the Canadian side had already been experienced by the Alaskan Eskimos. Disease, for example, took a heavy toll among them, especially the coastal people. As the coastal Eskimos died off, the inlanders moved into their villages to take their place.¹⁶ The new coastal residents, having retained their caribou hunting skills, were particularly valuable to the whalers as meat hunters.

A few Alaskan Eskimos had already moved into the Mackenzie Delta country in search of better hunting grounds before 1890, because of the already dwindling country food supply in their own territory.¹⁷ After the whalers reached Herschel Island, however, there arose a modest but steady immigration of Alaskans. They were of mixed origin; some coming from the Bering Sea coast as whalers or servants on the ships, most coming from the Arctic Slope, either by themselves or as passengers on the ships. Sometimes they were in the country only a year or so, especially those who had worked on the ships, but many stayed. Most of those who did were caribou hunting inlanders, and were indiscriminately called Nunatamiut by the Mackenzie Eskimos.

The whalers, and to some extent the Alaskan Eskimos, were a new phenomena to the Mackenzie people. They came in great numbers, in very large boats, with a variety of goods and tools. The year-round presence of these people and their material culture made Herschel a relatively much more important place to the Mackenzie group than previously; a place which would be visited at least once a year by practically everyone. The nature of white-Eskimo contact was therefore very different from that of the early fur trade. Formerly, parties of adult men went on trading expeditions perhaps once a year, and were in contact with their opposite numbers for a few days at the most. Now, men, women and children alike were in close contact with American whalers and acculturated Alaskan Eskimos for extended periods, some even permanently. They worked with them, traded with them, socialized with them, even inter-married with them; they learned their language, their customs, their technology, their value systems and economic goals. They did not adopt all of these, to be sure, but they did become aware of them as alternatives.

At first the traffic between the native peoples and the whalers was mainly in meat. With as many as 600 extra men in the region

to feed each winter, the demand was tremendous. This hunting was done chiefly by the Nunatamiut from Alaska, as they were by training and inclination much more suited to that life than were the Mackenzie people. Native meat hunters were outfitted by the whalers on a credit basis, a system which carried over quite readily to the new fur trade which was then beginning.¹⁸

Reorganization of the Fur Trade

From the beginning of whaling, both the whalers and the Alaskan immigrants trapped around Herschel Island, and it seems likely that steel traps were introduced to the country at that time. In addition to trapping, the whalers traded with the local Eskimos and even outfitted some to trade on their behalf. Speaking of the turn of the century, Captain Bodfish observed that:

Arctic whalers were trading ships as well as whalers, and it was quite on the cards that a good profit might be made in trade even if very few whales were taken. There had always been some trading, but I think the trading developed to a new high level at about this time, owing to increased knowledge among the whalers, and likewise among the natives.¹⁹

Thus did the Eskimos of the Western Arctic become early and thoroughly acquainted with trapping and the white fox trade. It is significant that this involvement was, by an early date, no longer with a monopolistic company offering only a limited range of goods, but with a highly competitive situation in which a great variety of essentials and non-essentials could be obtained in trade. Many of these articles were new to the Eskimos, and as Stefansson pointed out, were ones "which even the Hudson's Bay factor at MacPherson had been compelled to do without."²⁰ They were, moreover, considerably cheaper than the Hudson's Bay Company trade goods, by virtue of having been shipped directly by sea from the American west coast rather than overland across Canada. By 1900, Bodfish was taking orders from Eskimos at Baillie Island for goods from San Francisco, to be brought up the next year.²¹ Such orders were not for flour and tea but for whale boats and the finest American rifles. In short, unlike other parts of the Canadian Arctic, the new Western Arctic fur trade was characterized by individual enterprise, competitive trade, and an abundance

of material goods; an economic milieu already familiar to the Eskimos of that region from the whaling days.

Population Changes

Not all was advantage to the Eskimos, however. Just as the Alaskan inlanders took the place of their coastal brethren felled by disease, so the Nunatamiut eventually became the majority of the Canadian Western Arctic population. The Mackenzie people were subjected to further epidemics. The measles outbreaks of 1900 and 1902 were particularly catastrophic, and small-pox took many lives. Liquor, which was readily available during the whaling days, reputedly led to numerous murders among the Eskimos.

By the end of the whaling era, the population was at a fraction of its former strength. Following the 1902 epidemic, Jenness believed there were perhaps 400 Mackenzie Eskimos.²² Police reports from the Herschel Island detachment, established in 1903, provide some estimates of the population through subsequent years. In 1905, the total native population between Demarcation Point and Baillie Island was something over 350. Of these, 250 were "Kogmollicks" (the local name for the Mackenzie Eskimos at that time), 100 were Alaskan immigrants, and there were a few "Masinkers", as the Bering Strait Eskimos brought in by the whalers as meat hunters were called.²³ The Mackenzie people retained their coastal orientation, the three largest groups being at Herschel, the eastern mouth of the Mackenzie, and at Baillie, ranking in size in that order. The Alaskans and "Masinkers" hunted in the Delta and Richardson Mountains most of the year. By the winter of 1909-10, the area contained only 260 Eskimos, divided about evenly between Alaskans and native Mackenzie Eskimos. Fifty-five were at Herschel Island, 50 at Kittigazuit, 30 at Baillie Island and 125 in the Delta and Richardsons.²⁴

At the same time, in Alaska, as the fur trade replaced the whaling, Barrow Eskimos began moving east to formerly uninhabited areas. Trapping camps of two or three families each dotted the coast from Barrow to Demarcation Point. This new orientation gave renewed impetus to Alaskan immigration to the rich trapping areas of the Mackenzie Delta, especially as fur

prices began to rise. This second wave of Alaskan migrants arrived mainly in the decade 1913-23. This reversed the population decline, pushing the total to about 400,²⁵ although by that time, fully 75 per cent were considered to be of Alaskan origin.²⁶

As World War I commenced in Europe an age had ended in the Western Arctic. The whale fishery had collapsed, and the musk-oxen and caribou had been exterminated and driven out. Most of the original Eskimo population had died, although they had been replaced in part by Alaskan Eskimos. Regardless of origin the resident population would have been unrecognizable to their aboriginal forefathers, at least in their social characteristics. They had become oriented to a market economy and dependent on the white man for many of their food stuffs as well as for hunting and household implements. New models of economic, social and religious behaviour were available for imitation and adaptation. A different people, with a different culture and different roles, were adapting to a changed habitat and new opportunities.

The character of the fur trade was unsettled at this time, and would alter considerably in the next few years. The collapse of the whale fishery in 1907 resulted in a hiatus in the fur trade as well, during the following decade. Of the hundreds of men who came north on the whalers in the 1890s only a handful chose to remain and to take up trapping and trading for a living. In 1910 there were probably not more than a dozen white men living independently on the Arctic Coast.

The Fur Trade Boom of the 1920s

Despite the relative quietude and leanness of the years before the First World War, the Western Arctic was on the verge of an explosion in commercial enterprise and prosperity. The possibility of new and changing trapping hinterlands was seen shortly after the turn of the century. The Hudson's Bay Company and other newly active business interests in Edmonton competed for control of the interior trade, and both were aware that a rich fur harvest was being denied them by the American presence at Herschel Island. Fur prices, especially for white fox, were

beginning to rise, and the American traders also sought new trapping grounds. Penetration of the Copper Eskimo territory began before 1914, and by 1923 the fur trade had reached King William Island, an advance of fully 600 miles in less than a decade. Banks Island was also part of this expanding frontier. Alaskan Eskimos and whites were sent there to trap by American trading companies until prohibiting legislation was passed in 1920.²⁷ Copper Eskimos also reinhabited the Island after 1915 and the Hudson's Bay Company periodically attempted to trade with them.

In this period two chief centres arose to serve the Western Arctic fur trade region. Herschel Island was the western terminus of the elongated hinterland of the coastal white fox trade and therefore acted as the chief trading centre, although the main productive area centred around Baillie Island, and later Cambridge Bay. The Delta trapping environment was smaller and more clearly defined, and its resources were of much greater density. Aklavik was established as the trading centre for this small but rich hinterland in 1912, and represented the first down-stream extension of the Mackenzie River chain of posts in seventy-two years.

The 1920s were the best years of the fur trade. It flourished in the Delta for a full decade after 1919, and for another five years on the mainland coast. During this time, settlement was characteristically scattered, both in the Delta and on the coast. Small trapping or rapping camps of a few families each dotted both environments. In addition to the larger companies,²⁸ numerous free traders were also located at scattered points. Many of these individuals were trappers themselves, and augmented their income by trading with a small, restricted clientele. In gross terms, the 1931 census gives us an indication of the distribution of Eskimos at that time. There were 140 in the Delta (probably including the Kittigazuit-Tuktoyaktuk area), 79 on the Yukon coast, 191 between Atkinson Point and Pearce Point, and 49 on Banks Island.

This was a period of unparalleled prosperity in the region. Muskrats sold for over \$1.00 each throughout the decade. White fox furs brought \$40.00 and \$50.00 each in the late 1920s. Such

values were twenty-fold those of 1900. Cash incomes were commonly in thousands and even tens of thousands of dollars. One only has to recall that prices were then about one half of today's level, and that the national mean annual wage in the manufacturing industries was well under \$1,000, to see that the amount of money flowing into the region was relatively enormous. There was considerable investment in the means of transport and production: traps, boats, rifles, and other gear. During the years 1928-36, there were over fifty native-owned schooners in operation (about evenly divided between the Delta and the coast), almost all with auxiliary power.²⁹

Consequences of the Fur Trade Boom

Until the twentieth century, the Mackenzie Delta had never been occupied on a year round basis. The Alaskan immigrants were able and energetic trappers, and though they found abundant resources, these were soon over-harvested. The mink catch declined from 21,205 in 1923-24 to 3,630 in 1927-28.³⁰ The muskrat harvest also reached a peak in the early 1920s and then declined. It rose again toward the end of the decade, but due to unsteady prices the total harvest, which more trappers were sharing, did not increase in value. White trappers came in increasing numbers to the Delta, and later to the coast. Some of the Delta Eskimos moved their camps northward to keep ahead of them, while others moved east to Baillie Island, Parry Peninsula and Pearce Point.³¹

Relations between the remaining Mackenzie Eskimos and the Alaskan immigrants were cool and aloof. Corporal Wall of the Pearce Point Detachment observed that:

The natives in the western half of the Baillie Island district especially those at Tuktukaktok [*sic*] are not so prosperous as the natives in the eastern half of the district. This may be due to the fact that they are all Canadian-born Eskimos and have not had the advantages of the schools that the Alaskan natives had, who formed the majority of the native population in the Cape Parry District. The Tuktukaktok [*sic*] natives follow more the old mode of living, and do not care to associate with the Alaskan natives and blame them for the shortage of game.³²

From the earliest days, many whites had commented on the differences between the Mackenzie and Alaskan Eskimos, usually

favouring the latter on the grounds of their greater familiarity with white culture and language, and their greater "ambition" and sophistication in trapping and hunting. Such cultural distinctions had geographic and ecologic expressions as well. As already noted, the Mackenzie people remained between Herschel and Baillie, hunting and trapping on the coast, whereas the Alaskans were more land oriented and occupied the Delta. As the Delta became more crowded, some of the Alaskans moved to the relatively uninhabited coast between Baillie Island and Pearce Point. At the same time, a small but important group of individuals had reached adulthood and were playing an increasing role in the economy. These were the so-called "half-breeds", whose mothers were Mackenzie Eskimos (mainly) and whose fathers were whalers. Especially in those cases where the fathers had remained in the country to trap and trade, the boys grew up as trappers, and their generation was much closer to the Alaskans in its economic motivation and resource practices. In their residence they were also more associated with the Alaskan than with the Mackenzie group.

This nascent third group, composed of Eskimos of Alaskan origin (mainly from the second wave of immigration), more recently from the Delta, and half-breed Mackenzie Eskimos, became an increasingly distinct entity, which proved the most flexible in mobility of residence, and the most versatile in resource exploitation. Many individuals of this group had travelled widely along the Canadian and Alaskan coasts and had associated with whalers, traders, and explorers. They had learned or retained skills both in inland caribou hunting and in sea mammal hunting. They were already the best white fox trappers — in a good winter some got 200 or 300 foxes, and sometimes more. Trapping was, for them, no longer a side line; it was a way of life, to which all other activities were adjusted. They were keen traders, and many had obtained large schooners with auxiliary power. Travel to Herschel Island or Aklavik was common in summer, and many of these Eskimos acquired considerable skill in coastal navigation and engine maintenance. In winter they travelled with equal facility over land or sea. From this group ultimately came the majority, and the most successful, of the Eskimos who began colonizing Banksland for trapping in 1928.

The Trapping Frontier and the Decline of the Fur Trade

In the wake of the opening of the trading frontier and the resulting influx of capital in the form of schooners and other equipment, there also occurred an expansion of the western Eskimos' own trapping frontier. This began with the move to the district east of Baillie Island, and culminated with the colonization of Banks Island and occasional forays to northern Victoria Island and Coronation Gulf.

This expansion reached its peak in the 1930s. It was by then a hollow frontier, for at the points of origin of Aklavik and Baillie Island, stagnation and decay had already set in. The fine fur bearers of the Delta, particularly mink, had been trapped out by the close of the 1920s, and in 1930 the price of muskrat fell by 75 per cent. On the coast, white fox catches were declining, and although the Depression did not create such a sudden or drastic drop in white fox pelt prices, the catch fell off so badly during the decade that hardship was no less severe for the coast trappers than for the Delta people. In 1938 Captain Pedersen sold out his extensive and popular trading chain to the Hudson's Bay Company, who moved their coastal operations to Tuktoyaktuk, and as people abandoned the Baillie Island district both the trading posts and the police detachment closed down. Thus Herschel and Baillie, for almost half a century the two chief central places of the Arctic coastal economy, both for the whale fishery and the fur trade, had by 1940 entirely lost their importance.

The retreat of the western people to Tuktoyaktuk and the Delta was already evident in the results of the 1941 census. Although in numbers they had increased from 459 to almost 700 over the decade, 377 now resided in the Delta and another 145 in Tuktoyaktuk. Only 123 remained on the coast, chiefly at the mission stations of Stanton and Paulatuk. On Banks Island, the only place where trapping still flourished, there were fifty-one Eskimos.

Although the war years brought higher prices and breathed new life into the trapping economy, its days were now numbered. The rapid decline of white fox fur prices to less than \$10.00 in the late 1940s even brought a temporary retreat from Banks Island. The Bankslanders' income fell below the national average wage

level for the first time, an event which had overtaken the mainland trappers, both on the coast and in the Delta, almost twenty years previously. In the Delta, a brief upturn in both prices and availability of muskrats around 1950 allowed the ratting trade a final flourish. The Eskimo population continued to increase during the 1940s partly through immigration, and by 1951 had reached 1,072. Of these, 719 were in the Delta and 272 were in Tuktoyaktuk. The Banksland camps lay empty and a mere eighty-one people remained along the once busy and prosperous 500 miles of shoreline between Atkinson and Pearce Points.

The three groups of the 1920s had become two: The Delta people and the Tuk people, although minor sub-groupings continued to exist. A third wave of Alaskan immigrants to the Delta in the late 1940s still stands out; on the coast a small group persists at Paulatuk, and the Bankslanders have become a distinct community in their own right. The last two groups have been augmented by Copper Eskimos from Minto Inlet and Coppermine, and there are also a few Copper Eskimos in the Delta population.

The disintegration of the old fur-based economy resulted in a retraction of the frontier. Within these reduced hinterlands, however, large segments of the population remained somewhat scattered, at least at certain seasons, in the various trapping, fishing and whaling camps. Many people still ran extensive although not particularly productive traplines.

The Modern Era

Relief came to the region's stricken economy in 1955. The construction of the DEW line and of the new town of Inuvik brought jobs and a major shift to a wage economy. The jobs were often temporary but the change irrevocable. The assumption of a wage position was frequently a more binding commitment than the Eskimos at first perceived; both their capital equipment and their inclination to trap were dissipated, so that a return to that activity became difficult or impossible. During the last decade there has been a very significant decline in hunting and trapping activity and in camp life, as more and more individuals have moved into the major settlements. The great majority of the population is now urbanized.

On Banks Island, white fox trapping has been revived, and a few families continue to reap both a high standard of living and a rewarding way of life from this activity. On the mainland, reindeer herding has fulfilled a similar, although less successful, function. A few mainlanders still trap by preference or by force of circumstances, although trapping there has become a part-time pursuit with low remuneration. In the post-construction years, local resources have declined in importance as services and administration have become the chief income producing sectors of the economy, and those who for centuries harvested the resources have accordingly found their life style and skills superfluous to the modern economy. The decision by the federal government to engage in massive construction projects in the region, and in particular to transplant the suburban life of southern Canada to the Arctic, has within a few years proved more destructive of traditional native life than the previous century of white-Eskimo contact.

Notes

This paper is a revised version of a paper read to the 19th Alaska Science Conference, Whitehorse, Yukon, August 30, 1968.

1. This term refers here to the mainland coast from the Alaskan boundary eastward to Pearce Point, and to Banks Island.
2. D.C. Foote, "Exploration and Resource Utilization in Northwestern Arctic Alaska Before 1855" (Ph.D. diss., McGill University, 1965), p. 247.
3. Diamond Jenness estimated their numbers at 700 to 800 in 1914 (*The Life of the Copper Eskimos*, Report of the Canadian Arctic Expedition, 1913-18, vol. 12, pt. A [Ottawa, 1922], p. 42), but there is evidence of population decline during the previous decades.
4. R. MacFarlane, "Notes on Mammals Collected and Observed in Northern Mackenzie River District, North-West Territories of Canada," in *Through the Mackenzie Basin*, ed. Charles Mair (Toronto, 1908), p. 163. Further information on the aboriginal populations is given by M.R. Hargrave, "Changing Settlement Patterns Amongst the Mackenzie Eskimos of the Canadian North Western Arctic," *Albertan Geographer* 2:25-30 (1965-66).
5. V. Stefansson, "The Distribution of Human and Animal Life in Western Arctic America," *Geographical Journal* 41: 449-460 (1913), p. 452.
6. *Monographie des Esquimaux Tchiglit du Mackenzie et de l'Anderson* (Paris, 1876), p. 2.
7. Stefansson, "Western Arctic America," p. 452.
8. John Franklin, *Narrative of a Second Expedition to the Shores of the Polar Sea* (London, 1828).

9. John Richardson, *Arctic Searching Expedition* (London, 1851); A. Armstrong, *A Personal Narrative of the Discovery of the North-West Passage* (London, 1857).
10. J.R. Mackay, "The Valley of the Lower Anderson River, N.W.T.," *Geographical Bulletin* 11: 37-56 (1958), p. 39.
11. Armstrong, *Discovery of the North-West Passage*, p. 176; S. Osborn, ed., *The Discovery of the North West Passage* (London, 1857), p. 92.
12. V. Stefansson, *Prehistoric and Present Commerce Among the Arctic Coast Eskimo*, National Museum Bulletin no. 6 (Ottawa, 1914), p. 12; *idem*, *The Stefansson-Anderson Arctic Expedition of the American Museum: Preliminary Ethnological Report*, Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History, no. 14 (New York, 1919), p. 11.
13. J.K. Stager, "Fort Anderson: the First Post for Trade in the Western Arctic," *Geographical Bulletin* 9(1):45-56 (1967).
14. *Ibid.*, p. 56.
15. Canada. Royal Northwest Mounted Police, (hereafter cited as RNWMP) *Annual Report* 1908 (Ottawa, 1909), p. 140.
16. Stefansson, "Western Arctic America," p. 451.
17. Stefansson, *Stefansson-Anderson Arctic Expedition*, pp. 194-195.
18. The credit system was a much more prominent feature of the reorganized fur trade than of the early inland trade.
19. H.H. Bodfish, *Chasing the Bowhead* (Cambridge, Mass., 1936), p. 191.
20. V. Stefansson, *My Life with the Eskimos* (New York, 1913), p. 39.
21. Bodfish, *Chasing the Bowhead*, p. 191.
22. Diamond Jenness, *Eskimo Administration, 11: Canada*, Arctic Institute of North America Technical Paper no. 14 (Montreal, 1964), p. 14.
23. RNWMP, *Annual Report* 1905, Pt. 1 (Ottawa, 1906), p. 129.
24. RNWMP, *Annual Report* 1910 (Ottawa, 1911), p. 151.
25. K. Rasmussen, *The Mackenzie Eskimos*, Report of the Fifth Thule Expedition, 1921-24, vol. 10, no. 3 (Copenhagen, 1942), p. 49.
26. PAC, NA & NR/NAB 6217. The abbreviation, followed by the appropriate file number, refers to the files of the Northern Administration Branch, Dept. of Northern Affairs and National Resources, and its predecessors, now deposited in the Public Archives of Canada.
27. Beginning with the passage of the Northwest Game Act in 1917, the Dominion government sought to regulate hunting, trapping and trading in the Northwest Territories in the interests of conservation and native self-sufficiency. One means of accomplishing this was seen to be the creation of native game preserves from which both whites and foreign born Eskimos would be excluded. Victoria Island was the first area so designated in 1918. Banks Island was added in 1920 and in turn both became part of the huge Arctic Islands Game Preserve in 1926.
28. Among these, (apart from the Hudson's Bay Company) were Liebes and Co. of San Francisco, The Canalaska Trading Company belonging to Captain C.T. Pedersen, the former whaling master from San Francisco, and the Northern Trading Company of Edmonton. Of these, Pedersen's Canalaska Company provided the most formidable opposition to the Hudson's Bay Company.
29. PAC, NA & NR/NAB 5472.
30. *Ibid.*, 6026.
31. Canada. Royal Canadian Mounted Police, *Annual Report, 1929* (Ottawa, 1930), p. 99; M. Metayer, ed., *I, Nuligak* (Toronto, 1966), pp. 159-160.
32. RCMP, *Annual Report, 1930* (Ottawa, 1931), p. 88.

Formation of Mackenzie Delta Frontier Culture

John J. Honigmann

Frontier Culture

A visitor to Inuvik driving or walking through the West End where 1,100 people live, including the overwhelming proportion of the native population, will see few familiar symbols of Indian or Eskimo life, nor will the Metis be conspicuous. The reason is that many cultural uniformities link the East End of Inuvik, where about 1,300 overwhelmingly non-native civil servants and their families live, with the predominantly native West End. For example, English is the town's nearly universal language; families use many of the same foods, buying them at the store and cooking them in the same way. Homes are furnished according to the same familiar pattern. Yet on closer acquaintance the town reveals two contrasting ways of life. The civil servants in their East End apartments or private houses fully exemplify middle-class, or mainstream, North American culture. The ease with which they have transplanted that culture practically intact above the Arctic Circle owes much to the modern fully serviced housing and accompanying amenities which the government provides and subsidizes for their use. Meanwhile another style of life bearing different emphases is practised by the people of native background.

During more than 150 years of fairly intense acculturation and heavy migration in the Western Arctic a local subculture came into existence or filtered into the Mackenzie Delta. Highly serviceable for adaptation during the era of fur trapping, this culture also contained recreative and expressive elements which had little to do with surviving in the bush. When the Western Arctic native people moved into Inuvik and took jobs there, they shed mainly the economic patterns of their previous culture while retaining other components that have acquired new life and meaning in the context of town life. Following Cornelius Osgood and A.M. Ervin I use the term "frontier culture" to designate the

way of life that emerged during the fur-trade era and that continues to be followed in Inuvik by most of the Indians, Eskimos, and Metis.¹ As I use the term, it deliberately discounts many of the cultural uniformities linking the East and West ends and concentrates on those which give native culture its distinctive configuration.

Frontier culture is practised in two ways. The first consists of an assortment of outdoor activities and appurtenances — trapping, fishing, bush living, casual type clothing, guns — which are put to fairly common use and some of which are so highly valued that they easily get in the way of such obligations as jobs, schooling for children, and church. Secondly, frontier culture breaks with certain norms and conventions of mainstream life. Frontier people rely on informal rather than formal organization to get things done. Being individualistically inclined, they tend to give little thought to group enterprise and voluntary associations. Frontier people tend to feel that mainstream cultural values pertaining to gambling, the police, and the use of alcohol are not wholly appropriate in the North. Hence there is a readiness to ignore or “neutralize” particular norms of the mainstream culture, in effect making the frontier way of life a contraculture.² One must, however, see Inuvik’s contraculture in proper perspective and not mistake it for an utterly lawless way of life. Hence I hasten to add that the conventions neutralized or overridden are mostly minor ones, and the people themselves are frequently ambivalent about such non-normative behaviour as heavy drinking and consensual marriage.

The two aspects of frontier culture are found elsewhere in the North, but they have a measure of independence from one another. Hence, while the orientation toward outdoor life is common all across the North, the contracultural aspect is less common. It is especially strongly evident in the Mackenzie drainage area, where I first encountered it in 1944 among the Kaska Indians and white trappers of Lower Post, British Columbia, but is much less apparent in northern James Bay or Baffin Island.

Frontier culture is the northern peoples’ creation, but its creation was greatly aided through historic contact with representatives of the larger society. In tracing this contact in north-

western Canada, I shall divide the stream of social history into two periods: first, a Formative Period in which a new way of life germinated; and, second, a Florescent Period during which the new culture flowered and gave rise to a highly satisfactory, economically rewarding new basis of existence. The period of florescence came to an end following World War II.

Formative Period

It is unnecessary for my purpose to report in detail the early contacts of the northwestern Indians with Alexander Mackenzie, John Franklin, and the early fur-traders, or to describe how the Western Arctic Eskimo first secured Russian manufactures and then met the whalers who hunted and wintered in Beaufort Sea. It will suffice to say that during the Formative Period — which ended about 1865 for the Indians and 1890 for the Canadian and North Alaskan Eskimo — the native people exchanged an economically independent life for a symbiotic relationship with the larger society. Their survival came to depend on another social system with which they linked themselves economically producing fur, meat, and fish. Nevertheless, they mostly continued to exploit the land, sea, and rivers, though not always with the same weapons and techniques they had followed aboriginally. For native peoples' products the white men paid in the form of tobacco and hardware, especially guns that vitally increased the peoples' degree of control over the material environment. The Indians during this time, due to the efforts of the missionaries, also began to absorb new religious values, but the Eskimo remained much more resistant to Christianity. They, however, due to the influence of the whalers became much more familiar with the use of alcoholic beverages and with knowledge of how to make them. Alcohol came to be in great demand and drunkenness contributed to the persistent difficulties that the Catholic and Anglican missionaries experienced in converting the Sigliarq or Mackenzie River Eskimo.

The economic orientation that native people in the Delta maintained toward the land until the coming of Inuvik took form during the Formative Period, but I doubt that the contracultural aspects that appeared in Delta frontier culture are directly

connected to that period. The excesses of the whaling crews affected the Eskimo, but the influence did not continue unbroken because in Florescent times Anglican missionary influence supplanted that of the whalers. For a time religion retained the firm commitment of both Eskimo and Indians until the native people began to observe new role models who reached the Delta, by whom the contracultural tendencies in their culture appear to have been considerably influenced.

Florescent Period

The Florescent Period opened about 1865 among the Indians and 1890 among the Eskimo and lasted until the Second World War. From about 1900, the flow of manufactured goods into the area increased tremendously as the value of fur climbed, the result being a period of economic prosperity and intense cultural assimilation, especially in the realms of material culture and language. Residential schools in the Mackenzie valley contributed to the incoming tide of cultural diffusion, and the determined Anglican missionaries at last succeeded in converting the Eskimo. However, the devotion and scrupulous religiosity they managed to inspire in those people was largely short-lived, lasting perhaps a generation, before strong secular influences invading the lower Mackenzie valley overwhelmed the force of Christianity among both Eskimo and Indians. The contracultural elements which became conspicuous in frontier culture are also rooted in those secular influences, the like of which did not overwhelm the Eastern Arctic.

I believe that contracultural elements like great value set on alcohol, spree drinking, drunken aggression, consensual marriage, and in more general terms, readiness to neutralize inconvenient norms of the larger society have their origin in the inflow of men from Canada and the United States who were attracted to the North first by gold in the Yukon and then by the rich fur resources and unrestricted trapping rights of the Delta. These were both men and Metis from the upper Mackenzie drainage basin.

When these movements from the south started, however, there was a major local shift of Eskimo from North Alaska and

Herschel Island into the Delta. Coming around the turn of the century, the influx started after the collapse of whaling and after epidemics had decimated the Mackenzie Eskimo on the Arctic Coast of Canada. The Herschel Islanders who moved to the mainland had been heavily recruited by the whalers from North Alaska, and they probably included a good proportion of inland Eskimo who could easily adapt to the wooded setting of the Delta where they began to trap.

More important in influencing the growth of frontier culture were the Klondikers who passed through Fort McPherson en route to the Yukon, some of whom remained in the Northwest to live by trapping. The verse of Robert Service idealizes the frontier culture of these men with their spruce-bough beds laid around blazing camp fires; their moccasins, mukluks, and spruce tea; their recreation taken with alcohol, poker, and square dancing; their plain speech with bad grammar; their unconventionality; their attraction to the land and to native women, whom however they rarely idealize; and their scorn of the urbane, tenderfoot representatives of the outside society who sometimes appear among them wearing the policeman's uniform.³ Reports of the RCMP and memoirs by contemporary witnesses testify to the miners' gambling, drinking, and preying on native women.⁴

After the miners came the upriver Metis, white trappers, and ambitious white storekeepers who settled along the Mackenzie or its tributaries and the Arctic Coast. Among them were many sober and principled men, but there were others looking for a chance to shed conventions and to live individualistic, spontaneous lives while working hard in the winter and spring to gather a rich haul of fur. Sometimes they violated the game and liquor laws; they stayed drunk for days at a time when the boat brought their "medicinal" liquor or when a brew was ready to drink. Some took delight in raising hell and plaguing the police.⁵ Just as the Hudson Bay traders and servants had taken native wives, so these men legally and consensually lived with Eskimo, Indian, and locally-born Metis women, thus starting name groups that still flourish in the area. My contention is that they, like the prospectors, set behavioural examples for the Eskimo, Indians, and local Metis, whose growing prosperity easily allowed them

time for play and money for brewing and heavy gambling. In this way the contracultural aspects of frontier culture were set by about 1940.

The contracultural aspect, however, should be seen in the total context of frontier culture, the details of which we glean from biographies and the reports of travelers and anthropologists who visited the lower Mackenzie drainage area when the Florescent Period was already ending.⁶ The frequency of such visits, especially by anthropologists, increased around 1940, by which time the Florescent Period was already coming to an end. From such accounts we learn that trappers lived in chinked, sod-roofed log cabins which despite their comfortable and well-furnished interiors retained a rough appearance and for heat depended solely on wood cut in the surrounding area. Recreation consisted of card playing, square dancing, jigging, and playing phonograph records of music like "Wabash Cannonball." Dances were always more lively when lubricated by a properly fermented "home brew" or by something stronger locally distilled. We learn, too, that in large settlements, like Aklavik, the white people serving as surrogates of the larger society did not remain wholly unaffected by the frontier ambience. They learned to snowshoe, sometimes raised dogs, ate game, and occasionally dressed in mukluks and other frontier clothing. New religious observances like "Rat Sunday" were created. Art took advantage of the frontier setting; for example, the altar mural of the Aklavik cathedral which dates from this period depicts a fur-clad Madonna and Child receiving gifts of northern provenance, and locally written verse celebrated the frontier quality of northern life.

Frontier Culture in Inuvik

Although the economic collapse of trapping and moving to Inuvik have greatly affected the lives of native people, those events did not eradicate the frontier culture or its contracultural elements. In fact, for many people town life has endowed frontier culture with new life and meaning.

At first glance, it seems simple to unlock the paradox of frontier culture flourishing in a comparatively urban milieu; Inuvik is not all that urban, and the waterways and game of the Delta

continue to lure many people to holidays on the land. But that merely explains perpetuation of the outdoor aspects of frontier culture and not persistence of the total complex, including its contracultural elements.

The perpetuation of frontier culture is favoured by the several conditions in Inuvik that have drawn native people more closely together, promoted a sense of native identity, and increased the visibility and symbolic value of a relatively distinctive way of life. These conditions include the growth of southern control over northern life. Inuvik has brought about an intensification of social pressure in terms of sanctions like criticism, fines, jailing, and lost jobs. Intensified social pressure, in turn, has bred resentment among natives over their lost "freedom" and over what one person called the "southern invasion into northern life." Such resentment contributes to closer native solidarity. At the same time the demographic and physical properties of the town constitute conditions favouring the persistence and reinterpretation of frontier culture. The arrival of about twelve hundred non-natives from southern Canada in the Delta following completion of Inuvik, and the division of the town into two separate neighbourhoods with unequal housing and town services have spotlighted and made unmistakably clear the sharp contrast between the mainline and frontier ways of life. The physical separation of the two neighbourhoods, the diverse cultural backgrounds of the East and West end populations, and the different roles that each population plays in town so that very limited social interaction occurs between them constitute highly favourable conditions for arresting assimilation and perpetuating a relatively distinctive way of life. The new meaning acquired by frontier culture, especially by its contracultural elements, lies in the way it symbolically marks off the identity of the native community from the civil servants and their families.

Those townspeople who endorse frontier culture symbolically cut themselves off from the middle-class culture represented by the East End and repudiate strong commitment to that culture's norms and certain of its values.⁷ The process of cultural assimilation begun in the Formative Period and continued in prosperous Florescent times has slowed down and become much more highly selective. To be sure, not everyone in the native community

equally repudiates identification with the mainstream culture. Some families containing persons of natives background — especially those which also include a non-native spouse — show strong aspirations to achieve middle-class values, and they often manage to do so. But many more people, including young native people, cling to the frontier style of life, including its contracultural aspect, and thereby dodge a potential social identity in town that they do not want.

Notes

This paper was presented to the Northeastern Anthropological Society, Ottawa, May 7-9, 1970. Fieldwork by John J. Honigmann and Irma Honigmann was supported by the National Science Foundation and the Northern Co-ordination and Research Centre and carried out in 1967.

1. Cornelius Osgood, *Contributions to the Ethnography of the Kutchin*, Yale University Publications in Anthropology, no. 14 (New Haven, 1936), p. 170; Alexander M. Ervin, "New Northern Townsmen in Inuvik," Mackenzie Delta Research Project, Report no. 5 (Dept. of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, Northern Science Research Group, Ottawa, 1968).

2. J. Milton Yinger, "Contraculture and Subculture," *American Sociological Review* 25:625-635 (1960).

3. Robert Service, *Ploughman of the Moon* (New York: Dodd, Mead and Co., 1945).

4. Angus Graham, *The Golden Grindstone: the Adventures of George M. Mitchell* (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott, 1935).

5. Llewelyn Phillips, Unpublished ms.

6. Important sources include: Charles Camsell, *Son of the North* (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1954); Lewis R. Freeman, *The Nearing North* (New York: Dodd, Mead and Co., 1928); Graham, *Golden Grindstone*; John J. Honigmann, *Ethnography and Acculturation of the Fort Nelson Slave*, Yale Publications in Anthropology, no. 33 (Newhaven, 1946), pp. 97-150; *idem*, *Culture and Ethos of Kaska Society*, Yale University Publications in Anthropology, no. 40 (New Haven, 1949); Osgood, *Ethnography of the Kutchin*, pp. 170-174; Harwood Steele, *Policing the Arctic* (London: Jarrolds, 1936); Vilhjalmur Stefansson, *My Life With the Eskimo* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1913); Fullerton Waldo, *Down the Mackenzie Through the Great Lone Land* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1923).

7. What happened in the Delta parallels closely what occurred in northern Saskatchewan (Philip Spaulding, "The Social Integration of a Northern Community: White Mythology and Metis Reality," in *A Northern Dilemma: Reference Papers*, 2 vols [Bellingham: Western Washington State College, 1966], p. 111). There when Metis found their autonomy suddenly restricted as a result of newly introduced administrative pressures and puritanical middle-class values, they withdrew, becoming socially marginal. Withdrawal did not shield them from the white people's claim of superiority, a claim to which the Metis acquiesced. They responded to their invidious, assigned status by integrating themselves as a cultural group on the basis of opposition in "traditional" behaviour that symbolized their disdain for middle-class values like industry, sobriety, and sexual chastity.

The Implications of Pluralism for Social Change Programs in a Canadian Arctic Community

Derek G. Smith

Kuper and Haug have noted that theories of pluralism conform to two general types.¹ The first, generally the work of American sociologists and political scientists, uses "pluralism" to indicate "open" societies in which there is a diversity of political interest groups. This theoretical type describes social systems in which diverse interest groups may safely express divergent views and bring selective pressures to bear on government. Aron, Shils and Kornhauser severally hold views which suggest that liberty (in the narrower sense of political freedom) and democracy tend to be strong where pluralism is marked and that liberal democracy is the ideal realization of the principles of pluralism.² Yinger's concept of pluralism is closely analogous.³ Although these models in no way minimize the occurrence of conflict in what they regard as plural societies, they tend to see conflict in a positive role as a system of checks and balances functioning to ensure the decentralization of power from any one interest group. They are equilibrium models which do not necessarily imply societal integration derived from value consensus, but generally imply that the component groups share a sufficient core of common values that integration is assured. Shils refers to some of these common values: tolerant recognition of the worth and dignity of opinions and social ways of other groups; commitment to gradual, non-revolutionary change through the democratic process; respect for the rule of law and belief in its sanctity; and sentiments of communal affinity among the elites.⁴ Dahrendorf, holding similar views, states that "pluralism of institutions, conflict patterns, groupings, and interests makes for a lively, colorful, and creative scene of political conflict which provides an opportunity for success of every interest that is voiced."⁵ Integration is also held

to derive from the tendency in such societies for persons to have multiple affiliations even with conflicting groups.⁶ These theories of pluralism focus largely on political diversity.⁷ They are largely irrelevant to the issues of pluralism now being debated in anthropology and should not be confused with them.⁸ They would correspond much more closely to what we prefer to call heterogeneous societies,⁹ in which sub-culturally differentiated groups, while conducting some of their social arrangements in their own ways, are integrated by common participation in compulsory core institutions and by the tendency for persons to have multiple role affiliations even in conflicting groups (*cf.* Gluckman on "multiplex roles" in heterogeneous societies).¹⁰

Models of pluralism in anthropology constitute a second general type. They are best represented in the works of Furnivall, M.G. Smith, and Kuper.¹¹ These models emphasize that the conflict or confrontation within the plural society is between distinct sections marked by pervasive cultural differences. In this model the cultural sections, unlike the minimally differentiated sub-cultural groups of heterogeneous societies, each pursue their own institutional arrangements and, at least in the extreme limiting case, have no value consensus or common participation in core institutions of the society as a whole. Plural societies in this sense differ in kind as well as degree from heterogeneous societies with respect to integration.

M.G. Smith points out in the plural society cultural sections practise their own forms of "compulsory institutions" (religion, kinship, education, etc.) within the same polity. It is the extent of this polity that defines the boundaries of the society. Integration in this case derives not from consensus of values between the component cultural sections, but rather from *regulation* of inter-sectional relations through the exercise of control in the polity by (e.g. in two-section system) one of the sections over the other. Kuper, interpreting M.G. Smith, writes that regulation in such a case

...consists in the rigid and hierarchical ordering of the relations between the different sections. Since the various sections are culturally differentiated, and consensus therefore a remote possibility, and since the subordinate sections are unlikely to accord equal value and legitimacy to the preservation of the hierarchic pattern, authority and power and

regulation have crucial significance in maintaining, controlling and co-ordinating the plural society.¹²

In short, cultural diversity, social cleavage, hierarchic arrangement of the socio-cultural sections, and "integration" by regulation through authority and power mark the plural society.

As Gluckman points out, most analyses of pluralism "...are broad analyses either of large-scale plural societies, or comparative discussions of major problems over several such societies."¹³ This paper focuses on pluralism in a subsocietal unit. With M.G. Smith, I shall define societies as maximal social systems,¹⁴ the boundaries of which coincide with the maximum extent of a polity, or Nadel's "relatively widest effective group". As such, in the ideal case, "a society is a self-sufficient, self-perpetuating and internally autonomous system of social relations."¹⁵ Other kinds of social systems which are not "self-sufficient, self-perpetuating and internally autonomous" are not societies but specific domains of social relations within societies. Societies subsume all other types of social system as parts of themselves. A "society" differs in kind as well as degree from other social systems.¹⁶ Consequently, societal pluralism as a mode of social relations may be expected to differ in kind from pluralism within other kinds of social systems (such as communities, component states of a federal union, etc.). It is with pluralism in a "social domain within a society", namely a specific community, that this paper is concerned.

I shall broadly define a "community" as a field or domain of social relations within a territorially localized group in which some degree of face-to-face association between persons is at least possible. A community has a structure of regulation and control, but unlike a society it is not "self-sufficient, self-perpetuating, and internally autonomous". A community is dependent upon the wider society of which it is a part.

Objective conditions which are broadly described as poverty and social marginality, although similar in their outward attributes, differ in the structural factors which establish and maintain them in plural systems as distinct from non-plural systems. In addition, these structural factors differ in the plural *society* and the plural *community*. This thesis is illustrated with reference to a plural community in Canada's Western Arctic.

First of all, it is necessary to define poverty and social marginality, specifying analytically their distinctive structural relations to plural systems. In ordinary usage poverty is defined as relatively marked economic deprivation, usually expressed in absolute terms. One need hardly mention that economic deprivation is one of the most potent sources of societal differentiation, perhaps because it is much more readily observable than social deprivation of other sorts. Economic deprivation may be the result of any one of several structural factors: relative lack of access to the means of production; lack of access to market; exploitation (conscious deprivation) of one group by another, etc. In most general terms, it can be seen simply as one kind of social marginality. Individuals or groups who have relatively marked deprivation of access to the institutional means of mobility, authority and power within a social system may be defined as marginal. More explicitly, marginality is observed "...where some members of one group for one reason or another come under the influence of another group... and where racial and/or cultural barriers serve to block full and legitimate membership within another group."¹⁷ "Poverty" is manifested in deprivation of goods and money, "marginality" in deprivation of social resources. Usually economic deprivation and social marginality are inter-related in a complex fashion. As Lewis and others have gone to some pains to point out, the behavioural responses and situational adaptations of marginal or poverty groups display a remarkable similarity in whatever society they are found.¹⁸ This constellation of social arrangements is in part a result, in part a response, to economic and social marginality. The subculture of poverty/marginality is a total response of a group of people to deprivation on a broad front — social, cultural, economic, political, and emotional.

In Lewis' words, this way of life

...is both an adaptation and a reaction of the poor to their marginal position in a class-stratified, highly individuated, capitalistic society. It represents an effort to cope with feelings of hopelessness and despair which develop from the realization of the improbability of achieving success in terms of the values and goals of the larger society. Indeed, many of the traits of the culture of poverty can be viewed as attempts at local solutions for problems not met by existing institutions and agencies because the people are not eligible for them, cannot afford them, or are ignorant or suspicious of them... once it comes into existence it

tends to perpetuate itself from generation to generation because of its effect on the children... . The lack of effective participation and integration of the poor in the major institutions of the larger society is one of the crucial characteristics of the culture of poverty... . On the level of the individual the major characteristics are a strong feeling of marginality, of helplessness, of dependence and of inferiority.¹⁹

Lewis has specified some of the conditions which typically give rise to the subculture of poverty. Economic deprivation is a necessary but not sufficient condition,²⁰ for many of the world's poor do not display the characteristics of the culture of poverty.

To summarize Lewis, the culture of poverty typically arises in marginal groups within class-stratified, highly individuated, capitalistic societies; especially those maintained in servile colonial status or having undergone a process of detribalization; in groups having little positive identification with the values and institutions of the wider society; or in groups structurally alienated from or denied access to the institutions of the wider society in which they are found. These marginal groups display, relative to powerful groups with which they are necessarily contrasted in a stratified society, a general impoverishment of internal social organization and of sense of identity.²¹

Marginality of the scope and kind that may result in a group's development of a subculture of poverty is a common feature of markedly subordinate cultural sections in plural social systems. The typical hierarchic structure of colonial societies is only one mode of pluralism, although these societies often display pluralism in its clearest form. A clear example of pluralism is found in situations where the encroachment of white settlement has disrupted the native social system, depriving the people of an alternate way of life and, consequently, of a positive identity in the society in which they are now incorporated; where mobility between the indigenous and settler sections is limited, and white settlers have effective control of the means of power. Here is fertile ground for the development of a sense of relative deprivation and a way of life which has affinities with Lewis' subculture of poverty. This situation differs significantly from that of marginality in heterogeneous systems. In heterogeneous systems there is at least the potential for marginal groups to utilize existing institutional avenues of mobility in order to diminish personal or group

marginality. In plural systems there are few or no such alternatives. Marginal groups (such as poverty or ethnic minorities) in heterogeneous societies usually identify strongly with the attitudes toward success, achievement and mobility of the wider society. In plural societies, marginal groups do not identify with the values and institutions of the wider society, may actively reject the legitimacy of its core institutions, or be actively denied access to them. This, in general terms, is probably what Myrdal and others have meant by the "vicious circle of poverty".²² There is a complex interplay between internal subcultural features and external structural factors which tend to maintain a group in the subculture of poverty. While Lewis emphasizes that it is a way of life which tends to perpetuate itself through the successive generations of people who are socialized in it, structural features of the wider society provides the primary conditions under which it develops.

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The Mackenzie River Delta is one of the major areas of population in Canada's Western Arctic. In Arctic terms the population is large, consisting of some 4,400 persons, now almost totally concentrated in four major settlements. This population derives historically from several racial/cultural sources. It is the product of a complex history of large-scale social change beginning with the introduction of the fur-trade some 125 years ago and culminating in the intensive development of Canadian administration and urban living over the last three decades.

Racially and culturally the indigenous sector of the population derives from two major Athapaskan Indian "bands" (the Tetlit and Vunta Kutchin — collectively referred to as Loucheux); from a dozen or more major groups of coastal and inland North Alaskan Eskimos; and from a smaller number of Eskimo immigrants from the Canadian Central Arctic. Both the Indian and Eskimo groups have undergone miscegenation on a large scale with the diverse peoples with whom they have come in contact since the development of the fur-trade: Indians with Scottish and French trappers and traders; Eskimos with Ame-

rican and European explorers, trappers, traders, and whalers, and even with South Pacific Islanders and Cape Verde Negroes employed in the American-based whaling industry of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

There has been massive disruption and re-orientation of the aboriginal socio-cultural systems. Both Indians and Eskimos were fishers and hunters who lived primarily outside of the Delta: Indians in the mountains to the west and south of the Delta; Eskimos on the Arctic Coast and in the mountains. Neither the Indians nor the now extinct Mackenzie Eskimos had any primary dependence on Delta resources. The modern population is descended from Indian and Eskimo immigrants who were attracted to the Delta by its rich fur-resources only after the development of the fur-trade (after 1848 for the Indians, and primarily after the collapse of coastal whaling in 1908 in the case of Eskimos). During the development of this multi-racial, multi-ethnic population in the fur-trade era many aboriginal social arrangements were abandoned, and a new fur-trade culture has developed which cross-cuts traditional ethnic boundaries in very significant ways. This process of ethnogenesis owes its origins less to specific features of the traditional culture than exposure to several common factors in the history of contact with Euro-canadian and American culture of which the following seem to be the most important:

1. The inhabitation of a common area, hitherto unexploited by the traditional societies, but made important as a resource area by the advent of the fur-trade.
2. Dependence upon this common resource base with an introduced technology.
3. The replacement of traditional marks of identity such as dress, language, food, and ceremonial behaviour with Eurocanadian variants or with variants representing a blend or compromise of aboriginal ways.
4. The replacement of traditional social arrangements with Euro-canadian variants: e.g. cash economy, urban residence, etc.
5. Face-to-face contact between the ethnic groups for a relatively long period of time.

6. The development of the native people, regardless of ethnic origin, as a marginal group with respect to the wider Canadian society.

This emergent way of life, distinct from both the aboriginal cultures and from that of the intrusive agents of contact, is a situational adaptation to the re-orientation of life-ways to that of the fur-trade on the one hand and to a common marginal position in Canadian society on the other.

The designations "Indian", "Eskimo", and "Metis" current in the Delta are administrative and legal categories bearing only minimal relevance to racial or cultural realities. In popular usage they are ambiguous. To the extent that distinctively Indian or Eskimo cultural characteristics survive in the Delta of today they are stylistic or subcultural variants within the common cultural patterns shared by the native people regardless of ethnic origin. Theirs is truly a "contact culture". Some inter-group difference is maintained within the native sector by the persistence of some aboriginal cultural features and by the selective operation of Canadian administration with respect to the legal categories "Indian", "Eskimo", and "other Native". For example, Indian development programs are circumscribed by the Indian Act which does not apply to Eskimos. "Others" (or Metis) are not eligible for measures designed to assist "Indians" and "Eskimos". While it is true that the history of contact differs in detail between these groups, I maintain that it was structurally similar. Metis are usually the offspring of unions between Indian or Eskimo women and "white" trappers, traders, or whalers. Where the white father has been resident in the family group, their Metis offspring have tended to be socialized more in a white way of life from which certain advantages in ability to operate in the white world have accrued. In the fur-trade era those known locally as "white trappers" tended to follow a subsistence regime essentially similar to that of the native people and to adopt many features of "native" culture and social organization. The word "native" in local usage, then, denotes any person following a northern way of life (essentially that which emerged with the fur-trade) and includes "white trappers" as well as Indians, Eskimos and Metis.

The most palpable, thoroughgoing line of social cleavage in the Delta is between "natives" (or northerners) and "outsiders".

Outsiders, sometimes referred to as "transient whites" are those who have come to the Delta to fill administrative positions, mostly in government agencies. Their way of life differs little from that of southern Canadian except for local modifications to a relatively isolated life in a northern climate. Their stay in the Delta is usually of short duration (two or three years) coincident with the tenure of their administrative appointments. A few outsiders in recent years have committed themselves to a life in the North. These "new northerners" play a distinctive role in the Delta community, but their way of life remains essentially similar to that of the outsider.

What is confronted at this line of cleavage are two ways of life which display on the one hand a native-identified, sub-culturally differentiated, multi-ethnic native way of life the content of which is essentially derived from that of the fur-trade era; on the other an outsider-identified way of life differing little from that of southern Canadians. The terms native and outsider denote two exclusive roles in modern Delta society. To understand the pungency of their meaning and their complex interaction is to be in possession of a major key to the social structure. This two-section system has been identified in other northern areas. It has been called a "caste-like" structure. Although the expression "caste" conveys some of the superordinate-subordinate relationship between the outsider and native sections the term here fails to communicate the extent of differentiation between the Delta segments or the peculiarity of their relationship. "Castes", although exclusive groups in a stratification system, are part of an integrated stratification order in a single socio-cultural system. In the Delta there are two separate cultural sections, each possessing its own system of stratification (unlike "castes"), integrated in a way fundamentally different from that of a single order of stratification.

The dominance hierarchy between the two Delta segments is maintained by a number of factors. The most obvious is that most outsiders in the area are concerned with administration of the area and its people or in services in direct support of these activities. The relationship between outsiders and natives is essentially that of "the administrators" and "the administered." Cor-

respondingly, integration between the two cultural sections is one of regulation and control. Most outsiders, too, are active through administration, mission activities, education, and other organizations as "socializers" of northern people. This is usually worked out in a hierarchical "teacher-student" relationship.

Although there is a complete horror of the word "colonialism" in the North and in Canadian administration, because of its association with imperial despotism and exploitation, northern communities such as the Mackenzie Delta display many colonial characteristics. These may be briefly summarized:

1. Outsiders are present chiefly in order to administer, govern and "develop" the area, its resources, and its native people;
2. Outsiders are highly transient — present in the Delta for the duration of appointment (usually two or three years);
3. Financial and other subsidies are paid to outsiders to encourage their employment in the North;
4. Outsiders form a socially distinct unit, residentially segregated in some Mackenzie Delta settlements;
5. The outsider segment is highly organized, especially in the political sphere — in this case around the massive structure of the metropolitan power (basically the federal government) created to administer the area;
6. Settlers or "new northerners" dominate the entrepreneurial sphere (economic, political, and social).

In contrast, the native segment is the object of most of the activities of the outsiders; lacks stable formal organization beyond the family; has only a few weak leaders; has minimal political interest, organization, or power; and its members are not usually eligible for the subsidies supplied to outsiders. Apart from the regulatory function of the bureaucracy, native people are simply not able to compete with the hyper-organization of political structures among the outsiders, and in fact do not usually value opportunities to do so. The hierarchical relationship between natives and outsiders is only partly a function of the bureaucratic structures which allocate authority largely to the outsiders. It is also a matter of native people being unable to compete effectively

in the formal organizations of the community which are essentially outsider-oriented and outsider-organized.

In the Delta, virtually every outsider has strong opinions about native people, the "native mind," the so-called "native problem", and "what should be done about them." Although these opinions cover a wide range of views from the blatantly racist to sophisticated ideas about civil rights and social justice, every one of them implies that the existing situation is wrong, bad, or undesirable, and their bearers are usually quick to express them in their behaviour toward native people or in organized political activity influencing the role of native people in the community. It is not difficult to find incidents of conflict between natives and outsiders who believe that native people are "savage", "child-like", and inferior to outsiders in virtually every way. Yet the most powerful mechanism of discrimination and differentiation in the Delta lies much deeper than incidents of inter-personal friction. It lies in the overwhelming directiveness and control of outsiders (both pro- and anti-native) towards native people and the pressure for them to conform to ways of life prescribed by outsiders according to their several views of "what is good for native people."

"Separatist" opinions and activities among outsiders cover a wide spectrum from those which state that native people are so inherently different (and probably inferior) in racial, cultural, or psychological characteristics that they cannot be "integrated" into the wider society, to those which maintain that the native way of life has inherent worth, dignity, and value, that it should be maintained by all means possible, and that its disappearance would be destructive and costly for native people. "Integrationists" cover an equally wide spectrum from those who hold that the native way of life is inferior and doomed to extinction so that native people must abandon it and become "integrated", to those who maintain that social justice requires outsiders to make every effort to incorporate native people so that they may enjoy the benefits of Canadian society. In the struggle between outsiders competing to enact their points of view abundant political activity is generated, much of it influencing the role of native people, some of it functioning explicitly to maintain outsider interests, but in which native people have minimal participation.

Native people are not necessarily excluded from these political structures by intention or ill-will on the part of outsiders as many of the numerous polemicists in northern matters would have us believe. Rather, the particular political mechanisms proliferated by outsiders are not forms with which native people can positively identify. They are often forms expressing attitudes and action which native people either do not understand or which they actively reject as incompatible with native values or interests. This is a measure of cultural cleavage and incompatibility between the outsider and native sections. The result is that native people cannot compete effectively either within the outsider structure as it now stands or in opposition to it.

Patterns of leadership also clearly illustrate socio-cultural cleavage between natives and outsiders. Mailhot has drawn attention to the massive proliferation of voluntary organizations and service clubs within the outsider section. As Mailhot points out, this proliferation is a direct reflection of the heterogeneity of the outsider population and "can be seen as the transplanting of southern suburban preoccupations, with the importation of ready-made formulas to give structure to these southern interests."²³ In Inuvik, over half the voluntary organizations have an exclusively outsider membership. The absence of native membership is due to a number of factors: high membership fees (e.g. the Lion's Club); special restrictions in membership (e.g. the Canadian Legion requires previous or current service in the Armed Forces); and the fact that many clubs have little relevance to native interests and values (e.g. Chess Club, Science Club, Library and Museum Society). In organizations which have mixed outsider-native membership, outsiders tend to occupy the leadership positions since they are more familiar with these outsider-structured organizational forms and tend to have more of the necessary abilities, interests and skills. Most formal organizations, even those intended primarily for native people, come into being on the initiation of outsiders. Native leaders, where they exist, have usually developed with the stimulus and support of outsiders (usually new northerners). One usually finds that these native "leaders" have a limited following in the native sector, in which there is a devaluation of the authoritative and aggressive qualities of leaders as defined in outsider terms. It is also true that most native leaders are selected from a

relatively small elite of highly acculturated native people, many of whom are Pentecostal Eskimos. There is considerable negative feeling against them since their high valuation of thrift, steady employment, and urban life differentiate them from social arrangements such as kinship sharing obligations with the majority of native people.

Other outsider practices have tended to weaken the position of native leaders. For example, the Indian Act requires that Indian bands elect a chief and councillors who are charged under the Act with certain administrative obligations: management of band funds and lands; the management of transfers in band membership; the allocation of land allotments to band members; and limited legislative responsibilities with respect to the keeping of livestock and the maintenance of fencing, roads, street-lighting and buildings on reserve lands. The Indians of the Delta have not as yet been allocated reserve lands, and even if they were, the agriculturally-oriented circumscription of band obligations under the Act are irrelevant in the Arctic. Consequently, Delta band councils have only minimal obligations under the Act except those dealing with band membership and equity in band funds. In the administration of other legislation especially concerning Indians (such as Social Assistance, education, and housing) the councils are bypassed and administrative officers deal directly with individual Indians involved. Local Indian opinion sees this as intentional disrespect, or at least negative evaluation, of the Chiefs who outsiders have specified must be elected in the first place. In addition, there is considerable development of "token leaders." When outsiders request a native spokesman, one or two individuals who have oratorical ability are put forward by the native people. Otherwise these leaders have no authority and tend to be ignored. Their following amongst native people is usually exaggerated by outsiders, and it is these token leaders who tend to be cultivated by new northerners in clientage relationships.

The discussion so far should be sufficient to show how the Mackenzie Delta social system conforms to a model of pluralism by displaying hierarchical arrangement of native and outsider cultural sections in which effective regulation of inter-sectional relations is maintained by the outsiders. There is also evidence which

suggests that ideas of superiority are allocated to outsiders and that native people are considered inferior in many contexts both by themselves and by outsiders. Several apt illustrations delineate the situation:

1. A young Eskimo girl in Aklavik appeared at school one day in March 1967 with her face peeling and badly scarred. Questioning revealed that she had washed her face in hot, undiluted laundry bleach because she wanted to be like a white girl.
2. Several elderly Eskimos repeatedly explained untoward behaviour amongst native people as a sign of their rejection by God, who had given them dark skins as a mark of their inherent sinfulness. This idea was learned from white whalers.
3. There is a common idea among outsiders that native people are either physically or psychologically inferior to whites in their ability to metabolize or use alcohol, and should therefore be denied access to it "for their own good."
4. An Arctic Red River Indian writes in a newspaper article describing his knowledge that some white people "hate native people with their guts", and goes on to say "But some Indians or Metis or Eskimos don't blame this kind of white people in one way. They know that we are, inferior to white people. White people talk about evolution of mankind, therefore some of us think our time don't come yet. White people makes impossible (come true) on earth — and now they will be in space soon. What has Indians made or been doing? They want to know why white people have more power, more brains than the Indians."

Not all outsiders hold these views of native inferiority, but those who do use them as a rationale for outsider dominance over native people and for their role as socializers and protectors of native people. Many native people feel themselves inferior to outsiders and use this sense of inferiority to rationalize their dependence upon outsiders, their rejection by some, and their inability to compete effectively in the outsider-dominated social structure. Among younger native people especially one finds stigmatization of traditional marks of native identity (e.g. use of native languages, dress-styles, food preferences, "native-identified"

occupations). They actively aspire to adopt outsider-identified variants. My evidence shows considerable personality conflict and social stress in the native sector over ethnic identity. In short, to be a native person in the modern Delta community from the point of view of many outsiders and native people is to be in an inferior, undesirable, and relatively powerless position. Native rejection of, or alienation from, outsider-dominated institutional means of authority, power, and mobility, accompanied by widespread feelings of inferiority are a measure of the degree of marginality of Mackenzie Delta native people in Canadian society. It is within this context that social and cultural structure within the native section must be understood.

Without engaging in extensive debate about the analytical status of Lewis' "culture of poverty" concept, one can readily draw parallels between it and some of the major features of Mackenzie Delta native social structure. However, it is not sufficient simply to show that the Delta native section displays the majority of traits listed by Lewis as characteristic of the culture of poverty, nor even to demonstrate that these traits are interrelated. It is necessary to demonstrate analytically that traits of the culture of poverty (or indeed any others) in Delta native social structure are, in fact, "both an adaptation and a reaction" to social marginality. Such key traits of the culture of poverty as Lewis lists (even in combination) may simply be survivals from an aboriginal system that was not in itself a culture of poverty (e.g. such traits as matrifocality, high incidence of consensual marriages, present time-orientation, emphasis on immediate gratification, wife-beating, early initiation into sex, lack of formal organization beyond the family, etc.) If a social group shows all of the characteristics of Lewis' culture of poverty but these traits cannot be shown to be an integrated response to marginality, then it is not in fact a culture of poverty. The space available permits only a demonstration of the relationship between three of these traits and Mackenzie Delta native marginality.

Matrifocality

There is a relatively high incidence of mother-centred families in the Delta. In the modern situation, residence of a widow or

unwed mother with her children is a viable alternative, for separate residence makes the family eligible for increased social assistance payments. These payments can be very important as a steady source of cash in a situation where poverty is common. In addition, unwed mothers often officially declare illegitimate children as "father unknown" even in cases where the father is known, for then mother and child are eligible for state support. If the father were known he would be sued for support. If the father is an outsider, a native woman would probably be unable to afford legal counsel in order to file suit, and probably unable to ensure continuing support when the father leaves the North on conclusion of his tour of duty. In addition, native people are suspicious and often unaware of the role of courts of law.

Immediate Gratification

Many of the traits Lewis lists (high incidence of violence in settling disputes, wife-beating, early initiation into sex, high rates of alcohol consumption, the absence of savings, job instability, etc.) are simply specific examples of his traits of "present time orientation" and "immediate gratification". Insofar as these involve economic matters, they can be shown to be of adaptive significance in Delta native marginality. The incomes in the native sector are not only very low, but they follow an erratic "boom and bust" pattern. Job instability and reluctance to immobilize usable cash in the form of savings are adaptive in the native sector. Commitment to long-range planning in a highly unstable economic situation might, from the native point of view, prove to be folly rather than wisdom. Very roughly, the ethic is "take what you can while you can; enjoy what you have while you have it; you never know if you will have another chance." Insofar as immediate gratification involves interpersonal relations, a similar situation holds. Since mechanisms of formal social control in the native sector differ from those of outsiders, and since native people are either ignorant or suspicious of mechanisms of control and litigation (e.g. police, courts) available to them in fact but outsider-identified and controlled, settlement of disputes is carried out on an interpersonal *ad hoc* basis with the means of coercion most readily available. If gossip and threats do not work, violence may be used.

Alcohol

Much has been written to show that heavy use of alcohol is related to psycho-social problems. Here, emphasis on a limited aspect of social structure (marginality) will be used to illuminate the high incidence of heavy drinking in the native sector. The Honigmanns clearly show that a Delta native person who has a "stake in society", a commitment to, and respect for, the norms and values of the society in which he lives... acts to preserve the advantages that accrue to him from his society, (his job, respect from outsiders, etc.) and is less likely to indulge in "illegal or reckless behaviour" (such as heavy drinking) which would serve to jeopardize his position.²⁴ Their evidence clearly shows that among native people in a Mackenzie Valley community, those most integrated or involved with town life and steady wage-employment have considerably fewer problems with alcohol. In the Mackenzie Delta these represent a relative minority. Most native people do not have a "stake in society" (i.e. do not feel committed to the outsider values and institutions which effectively dominate or constrain their action), and have less to lose through heavy drinking. This findings are consonant with those of Clairmont, who shows that Delta people who have aspirations to an outsider way of life (steady employment, higher education, settlement residence in an outsider style) but do not have the legitimate means to achieve them, either through their own social resources or through access to those of the outsider section, are likely to respond to this frustration by heavy drinking.²⁵ Obviously both the Honigmanns' and Clairmont's explanations, insofar as they represent a response of native people to marginality, require reference to other cultural and personality variables. They are not complete explanations, but they serve to show that marginality is a significant factor.

Certain traits of Lewis' subculture of poverty were conspicuous features of the aboriginal socio-cultural systems of Delta native people, although these systems did not constitute subcultures of poverty, at least in the sense intended by Lewis.²⁶ For example, both Loucheux and Eskimo social systems were rather markedly egalitarian. They did not have strong formal leaders or a proliferation of formal organizations beyond the family, and appear to have emphasized present-time orientation

and immediate gratification. These "traits" were functionally adaptive in their small-scale societies with relatively dispersed populations in a forbidding, unstable Arctic environment. Even if certain of these features present in the modern context represent a legacy from the aboriginal past, there is no doubt that their functional significance and "meanings" have changed. Old patterns continue in the new context for different reasons and with changed meanings. Their present significance lies in their adaptiveness to marginality in a highly-differentiated plural society.

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If Canadian public opinion or government policy holds that the social condition of native people in the Mackenzie Delta is undesirable, then specific social strategies will have to be developed to ensure reversal of the present situation. The remedial strategies to "cure" a situation of marginality in a plural society are, in effect, to reverse the mechanisms which presently maintain it — in other words, a task no less than to reform the structure of society.

Constitutional revisions must be made in order to clarify the legal status of Indians and Eskimos and to ensure that legislation does not help to create marginal groups by excluding people by law from access to institutions of the wider society. Administrative changes must be made to ensure that native people are provided fully with access to these institutions and assistance in using them. These are necessary changes to which the administration have paid increasing attention over the last two decades, but legal guarantees of equality are not sufficient. They are matters for Parliament, local governments and their administrative agencies. The only role that the anthropologist can play in these matters is essentially one of consultant in order to point out the implications for human living that governmental policies and enactments may have. He is a "resource person" with specialized information. He must be prepared to make known to those in power even embarrassing data and interpretations while avoiding the tempta-

tion to harass. He must also avoid the misguided belief that he can coerce people into changing. He is a "broker" of social data. If he engages in active political behaviour in plural systems such as the Mackenzie Delta, he will probably find himself working within the pattern of social relationships which typify it as a structural mode of interaction between its segments. He will become aligned with one side or the other as defender of one and antagonist of the other. He will not accomplish the aim of changing the structure of inter-segmental relations, and may in fact help to intensify and rigidify the *status quo*. In any case, the fundamental inequalities and disparities which persist between plural segments are of a sort upon which the law, administration, or conventional political activity may have only minimal impact, for they consist of the whole range of differentiated cultural ways in which people transact their lives.

People in marginal social positions typically operate with an information deficit about the social system in which they live, often unaware of the alternatives of action that are in fact open to them. Daily they make decisions which influence their own lives and those of others. To the extent that the information deficit due to marginality can be reduced, presumably decisions based on "better" (or more complete) information are "better" decisions. If the anthropologist can communicate to marginal people realistic interpretations of the consequences of their social position, of their responses to it, and the wider implications of any action they may initiate, he may be able to play an important role in social change.

Likewise, in informal interaction outsiders in the Mackenzie Delta interact with native people according to their understanding of who the native people are, of their peculiarities and dispositions, and of their legitimate role in Canadian society. These ideas are often grotesque caricatures of the realities. The overcoming of prejudice is an educational matter, not primarily a political one.

In playing this educational role the anthropologist must, in any social system, make sure that his scientific findings are disseminated "widely and equally among all classes and segments of the public, thereby preventing a monopoly on psychological controls by an unprincipled minority,"²⁷ whether that minority is the administration, a political group, or a marginal poverty class. This

is perhaps especially true and perhaps simultaneously more difficult to achieve in a plural social system. In the past in the Mackenzie Delta, social scientists have been far more ready (or able) to impart their information to administration and outside political interest groups than to native people. To ensure equal and effective distribution of his information, the anthropologist must be prepared to utilize every medium and technique of communication available (radio, television, movies, newspapers, material for school curricula, community discussions, personal contacts, adult education courses, professional publication, etc.). His aim is to provide as comprehensive a source of social data as possible, by which native people may be aided in the construction of a viable sense of identity and a positive role in Canadian society, and by which outsiders may develop a more realistic appraisal of the native people, their way of life, the causes and implications of their present social position, and their potential role in Canadian society. He can play an important role in the development of an "informed society".

Now this sort of educational activity on the part of the anthropologist is no panacea for the social ills arising from poverty and marginality; but they will not be solved either by the mere establishment of constitutional equality or the injection into a social system of a critical mass of cash and goods. However, these things are certain: the development of the anthropologist's educative capacity is more realistically aligned with his professional competence, with the realities of the social structure within which he must operate, and most especially it focuses upon the change and development of the fundamental resources of human interaction — ideas, sentiments, opinions, values and knowledge.

Notes

Fieldwork in the Mackenzie River Delta, Northwest Territories, was conducted by the author as part of the Mackenzie Delta Research Project during employment as Research Officer, Northern Science Research Group, Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development in the summer of 1965 and from August 1966 to August 1967. An earlier version of this paper was given at the Society for Applied Anthropology 28th. Annual Meeting, Mexico City, April 9-15, 1969 and subsequently published as "Las

Implicaciones del Pluralismo para los Programas de Cambio Social en una Comunidad del Artico Canadiense," *Anuario Indigenista* 29:73-96 (Dec. 1969). I gratefully acknowledge comments on the earlier version by Mr. A.J. Kerr, Dr. Peter J. Usher, and Prof. Robert Paine.

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The Significance of Demographic Changes Occurring in the Canadian East Arctic

Milton M. R. Freeman

At this moment in history, most privileged nations, high in industrial and agricultural productivity, share with the less-developed nations of the Third World an increasing concern with obtaining intelligence resulting from demographic research. This concern is manifested in the increasing numbers of individuals and institutions undertaking research in population-related topics, and national and international conferences to discuss the results of such research. Canada, an incipiently developed nation, with about one person in five officially classified as living in poverty, evidently has need of such research; however, it is apparent by reference to social science journals and governmental reports that in relation to the need, pathetically little such research is in fact conducted in Canada.

A serious consequence of the scarcity of population research here is that politicians and planners appear to continually underestimate the degree to which failure of various economic development plans result from social and demographic causes.

Some people argue that less-developed regions having large land areas and small populations (e.g. Brazil, Newfoundland, or the N.W.T.) are in no way faced with a population problem, unless it be too few people. However, the crucial factor is not density of people, but too great a ratio of people to capital resources. This imbalance can be remedied by increasing capital, usually through borrowing or attracting investment, but to convert these potential gains to actual increases in wealth takes time, as well as skill. The question for under-developed regions there-

fore, becomes one of growth of capital versus growth of population, and because of the accelerating demands in these regions today for improved education, health, communication, housing and other material facilities, a rapid rate of population growth generally prevents any successful attempt to remedy the prevailing unfortunate economic situation.

This paper contains a preliminary statement of certain demographic trends evident in the Canadian East Arctic, and a partial exploration of consequences stemming therefrom. A more important intention, and one fitting the memory of the distinguished scholar and humanist this volume honours, is hopefully to provoke population research in the less-developed regions of Canada, regions where the need is greatest and the time shortest to assist in rational development programs.

Theory of the Demographic Transition

Growing out of the classical Malthusian argument linking population and economic production, has come the theory of the demographic transition, which relates changing birth and death-rates to the complex of variables associated with the process of modernization. In this connection it is observed that societies characterized by a high degree of local self-sufficiency and correspondingly low involvement with market exchange, typically have a high death-rate which tends to fluctuate in response to varying and uncertain economic productivity and periodic health crises. Birth-rate will necessarily be maintained at a high level to sustain a population having little control over a high death-rate. The maintenance of high fertility in these pre-industrial societies stems largely from peoples' recognition of the "value" of children, because of, for example, their contribution to the household economy and their future role in providing security to ageing parents.

The fact that mortality rates are especially high among children in such traditional societies results in high value being placed on repeated child-bearing; however, because of the prevailing mortality rates, population growth nevertheless proceeds slowly in these societies.

According to the theory of the demographic transition, both mortality and fertility are affected by the sequelae of economic development. Such development usually results in decreasing local self-sufficiency, growth of increasingly impersonal economic transactions, and changes in status and roles within both the community and the individual household. Typically, as a result of such developments, larger population groupings become established (under the dictates of newly relevant economies of scale) and in this new social and economic situation children become less of an economic asset and may even constitute a burden frustrating attempts to attain certain newly perceived goals.

Early in this development stage, death rate begins to decline dramatically as a result of improvements in health, material and communication levels, but birth-rate appears more refractory. The reasons for this differential response appear to be social: societies traditionally accept the ideal of minimizing suffering and death, but no such consensus exists regarding the desirability of producing fewer children. The net effect of this dramatic decline in deaths with an unchanging birth rate is to produce a "population explosion." Usually the economic developments that initiated this move toward modernity can at least in the short-run sustain the increasing population, though sometimes population numbers and aspirations quickly outstrip the ability of the immature economy to meet the new demands placed upon it.

Changes associated with modernization in time begin to erode certain traditional beliefs and practices. Those members of the society who place increasing value on maximizing the new occupational, material and political goals presented will in varying degrees adopt the life style of apparently successful members of the modern society. Thus, generally, new norms of behaviour, including reproductive behaviour, diffuse through the modernizing society from the more progressive, and often elitist, elements, to the emerging urban proletariat, so that eventually the birth-rates and death-rates of the modernizing society will approach those of the dominant modern nation-state.

The effect of population increase on economic growth during the period of demographic transition (i.e., from a high to a lower fertility population) is a complex one. Thus, though a large popu-

lation with a smaller rate of increase will, after a period of time, produce the same number of people as a smaller initial population with greater rate of increase, the respective effect each would have on economic consumption and investment will likely be very different, even if all other factors were the same. In general one can say that though a fast rate of population growth requires a correspondingly high rate of capital investment to maintain living standards, it unfortunately does not follow that faster population growth creates the needed supply of investment capital.

This problem becomes especially acute in low-income areas, where it often proves difficult to attract large investments of capital, and where the high rate of population growth characteristic of such areas requires diversion of most available capital into urgently required replication of existing facilities: houses, schools, administrative infrastructure etc. The net result is the channelling of assets into fixed capital rather than working capital where it could be put to productive use. The consequences of too great a population growth on developing areas can be seen in many parts of the world, including under-developed regions of the developed nations: low per capita income, under-employment through restricted job opportunities, and creation of a dangerous and unrealistic economic structure based on a high rate of borrowing with concomitant and progressive fiscal and political dependency on outside sources of influence and control.

Population

Any demographic study must inevitably rely on statistical evidence; equally inevitably in the less-developed regions, statistical reporting is generally poor in quality and in coverage. In the present study most demographic and economic data are taken from Reports of Area Economic Surveys sponsored by the Industrial Division of the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development.

Problems of economic development relate only secondarily to the size of the population undergoing development; however, of direct concern are the rate of growth and the age distribution of that population.

Whereas in the past, high mortality effectively prevented traditional high-fertility populations from undergoing rapid rates of increase, now with progressively decreasing death-rates, the birth-rate has become the principal dynamic force in determining those population characteristics of most relevance to the outcome of social and economic development programs.¹

The age composition is important insofar as it determines the ratio of producers to consumers (the so-called dependency ratio); too many dependents not only prevents the level of capital accumulation required for effective development "take-off", but also may require a level of taxation for revenue production that serves to curb incentive and hence increased productivity.

In a population, such as the East Arctic, having negligible in-or out-migration, age composition is determined principally by fertility, and is so irrespective of level and trends in mortality rate.

For the above-mentioned reasons, this present study will focus only on fertility, and will postpone consideration of the other major demographic variables, viz. mortality and migration.

In longitudinal studies on increasing populations, birth-rate is a meaningless statistic for comparative purposes, as it neglects to account for the progressive increase in number of women of reproductive age. For this reason fertility ratio is a better measure of the number of births occurring, after allowing for other changes in population composition.

The effect of demographic variables on economic development depends importantly on which of two contrasting situations pertain: (1) A high income area, where the problem is that of assuring full utilization of available resources; or (2) A low income and low capital area, where the need is not to stimulate increased demand for goods, but rather to improve income.

Evidently in the first situation, which characterizes a mature economy of high productivity, increasing the population can have a beneficial economic effect, whereas in the second situation consumption will not be increased by the mere presence of more people, and in fact decreasing per capita income and increasing

immiserization in practice tends to be the almost inevitable result of increasing population size.

The Northwest Territories, together with such provinces as Newfoundland, can be classified as a region of low population density coupled with rapid population growth. These demographic properties characterize certain less-developed nations in Africa, the Near East and Latin America. In addition to sharing similar demographic characteristics, these various areas experience common social and economic problems, most pressing among which are the increasing surpluses of people for which jobs and other economic and capital support must be provided, and acute social disorders associated with increasing urbanization and modernization.

In Greenland, population is labelled the number one problem;² in Canada, the Northwest Territories Council recently passed a resolution calling for an intensive program to make birth control information and appliances freely available in the Territories,³ and a medical study recently conducted in the East Arctic warns of the need for immediate planning to cope with the possible consequences of one of the highest rates of population growth the world has ever known.⁴

Such statements are not unreasonably alarmist; preliminary research suggests that in the period 1954-60, the fertility ratio in such East Arctic hunting communities as Port Harrison or the Belcher Islands was 186 and 130 respectively. The figure 186 is higher than any reported in the United Nations *Demographic Yearbook* of that period, and is very close to that of the most fertile human population known (viz. 192.6 in the Hutterites). This places in perspective the rates calculated for two populations representing the more urbanized East Arctic settlements of the present time, namely Frobisher Bay and Cape Dorset, having fertility ratios of 330 and 299 respectively (calculated from 1962-3 and 1966-7 data).

The unusually high fertility of the current Eskimo population in the Canadian East Arctic has not yet produced its greatest manifestation, for infant mortality rates are still about five times the national level.

A comparison between a nomadic hunting community without access to modern health care (Belcher Islands, 1960 data) and a sedentary hunting community provided with basic modern health facilities (Grise Fiord, 1967), indicates that the average number of children per family increases by about 50 per cent, with a shift in modal numbers of children per family from two and four to five and six.

Table 1 illustrates certain typical demographic changes taking place in the East Arctic as a result of recent modernizing trends.

TABLE 1
RECENT DEMOGRAPHIC CHANGES
IN THE IGLOOLIK REGION, N.W.T.

	1961	1968
Population Size	527	735
Percent of population living in camps	74.2	18.7
Percent of population aged 16 years or less	34.5	55.9
Number of dependents per male aged 16 years or more	3.0	4.2

Source: CCIBP/HA Progress Report 1968.

Economic Trends

The economic trends apparent over the whole of the East Arctic during the past decade reflect a general increase in per capita cash income, though this trend is still characterized by periodic and largely unpredictable fluctuations in individual income much as in the earlier days of trapping-dominated arctic economy. Large scale involvement in wage-work is restricted to a few of the larger population centres (Groups II and III, table 2) though all communities in the region now contain individuals who have experienced at least a few seasons wage-work on local construction projects, or other work outside of their home communities.

TABLE 2
EAST ARCTIC COMMUNITIES: ECONOMIC STATUS OF INDIGENOUS LABOUR FORCE

Group	<i>Nature of Gainful Employment</i>	<i>Community</i>	<i>Population (Approximate)</i>
I	(i) Predominantly based on hunting and trapping;	Arctic Bay	225
	(ii) Very limited opportunity for permanent wage employment;	Belcher Islands	230
	(iii) Small amount of seasonal, casual wage employment.	Broughton Island	215
II	(i) Probably half the community at least dependent on hunting, trapping and handicraft production;	Clyde River	265
	(ii) Small proportion of population have permanent wage employment;	Grise Fiord	90
	(iii) Most members of work force can obtain seasonal casual work.	Lake Harbour	150
		Port Burwell	120
		Repulse Bay	165
III	(i) Small proportion of community dependent on hunting and trapping;	Eskimo Point	450
	(ii) Moderate proportion engaged in wage work, more or less permanently;	Iglulik	735
	(iii) Most persons can obtain periodic wage employment.	Pangnirtung	670
		Pond Inlet	300
IV	(i) Negligible economic dependence on hunting and trapping;	Southampton Island	250
	(ii) Considerable proportion of work force permanently wage employed;	Whale Cove	200
	(iii) Varying opportunity for all to obtain periodic casual work.	Baker Lake	550
	Cape Dorset	470	
	Chesterfield Inlet	200	
	Rankin Inlet	430	
	Frobisher Bay	1000	
	Resolute Bay	150	

TABLE 3
SOURCES OF EARNED AND UN-EARNED CASH INCOME IN TWO ARCTIC COMMUNITIES
(as percentages)

Year	Furs & Skins	Wages	Transfer Payments	Handicrafts	Cash Income Per Capita
Baker Lake N.W.T.					
1951-2	55.6	6.2	38.2	0.0	\$ 56
1952-3	26.5	5.4	69.0	0.0	\$ 66
1958-9	8.6	42.3	48.2	0.9	\$168
1960-1	14.8	44.8	40.2	0.2	\$327
1961-2	2.8	46.3	47.8	3.1	\$329
Lake Harbour N.W.T.					
1963-4	69.0	11.7	14.3	5.7	\$422
1964-5	63.5	16.8	14.1	5.7	\$433
1965-6	38.1	25.6	16.2	20.1	\$344
1966-7	28.2	37.6	17.5	16.7	\$525

Source: A.E.S.R. 63/2 and 67/2.
Note: Baker Lake population 1951-59 and 1960-62 assumed to be 450 and 500 respectively.

Another obvious trend is the decreasing importance of hunting and trapping as economic inputs into the household economy and the concomitant increase in importance of wage-work, handicrafts and transfer payments (table 3). These data reflect both the chronic under-employment of the population and a neglect on the part of investigators to account realistically for the contribution that production of country foods makes to the household economy. This latter point is hard to quantify with any precision; it seems reasonable to suppose that a value equal to the replacement cost of that food if obtained from the store would be the most useful measure to adopt. Production of country food in several east Baffin Island communities averaged 1200 lbs. per capita/annum in 1965-66,⁵ and allowing a conservative fifty cents a pound substitution with store-bought foods, the value is seen to be \$600., or at least twice that estimated as applicable for the whole of the N.W.T.⁶ The value is bound to depend on the local circumstances, but we may safely assume that most individuals in the Group I and II categories (table 2) will currently derive at least half their real per capita economic input from the land, in terms of meat, skins and furs produced. Stated in slightly different terms, the few data presented in table 4 suggest that cash flow into most East Arctic communities would have to be doubled or trebled to maintain existing living standards if hunting and trapping activity were to cease.

TABLE 4
ANNUAL PER CAPITA CASH INCOME, 1965-66

Broughton Island	\$540
Cape Dorset	\$456
Clyde River	\$220
Lake Harbour	\$344
Padloping Island	\$370

Source: Foote, 1967; A.E.S.R. 67/2.

What are some of the economic implications of the present rate of population growth in the Northwest Territories? Housing and education are two high priority, high cost areas of social development where a start has been made and therefore where statistics are presently available. Health, communication, recreation, cultural development are examples of areas where present expenditures are unrealistically small or virtually non-existent.

In the next five years, the elementary school population will increase by about 50 percent through recruitment of those pre-school age children already born. A 10 per cent net annual increase in school enrolment has been sustained by capital investment averaging \$3.05 million per annum since 1958 together with a current (1968 data) annual operating budget in excess of \$12 million. Assuming only a 6 per cent per annum inflationary increase in costs, educational expenditures at the same level of investment will amount to about \$100 millions over the next five years in the N.W.T. and in Eskimo communities in Arctic Quebec. This estimate implies that the standard of educational facility to be provided remains the same as at present; however, currently about 95 per cent of student enrolment and 90 per cent of classrooms are involved with elementary education only. Assuming a progressively increasing recruitment of students to high school and vocational school classes, capital and operating costs are likely to rise sharply in response to the increased demand for these more costly professional and physical facilities. Furthermore, it is not unreasonable to suppose that existing facilities constructed more than a decade ago will soon require replacement. This accelerating cost trend is beginning to be apparent: capital cost of arctic education in 1967-8 increased by 61 per cent over the previous years allotment for an increase in student members of only 9.7 per cent. A recent report has warned that in support of the educational effort in the North there must be an increased expansion of "the pre-school program, the in-service courses for teachers, the number of classroom assistants, the adult education program and research oriented to cross-cultural educational problems."⁷ Such essential programs scarcely contribute to the present educational budget.

The present inability to meet the increasing cost of providing more and more services to the North is nowhere more apparent than in relation to the greatly needed Eskimo Rental Housing

Program started in 1965. It was confidently forecast that a projected capital investment of \$12.5 million spread over five years would end the totally inadequate housing situation in the Arctic. However, after the allotted five years the federal authorities admitted failure of the program and estimate that it would require an additional \$250 million to complete.⁸ In some communities the increase in population absorbs the total annual allotment of new houses without allowing any replacement of pre-existing sub-standard dwellings.⁹

Health

Given the declining status of native medical practice in most parts of the Canadian East Arctic there can be little doubt that one of the most important predisposing influences in the movement from nomadic life on the land to increased sedentarization in permanent settlements has been peoples' desire to escape certain consequences of sickness and debilitation. It is important to stress that it is the *consequences* of sickness (particularly the lack of economic security for dependents) rather than sickness itself that is minimized by settlement living, for in many localities the incidence of sickness rises dramatically with movement to permanent settlements and concomitant destruction of a viable ecologic adaptation. This trend can be exemplified by the recent history of the Belcher Islands' Eskimo population. In 1950 this population numbered about 160, and was judged one of the most healthy groups in the East Arctic: the active tuberculosis rate was about one-tenth that on the adjacent east coast of the Hudson Bay and on Baffin Island.¹⁰ The situation had not appreciably changed by 1954, as the two hospital evacuations that year were of immigrants recently arrived from the mainland.¹¹ In 1959 a large part of the population, now numbering about 180, had started to congregate at a school construction site, and the following year the largest evacuation in the Islands' history occurred when fourteen individuals were removed to T.B. sanatoria in Ontario.¹² Islanders' in 1970 numbered around 230, and efforts were being made to concentrate the total population in one settlement; at that time eighteen people were receiving hospital treatment in the south.¹³

There are many factors influencing the morbidity patterns of a population, and three that undoubtedly relate to the movement into settlements are diet, housing and size of family. In all probability substitution of a balanced diet largely composed of fresh country foods by an unbalanced diet of imported foodstuffs has contributed more than any other single factor to the poor health record of settlement living, for with the consequently lowered health resistance of the population several current unsolved health problems pose a very real threat.

Housing and family size can be considered together, for the burden of sickness will fall most heavily on those households with the greatest degree of crowding. Studies elsewhere indicate that under better housing conditions there is a marked relationship between the incidence of lower respiratory tract infections and the standard of maternal care provided, whereas under unfavourable housing conditions no such relationship could be established.¹⁴ Insofar as both housing standards are improving and family size is increasing, it might be expected that the larger family size will in some degree at least offset the improvements in health to be expected from the large investment in improved housing. The most important effect on health of increasing size of family, is to increase the exposure of infants to infectious disease (e.g. pneumonia, gastro-enteritis) at an earlier age, when risk of the disease being fatal or having permanent effects are greatest.

As a result of the relationship between poor health, large families and poverty, public health activity among the underprivileged include active birth control programs in the advanced countries of Europe and in the United States, as well as in the less-developed nations of the Third World. There are salutary lessons to be learned from the conduct of these programs wherever they are held; the example of the United States might be briefly considered here. With a current budget of \$50 million, publically financed family planning programs in the United States reach only about one million women. It is forecast that extension of the program to the five million women who would benefit from such services could be achieved at an estimated cost of \$150 million. Despite the \$50 per capita cost of administering these programs (about twice the cost of similar programs in many Asian

and Near Eastern countries) considerable criticism has been directed toward the Federal administrations responsible and with particular concern felt toward the manner in which oral contraceptives are dispensed.¹⁵

In view of their effectiveness, even when improperly administered by understaffed and overworked public health agencies, such chemical contraceptives tend to be favoured in federally administered anti-poverty programs in the United States. It is pertinent to note that similar contraceptive measures and administrative problems typify the situation in the Northwest Territories today.

The World Health Organization has established guidelines for the use of oral contraceptives because of their possible danger to women who may already be pregnant, or who have various cancers, liver dysfunction, epilepsy, heart disease or a history of blood clots. In response to criticism, the U.S. Food and Drug Administration adopted these safeguards, which include a detailed medical history, physical examination with special emphasis on gynecological aspects, counselling on the possible side effects and follow-up examinations every six or twelve months; furthermore they recommend that only specialists in obstetrics or gynecology prescribe the pill. The U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare has signalled its concern by proposing to establish a data bank containing medical histories of all patients who receive treatment in publically-financed family planning programs.¹⁶

Discussion

I assume that the major economic aims of development programs are, primarily to create work places, and secondarily to ensure that these jobs raise incomes beyond those existing before the implementation of the program. With these aims in mind, the relationship existing between fertility and development is negative: therefore decreasing fertility becomes a pre-condition for, or concomitant of rational development programs in less-developed capital-poor regions. This generally accepted view is based on the economics of providing workplaces and of supporting dependents.

Most development plans aim to introduce into less-developed regions the technology and productive techniques of modern in-

dustrial society. Accepting this predeliction of planners, which though normative is by no means rational, the creation of one workplace is often approximately equivalent to the average annual income of a worker. In other words, a man would require to obtain the equivalent of one year's salary to establish his own workplace.¹⁷ In the developing countries one prevented birth is equivalent, on economic grounds alone, to up to twice the average per capita income.¹⁸ As worker incomes in developing regions are well below those of workers in more advanced societies, the likelihood of an individual establishing his own job in the face of repeated paternity is virtually nil. Furthermore, to create workplaces in developing regions with expanding populations, large infusions of public money become necessary and can only be made available at the expense of other pressing developmental and welfare projects. To justify, or divert attention from, neglect of these other vital services frequently leads governments to invest public funds in prestigious yet largely inappropriate schemes; for example technologically sophisticated industries, which serve to destroy existing workplaces faster than modern replacements can be created.¹⁹

A crucial question, then, is, Can fertility decline be brought about before, or at least in step with, the modernization process? There are those who believe it can;²⁰ others disagree. Freedman, for example, argues that reduced mortality, often a concomitant of modernization, is a necessary pre-condition for a reduction in fertility.²¹ It is certainly true that those fertility control programs that have stressed maternal and child care as well as making available a greater overall measure of health care, are the ones that enjoy most success in their primary objective. Allowing that the technology for effecting lowered fertility is now readily available, it is apparent that the institution of such programs is largely a political issue: whether such programs are put into effect hinges in many cases on whether they are perceived as promoting a variety of other social values as well as population limitation. Thus, the British House of Commons gave unopposed second reading to a Family Planning Bill on February 17, 1967 after a Gallup poll had indicated that, (1) many parents found themselves with more children than they desired; (2) they were unaware of the connection existing between their poverty and

family size; and (3) they would certainly have limited their family size if certain information and facilities had been available. The Family Planning Bill in question empowered local authorities to make available free and greatly expanded family planning facilities for social, rather than medical, reasons.²²

It is true that in the short run, improvements in living standards can be achieved without tampering with fertility levels both in less-developed nations and in the under-developed regions of the developed nations. However, self-sustaining economic growth must be the aim of any rational development program, and this can be greatly facilitated by releasing growth capital otherwise increasingly committed to maintain the *status quo*. The situation in Newfoundland illustrates the predicament experienced by that part of a developed nation having the demographic and economic characteristics of an under-developed territory, for according to the latest available statistics, Newfoundland has the highest provincial birth-rate, the highest unemployment rate, and lowest per capita income. The provincial capital is second only to Calgary as the fastest growing Canadian city, yet the public indebtedness has almost reached one billion dollars (for a population of about half a million), a serious crisis exists in financing both education and health services, and the costs incurred in establishing one workplace in the infant new industries ranges up to a third of a million dollars. It is evident that more than mere fertility contributes to these fiscal excesses, yet it is known that any regional economy undergoing reorganization, regardless of size of territory, stage of development, or ruling political persuasion, will achieve appreciably higher total production in twenty or more years if it reduces its fertility at that point.²³ Indeed, such an economy assumes an increasingly better position from the moment fertility decline commences.²⁴

It is pertinent here to explore the extent to which population limitation is perceived by government agencies as a relevant part of development programs in the Northwest Territories. The question was first raised in the Northwest Territories Council on February 26, 1968, when a formal motion was passed calling for immediate implementation of a comprehensive birth control program to counterbalance lagging economic development. The sequence of events immediately connected with and resulting from

this motion are set out in the appendix. In summary the result, up to the Council Session of January 1970, indicated that the Federal Department of National Health and Welfare had made no special efforts and was anxious to pass the responsibility to the Education Service of the Territorial Government, which in turn appeared totally unprepared to venture into this complex and highly technical field. At the time of these evasions, the Criminal Code forbade any effective action; but it is certainly unfortunate, even though predictable in view of prevailing Canadian attitudes to this issue, that the proscriptions of the law (which was known to be in process of amendment) should be used as a justification for doing next to nothing for two full years, rather than planning resolutely for the time when effective action could be taken to increase the welfare of a significant number of people. Without evaluating further the present status of this proposal it is quite apparent that the attitudes and resources of the Northern Health Service and the Territorial Government are such that nothing effective will be accomplished in this regard in the foreseeable future: unhappily for the people affected, the vast corpus of knowledge available in this vitally important area appears to be unknown to the administrations charged with these urgent responsibilities.

Conclusion

Any scientist professionally concerned with development would agree that a region having the economic and demographic characteristics of the Northwest Territories today is heading for serious social, economic and political problems unless effective measures are taken, without delay, to slow down the rate of population increase. Most of the less-developed nations who see modernization and industrialization as desirable goals bow to this inevitable conclusion, including many whose traditional, religious or political ideologies until recently encouraged high fertility.

Historically many pre-modern societies have achieved voluntary low fertility without having access to modern contraceptive knowledge or devices. Now however, because of current low mortality rates, every modern means available is necessary, for time and efficacy are crucial variables influencing the eventual

outcome. Thus, despite the level of expenditure that may be necessary to establish a responsible and effective program of voluntary population control, and omitting consideration of arguments that question the validity of cost-benefit analysis to this problem, there is probably no wiser investment of public funds possible in under-developed regions.²⁵ The economic benefits alone are calculated to be about twenty-six times the program costs in the United States,²⁶ and once established, the cost of expanding coverage can be very modest, perhaps averaging \$1 per couple per year.²⁷

It is evident that benefits of these programs should only incidentally be stated in economic terms; it is the overall improvement in the quality of life that makes such programs politically viable. Another reason to guard against undue emphasis on economic and medical aspects, is that ultimately, reduction in population fertility results from sociologic factors associated with institutional changes occurring in society, especially if the new demographic norms are to be maintained long enough to affect development positively. The interested reader is referred to recent reviews concerning administrative and anthropological aspects of population control.²⁸ Here, I will only repeat Berelson's conclusion, that there is no easy or single way to effect population control, though a variety of practical and generally ethically acceptable means do exist at the present time.

The role of government in this field should be to facilitate the voluntary adoption of new norms of family size, which will reflect the conscious expression of new social goals, or changed strategies employed by members of society to achieve these goals.

It is pertinent to observe that worsening economic conditions do not lead to fertility decline any more than do family planning programs in themselves. Reduced fertility can occur, under certain conditions, without efforts being made by public agencies and without benefit of modern contraceptive methods, but the combination of rising aspirations and unfavourable health and economic prognoses for the Northwest Territories suggest immediate need for an enlightened government attitude and incorporation of population control action as an integral part of rational development programs in the Canadian Arctic.

Appendix

At the 36th Session of the Northwest Territories Council (February 1968) the Chief of Northern Health Services, Federal Department of National Health and Welfare, stated that he was unable to maintain existing health facilities in the coming year due to cuts in the 1968-9 Northern Health Service budget²⁹.

A few days later at the same Council, after introducing Formal Motion Number 10, the proposer of the Motion provided statistics to indicate that the rate of growth of the Indian and Eskimo population of the Northwest Territories was 6.7 and 5.2 per cent per annum, rates that if unchanged would result in a doubling of population in ten and a half and thirteen and a half years respectively. The title of Formal Motion Number 10 was "Dissemination of Birth Control Information and Devices" and the purpose was to instruct the Commissioner

to immediately undertake in conjunction with the appropriate health authorities, a formal universal and intensive scheme for the dissemination of information about birth control and family planning. In conjunction with this program the Commissioner should develop a system through which various birth control devices can be made freely available to anyone wishing them.³⁰

Following a short discussion this motion was passed by Council.

Formal Motion Number 64 entitled "Family Planning" was introduced at the 37th Session of the Northwest Territories Council (July 1968) and called for Council's reaffirmation of instructions given the Commissioner at the 36th Session. In speaking to this motion, the Commissioner cautioned that these objectives could only be met subject to the provisions of the Canada Criminal Code, but that a paper dealing with statistical aspects of the "minor" population explosion occurring in the Territories would be placed before Council. Formal Motion Number 64 was carried overwhelmingly.³¹

The mover of Motions 10 and 64 sought a written return on the progress made in regard to an active birth control program at the next Session of the Northwest Territories Council (January

1969). The reply mentioned the restriction placed on positive action by the, as yet unamended, Criminal Code, but stated:

- (1) family planning literature was available at all northern health centres;
- (2) eight community health workers are undertaking a refresher course at which family planning methods will be taught;
- (3) a similar course is being planned for one other centre in the Mackenzie region.³²

At the 39th Session of the Council (June 1969) the mover of the Birth Control Motion asked whether passage of the Criminal Code amendments in Parliament now permitted intensification of family planning programs in accordance with the instructions of the Council. The Commissioner replied that the matter was under review and that:

- (1) birth control information was available in northern health centres,
- (2) consideration was being given to the possible use of the education system, and
- (3) because of certain peoples' strong feelings on the subject the Administration could not admit to any degree of success in its efforts to implement Council's instruction.³³

The written replies supplied at the 38th Session prompted the following questions at the 41st Session of the Council (January 1970):

- (1) is (the material in the written reply) the extent of the educational program at the present time?
- (2) how many people is this program reaching?
- (3) are there plans to extend and strengthen the program to bring it more into line with the (formally requested) wishes of Council?³⁴

A 300-word written reply indicated that the Northern Health Service had not extended the program beyond that outlined earlier, but it was willing to extend instruction to teachers in Territorial

schools. For its part the Territorial Education Service suggested the following "practical possibilities" to "extend and strengthen" this program "keeping in mind the limited resources of the Curriculum Division":

- (1) if finances allow, a Grade VI text on sex education could be introduced into the schools;
- (2) films for use in schools are currently available;
- (3) the Inuvik school is planning a Grade X course in Family Life;
- (4) two senior educational administrators are willing to meet with the Hay River PTA to discuss a Family Life program for Hay River school;
- (5) the Curriculum Division attaches considerable importance to Family Life programs, but these must fit in with other plans for curriculum revision.³⁵

Notes

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The "Iron Dog" in Northern Alaska

Edwin S. Hall, Jr.

Many technological items of western origin have been accepted by the Eskimos of northern Alaska during the past 120 years. Some introduced items, the rifle for example, have had wide ranging effects on Eskimo culture; others, such as the pop-top beer can, have caused little change. The recent introduction of the snowmobile, a tracked vehicle capable of fast and efficient operation across snow, has caused profound changes in contemporary Eskimo culture in northern Alaska. This phenomenon, of course, is not confined to Alaska but has been noted in other Arctic areas.¹ However, data concerning the changes attributable to the rapid acceptance of the snowmobile are rare, particularly in Alaska. This paper deals with the introduction of the snowmobile to Noatak Village, northern Alaska, and includes both a description of the consequent effects on Noatak Eskimo culture and my predictions of changes still to come.

BACKGROUND

The Eskimo village of Noatak is located on the west bank of the Noatak River approximately fifty airline miles north of Kotzebue in northern Alaska.² The present concentration of the Noatak Eskimos at this particular location is a result of historical forces. Aboriginally, two different groups of Eskimos inhabited the Noatak region: the Naupaktomiut and the Noatagmiut. The Naupaktomiut, or people of the spruce, inhabited the forest-covered flats along the lower 120 miles of the Noatak. Their winter villages of two or more houses were hidden along side channels of the river in close proximity to good fishing locations. The Noatagmiut, or people of the Noatak, inhabited villages in the

treeless upper Noatak valley, the valleys of its main tributaries and on the shores of headwater lakes.

Ethnographic reconstructions of Naupaktomiut and Noatagmiut cultures indicate that the two groups did not differ greatly. According to my informants there were slight variations in terms of language, house type, distribution and subsistence pattern. I am not prepared to discuss dialect differences. Table 1 illustrates

TABLE 1
DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE NOATAK RIVER GROUPS

	<i>Naupaktomiut</i>	<i>Noatagmiut</i>
Distribution:		
Winter	Forested lower Noatak River	Treeless tributary streams and lakes of middle and upper Noatak River
Spring	Coast between Cape Krusenstern and Kivalina	Spring camps along middle and upper Noatak River
Summer	Sheshalik spit, across from Kotzebue	Sheshalik spit, across from Kotzebue
Fall	Hunting camps north of middle Noatak River	Ascending river to winter quarters
Shelter Type:		
Winter	<i>Ebrulik</i> : rectangular spruce frame, sod covering, square or rectangular skylight	<i>Kolovik</i> : dome-shaped willow frame, sod covering, round or oval skylight
Summer	<i>Kalovik</i> : dome-shaped tent of caribou hides	Pyramidal tents of caribou hides
Subsistence:		
Fish	Ca. 53 per cent	Ca. 12 per cent
Meat	Ca. 45.5 per cent	Ca. 87 per cent
Vegetal	Ca. 1.5 per cent	Ca. 1 per cent

the other differences between the two aboriginal groups. It should be stressed that there was great similarity in other aspects of Naupaktomiut and Noatagmiut culture and that a Naupaktomiut individual or family sometimes participated in the Noatagmiut seasonal round and vice versa.

The aboriginal culture of the Noatak Eskimos began to change after A.D. 1850 in response to increasing white contact. During the years between 1850 and 1908 the Noatak Eskimos traded with, worked for and were exploited by whalers, traders, trappers and various exploration parties. Depopulation because of disease, changes in co-operative hunting patterns because of the use of the rifle, starvation because of the decline of the caribou and loss of aboriginal beliefs and values inimical to Christianity were all part of the changes that took place during this early contact period.

In 1908 the California Yearly Meeting Friends Church started a federally supported mission school at the present site of Noatak Village. The desire of the Noatak peoples for Christianity and schooling coupled with the virtual collapse of their traditional culture drew them to the site and resulted in the founding of Noatak Village. The Naupaktomiut came first because the mission school was located in the centre of their traditional territory; by 1910 almost all the Noatagmiut also had settled in the village.

The course of acculturation from 1910 to 1965 was steady and accumulative. *Ebruliks* gave way to one room, log cabins and, by 1965, some multiple room, frame and plywood houses. Skin covered *umaypaks* (large boats) propelled by oar and sail were replaced by wooden river boats and outboard motors. A co-operative native store flourished, the Bureau of Indian Affairs built a modern school and the National Guard built an armory. The villagers were slowly drawn into a partial wage economy through trapping, summer employment in construction work and salmon canneries and other agencies.

Some of the most dramatic changes in Noatak Eskimo life revolved around the subsistence quest. Caribou remained scarce until the 1920s; salmon were thus the primary subsistence source during the early years of the village. In 1909 reindeer were

introduced to the Noatak area by the U. S. government in an attempt to replace caribou. Reindeer herding was an activity of some importance until the 1940s. However, the caribou returned after 1920 and soon became economically important again. The necessity for long winter hunting trips to secure caribou required large dog teams. A new, light sled type became common and dog teaming became a far more important part of Noatak Eskimo culture than aboriginally. Moose became common in the Noatak River valley after 1960 and offered a subsidiary subsistence source.

By the mid-1960s Noatak was a typical Alaskan Eskimo bush village with about 250 inhabitants. Though the pattern of Noatak's subsistence economy fluctuated somewhat from year to year and family to family, the standard seasonal round can be summarized as follows:

Summer

Most Noatak families moved to Sheshalik, a sand spit extending into Hotheam Inlet near the mouth of the Noatak River, by boat soon after breakup in late May or early June. They spent the early summer there hunting beluga, ugruk and smaller seals. Fishing with nets, for whitefish and trout, was an important secondary subsistence activity. In late June and early July many of the men left for Kotzebue, Fairbanks or southern Alaska to work for wages. The women and children were left behind either at Sheshalik, where they netted salmon and picked berries, or at Kotzebue, where food was procured from relatives or purchased.

Autumn

In late August and early September the families staying at the coast returned to Noatak Village to join the few families who summered there. The primary fall subsistence activity was seining for salmon and other fish. The fall fishery was exceedingly important because supplies of dried and frozen salmon for dog food were necessary for successful winter caribou hunting. Some caribou hunting with boats along the middle Noatak River was also undertaken during the fall months, as was collecting of berries and tubers.

Winter

Caribou is the primary and preferred source of meat for the Noatak Eskimos. During the early 1960s long trips with sleds pulled by eight to fourteen dogs were necessary to secure sufficient caribou meat for human consumption. Sometimes caribou wintered in the vicinity of the village; if so, hunting trips would take only two to five days. However, often longer trips, of up to fourteen days, were necessary to locate the caribou, kill and butcher them, feed and rest the dogs and bring quantities of meat back to the village.

Subsidiary subsistence activities in the winter months centred around fishing through the ice. This activity was mainly confined to women who walked out from the village each day to good fishing locations. Additionally, Noatak men sometimes travelled west to the coast during the late winter months to hunt seals along open leads in the ice. Men not engaged in hunting big game animals or collecting firewood might go fishing or hunt rabbits and ptarmigan. The killing of moose was incidental to the foregoing activities. Trapping of fur animals, an activity of considerable import in earlier years involving long sled trips, was not really economically significant during the early 1960s.

Spring

The approach of breakup brought many migrating waterfowl to the Noatak area. Spring is a relatively lean period in terms of human subsistence possibilities; hence, ducks and geese were taken in defiance of Federal game regulations. Soon the villagers began to move to the coast again.

THE INTRODUCTION OF THE SNOWMOBILE TO NOATAK VILLAGE

The town of Kotzebue is the main distribution centre of northwest Alaska and the snowmobile was in use there several years prior to its introduction into Noatak. The snowmobile became popular in Canada and the United States during the late 1950s as a winter recreational vehicle. The first snowmobiles were intended primarily to function as weekend leisure toys, but it soon became apparent they could fill a working role in the life

of arctic peoples, albeit with some problems because of the relatively light construction of early models. The first snowmobile apparently came into Kotzebue in the spring of 1960. This machine was a demonstration model which was sold to a white resident. A local store took on a dealership, selling three snowmobiles in the fall of 1960 and five during the winter of 1961-62. A period of economic prosperity, partially attributable to the establishment of a commercial salmon fishery, began after 1962. During the winter of 1968-69 there were seven snowmobile dealerships in Kotzebue. The total number of machines sold during this year to both whites and Eskimos is unknown but probably exceeded thirty.

Men living in Noatak Village did not begin to use the snowmobile until the winter of 1965-66. Economic considerations and a certain conservative attitude, expressed as "let's wait and see if they work," were the primary reasons for this lag. During the winter of 1964-65, while I was in the village, a white man came through on a snowmobile, but few Noatak men seemed interested. They complained that snowmobiles cost too much, scared the caribou and, besides, dogs never ran out of gas!

In February 1966 an acculturated Noatak Eskimo who had a considerable familiarity with machinery purchased a snowmobile. Shortly after this another Noatak man who had purchased a snowmobile during the fall of 1965 while residing in Kotzebue returned to Noatak Village. These were the only two snowmobiles in Noatak during the winter of 1965-66.

The success of the two hunters who first bought snowmobiles, combined with the ready acceptance Noatak Eskimos have for machinery, once its usefulness has been demonstrated, led to the acquisition of eight more snowmobiles during 1966-67. Nine additional machines were purchased by the villagers during the winter of 1967-68, the last period for which I have records.

CONSEQUENCES OF THE INTRODUCTION OF THE SNOWMOBILE

By the spring of 1968, just over two years after the introduction of the snowmobile, there were nineteen in Noatak Village. The number will undoubtedly increase as more men turn from

hunting by dog team to use of the snowmobile. In the minds of the villagers, the many advantages of the snowmobile far outweigh the initial cost and subsequent upkeep. It is also likely that there will be a market in used snowmobiles. At least three used machines already have been sold in the village.

The integration of the snowmobile and its attendant technology into Noatak Eskimo culture will have wide-ranging, interrelated consequences. A number of changes have already taken place; others are still in process.

Economic Consequences

The changeover to snowmobile use will serve to tie the Noatak villagers even more closely to a wage economy. The least expensive snowmobile available in Kotzebue (where Noatakers purchase their machines) sells for approximately \$795, the most popular models for approximately \$1095. Though the Noatak villagers are accustomed to purchasing outboard motors, rifles and other hard goods that require a substantial cash outlay, snowmobiles represent a considerable portion of the average individual's yearly income. Statistics are not available for the period 1966-68, but in 1960 the average net income for thirty-nine Noatak wage earners was \$1,195.³ There is little reason to believe the average net income in 1966-68 was very much higher. Because snowmobiles are so expensive, they are often purchased by one individual and then used by his relatives as well. Also, most snowmobiles are purchased in the fall, after the men return from summer wage work.

Maintenance costs are high. Most Noatak men are, by necessity, capable of making simple mechanical repairs. One man, the first to purchase a snowmobile, often is called upon when more complicated breakdowns occur. However, parts are expensive and the quality of home repair work is obviously not up to professional standards. These factors, combined with the exceedingly hard use to which the machines are subjected, result in a relatively short snowmobile life span.

Gasoline is also expensive, though snowmobiles apparently are capable of relatively good mileage per gallon. Gasoline at Noatak costs \$1 a gallon or more. One measure of the sudden

popularity of snowmobiles in northwest Alaska is that almost every bush village ran out of gasoline during the winter of 1967-68.

There is another side to the coin. The expense of operating snowmobiles is somewhat offset by their great efficiency when used in caribou hunting. With the snowmobile, men who previously had to purchase meat can now hunt. Men with full-time employment do most of their hunting on weekends. Those who can afford to operate snowmobiles with money earned during the summer months have more leisure time and will take whatever full-time jobs become available in Noatak or Kotzebue. Thus there is a widening economic gap between those who continue to use dog teams and those who have turned to snowmobiles.

Technological Consequences

The acquisition of snowmobiles also requires an understanding of a new technology on the part of the Noatak people. The first problem is the choice of make and model of snowmobile an individual wishes to purchase. Nine makes and thirty models are available from Kotzebue or through mail order firms. Such a wide range of choices apparently was not available to the Noatak Eskimos when outboard motors arrived in northwest Alaska, some twenty-five years ago. Even now, outboard motors, no matter what the make, are called Evinrudes because that was the only brand available for a number of years. Snowmobiles, however, are called by the brand name of the manufacturer, not by any particular generic name.

The Noatak Eskimos have purchased snowmobiles built by six different manufacturers. The distribution is as follows:

<i>Brand</i>	<i>Number</i>
A	7
B	5
C	4
D	1
E	1
F	1

The purchase of Brands D-F seems to have been in the nature of an experiment. Brands A and B are made by the manufacturers of the two most popular outboard motors sold in northwest Alaska. I have no specific information on models, though the Noatak Eskimos have tended toward purchasing those that are less expensive.

Snowmobiles are still relatively new, hence there is considerable comparison between brands and models and much discussion about the attributes of given brands. For example, the 1968 models of Brand A featured a new reverse gear which frequently malfunctioned with hard usage. Though the manufacturer upheld the guarantee and replaced broken transmissions, some machines sat idle for a considerable period. It is doubtful whether Brand A will be as popular during coming winters.

Use of the snowmobile will require changes in the attendant paraphernalia used on winter journeys. The Noatak Eskimos tow sleds behind their snowmobiles when hunting or travelling long distances. These sleds were, at least until 1967-68, all old sleds previously used with dogs. However, some Kotzebue hunters have developed special low, wide sleds for snowmobile use. The new sleds carry more, are simpler to make, and track better behind the machine. Noatak hunters undoubtedly will build or buy similar sleds.

Only steel sled shoeing is used on the runners of sleds towed behind snowmobiles. Steel shoeing was used on dog sleds during moderate weather; during extremely cold weather hardwood strips were bolted over the steel shoeing in order to decrease friction across the cold, dry snow. Snowmobiles have enough power to overcome the increased friction caused by cold conditions.

Other changes have occurred in the gear used for winter travel. Special equipment is carried for snowmobile maintenance and repair. It is not necessary to carry a large amount of food and camping gear because snowmobile trips usually take only a day or two. Changes in the way gear is carried and how the sled is loaded and balanced probably also have occurred.

Decreasing Use of Dogs

The most dramatic change attributable to the introduction of the snowmobile is the decrease in the use of dogs for traction.

Though difficult to measure in absolute terms with the now available data, the changeover to snowmobiles has resulted in a considerable decline in the Noatak dog population. According to Williamson there were approximately 500 adult (old enough to require solid food) dogs in Noatak Village during the winter of 1960-61.⁴ In February, 1968, a rabies inoculation program in Noatak resulted in the inoculation of 259 dogs, representing the total over-three-months population. (The corresponding figures in Pt. Hope are 340⁵ and 262). The 1960-61 and 1968 totals are computed on a roughly comparable basis and thus indicate the decreasing importance of dogs in Noatak Eskimo culture.

During the winter of 1967-68 at least forty-five men engaged in hunting. For some men, this involved only occasional hunting for rabbits and moose in the immediate vicinity of the village, but other men undertook long trips in search of caribou. Of the forty-five men, eighteen used snowmobiles, eighteen used dog teams exclusively and nine men hunted on foot only.

The pattern of dogs being replaced by machines is not consistent. Five Noatak men immediately gave away or sold their dogs after purchasing a snowmobile. Eleven men retained their dogs, though few bothered to keep the dogs in good condition or to replace those that could no longer work.⁶ The men who disposed of their dogs completely fall into two classes. Some are middle-aged or older and thus incapable of either hunting efficiently with a dog team or of securing food for a large number of dogs. However, they can hunt effectively with a snowmobile. The others are relatively acculturated and thus quite mobile; they find it difficult to maintain dog teams as they move to Kotzebue and other villages frequently in search of wage work.

The men who kept their dogs did so for a number of reasons. Some were unsure of the effectiveness of snowmobiles and reserved the dogs for emergencies. Often such forethought is rewarded and the men return, at least temporarily, to dog teaming when the snowmobiles malfunction. When dog teams are not being used for hunting, children drive to the river for ice or women take the team to good fishing locations near the village. Some men distributed their dogs to relatives who could not afford

a snowmobile with the understanding that the original owner could still use the dogs if it proved necessary. The postmaster, who hunts on weekends with his snowmobile, loaned his dogs to two young men who lived in his house; they hunted for his family as well as for themselves. In almost all cases where a man retained rights to a dog team, the total number of dogs in the team declined and the physical condition of the individual dogs was not up to pre-snowmobile standards.

Changes will continue in the Noatak Eskimo practice of using dogs for traction. More Noatak men will purchase snowmobiles and gradually forsake their dog teams. One Noatak man, recognizing the pattern of exchanging dog teams for snowmobiles, believes that only a few men will keep dog teams and then only for the annual Christmas dog races. However, snowmobile races, now popular at Kotzebue, may replace even this function of dog teams.

Simply in terms of economics, it will be difficult for Noatak families to maintain both snowmobiles and dog teams. During the period of transition some families probably will continue to utilize both. Snowmobiles will be used by the men for hunting and by the entire family for long distance travel. Dog teams will be used by younger men who cannot afford snowmobiles, for hunting, gathering wood and getting ice. Finally, and in dramatic opposition to traditional Eskimo practice, women may become the primary dog handlers. Fishing through the ice is a favourite winter activity for Noatak women and already some are utilizing otherwise idle dog teams to move back and forth between the fishing grounds and the village.

Changes in Subsistence Patterns

Another result of the diminished importance of dogs in Noatak Eskimo culture will be a substantial change in the subsistence pattern of the villagers. Prior to the introduction of the snowmobile the Noatak villagers spent a considerable amount of time and energy each fall in securing large supplies of salmon, trout and whitefish. During the fall of 1960, for example, the villagers netted about 75,000 dog salmon and 35,000 pounds of trout and whitefish.⁷ The trout and whitefish were mostly for

human consumption but the salmon, processed by splitting and drying or by freezing, were intended almost exclusively for dog food. The light, dried salmon served as trail rations for working dogs while dogs in the village were fed frozen fish. The importance of securing dog food is that for the Noatak Eskimos, as with all inland Eskimo peoples, caribou is the preferred human food. The success or failure of the winter caribou hunt, upon which rested the economic well-being of the villagers, hinged on a successful fall fishery to secure adequate winter dog food.

Assuming the continued decline of the dog population, it will become less and less necessary for the villagers to lay up large supplies of salmon. To date, only a few indications of this trend are apparent. The Noatak native store purchased dried salmon for resale in Kotzebue during the winter of 1967-68. In previous years each family used all the dried salmon its members could catch and prepare. Also, a number of families that had once made an effort to dry large amounts of salmon no longer did so. The total salmon catch for the village was smaller than in previous years, though data for quantitative comparisons are not available.

The villagers will continue to net salmon for their own use and for sale but not in the quantities previously taken. Additionally, some families may remain at jobs in Kotzebue or elsewhere later in the fall because it is no longer necessary to return to the village to secure dog food.

Use of the snowmobile will also increase the availability of caribou, if the herd population remains at its present level. The speed and range of the machine allows a hunter to cover more territory more effectively in his search for caribou.

Changes in Hunting Techniques

Changes in the techniques of hunting caribou because of snowmobile use are already apparent. In the past, the common practice was for a number of hunters, ranging from two to eight or more, to travel by dog team to locations where caribou were reported. The teams would be left in a sheltered spot some distance downwind from the caribou while the hunters carefully

approached on foot. If the caribou were not frightened and the hunters' aim accurate, a large number would be taken. Then some hunters would make camp while others skinned and dressed the animals. Often the hunters would camp nearby the kill for several days, hunting more animals from the camp, continuing to butcher the dead caribou and, after running out of salmon, feeding the dogs the less desirable portions of caribou flesh. The kills were evenly divided among the members of a hunting party. If more animals were killed than could be transported back to the village, the extra caribou were cached for later retrieval. A hunting trip of this type lasted from five days to two weeks or more.

Hunting is greatly simplified with the snowmobile. Usually two or more hunters on separate snowmobiles travel together to provide transportation in the event of a mechanical breakdown. The hunters travel across the countryside in search of caribou. If a herd has been noted in a particular valley or river drainage the hunters will travel there at high speed and then slow down to hunt. When caribou are seen the hunters accelerate and begin chasing the animals. They follow the frightened caribou until the latter run downhill into a creek bottom and start up the other side. Then the hunters stop, leave their machines, and begin to fire at the winded caribou struggling uphill. Usually the Noatak men try to kill about six animals, a full snowmobile sled load. The caribou are butchered, loaded and the hunters return to the village. Because snowmobiles are fast and efficient, few if any 1967-68 hunting trips lasted more than two days.

It is not yet known what effects this type of hunting will have on the north Alaskan caribou herd. Some of my informants said that when snowmobiles were first used the caribou were not bothered by the noise; now they are frightened so easily that a high-flying airplane will scatter them. Older men with experience in hunting caribou claim that the animals are becoming extremely skittish and hard to hunt.

The total number of caribou taken each year by the Noatak Eskimos will probably increase though not as dramatically as one might expect. In the past dogs were fed some caribou meat during hunting trips; this meat may now be reserved for human consumption. Also, the Noatak Eskimos do not often kill more

animals than they can use. However, an increase in the yearly caribou kill should occur across all of northern Alaska. At the moment, there is some concern that the north Alaskan caribou population is too high, so the short-run effects of snowmobile hunting may be beneficial.

The same is not true of the results of hunting grizzly bear, mountain sheep, and wolf by snowmobile. Individuals of these species are easy prey for snowmobile hunters, particularly in the spring. Stringent hunting regulations will have to be enforced to prevent such hunting from becoming detrimental.

If the Noatak villagers continue to hunt caribou by snowmobile, the salmon of the Noatak River and the moose population of that drainage should benefit. It will not be necessary to net as many salmon in the fall. Moose have recently invaded the Noatak drainage and have served as a subsidiary subsistence source for the Eskimos when caribou are scarce. If snowmobile hunting provides sufficient caribou, the Noatak villagers will no longer hunt moose, for the meat of the latter is not particularly desired.

The new hunting pattern of the Noatak Eskimos necessitates a different approach to both the land and the caribou. Stalking caribou on foot requires a much greater knowledge of the behaviour of that animal than does chasing caribou with a machine. In the words of an older Noatak hunter, "The young men aren't really learning to hunt when they use snowmobiles."

Driving a snowmobile involves knowing the terrain intimately but not in the same way a man driving a dog team must. Dog teams travel relatively slowly and require firm snow or ice to move efficiently. Snowmobiles require good footing but they travel at a much greater speed and can handle more variable terrain than dog teams. A snowmobile driver selects his route of travel on the basis of different factors than does a dog team driver.

Snowmobiles also inspire confidence in young men that often is not commensurate with their knowledge of travel conditions. Travelling in the dark is possible whereas night-time travel was almost never undertaken with dog teams. Few accidents have happened to Noatak men, but the potential is greater than in dog team days.

Social Consequences

The acquisition of snowmobiles will increase the social interaction between Noatak and other North Alaskan villages. Travel time from Noatak to Kotzebue is around four to five hours with a snowmobile; with a dog team the same trip often took two days. One Noatak man travelled, on separate trips, to Ambler, on the Kobuk River, and Kivalina, on the coast west of Noatak, during the winter of 1967-68; he would not have made either trip with a dog team. The California Yearly Meeting Friends Church holds a religious gathering each winter at one of the villages in the Noatak area. The recent meeting at Selawik, on the river of the same name, was attended by Eskimos driving forty-six snowmobiles and only a few dog teams. Three snowmobiles and no dog teams went from Noatak. In many cases, wives and children accompanied Noatak men on these long trips. This trend will continue and will undoubtedly affect marriage patterns, residence patterns, the spread of communicable diseases and other aspects of Noatak Eskimo life.

The growing importance of snowmobiles may also cause changes in the prestige structure of Noatak Village. Prior to 1965, a man's "worth" in the eyes of his fellow villagers depended upon his ability to maintain and utilize a dog team. The skills necessary to operate a snowmobile are not exactly the same skills associated with dog teams, hence some Noatak men who previously were relatively unsuccessful in prestige terms may rise in local esteem.

CONCLUSIONS

The snowmobile is the single most important item of western technology introduced into the culture of the Noatak Eskimos. Only the rifle may have caused as many changes in Eskimo culture, but the rifle was introduced as part of a more inclusive technological complex and its overall effects cannot be easily assessed.

The end results of the replacement of dog teams by snowmobiles are not yet apparent, though some observed and hypothesized changes have been noted here. The effects of the snowmobile are not confined to Noatak, Alaska. These changes, and others not recognized here, are taking place across the Old and

New World Arctic. It has been pointed out that the ultimate acceptance of the snowmobile will vary from area to area according to the usefulness of the new technology within local environmental and cultural contexts.⁸ However, the net effect of the snowmobile almost everywhere will be the further acculturation of indigenous populations.

The nature and pace of this acculturation are difficult to predict, even in terms of the limited area of Northern Alaska. The snowmobile differs from many items of western technology introduced to the North Alaskan Eskimos in that the snowmobile has become not only part of an old pattern, that of subsistence hunting, but also serves as an impetus toward a more western way of life. For the foreseeable future, the economy of the North Alaskan Eskimos will continue to be a combination of subsistence hunting, seasonal wage work and monetary compensation from various government agencies. Only a favourable resolution of the land claims problem might alter the picture. The acquisition of the snowmobile is causing substantial shifts in some aspects of this economy by making caribou (and perhaps sea mammal) hunting more efficient and allowing, as well as requiring, more effort to be expended on wage work; but it seems doubtful that a correspondingly substantial change in the overall economy will result.

The most important effect of the snowmobile may be in the relation of the North Alaskan Eskimos to the outside world, the western superstructure which orders the world within which the Eskimos must operate. Increased social interaction becomes a factor in cultural change by making functional innovations highly visible and thus reinforcing individual and group aspirations concerning that innovation. The snowmobile will allow considerably more contact between the Eskimo villages in northern Alaska than occurred in the past and the contact will be through the more acculturated individuals who have embraced the new technology. The opportunity to exchange new ideas and aspirations will correspondingly increase.

In addition to promoting Eskimo to Eskimo interchange the use of the snowmobile will thrust the North Alaskan Eskimos more firmly into the western lifeway. Despite its adaptation to

local environmental conditions and hunting patterns, the snowmobile is not Eskimo in origin. Though local modifications in both meaning and use are taking place, the purchase of a snowmobile, its operation and maintenance all require involvement with a mechanized non-native technology. Beyond this, ownership of a snowmobile draws individual Eskimos into closer contact with western ideals and realities. Wage labour of a relatively permanent nature is possible, if not necessary, with the use of a snowmobile for subsistence hunting. In this respect the introduction of the snowmobile is merely accelerating a trend already apparent in Northern Alaska. Of course the availability of jobs must keep pace with the desire of the Eskimos to engage in wage labour.

Finally, it should be noted that the introduction of the snowmobile offers anthropologists an opportunity to study the change caused by a single technological advance. The availability of adequate base studies in many areas of the Arctic provide the means with which to measure the nature and extent of changes attributable to the snowmobile. Also, there is no really thorough study of dog traction technology in Northern Alaska.⁹ Even now it may be too late.¹⁰ At the very least, the response to a new technology by North Alaskan Eskimos during the past few years demonstrates the rapidity and pervasiveness of such change in an accepting, adaptable culture.

Notes

1. P.J. Pelto, "Snowmobiles: Technological Change in the Arctic," Unpublished ms; P.J. Pelto, Martti Linkolas and Pekka Sammallahti. "The Snowmobile Revolution in Lapland," Unpublished ms.
2. The sources summarized here include; D.C. Foote, *A Human Geographical Study in Northwest Alaska*, with contributions by H.A. Williamson (Cambridge, Mass.: U.S. Atomic Energy Commission, 1961); H.A. Williamson, "The Founding and Early Years of Noatak Village; Noatak, 1960-61," in *A Human Geographical Study*. In addition, I spent four summers and one winter (1964-65) engaged in archaeological and ethnological fieldwork in the Noatak River Region. This work was supported by the Arctic Institute of North America through a contract with the Office of Naval Research, the Department of Anthropology of Yale University and the Explorers Club. In-the-field support was provided by the Arctic Research Laboratory, Barrow, Alaska. More recent research, including gathering of information on snowmobile use, was supported by the National Science Foundation. I wish to thank Chester Burns, Herbert Onalik, Jr. and Mary Arnold, all of Noatak, and Rex and Lyle Bowen of Kotzebue for their help.

3. Williamson, "Noatak Village," p. 91.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 93.

5. Foote, *Northwest Alaska*, p. 73.

6. Here and elsewhere in this paper it will be noted that my figures are not always consistent. For example, there were 19 snowmobiles in Noatak during 1967-68 but I have mentioned only how 16 men have disposed of their dogs. Of the remaining three snowmobiles, one was owned by a man who owned two and is considered above, one belongs to the school janitor who did not hunt previously and one was purchased on trial and returned after it broke down. Other discrepancies can be similarly explained.

7. Williamson, "Noatak Village," pp. 92-93.

8. Pelto, "Snowmobiles."

9. Cf. Richard K. Nelson, *Hunters of the Northern Ice* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1969), p. 265.

10. A brief resurvey of Noatak Village in the Summer of 1970 while engaged in archaeological excavations under the auspices of the National Science Foundation revealed that the trends postulated above are continuing at an even greater rate than anticipated. During the winter of 1969-70 there were 36 families in Noatak Village utilizing 48 snowmobiles of more than a dozen makes and models. Ten of these were purchased second-hand. A mens' organization, called the Ski-Daddler Club (after a snow-mobile model), was organized to help defray the costs of searching for Noatak men whose snowmobiles broke down away from the village; money is secured by weekly Bingo nights. Of the 36 families only 20 still retained dogs and some families had only 1 or 2. Six families used dogs to haul wood and water or to go fishing. Only one Noatak man used dogs for hunting during the winter of 1969-70 and he purchased a snowmobile in the spring of 1970. Hence the study of dog traction mentioned in the closing paragraph of this paper must now be an ethnographic reconstruction.

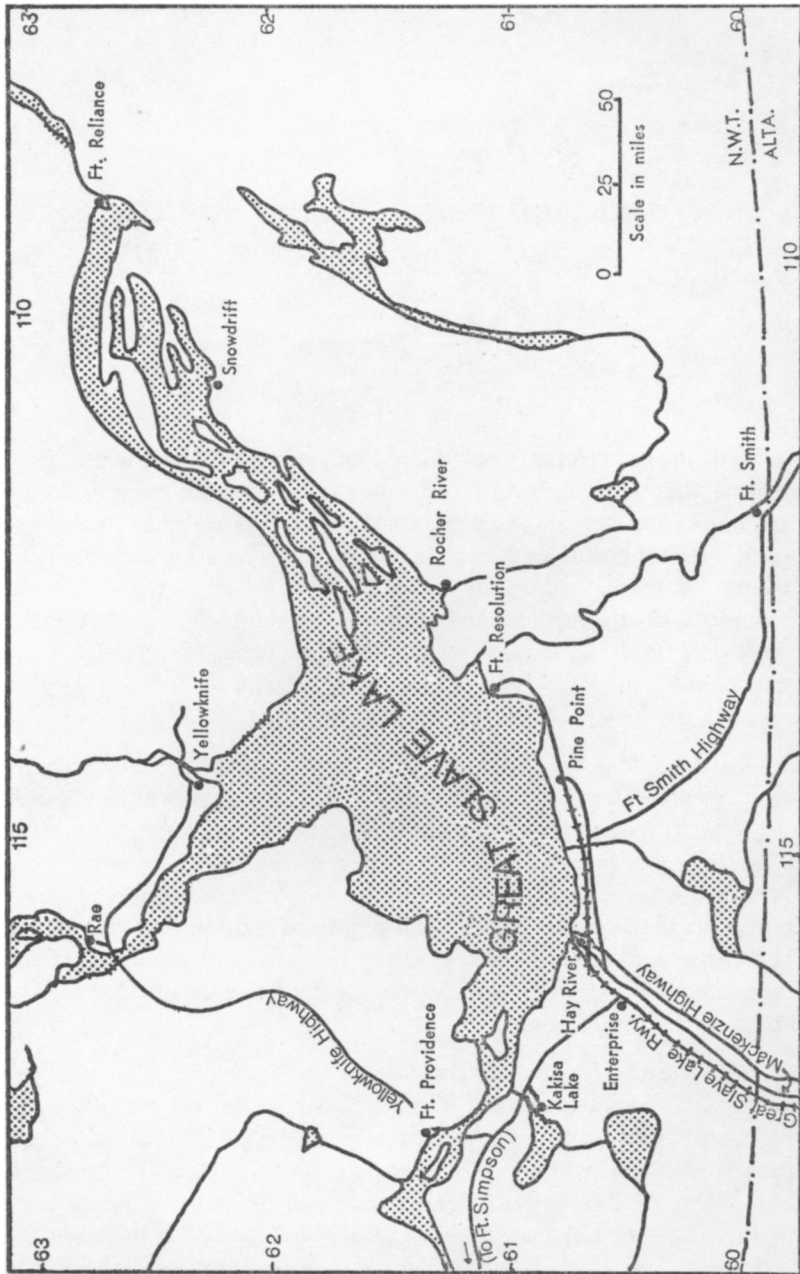
Settlement Patterns and Subarctic Development the South Mackenzie, N. W. T.

Roger Pearson

To most observers of Canadian arctic development it is obvious that increases and concentrations of population with no accompanying expansion in economic resources opportunities have posed serious social and economic problems for the Eskimos. To Jenness, a major means of handling this "crisis" situation was through a carefully designed program of migration and resettlement, preferably to areas outside the Northwest Territories.¹ He saw meaningful employment for young Eskimos as the key to a world of wider opportunities.

In the Canadian Subarctic the resource potentials are somewhat greater than in the Arctic. The more favourable climatic and edaphic conditions permit richer biotic resources, and the subarctic mineral resources are more accessible to southern Canada. An excellent example of these more favourable resource conditions is the Great Slave Lake region, which in 1967 accounted for 92 per cent of the natural resource value, 60 per cent of the electric power capacity, and 39 per cent of the population of the Northwest Territories.²

Despite the favourable comparisons with the remainder of the Northwest Territories, the Great Slave Lake region also has settlement and economic resource problems. The nature and growth of these problems in the post World War II period is the subject of this paper.³ The focus will be on a sub-region of the Great Slave Lake area, the South Mackenzie.⁴ It includes the settlements of Fort Providence, Fort Resolution, Forth Smith,



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Hay River, and Pine Point. In 1966, the area accounted for approximately 79 per cent of the natural resource value, 33 per cent of the electric power capacity, and 21 per cent of the population of the Northwest Territories. While natives (Indians and Metis) constituted 47 per cent of the area's total population (6,150) in 1967, the population distribution varied considerably: Fort Smith, 2,200 (natives = 52%), Hay River, 2,100 (natives = 33%), Pine Point, 700 (natives = 7%), Fort Resolution 650 (natives = 85%), and Fort Providence, 500 (natives = 90%).⁵

Natural Resources

The South Mackenzie encompasses approximately 10,000 square miles. It is underlain by sedimentary rocks, which are part of the larger Interior Plains physiographic region. Oil, natural gas, and gypsum are examples of known, but undeveloped, mineral and mineral fuel resources. Lead and zinc are presently mined at Pine Point, and account for nearly all of the natural resource value produced annually in the South Mackenzie. Current reserves of lead and zinc are estimated at 40 million tons.

Soil conditions along alluvial terraces of the Hay River and Slave River are favourable for agriculture. The best soils are well drained and consist of a thin organic horizon over a silty clay loam. The climate, with its long, cold winters, summer frosts, and drought, is severe but permits market gardening. To date, garden agriculture has been limited, mainly because of high production costs and competition from imported vegetables.

Regarding other biotic resource industries, commercial fishing, which began in the Great Slave Lake in 1947, has been the most important, contributing between one and two million dollars annually over the past twenty-three years.⁶ Whitefish, and to a lesser extent, trout, are the main commercial species shipped to the southern Canadian and U.S. markets.

Trapping has been most important in the Fort Resolution-Rocher River area, with muskrat as the main fur. Mink, marten, and beaver are other important furs trapped in the South Mackenzie. The value of annual production has not been significant, generally averaging under \$150,000 in recent years (table 1).

TABLE 1
 VALUE OF FUR PRODUCTION
 IN THE SOUTH MACKENZIE, 1960 TO 1967
 (in Canadian Dollars)

<i>Year</i>	<i>Total All Settlements</i>	<i>Fort Providence</i>	<i>Fort Resolution</i>	<i>Fort Smith</i>	<i>Hay River</i>
1960	141,141	23,731	61,444	21,962	37,004
1961	140,194	23,324	77,091	28,104	11,675
1962	126,422	17,905	54,966	29,538	24,013
1963	156,172	13,050	48,395	32,418	32,309
1964	90,104	10,758	31,768	26,840	20,738
1965	82,583	9,481	32,250	28,229	12,623
1966	134,299	9,675	69,540	31,446	23,638
1967	81,167	7,250	37,827	20,856	15,234

Source: N.W.T. Game Management Division, Yellowknife, based on Fur Traders' Record Books.

Sawmill operations are concentrated in the Slave River lowland and the Hay River area. Restricted densities of good timber, limited local markets, and competition from southern Canada, have kept the annual value of production low.

Tourism has been of growing significance in the entire Northwest Territories, and because of the accessibility of the South Mackenzie, and the attraction of the Great Slave Lake (for sports fishing) it has drawn a significant proportion of the tourist trade. Exact data are lacking, but generally the entire Great Slave Lake region accounts for over one-quarter of the total annual Northwest Territories tourist income.⁷

Changing Settlement Patterns

VanStone noted, in his study of the Indians of the eastern Great Slave Lake region, that since 1950, there has been a distinct movement of people from the outlying areas into Snowdrift.⁸ A

review of the literature suggested to him that this trend was also occurring in other areas of the western and eastern Canadian Subarctic. The factors explaining these changing settlement patterns were to be found in the collapsing rural economy. Trapping as a source of money had significantly diminished in its ability to provide an adequate income for native families. Rea, for instance, has suggested that "...in terms of constant dollars, the 1953-54 output [of furs] was worth less than one-third of even the relatively low value produced in the 1937-38 season."⁹ Attractions to the main settlement areas, VanStone further noted, had also drawn people from outlying areas. Examples of these inducements were the availability of wage employment, housing, education, and social services such as health and welfare. These same causative factors explain the settlement pattern changes in two of the South MacKenzie settlements, Fort Providence and Fort Resolution.

In the case of Fort Providence, Rae has pointed out that in 1956, "...the permanent residents in the settlement numbered about forty, the majority of whom were employed by the Canadian government, the Mission of Notre Dame de Providence, and the Hudson's Bay Company...."¹⁰ Presumably, most of them were white. Nearly all the Indians lived in five small settlements clusters in the surrounding area. A somewhat different situation was noted by Cohen in 1960.¹¹ He states that approximately forty to fifty Indian families were living in the settlement while also keeping a cabin in the "bush." In addition, twenty to twenty-five families were located in four settlement clusters in the surrounding area. My own analysis of Fort Providence revealed approximately thirty-seven houses belonging to either Indians or Metis in 1960. By 1968, there were sixty-one natives houses in Fort Providence, and only one significant cluster of population outside the settlement, that consisting of forty people (nine houses) at Kakisa Lake.

The reasons for this population shift are fairly clear. In 1956, the federal government closed the R. C. Mission school, which had a small hostel, and established a federal school without a hostel. Attendance was required for all children in the area. At the same time, the government helped build houses for some of the Indian families, thereby facilitating the move to the settlement. Wage employment was expanded in the mid-1950s with the con-

struction of the Yellowknife Highway. After 1960, the summer ferry service and highway maintenance provided continuing wage employment opportunities. Trapping over the years has become less important in the area (table 1).

In the Fort Resolution area, the main movement of population has been from Rocher River to Fort Resolution. In 1956, Rocher River had a population of 156, in 1961, 58, and in 1968, 28. The most significant cause of the population decline was the collapse of the Rocher River school in 1958. It burned down and was never rebuilt. Thus, native families living in Rocher River had to take their children to the Fort Resolution school which had no hostel facilities. When the federal government began building houses for the Treaty Indians, and unofficially (unwittingly?) established a more generous social assistance program in Fort Resolution, the movement out of Rocher River was firmly set.¹²

Other more broadly based government development strategies have also had important effects on settlement patterns. One of the most significant post-World War II government strategies has been the successful attempt to improve health conditions in the North. Thus, the classic pattern of high birth-rates and lowered death-rates has resulted. For Indians, there has been a significant decline in infant mortality rates, from 80-100/1000 live births in the mid to late 1950s to 45.1/1000 in 1967. Alternatively, the birth rate has been very high, with a crude rate of 33.4/1000 population in 1965 and 42.3/1000 in 1967.¹³ Consequently, in the South Mackenzie, one of the most outstanding demographic features is the very high proportion of children fourteen and under. This age group constitutes 47 per cent of the native population.

The population data for the native dominant settlements in the South Mackenzie area and Great Slave Lake region show that modest population increases have occurred in recent years, primarily due to natural growth (table 2).

The population increase in settlements has also been greatly affected by the white population. Ehlers has suggested that the white population increases in northern areas have been the result of improvements in transportation technology and the exploitation of mineral resources.¹⁴ These factors have been important in the South Mackenzie and Great Slave Lake region. In order to reduce

TABLE 2
 POPULATION OF THE GREAT SLAVE LAKE REGION,
 1931 TO 1966, BASED ON DOMINION
 BUREAU OF STATISTICS CENSUS RECORDS

<i>Health District</i>	1931	1941	1951	1961	1966
Fort Providence	318	415	354	402	455
Fort Reliance ^a	36	94	65	140	176
Fort Resolution	549	635	757	543	717
Fort Smith	343	531	442	1,681	2,136
Hay River	171	164	792	1,338	2,103
Pine Point ^b					459
Rae	797	767	707	980	1,272
Yellowknife	—	1,410	2,724	3,335	3,741
Great Slave Lake	2,214	4,016	5,659	8,419	11,139

Source: Dominion Bureau of Statistics, unpublished census data for the Northwest Territories, 1931 to 1966, Ottawa, September 1967.

- a. Data for 1951 to 1966 for the settlement of Snowdrift only.
 b. Pine Point is normally part of the Fort Resolution health district. In 1961 it had a population listed at 1 person.

isolation, the federal government, since 1948, has conducted a large scale all-weather highway building program, constructed the Great Slave Lake Railway, expanded air facilities, and developed an extensive telecommunications network. These large capital investments have generated a number of short-term and long-term employment opportunities which have been filled mainly by people migrating from southern Canada.

For some time, the Canadian government has considered mining basic to the development of the North. According to Arthur Laing, former Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development: "We believe that mineral development will provide the key to economic prosperity in the North. We believe that this

is the primary source of employment and the principal attraction for northerners, settlers, and capital."¹⁵ As a result of this government attitude, and an industrial need for raw materials, the federal government and the Consolidated Mining and Smelting Company (Cominco) co-operated in developing the lead-zinc deposits at Pine Point. The resulting mining operation and town now provide support for some 700 people, most of whom are from outside of the Northwest Territories.

Ehlers' explanation of the expanding northern population and economy fails to include a third significant factor, the role of the federal bureaucracy. Since the early 1950s, with the creation of the Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources, the number of government facilities and personnel has markedly increased in the North. Certainly this accounts for the post-1950 population increase in Fort Smith in the South Mackenzie and Frobisher Bay in the Eastern Arctic. It also accounts for the continued expansion in population and economic activity of Yellowknife, the new territorial capital, and the creation of a new town in the Mackenzie Delta, Inuvik. Most of the government employees filling these new positions have come from outside of the Northwest Territories.

Present Settlement-Economic Resource Patterns

Within the South Mackenzie the forces of population increase and concentration, and economic resource expansion have combined ethnically and spatially with varying degrees of success. Both Fort Providence and Fort Resolution were characterized in 1968 by high unemployment and high under-employment levels (table 3). In Fort Providence, over half of the jobs available were on the temporary-seasonal type, such as highway maintenance work or employment in a local store. Most of the few permanent jobs available, such as those in the local stores, gas stations, restaurants, and school were held by whites.

In 1968, Fort Resolution had twice as many permanent work positions as non-permanent positions. However, as with Fort Providence, the total number of jobs available was small in relation to the size of the working age population. The permanent positions in Fort Resolution are almost equally divided between whites

TABLE 3
 PERMANENT AND NON-PERMANENT EMPLOYMENT BY
 ETHNIC STATUS IN THE SOUTH MACKENZIE, 1968

<i>Settlement</i>	<i>Permanent Employment</i>			<i>Non-Permanent Employment</i>		
	Total	Native	White	Total	Native	White
Fort Providence	36	14	22	41	33	8
Fort Resolution	65	32	33	32	24	8
Fort Smith	601	144	457	107	64	44
Hay River	625	192	433	245	57	188
Pine Point	453*	38	415	7	1	6
South Mackenzie	1,780	420	1,360	432	179	253

Source: Field Survey, 1968.

* Includes 121 construction workers who were in Pine Point from 1967 to 1969.

and natives. Yet, much of the native employment has been concentrated in the local sawmill operation, which has been beset by innumerable problems. Hence it has not been a truly permanent or high paying form of employment. Established in 1965 as a co-operative, the sawmill struggled along with poor management, poor equipment, inadequate planning, and personality conflicts, until 1968, when the Commissioner of the Northwest Territories took over direct control of the operation. In 1969, it was sold to a private interest.

Increasing the economic problem for both settlements is the native population structure, characterized by very high dependency ratios of working age adults (15-64) to children (14 and under). In Fort Providence the native supporting age population constitutes 47.5 per cent of the population while the dependent population makes up 43.8 per cent (table 4). In Fort Resolution the figures are even more dramatic — 45.3 per cent and 49.8 per

TABLE 4
 AGE AND SEX STRUCTURE OF THE SOUTH MACKENZIE SETTLEMENTS (EXCEPT FORT SMITH)
 BY ETHNIC GROUP, ACCORDING TO THE 1967 MANPOWER TEST SURVEY*

Age Group	Native		Non-Native		Native		Non-Native	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
	A. Fort Providence							
14 and under	100	100	9	5	135	120	17	18
15 — 24	37	37	3	4	49	38	12	7
15 — 44	94	79	10	12	93	81	29	20
45 — 64	21	23	8	7	32	26	9	9
65 and over	20	9	2	3	10	14	3	2
Total	246	211	29	27	277	235	58	49
	C. Hay River							
14 and under	144	137	233	244	8	7	92	95
15 — 24	55	43	148	109	6	4	44	33
15 — 44	126	99	361	273	17	15	135	78
45 — 64	49	23	115	61	1	1	40	17
65 and over	19	12	20	4	—	—	19	8
Total	338	271	730	582	26	23	286	198
	D. Pine Point							

* Economic Staff Group, Table 1.

cent respectively. For Canada, the working age population constitutes 59.5 per cent of the population, and children 33 per cent. A major mechanism for maintaining the population levels in Fort Providence and Fort Resolution has been government transfer payments, in particular, social assistance. Indeed, for the entire South Mackenzie, the total of social assistance payments for 1967-68 was \$255,000. Twenty-one per cent of that total went to Fort Providence, which has 8 per cent of the total South Mackenzie population; 28 per cent went to Fort Resolution, which has 10 per cent of the total population.¹⁶

Until recently, Fort Smith was a key settlement in the Northwest Territories and the South Mackenzie. It was the Mackenzie District (and regional) headquarters for the federal government, the centre for the Roman Catholic Church in the Northwest Territories, and major centre for airlines and barge traffic moving into and out of the North.

Events in recent years have caused a serious erosion in the support base of the town. Transportation has played a large role in this process. In 1948, the Mackenzie Highway was completed, connecting Hay River (not Fort Smith) with the main towns and cities of Alberta. In 1960, the highway was completed to Yellowknife, thus reducing somewhat the barge traffic that passed through Fort Smith. (Only in 1966 was a highway completed between Fort Smith and Hay River.) In 1964, the Great Slave Lake Railway was completed from Roma Junction, Alberta to Hay River and Pine Point (not Fort Smith). As a result, most of the barge traffic going through Fort Smith ceased, and Hay River became the main break-of-bulk point. In 1968, Hay River (not Fort Smith) was designated as a regional air centre for the Department of Transport, thus greatly increasing its air facilities.

Political decisions have also been important to Fort Smith. As the district capital for the federal government in the Northwest Territories, it had anticipated being named the new Territorial capital in 1967. Such was not the case, however, as Yellowknife was selected instead. The consequent movement of many government functions from Fort Smith to Yellowknife in 1968 and 1969 has definitely limited the future growth of the town's economy. The situation may prove to be particularly acute for

natives who constitute over half of Fort Smith's population, but occupy only a quarter of the permanent employment positions.

Hay River and Pine Point stand in contrast to the other South Mackenzie settlements because of their acquisition of comparatively large amounts of job-creating capital. Significantly, they are also the only two settlements in the area in which natives occupy (numerically) a minority position. Hay River has achieved importance by becoming the main centre for transportation and communications in the entire Mackenzie District. Specifically, it is the break-of-bulk point for the railroad and barge lines, the centre of operations for Canadian National Telecommunications, and a regional air centre for the Department of Transport. It is also the main base for the Great Slave Lake fishing industry. Thus, it has a fairly broad and strong economic base for a northern settlement.

As noted, the settlement of Pine Point was established in 1964 through the co-operation of the federal government and Cominco. While the costs of establishing the mining operation have been high for the North (\$86 million for a railroad, \$9 million for a power plant on the Taltson River, and \$39 million for the mining facilities) the benefits have also been significant.¹⁷ The value of production from the lead and zinc mining increased from \$1.9 million in the first year of production, 1964, to \$97.9 million in 1968. Northerners in general, and natives in particular, have not formed a significant number of the employees in either the town or the mine. My own calculations for 1967-68 showed that only thirty-eight natives were employed. People born in the Northwest Territories constituted 16 per cent of the population, 83 of 512 according to a 1967 government survey. Twenty-five of these were natives.¹⁸

Regional Patterns

Because of its importance as the key transportation-communications and mining area in the Northwest Territories, the South Mackenzie is the most economically developed part of the Territory. However, to a significant degree, the flow of job-creating capital does not correspond to the present distribution of population. This is especially true with regard to Fort Pro-

vidence, Fort Resolution, and to a lesser extent, Fort Smith. Further, the flow of capital has not been adequately directed towards the native population, which until now, has not been fully integrated into the developed sectors of the economy. For example, natives occupy approximately two-thirds of the employment positions in the economically poor renewable resource industries of fishing, trapping, and logging. In contrast, natives constitute only a small proportion of the working population in such lucrative activities as government (26 per cent), mining (12 per cent), and transportation-communications (14 per cent).¹⁹

As opposed to other areas of the Northwest Territories, however, out-migration from the South Mackenzie is not a necessary condition for improvement in the area's population-economic resource balances; but, out-migration from Fort Providence and Fort Resolution definitely is necessary, given their present economic base and population configurations. At the present time, such population-economic resource adjustments are hindered by two overriding factors.

First, a number of favourable conditions exist in the settlements of Fort Providence and Fort Resolution. The education facilities and welfare payments are equal or better than those offered in the larger, viable settlements. The presence of kin-folk and long time friends also provide reasons for remaining. Housing conditions in Fort Providence and Fort Resolution are better than those in Hay River and Pine Point where a serious housing shortage exists, especially for poor native families. In these settlements natives have traditionally had employment problems. Either they have been discriminated against, or they have been unable to adjust to new working situations. Thus, the prospect of failure in seeking or maintaining employment has been a definite hinderance to intra-regional migration.

Second, while the federal government has encouraged the growth of Hay River and Pine Point with large industrial and social capital investments, it has not made the decision to identify these settlements as regional growth centres. Consequently, there has been no positive strategy (e.g., through housing, education, and employment mechanisms) to induce unemployed and under-employed people to leave Fort Providence and Fort Resolution.

In brief, the central question that arises is, What effect should government policy and capital flow have on population-economic resource patterns? Is the present policy which encourages poor native people to remain in settlements like Fort Providence and Fort Resolution a proper policy? It would appear not.²⁰ But, alternatively, what should the government establish as an end point of the out-migration from these places?²¹ Should Hay River be designated as a long-term growth centre and Pine Point, a settlement with a finite economic resource base, be designated as a short-term growth centre? Generally, economists and geographers have tended to favour the recognition of a small number of growth centres (relative to the area), arguing that "agglomeration" — the tendency of industries to attract other industries and capital — will be more likely to occur.²² Also, social capital investments are more effectively utilized, e.g., the establishment of one large hospital rather than several small ones, as now exists in the South Mackenzie and Great Slave Lake region.

It is interesting to note in this context that there has been a considerable equivocation regarding the future of Fort Smith. When the former Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development announced the selection of Yellowknife as the new territorial capital, he also announced that: "I do not think the future of any settlement in the Northwest Territories is a black future. Fort Smith is in a very fine location... and it will be my advice as long as such matters are under my control, that institutions of both Federal and Territorial Government should be located there whenever this is at all feasible."²³ More recently, however, the territorial government has been withholding funds from development projects in Fort Smith. A writer in *News of the North* remarked

...there are indications that the government is not optimistic about Fort Smith.

The Territorial department of local government slashed a requested \$100,000 for a full-scale paving program to a mere \$40,000 plus \$5,000 for sidewalk construction.

A requested \$240,000 in debenture loans for expansion of water and sewer (facilities) was chopped down to \$133,000.

Such trimming of budgets can be attributed to austerity if one prefers, but why all this austerity in one location?²⁴

Some policies encouraging economic and regional readjustments can be noted. The federal and territorial governments are both committed to hiring northerners for government work in the North. The federal government has stated that it plans to have northerners form 75 per cent of its employees in the North by 1975. Hopefully, then, natives will assume some of the employment positions now mostly held by transient whites. Also, the federal government, Cominco, and labour unions in Pine Point have made an agreement to train northern natives on a continuing basis. For the mining company this may mean a reduction in its presently high labour turn-over, and for the natives in the region, a chance to obtain long-term meaningful employment. Finally, the accumulating federal and territorial experience with moving and training Eskimos should provide guidelines for similar actions in the Subarctic.²⁵

Notes

1. Diamond Jenness, *Eskimo Administration, 11: Canada*, Arctic Institute of North America Technical Paper no. 14 (Montreal, 1964); *idem*, *Eskimo Administration, V: Analysis and Reflections*, Arctic Institute of North America Technical Paper no. 21 (Montreal, 1968).
2. Roger W. Pearson, "Resource Management Strategies and Regional Viability: A Study of the Great Slave Lake Region, Canada," (Ph.D. diss., University of Illinois, 1970), p. 13. The data for the Northwest Territories is as follows: natural resources value—\$120, 300; electric power—64,000 kilowatts; population—28,700.
3. For a thorough consideration of basic settlement problems and research needs in northern lands, see: K.H. Stone, "Human Geographical Research in the North American Northern Lands," *Arctic* 7:321-335 (1954).
4. The South Mackenzie area described here parallels the old Indian Affairs Branch administrative region, not the present territorial political region. Strong functional ties, economically and administratively, however, justify the regional boundaries used here. See: Pearson, "Resource Management," chapters I and IX.
5. These figures are drawn from local field estimates and from "Manpower Test Survey", Economic Staff Group, Dept. of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, Ottawa, 1968, Table 1.
6. Don C. Foote, "The Canadian North: General Survey," *Inter-North* 9: 125-129 (1967).
7. In 1967, the total territorial income was estimated at \$2.1 million by the federal government. My own estimate for the Great Slave Lake region in that year was from \$500,000 to \$600,000. For the federal estimate: Dept. of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, *Annual Report 1966-1967* (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1967), p. 17.

8. James W. VanStone, "Changing Patterns of Indian Trapping in the Canadian Subarctic," *Arctic* 16:159-174 (1963).
9. K.J. Rea, *The Political Economy of the Canadian North* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1968), p. 81.
10. George R. Rae, "The Settlement of the Great Slave Lake Frontier: Northwest Territories, from the Eighteenth to the Twentieth Century" (Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, 1963), pp. 176-177.
11. Ronald Cohen, "An Anthropological Survey of Communities in the MacKenzie — Slave Lake Region of Canada" Dept. of Northern Affairs and National Resources, Ottawa, 1962), pp. 8-12.
12. For a more detailed discussion of the collapse of Rocher River, see: Roger Pearson, "Rocher River, Northwest Territories," *Arctic* 22:156-158 (1969).
13. Northern Health Service, *Report on Health Conditions in the Northwest Territories, 1967* (Edmonton, 1968), Table IV.
14. Eckart Ehlers, "The Expansion of Settlement in Canada: A Discussion of the American Frontier," in *Readings in Canadian Geography*, ed. Robert M. Irving (Toronto: Holt, Rinehart, Winston, 1968), pp. 30-40.
15. "Northern Realities — The Government and the People" (Address to the Fourth National Northern Development Conference, Edmonton, November 2, 1967), p. 3.
16. Pearson, "Resource Management," pp. 172-173.
17. *Ibid.*, p. 116.
18. "Manpower Test Survey," Table 3. The survey missed well over 100 people, but the proportions given appear to be reasonably correct, based on my own field survey.
19. Many of the positions held by natives are low ranking and seasonal in nature. Pearson, "Resource Management," pp. 138-145.
20. Shimkin has analyzed in concise terms a similar plight facing settlements with a declining economy, expanding population, and ineffective government development strategies. D.B. Shimkin, "The Economy of a Trapping Center: The Case at Fort Yukon, Alaska," *Economic Development and Culture Change*, 3:219-240 (1955).
21. In this regard, inadequate town planning resulted in some serious problems and interesting adaptive responses by the poor in Whitehorse, Yukon. J.R. Lotz, "The Squatters of Whitehorse. A Study of the Problems of New Northern Settlements," *Arctic* 18:172-188 (Sept. 1965).
22. L.H. Klassen, *Area Economic and Social Redevelopment* (Paris: O.E.C.D., 1965), pp. 61-62, 91-92; Resources For The Future, *Design For a Worldwide Study of Regional Development* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1966), pp. 29-42.
23. Arthur Laing, "Statement by the Honourable Arthur Laing, Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development at Yellowknife, Northwest Territories, January 18, 1967 (Ottawa, 1967).
24. "Government Undermines Fort Smith," *News of the North*, March 5, 1970, p. 3.
25. D.S. Stevenson, "Problems of Eskimo Relocation for Industrial Employment: A Preliminary Study" Dept. of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, Ottawa, 1968).

* The opinions expressed in this paper are solely those of the author and in no way reflect the views of the United States Government or the United States Army.

Composite Masks: Chinese and Eskimo

Henry B. Collins

Of all prehistoric Eskimo cultures Ipiutak is the one with closest ties to the Old World. Its antler and ivory arrowheads, lances, daggers and knives with inset stone side blades have close analogies in early Neolithic and Mesolithic cultures of Siberia and western Europe; and its flint industry, like that of the older Near Ipiutak, was an outgrowth of the microlithic Denbigh Flint complex of the Arctic Small Tool tradition which, ultimately of Asiatic origin, is now generally regarded as the principal source from which the northern patterns of Eskimo culture were derived.

In addition to resemblances of this kind, which show that Ipiutak had retained basic features of far older, ancestral stages of culture in the Old World, there are also striking resemblances between Ipiutak and the Iron Age cultures of Eurasia with which it was more nearly contemporaneous. These are seen mostly in art and ceremonialism. As Larsen and Rainey have shown, there are many close parallels between Ipiutak and the Scytho-Siberian animal style of northern Eurasia, such as the skeleton motif, pear-shaped bosses as joint marks, carved griffin heads and other fantastic animal forms, and the Pyanobor type of bear carvings.¹ Burial practices, the importance of the loon, possibly as the shaman's spirit helper, and the probability that the openwork carvings and chains at Ipiutak were ivory equivalents of the iron objects attached to Siberian shamans' costumes, indicate strong connections between Ipiutak and Siberian shamanism. Larsen and Rainey conclude that

...there can be little doubt that its sculptural art is a branch of the Eurasiatic or Scytho-Siberian animal style, which has, for the first time, been recognized in the New World... When we add to its obvious connection with the Scytho-Siberian animal style, the similarity in burial customs and other traits of intellectual culture, as well as the knowledge

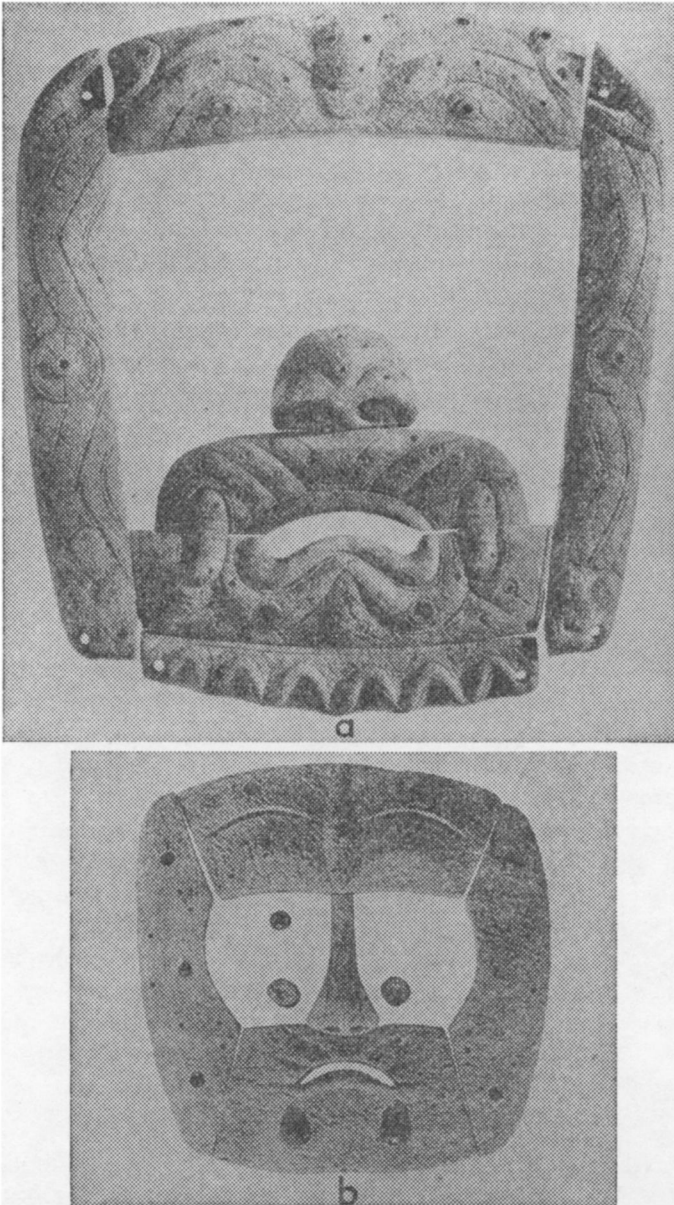


Figure 1. Mask-like ivory carvings, Ipiutak culture, Point Hope, Alaska: a, from Burial 64; b, from Burial 77.

Reprinted by permission from Larsen and Rainey, Ipiutak and the Arctic Whale Hunting Culture.

of iron, we consider it almost superfluous to discuss the possibility of its American origin.²

But cultural influences from China were also recognized.³ In 1943, commenting on Rainey's preliminary descriptions of the Ipiutak culture,⁴ I cited Laufer's description of Chinese burial practices,⁵ and suggested that Ipiutak burials with artificial ivory eyes, nose plugs, mouth covers, and an ivory back scratcher with one end carved to represent a human hand, were indicative of Chinese influences no earlier than the Chou or Han dynasties.⁶ Jenness, discussing Larsen's summary account of Ipiutak, also saw China as a principal source of Ipiutak culture, and suggested "...the strange religion and art of Ipiutak received their stimulus from China rather than from Western Siberia."⁷

The Ipiutak materials in which Larsen and Rainey, and Jenness, saw Chinese resemblances were the artificial ivory eyes and mouth covers, and in particular the mask-like set of ivory carvings 16.4 cm high, from Burial 64, illustrated by Larsen and Rainey in plate 55 and reproduced here as figure 1,a:

...we must consider possible influence from this cultural power center [China]. There is an undeniable resemblance between the mask-like set of carvings (Pl. 55) and ancient Chinese art, even though we are unable to offer a definite parallel from China."⁸

In 1964 on a visit to the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities in Stockholm I saw in the study collections of Shang dyanasty bronzes and carvings a "Demon Mask", composed of pieces of marble and mother-of-pearl, that had a striking general resemblance to the mask-like carvings from Ipiutak. It consisted of twenty sections of marble forming the outline of the face, ears, nose, eye-brows and horn, and four pieces of mother-of-pearl forming the mouth. Dr. Jan Wirgin, Curator of the Museum, who kindly supplied a photograph of the mask (figure 2), wrote me concerning it: "The piece is said to have come from Anyang and was bought from a well-known art dealer in Shanghai in the 1930's. I remember I have seen an almost identical piece in the Royal Ontario Museum in Toronto."

I am indebted to Dr. James W. VanStone, formerly of the University of Toronto, for providing information on the comparable material in the Royal Ontario Museum. It consists of two

stone and shell "tomb masks" originally described by Bishop William C. White and later by Dr. Hsio-Yen Shih. One of the Toronto masks is almost circular in outline with a diameter of 22.6 cm; it consists of twelve thin, narrow slabs of marble forming the face, eyes, nose, and horns, and five sections of mother-of-pearl forming the mouth.⁹ It is very similar to the Stockholm example and is evidently the one referred to by Dr. Wirgin. The other assemblage¹⁰ is reproduced here in figure 3.

The Toronto masks were assembled from pieces excavated from tombs at K'ai-fêng, near An-yang, the Shang dynasty capital in northern Honan province. White describes them as follows:

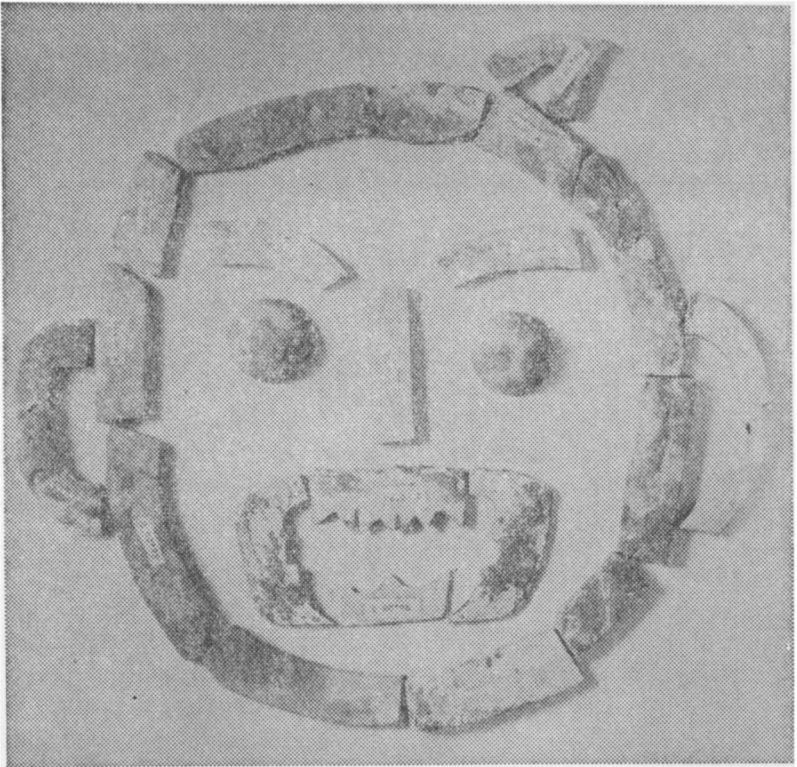


Figure 2. Demon Mask made from sections of marble and mother-of-pearl, Shang Dynasty.

Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities, Stockholm.

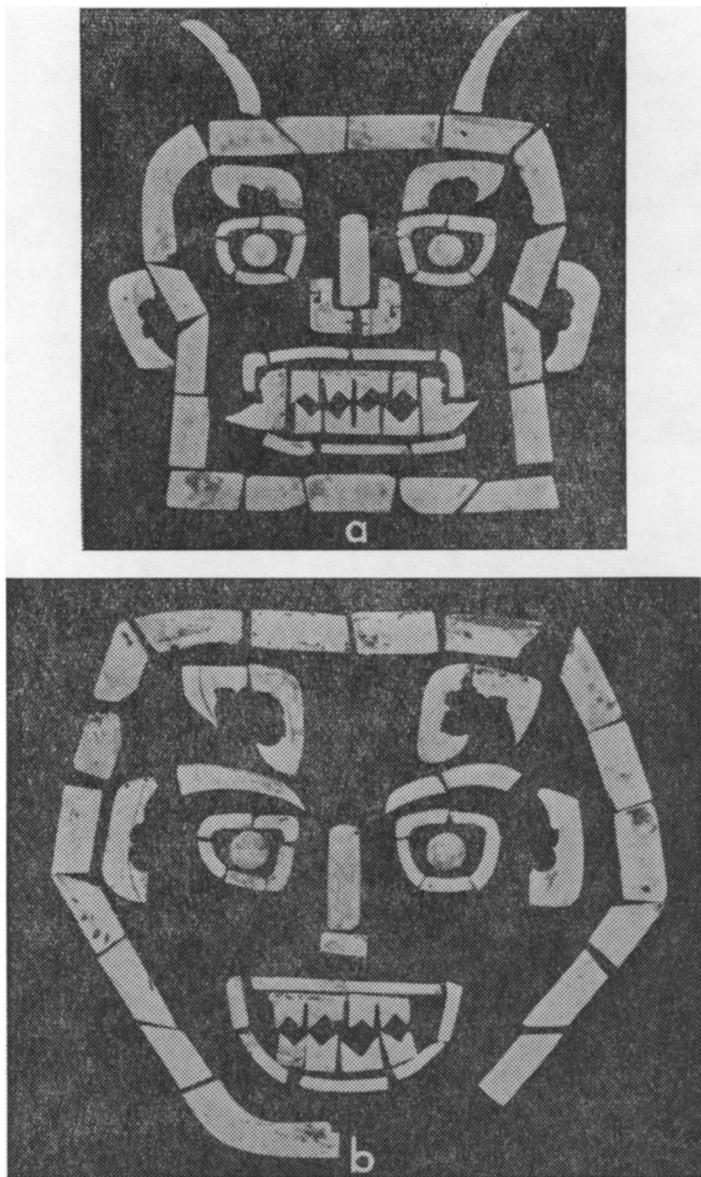


Figure 3. Inlaid shell motif, Shang Dynasty: *a*, first reconstruction; *b*, second reconstruction.

Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto.

Plate XCIX. Tomb mask of shell sections... Most of the fragments were stained with red ochre. The eyes were convex... Plate C. Tomb mask of stone and shell sections... The teeth only are of shell. The borders and eyes and nose are of thin white marble sections. The eyes are almost hemispherical. Most of the sections were stained with ochre.¹¹

Hsio-Yen Shih cites later excavations of tombs at Hsün Hsien, near An-yang, and other Shang and Chou dynasty sites which provided further information on the construction of the shell and stone masks and led to a somewhat different arrangement of the pieces (reproduced here in figure 3) from that first made by White.¹² Photographs made *in situ*, remnants of the wooden backing, and impressions left in the ground, showed that the pieces had been set in as inlays on carved and painted wood. All of the sections had been coated with red pigment. Hsio-Yen Shih concludes his study:

In its present form the Museum's shell inlay joins a group of face motifs with largely human characteristics but some animal traits. Emphasis on eyes and teeth, as well as the addition of horns, lend these a demonic aspect. As we have seen, they are frequently found on horse and chariot ornaments in a burial context. The question of their significance cannot be fully resolved at this point, but a possibility can be presented. The Hsün Hsien report refers to such images as *fang-hsiang*, an ancient Chinese name for exorcists who performed their services upon occasion of death or disaster. Certain pictorial representations on Han tombs and clay figurines included among the offerings in even later burials have been similarly named, and do demonstrate the continuity of such images. All functioned as apotropaic symbols. The Museum's inlay motif offers one of the earliest versions of these devices.¹³

Comparison of the composite Chinese masks made of sections of shell and stone and the Ipiutak mask-like carvings made of sections of walrus ivory, portraying a human-animal face of demonic aspect, shows that we are dealing with a similar class of objects, having a similar function in mortuary practice. The nine ivory pieces (figure 1,a)¹⁴ from Ipiutak Burial 64, were found in a heap, unassembled; the reconstruction was made after a similar set of carvings (figure 1,b)¹⁵ was found in Burial 77, providing a key to the arrangement of the pieces found earlier. The seven ivory pieces and jet eyes of the latter (figure 1,b) were found in place, over the body of a child lying between the knees of an adult male skeleton, as shown *in situ* in a photograph of the burial.¹⁶

A set of ivory carvings lay on the knees of the made adult and on the breast and pelvis of the child. All the parts were in place. Obviously they had been fastened to a piece of wood, of which only a brown paste remained (Pl. 98, Fig. 4). This set of ivory carvings made up a mask-like object similar to, but somewhat less elaborate than, that found in Burial 64.¹⁷

There is no mention of red pigment in connection with the mask-like carvings, but some Ipiutak objects were so decorated, leading the authors to assume that it may have been a general practice to apply red pigment to the incised lines.¹⁸

The engraved decoration (figure 1,a), as a whole, in no way resembles Chinese art; in concept and design it is thoroughly Eskimo, its decorative elements being those of Ipiutak, Old Bering Sea, and Punuk. An important exception, however, is the pair of raised eyes at the base of the ivory section forming the top of the mask. This is one of the few examples in Ipiutak art of elevated circles to represent eyes, a motif that dominates late Old Bering Sea art, and brings to mind the staring, bulging eyes of the mask-like animal heads, *t'ao-t'ieh*, appearing so consistently on the bronzes and bone carvings of the Shang and Chou dynasties. The prominent, staring eyes of the creature depicted on the Ipiutak mask afford a closer parallel to early Chinese art than do the more rounded but less realistic paired eyes of Old Bering Sea art which, as I have attempted to show, were in some way related to the eyes seen on *t'ao-t'ieh* masks.¹⁹ Occurring here as part of the design on an object that was similar in construction and identical in function to Chinese composite masks of shell and stone, placed in graves, they add weight to the significance of these masks as evidence of early Chinese influence on prehistoric Eskimo culture.

Notes

1. Helge Larsen and Froelich Rainey, *Ipiutak and the Arctic Whale Hunting Culture*, Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History, vol. 42 (New York, 1948).
2. *Ibid.*, pp. 145, 157.
3. *Ibid.*, pp. 158, 182.

4. Froelich Rainey, "The Ipiutak Culture at Point Hope, Alaska," *American Anthropologist* 43(3):364-375 (1941); *idem*, "Mystery People of the Arctic," *Natural History* 47(3):148-150, 170-171 (1941).
5. Berthold Laufer, *Jade. A Study in Chinese Archaeology and Religion*, Field Museum of Natural History, Anthropological Series, Publication no. 10 (Chicago, 1912), pp. 299-305.
6. Henry B. Collins, "Eskimo Archaeology and Its Bearings on the Problem of Man's Antiquity in America," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 86(2): 220-235 (1943), p. 222.
7. Diamond Jenness, "The Ipiutak Culture: Its Origin and Relationships," in *Indian Tribes of Aboriginal America; Selected Papers of the XXXIX International Congress of Americanists*, ed. Sol Tax (1952), p. 33.
8. Larsen and Rainey, *Ipiutak*, p. 158.
9. William C. White, *Bone Culture of Ancient China*, Museum Studies no. 4 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1945), plate C.
10. *Ibid.*, plate XCIX; Hsio-Yen Shih, "A Chinese Shell-Inlay Motif," in *1962 Annual* (Art and Archaeology Division, Royal Ontario Museum, University of Toronto, 1963), plate XIX.
11. White, *Bone Culture of Ancient China*, p. 210.
12. Hsio-Yen Shih, "Chinese Shell-Inlay Motif," plate XIX (b).
13. *Ibid.*, p. 48.
14. From Larsen and Rainey, *Ipiutak*, plate 55.
15. *Ibid.*, plate 54.
16. *Ibid.*, plate 98, fig. 4.
17. *Ibid.*, p. 241.
18. *Ibid.*, p. 141.
19. Henry B. Collins, *Archaeology of St. Lawrence Island, Alaska*, Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections, vol. 29, no. 1 (Washington, D.C., 1937), pp. 298-300.

Goodbye, Great White Father-Figure

George W. Rogers

In front of the Cathedral at Rheims stands one of the most beautiful works in Gothic art, the statue of a king. The gaze under the calm brows seems to delve searchingly into the thoughts of the observer, the fingers of the left hand still linger hesitatingly on the cord of the cape, but the right hand is already outstretched in firm decision. Let this be a symbol of the relation of the white race to the Eskimos — in Greenland, in Alaska, everywhere.¹

These are the final words of the doyen of Danish Eskimologists, Kaj Birket-Smith in his classic work on the Eskimo. The message intended by Birket-Smith undoubtedly is, "Little brown brothers, you're in." As the Eskimo, Indian and Aleut of Alaska struggle in today's vicious cross-currents of social and economic change, all that is required is to reach up and grasp the outstretched hand of welcome and help. But the choice of symbols says much more. There is the hesitating left hand which says "...but on the other hand" and the unconscious choice of a beautiful work of Gothic art, a King figure at that, to represent the white race. In fact, this is the Great White Father incarnate or at least made tangible. For the last one hundred years it has been the dominant figure both in the minds of the native and the white missionary or government agent when they think of their relationship. It is part of the explanation of why the two Alaskas, native and non-native, are poles apart in social and economic well-being.

In the final volume of his comprehensive study of administration of programs for the indigenous peoples of the circum-polar lands, Diamond Jenness concluded that by 1965 Alaska's Eskimos had advanced much further toward equal participation with the white man in Alaska's development than had Canada's Eskimos, and had reached a level comparable to that of the Greenlanders before the First World War. Since that war he finds that the Greenlanders "have changed from a

hunting people living precariously on sea mammals to prosperous fishermen, and politically from a colonial people with little voice in their own affairs to self-governing citizens of a Danish province." To reach a comparably high level the Alaskan Eskimos need more education and training in order to earn larger incomes and improve their present living conditions. What education and what occupations pose baffling problems, but of one thing Jenness is certain.

They sorely need leaders from their own ranks, not just the one or two individuals they have already thrown up, but an elite corps trained in modern skills and familiar with the day-to-day pattern of America's social and industrial life. They need this vanguard to draw them out of their semi-isolation and merge their activities and interests with those of white Alaskans. In Greenland, the reader will remember, Denmark began to create the nucleus of just such a corps as early as the mid-eighteenth century, when she set out to build a cultured native clergy to whom she could entrust the education of their fellow-countrymen... in Denmark she has trained many Eskimo professional men and skilled workers, from all of whom, as well as from the clergy, she has demanded the same standards as for Danes born and brought up in Europe. Alaska's Eskimos have lacked these opportunities until quite recently. Nearly all their teachers in the north have been short-term exiles from the United States, ignorant of the language and way of life of their pupils, and neither eager to promote their speedy assimilation nor interested in the future of Alaska itself. Comparatively few Eskimos have visited the United States; fewer still have received any higher education and training there or obtained regular employment.²

This paper is concerned with two sets of factors implied in these two quotations which are common to all native groups. The strong race segregationist elements within the dominant white society are obvious factors inhibiting the native's increased participation, but other inhibiting factors come from the attitudes of those who are nominally concerned with desegregation and integration. These are embodied in the legal definitions of the Alaska natives as wards of the federal government and the paternalism represented in the Great White Father figure. It is represented in the policy of assimilation which seeks to make the native over in the image of the white man without his consent or even awareness of what is being attempted.

The second general inhibiting factor to be dealt with concerns the lack of true native leadership and new teachers.

Evolution of Government-Native Relationships — The First Hundred Years

The initial and abiding pattern of native-federal government relations was set forth in Article 3 of the 1867 Treaty of Cession which made the "uncivilized tribes" of Alaska "wards" of the federal government.³ The Organic Act of 1884 brought the first civil government to Alaska and directed the Secretary of the Interior to select "two officers, who, together with the governor, shall constitute a commission to examine into and report upon the condition of the Indians residing in said Territory; what lands, if any, should be reserved for their use; what provision shall be made for their education..." This was never carried out, but in 1884 the Presbyterian missionary, Sheldon Jackson, was appointed the first General Agent for Education for Alaska and was given an appropriation of \$25,000 and the charge to meet the United States' "moral obligation" to its new wards to "fit them for the social and industrial life of the white population of the United States and promote their not-too-distant assimilation."⁴

Funds for native programs steadily expanded into multi-million dollar annual budgets as health and welfare functions were added to education and all responsibility finally turned over to the Bureau of Indian Affairs in 1931.

Today the Alaska native has the same citizenship rights as the non-native and shares in the same range of governmental programs at all levels — federal, state and local. Because he is classified as an "American Indian," however, the federal government still plays the dominant role in his affairs. The array of special programs available to Alaska natives and the amounts spent on them are impressive.

As aboriginal people of Alaska, Natives are eligible for a wide range of special federal services, just as Indians are in other states. They may, for instance, attend the Department of the Interior's Bureau of Indian Affairs day or boarding schools; and they may obtain tuition, transportation, and subsistence allowances from the Bureau for vocational training or college studies. They may receive assistance from the Bureau in finding jobs, borrowing money, devising economic development programs, acquiring surplus federal property, and in other ways. They may receive welfare payments from the Bureau when they are destitute, if they are not otherwise eligible under state welfare programs for the

blind, disabled, old or those having dependent children. From the Division of Indian Health of the U.S. Public Health Service, Department of Health, Education and Welfare, they may obtain medical and dental care, and share in constructing water and waste disposal facilities. And through Interior's Bureau of Land Management they may obtain title to townsite lots or Indian allotments from the public domain... Federal spending for Alaska's Natives by the two agencies serving American Indians, the Bureau of Indian Affairs and the Division of Indian Health of the Public Health Service, will total about \$43 million in fiscal 1968.⁵

The growth of these special programs has been more impressive than progress toward the initial objectives of assimilation "in the not-too-distant future." In effect, the established pattern of government-native relationships became very early frozen into that of a dual system of schools and social services, racially defined, which continues into the present. The original objective of rapid assimilation for most of the time over which this system was developing was lost sight of under the day-to-day business of program administration and the native's adjustments to their existence as part of his new way of life. The fact of wardship and the objective of assimilation have not proven to be very compatible elements. Beyond that, the underlying policy has not always been one of assimilation, but has sometimes swung around to some varieties of segregation. Whatever the policy orientation or the form of administration, however, the pattern of the relationship has always been paternalistic with the government or the missionaries attempting to change the native into something other than what he was. This might be for his ultimate good, for the old ways were gone or fatally disrupted, but he had little voice in the determinations.

During the Russian period the policy was enunciated, if not implemented, of creating a new breed of Russian-Americans by intermarriage. Eventually the aboriginal population would be directly and biologically absorbed into the blood stream of Mother Russia.⁶ The initial United States policies were northern versions of the philosophy which lay behind the Indian Allotment Act and the programs of converting the plains Indians and others from mounted warriors and hunters to dirt farmers.

A major reversal came in 1933 when John Collier, as the newly appointed Commissioner of the Bureau of Indian Affairs,

announced his plans for a "new deal" for the American Indian. He found that the earlier attempt to force the move of these people from their traditional cultural base to that of the dominant white culture in one major jump without any transition had resulted in cutting them adrift, destroying their old institutions before they could understand or accept the new. The administration of the General Allotment Act of 1887, which provided for allotment of reservation lands to individual tribal members, had resulted in an eroding of the land and resource base of the Indians as sharp trading and unscrupulous white land grabbers used the Indians as middlemen in acquiring title to reservation lands. More and more Indians simply crowded into declining land areas. The basic elements of the "Indian New Deal" were to enlarge the land and resource base to a size able to support the population and to restore the aboriginal institutions which could become a means of local democratic expression and self-determination.

As applied to Alaska, this resulted in a rather heavy-handed campaign to create large reservations for native groups, including marine as well as land areas, the diversion of most of the native loan funds to the purchase of defunct private salmon canneries in anticipation of the time when the native would finally "own" the salmon resource through these reservations, and the incorporation of village governing and development bodies on tribal lines which were alien to the indigenous organization of the Alaskan natives. In short, the prescriptions for change, like the former policies, were designed for the Indians of the continental United States, not for Alaskan natives. The reservation movement was stopped by court action and the rest of the programs lost their drive and simply drifted into the present. What had been accomplished was a further sense of segregation of the native people which was, of course, far from the intent of Collier.

When the national administration embarked on its War on Poverty in 1964, the Alaska native was overwhelmed by a babel of voices, government workers and federally-funded private consultants following banners with strange devices. Not because he was native, but because of his economically depressed situation, which in Alaska is virtually a native monopoly, he came under the scrutiny of a range of social sciences whose practitioners

sought to shape him and his problems to fit the sets of diagnoses and remedies they brought with them.

There were also some immediate benefits. VISTA workers made their appearance, and for the first time isolated villages had a white man or woman in residence who devoted full-time to learning, rather than teaching. Neighborhood Youth Corps were adapted to the village situations, and institutes and programs for training native teacher aids and orienting teachers for the bush schools were sponsored at the University of Alaska and Alaska Methodist University.

A new breed of disguised government agency appeared to implement programs drawn from the burgeoning arsenal of the War on Poverty; the "federally funded, non-profit, private corporation." The principal representative of this type of organization is RurALCAP (Rural Alaska Community Action Program, Inc.) funded by the U.S. Office of Economic Opportunity to conduct a range of anti-poverty programs in Alaska's rural areas (i.e. in Native Alaska). Its board of directors is made up of government and private agency administrators, and "representatives of the poor." Its educational programs range from Headstart, a learning program for preschoolers in thirty-five villages, to Operation Mainstream, a program to provide work experience and training to adults engaged on community projects funded by the U.S. Department of Labor. Through interlocking directorships and other means, it exercises some control, influence or co-ordination over the operation of a number of similar federally-funded corporations: the Alaska Training and Planning Center, Inc., guided by directors of Community Action agencies; Community Enterprises Development Corp., funded to stimulate the formation of co-operatives and other development enterprises; nine regional development corporations; Alaska Village Electric Cooperative, Inc., funded by a grant from the Office of Economic Opportunity and a loan from the Rural Electrification Administration and with loans to individual householders from the BIA; and Alaska Planning and Evaluation Center, Inc. co-ordinating planning and providing review evaluation of effectiveness of all these programs.

There were other places in which program planning functions now resided. The State Rural Development Agency (originally

established in 1954 as a premature attempt to deal with the Native problem) took a new lease on life. The State Department of Economic Development and the Alaska Housing Authority also took greater interest in funding for rural or remote area community and economic development planning. The Economic Development Administration (U.S. Department of Commerce) made a grant to the Alaska Federation of Natives to plan for local and regional economic development. This was part of the attempt to involve the native people directly in the planning and administrative functions of programs. Most established agencies took on an anti-poverty, native development cast. Farm Home Administration and Small Business Administration considered "economic opportunity loans." Adult education and training programs (Adult Basic Education, Vocational Education, Vocational Rehabilitation, Manpower Development and Training, Apprenticeship and Training), funded and operated under guidelines established by federal agencies, functioned in co-operation with or through State agencies and the Alaska Federation of Natives. Faced with these new competitors, the Bureau of Indian Affairs overhauled what had been fringe programs dealing with economic or industrial development and began to create new machinery for the purpose of encouraging native participation, in an advisory capacity, in administration of its programs. Late in 1967 it established village advisory boards to encourage local participation in the BIA educational programs and agency advisory committees at Nome, Bethel and Fairbanks. It also stepped up its program of giving preference to native applicants for jobs and in 1969 could report that more than half its permanent employees were natives (I can recall the difficulties and objections surrounding the hiring of the first native by the BIA in the early 1950s).

This proliferation of new programs, agencies and administrators has brought forth predictable complaints and criticisms from natives and non-natives alike. Since the mid-1960s the villages of Alaska have had their seasonal influx of social scientists, singly or in inter-disciplinary teams, making studies or conducting surveys to determine such things as "community viability," village social structure, labour skills inventories and an apparently annually changing list of similar strange and confusing visible and invisible things. Overlapping is the continuous procession of

federal, state and anti-poverty agency employees holding meetings or instructing village representatives on the latest changes in program guidelines as laid down by the ultimate funding agency in Washington, D.C. Then comes the follow-up review and inspection tours of senior officials and contract "evaluators," and ultimately the Congressional sub-committees. There may have been a loss of privacy, but there was also a loss of isolation. Quite aside from official intent, there have been side benefits. The regular flow of visitors has provided a subsidized tourism with resulting improvement in air service and communication for remote village areas and additional sources of income and knowledge of the outside to the villagers. The visitors have also been an informal and unofficial source of advice and assistance to those who were beginning to put together the emerging native political movement.

The present is not the ideal vantage point from which to review and evaluate this flux of new programs, but a few clear advances can be noted. The VISTA volunteers are beginning to form the basis for a new breed of young school teachers who go into the remote village post out of a sense of dedication to a cause rather than the lure of higher pay and an exciting interlude in their longer-run career. The native VISTA associates and participants in the Neighborhood Youth Corps have given evidence of creating bridges between the youth of both cultures which may eventually lead to the development of the elite corps which Diamond Jenness sees as a prerequisite to the real economic, social and political development of the Alaska native.

Changing the Patterns of Government-Native Relationships

One hoped for consequence of these last developments, according to a federal official, is a reduction in the relative importance of racially defined federal programs, such as those of the Bureau of Indian Affairs and the Division of Indian Health.

Though their contributions have been enormous over the many decades when the responsibilities of government to villagers were almost exclusively theirs, a continuation of such racially defined government institutions is incongruous with belief systems of American democracy. From time to time critics of these agencies have called for their abolition and the transfer of their funds to the state for its administration, but as has

been noted in connection with school transfers, Native citizens themselves may reject such proposals.⁷

Another change in the pattern is the beginning of consciously planned involvement of the natives in "their programs," but often this appears as not more than a token of what is intended. It is done in too self-conscious a manner or at a level too far removed from people who are the subject or concern of the programs. Although they claim to speak for all natives, the top echelon of officers of the Alaska Federation of Natives and other native groups who have been invited to share management functions do not necessarily have a continuing and intimate relationship with the rank and file of villagers they left behind. Furthermore, the native reaction to these well-intentioned efforts is frequently one of apathetic acceptance or conscious role-playing.

Long ago many of these people came to accept their federal and state governmental relationships simply as part of the facts of life to which they had to adapt, much as they would adapt to a change in their physical environment and resource base. In the past these have represented drastic changes requiring devastating adjustments. Heavy-handed attempts to enforce school attendance disrupted the seasonal movements of families in pursuit of their subsistence economies or their participation in commercial trapping and fishing, and the arbitrary administration of national programs designed to meet needs of an urbanized industrial society in some cases turned the village society inside out by making unwed mothers and the aged the principal sources of income and rendering the able-bodied male economically redundant. But having invested a generation or more to working out adaptations, there appears to be a reluctance to accept opportunities for change. Efforts of the Territorial government during the 1940s to effect transfer of educational programs from the BIA under terms of existing machinery which would continue federal financing were initially resisted by the bureaucrats.⁸ When the process was finally implemented during the 1950s and 1960s the obtaining of community consent to transfer arose as a barrier to plans agreed upon by federal and state officials. A 1969 report comments, "For a variety of reasons — often relating to a fear of the loss of other Bureau services — villagers may reject the opportunity of having state instead of federal administration. This year eleven

schools were scheduled for transfer, but only four communities agreed to allow such transfers to take place."⁹

The new programs may represent more enlightened approaches, but to the native they present a bewildering and sometimes basically conflicting array of specialized attempts to deal with fragments of their problems as analyzed by social scientists, generalized by legislative counsel, interpreted by public administrators and evaluated and reviewed by politicians. All of this is beyond comprehension, so you do not ask questions, but simply accept what is offered, make what appear to be appropriate responses (as one Eskimo once told me, "we enjoy making up answers to the white man's questions") and put it all into use in the ongoing business of survival.

To other natives, government-native relationship is a pernicious form of paternalism and patronization which corrupted or destroyed the spirit of their people and held them back. Over all these programs there was the stigma of perpetually "being helped" and the frustration of never being allowed to do things for themselves and having little to say about what was done. This was the subject of repeated resolutions and demanded reforms made by the Alaska Native Brotherhood and Sisterhood going back to the 1920s, and is a vital element in the new native political movements. With the recently launched anti-poverty program as well as the older ones in mind, the Eskimo editor of the *Tundra Times* opened his June 28, 1968 editorial: "There is far too much paternalistic attitude toward the native people of Alaska and it is not only the Bureau of Indians Affairs brand either we have heard about." He finds this "sickening attitude" to be "not only an insult to the intelligence of the native people, but a deterrent on their efforts to develop." The editorial ends on the note which the government-native relations have contributed to the new politics, "There is something wrong in the efforts to change — to assimilate the native people. Breaking the sinews of their own spirit is not going to do it. Perhaps it would be better to give the native people a free hand to solve the problem in their own way."

It is the new native political movement arising in the mid 1960s which has had the greatest impact upon the established patterns of government-native relationships. But before proceed-

TABLE 1
ALASKA NATIVE^a POPULATION POLITICAL POTENTIAL — 1960

	Total Alaska	Southeast	Southcentral	Southeast	Interior	Northwest
1. Total population — all races	226 167	35 403	108 851	21 001	49 128	11 784
2. Total population excluding defence ^b personnel and dependents	150 681	33 917	66 920	16 500	22 664	10 680
3. Native population	43 081	9 242	5 514	14 314	4 638	9 373
— as % 1.	19.0	26.1	5.1	68.1	9.4	79.5
— as % 2.	28.6	27.2	8.2	86.8	20.5	87.8
4. Legislative representation ^c by regions — 1960	60	14	20	8	10	8

SOURCES: U.S. Bureau of Census, 1960 and unpublished worksheets. State of Alaska, *Session Laws of Alaska, 1960*, Military dependents from data in Government Statistical Corporation, *Alaska Economic and Fiscal Data, 1963*, Alaska State Development Corporation and civilian population reported on military reservations in Census Worksheets.

a. Native includes Alaskans of aboriginal stock (Indians, Aleuts, Eskimos).

b. Defence includes members of armed forces or their dependents stationed in Alaska.

c. *Legislative representation* allocated by election districts in House of Representatives and place of residence for members of the Senate, 1960 Session.

ing to discuss these developments, some measurement of the general magnitude of the native political potential should be given. The 1960 census reported a total of 226,167 Alaskans of which 43,081 (or 19 percent) were natives. The census for 1970 put the total population at 302,173 of which 51,528 were native. The arithmetic of politics, however, does not stop at this point. Some 32,489 of the non-natives were members of the armed forces stationed in Alaska during 1960 (an estimated 31,700 in 1970) accompanied by a slightly larger number of dependents. Voting records from districts in which defence personnel and dependents are stationed as compared with other districts indicate that per capita participation in elections is lower than the Alaskan average, which would be expected as terms of military duty are generally limited. If the non-native population of voting age is reduced by the number of persons in the armed forces (as a rough non-voting factor), a better idea of the political potential of voting natives can be seen than provided by population comparisons. Furthermore, the regional distribution of this potential varies and provides room for political manœuvre in the nature of representative democracy. In terms of numbers of representatives in the state legislatures, the two regions with the heaviest native populations (southwest and northwest) were over-represented in 1960 with 26.7 per cent of the members of the legislature and only 14.5 per cent of population (table 1). In the 1969 legislature, five of the members were natives, and a significant number of the white members owed their presence to the support of the native voters.

A *Time-Life* writer visiting Alaska during the politically important year of 1966 found other factors tipping the scales in favour of natives in politics.

The natives have always had one thing going for them: they were stable. The white body politic, on the other hand, had always been, as it still is, in a state of flux, its highly mobile members being more sojourners than residents. Hence the natives have the potential of being a political force of greater power than their numbers might indicate. The 1960 census revealed that they had an additional advantage: their rate of increase was higher than that of whites by 13.3 people per 1,000 and had risen nearly 40 per cent since 1950 — in comparison to a non-native increase of only about 30 per cent. Barring a sizable in-migration of whites, it seemed inevitable that the native's percentage of Alaska's total population would also increase, giving them proportionally greater weight at the polls. Now the beginnings of native unity and the emergence of a

native leadership meant they could turn their special advantages to better account.¹⁰

Native politics emerged, or burst forth, in two distinct stages and two quite different political modes. The Indians of southeast Alaska had a head start because of their aboriginal political unity when the Territory was created in 1912 and responded by making the two party system work to their advantage. When the other native people emerged as a political force some fifty years later, it was not in this same earlier context of party politics as a continuing and changing form of bargaining, but contemporary politics as dogma, protest and revolt.

Native Political Development — the Indian and Eskimo Modes

Implementation of the Organic Act of 1912 found the native people of southeast Alaska prepared to participate in the resulting system of party politics and representative government. The aboriginal heritage, proximity to or partial assimilation into the new white communities and the commercial fishing economy and the previous three decades or more of education and leadership training provided by Sheldon Jackson and other very practical minded missionaries, made the transition a relatively natural experience. Even the schisms in their aboriginal society could be accommodated. One of the two most influential families and their followers became Republicans and the other major group followed suit by becoming Democrats and the rivalries of the past were continued with all their aboriginal enthusiasm under the rules of the newly introduced American two party system. They also recognized that the party system was more than simply a device for competitive exercises. The Alaska Native Brotherhood, founded in 1912, followed by the Alaska Native Sisterhood (women had the vote in the Territory of Alaska before it was granted generally in the United States) became effective bargaining instruments for promoting common interests of the native people of the region within the political system and in dealing with the federal bureaucracy, after winning in 1915 the means to apply for citizenship and voting rights. The annual conventions became arenas for working out internal rivalries and arriving at a temporary semblance of unity from which to formulate clear statements of policy objectives for the next year. When conditions looked favourable

for success they might sponsor some of their own members to run for seats in the legislature, but more generally all political candidates were invited to attend the conventions and those offering the most favourable terms would be assured of voting support, a factor which no white political hopeful could afford to ignore. These people had an earlier reputation as hard-headed traders and this carried over into their political bargaining. Attendance of representatives of the federal bureaus was almost mandatory in order to be presented with the Indian version of programs and policies which should be pursued, to call them to account for past shortcomings and otherwise make the will of the Indian people known.¹¹

The political mode of the southeast Indian from about 1912 to 1960 was not one of revolution or even protests, but of learning the intricacies of the established system and how it could be manipulated or influenced. One by-product of this was that these Indians became skilled parliamentarians. I have attended ANB sessions at which a panel of elders who apparently had *Robert's Rules of Order* by heart would back the chairman through sticky spots in the heated debates by citing chapter and verse determining each point of order. Largely because of his reputation as a successful legislative chairman, Frank Peratrovich, the only Indian delegate to the 1955-56 State Constitutional Convention, was elected vice-president and piloted that body through the stormy debates and crosscurrents of conflicts of interest and sectional differences with a skill and impartiality which none of his white brothers could have approached. Typically, the Tlingit-Haida land claims, which came about when the United States government in 1907 appropriated most of their lands for the Tongass National Forest, were put forward and pursued through the tortuous legal machinery provided. The seemingly endless steps included passage of a special act by Congress in 1935 allowing the Tlingit and Haida to sue the government, initial decisions in 1947 and 1959 by the U. S. Court of Claims holding that they were entitled to compensation and the 1966 decision setting an initial value on the 20 million acres taken.¹² Even when plans to establish a large pulp mill at Ketchikan provided them with an opportunity to short-cut the process by posing a threat to this project, they agreed to the compromise of the Tongass Timber Act of 1947, which permitted

sale of timber from the lands in dispute with receipts to be held in a special fund until title was eventually determined.¹³

Politics was something in which these people were involved, but the older political leaders were not in any sense men who depended upon political office for their livelihood. Prior to Statehood, election to the Territorial Legislature was a source of economic loss (through suspension of normal income generating activities during the session) rather than gain, as reimbursement was a token flat payment for assumed out-of-pocket and travel expenses only, rather than a salary (minimum \$6,000) as now provided. These older leaders established their reputations and followings on the basis of successful careers outside politics and assumed the responsibilities of leadership either out of a sense of *noblesse oblige* or to satisfy urges for the exercise of power. In part this might be traced to the aboriginal system of earning rank and its privileges through achievement, and in part to the fact that their formal education had been by or under the influence of the Presbyterian missionaries of the earlier decades of this century and the close of the last. The organization of the Alaska Native Brotherhood and the Sisterhood was inspired by the desire to promote assimilation, the first of several objectives listed in the constitutions of the two being "to assist and encourage the Native in his advancement from his native state to his place among the cultivated races of the world."

These forces no longer dominate the contemporary scene and the younger generation of Indians appear to identify more with the new breed of native political leaders and their programs than with the "Establishment" values of their elders. In an angry review of the contemporary native political situation, a young native recently wrote that although the ANB had "championed many of the past Native causes" it has "largely forgotten its role in Alaska" and because of its conservatism is driving out its young potential leaders as dangerous radicals. "Under the foggy and fumbling leadership of Rev. Walter Soboleff, the ANB has been plagued by its own lightweight leadership, and has been unable to recognize the genius of its young men... The old Tlingits are sometimes more willing to take a Chamber of Commerce kind of candidate from the White power structure rather than one of their own young, brilliant creations. Alaskan political history

will in most cases show this kind of behavior to be anachronistic, rather than typical."¹⁴ The language and temper of the writer reflect that of youth almost anywhere today, but his is not without hope. The writer makes clear that he finds in the emerging Eskimo leadership and an alliance with them of the liberal Tlingit young men in the statewide Alaska Federation of Natives the leaders and organization that "will not settle for a second-class kind of citizenship or a second-class kind of life for their people." It is in this "Eskimo" politics, as he classifies it, that the second mode of native politics is being made manifest today. Through natural political instinct and understanding of the white man's character, and strong unity in bargaining for their common interests, the Indians of southeast Alaska were able to exert political influence beyond that indicated by weight of numbers. In contrast, the numerically superior Eskimo, Aleut and interior Indians, because of their geographical and social isolation, their remoteness from major economic developments prior to World War II and their lack of traditions of strong leadership and cooperative action beyond small family units, exerted limited political influence even in elections in regions where they were overwhelmingly in the majority. Until the mid-1950s, for example, all members to the House and Senate of the Territorial Legislature from the northwest region were elected by a handful of white residents of the town of Nome. The native Alaskans not only had no political voice, but because they did not exercise their right to vote, they could be ignored by politicians. During the 1940s the ANB and ANS conducted missionary activities outside their region, but aside from bringing in the Indians at Copper Center, were unsuccessful in attempting to broaden their base to include all Alaska natives.

World War II not only brought the twentieth century to these people, but started their real political education. When faced with induction into the armed forces and invited to join the Alaska Territorial Scouts (the forerunner of the present Alaska National Guard), the northern native was for the first time seriously instructed in the nature and rights of his position as a United States citizen. During the war the Scouts companies and units in the villages, with weekly drill and instruction, provided a concrete evidence of this and became the first political rallying points for these people. The Alaska Statehood movement of the

1950s accelerated this political education and several Eskimos were elected and served with distinction in the Territorial Legislature.

During the 1960s the first broad and effective leadership and political organization began to take shape among these still relatively politically impotent Alaskans. The Association of American Indian Affairs and the young VISTA workers who served in the villages alerted the Eskimo, Aleut and interior Indians to the threats to their future inherent in the State land selection provisions of the Statehood Act, plans for the Atomic Energy Commission's "Project Chariot" in Northwest Alaska, the huge Rampart Canyon dam (the 10,600 square miles of reservoir would have inundated most of the lands of the interior Indians and adversely affected the traditional way of life of Indians and Eskimos downstream) and private leasing of vast tracts of oil and gas lands in the Arctic; informed them of their legal rights and educated them in matters of political organization and tactics. From 1962 *The Tundra Times* edited by an Eskimo, Howard Rock, has become a means of informing the non-native community and voicing the protests and hopes of the native community.

The new breed of leader began to develop among young men who had their aspirations raised by exposure to more "outside" experience and formal education than their fathers had received and who were determined to survive economically and see their people become a vital part of the larger world beyond the village.

At first on a scattered basis, new native associations began to appear in response to what were considered to be outside threats or to advance local developments. In 1960 the Fairbanks Native Association and the Cook Inlet Native Association were established. In 1962 representatives of interior villages formed the Tanana Chiefs' Conference, an association was formed in northwest Alaska (largely as a reaction to the Atomic Energy Commission's plans for a testing area) and villages in the Yukon-Kuskokwin deltas formed the Village Council Presidents' Conference. In 1964 a group was organized to represent the Yukon Flats villages in opposing the Rampart Dam project proposed on the Yukon River and the 1962 Northwest association collapsed

for lack of continuing support (the Atomic Energy Commission plans were also abandoned). This last group has since been replaced by two new associations, the Arctic Slope Native Association and the Northwest Native Association. About the same time the Kuskokwin Valley Association in the Bethel area was formed. Despite local differences in specific matters, land rights was a cause common to all and the filing of land claims the universal tactics. In October 1966 eight separate associations (four dominantly Eskimo, one Aleut and three Indian) joined together in the united front of the Alaska Federation of Natives, which has since become the instrument through which the land claims are being pursued, the new political leaders developed and the beginnings of native participation in program management carried out.

The new leaders are more absolutist in attitude and have not exhibited the same willingness to compromise in the interest of long-term gain as the older, more pragmatic leaders. The new objectives also appear to seek a new native identity far beyond the former objectives of simply advancing from traditional native life into that of the white man. Their basic tactics go outside the established political machinery, as demonstrated by the use made of the potent economic weapon of land claims. It would be easy to discover something of the national civil rights movement and the protest spirit of the times which seem dominated by the dangerous and almost universal search for more direct or immediately responsive political forms to replace the cumbersome of the representative system. But the resemblance would be a passing one at best. An offer by Alaska Negroes to make cause with their movement was firmly rejected by the Alaska Federation of Natives. In an interview with an outside journalist, one leader firmly stated that "to natives, discrimination is not really a big problem. We are more concerned with education, sanitation, and political action."¹⁵ The apparent contradiction in this statement carries in it the subtle difference between the Negro-white attitude toward race, on the one hand, and that of the native, on the other. But it is too soon to draw firm conclusions concerning the ultimate nature and the future of this new political mode. The most that can be done at this point is to examine its two tangible manifestations — the native land claims cause and the current crop of new native leaders.

Alaska's Land, and Native Protest

In June 1968 the U.S. Bureau of Land Management summarized the status of Alaska's lands as follows: 272 million acres were still within the public domain open to entry, location and settlement under the general land laws of the United States. Of this, 250 million were under protest by native groups. 85 million acres were withdrawn by the federal government and reserved for particular uses and agencies. Of this amount 75 million acres were under native protest. Six million acres are patented lands no longer owned by the federal government but by private individuals of the State of Alaska. Of these, 3 million acres are under native protest. Finally, 12 million acres of land have been selected by the State of Alaska under the terms of the Statehood Act and are in the process of review or changing ownership. Of this amount 11.9 million acres are under native protest.¹⁶

The land claims made by the organizations now represented in the Alaska Federation of Natives are based upon the assertion of their right to own lands used and occupied by their ancestors. Some of the claims were first filed over thirty years ago, but most were recorded in a brief period from late 1966 to the first few months of 1967. Because of the conflicts arising, the Secretary of the Interior, in December 1966, halted action on the disposal of all public lands until Congress passed legislation defining the rights of the native claimants. The rights of native Alaskans to the lands "in their use or occupation or now claimed by them" are protected in the language of the Organic Act of 1884, but there is still disagreement as to whether this constituted an across-the-board recognition to such title.¹⁷ In 1935 the Tlingit and Haida Indians brought suit against the United States for 20 million acres of land appropriated for federal reserves; in 1947 and 1959 the U.S. Court of Claims held that the Indians were entitled to compensation and in September 1966 the Commissioner recommended a \$16 million payment which the Indians found inadequate. The court held the Indians had title, but the settlement was to constitute an extinguishment of such title. Several bills have been under consideration for the solution of the remaining claims, among them versions drafted by the Department of Interior, Alaska Federation of Natives, the State of Alaska and several proposed

by individuals. The official policy of the United States was clarified by President Johnson in a message to Congress on March 6, 1968:

I recommend prompt action on legislation to: Give the native people of Alaska title to the lands they occupy and need to sustain their villages. Give them rights to use additional lands and water for hunting, trapping and fishing to maintain their traditional way of life, if they so choose. Award them compensation commensurate with the value of any lands taken from them.¹⁸

The matter is now suspended in the limbo of Congressional hearings and controversy over the amounts of lands and compensation to be granted and the forms of administration. In the meantime, however, in the interest of promoting good relations with their possible future landlords, the petroleum companies have followed the practice of employing one token Eskimo on each drilling rig on the North Slope, making grants for native and ecological studies, and the non-native community in general is taking increasing notice of and interest in their native neighbours and their problems.

One of the apparent contradictions of this period is the coincidence of the rise of the native land rights movement with an apparent acceleration of the movement of the people from the lands in question to the two main population centres of Fairbanks and Anchorage since the date of the official 1960 census. A 1967 study of the economic base of the Fairbanks area, for example, speaks of Indians and Eskimos moving into the city at the rate of "several hundred per year," and a 1967 estimate of native population by places puts the native population for the Fairbanks election district at 2,556 as compared with 1,268 in 1960 and the Anchorage election district at 4,539 as compared with 2,107 in 1960.¹⁹ For the most part, unfortunately, these immigrants from the "other Alaska" are merely exchanging rural for urban poverty. The 1967 survey found that "a very high proportion of Indians and elderly people in the Fairbanks area are among the abject poor. Eskimos tend to be less poor and Negroes are found in the lower middle class with incomes between \$7,500 and \$10,000 annually. Most Caucasians are among the affluent with annual incomes in excess of \$10,000."²⁰

Whether the native people continue on their ancestral lands or migrate into the new development centres of the state, their

problems will remain unless the basic economic conditions of poverty and political conditions of wardship are changed. This is the movement's underlying meaning, land merely being a convenient and tangible shorthand symbol for deliverance from the "Native problem." The real objectives were given in the following report of the participation by one of the most effective of the new young leaders in a 1967 land problems forum.

Hensley said the native associations which have filed land claims have several objectives among them securing the claims, acting as political organizations and educating the people. "We in Western Alaska," he said, "have given away our votes for years, putting big men into office and getting little in return. For all too long we have not had the benefit of our numbers." He said natives were not trying to hold up the development of Alaska with their claims. "Our contention is," Hensley said, "that if we do have a legal claim to the land, we want to be part of that development. In other countries, the benefits of development have not filtered down to the people. We are not trying to develop a racist state. We are not trying to drive anyone out of the state. Land claims have to be put on the basis of race because this is how the law has developed." He decried "Western standards being applied to villages just coming into the 20th Century. It is in helping the villages in making the adjustment," Hensley said, "that the native associations are performing their educational functions. In my view," he said, "life will be very hard in the next 20 or 30 years, until a cash economy is developed. We want to encourage this development, but at the same time, we want to be able to say, 'Hunt and fish if you want to.' If there are no hunting lands, it will make the coming years more difficult."²¹

A legal analysis of native land titles reflects another aspect of Native Alaska being dealt with by this movement.

Protection or wardship of Native-use areas has continued for 83 years since the Act of 1884 spelled out federal policy for Native land rights. The question of whether the Natives who became increasingly sophisticated, were in need of or wanted such protection was never resolved. Native land rights might have remained in congressional limbo — except for the vast land claims filed by Native groups in 1966-67... The land claims are an indication of the increasing independence of the Alaska Native and of their growing disenchantment with the government's philosophy of wardship.²²

Beyond this there is the unifying force of the issue, as expressed by one young native writer:

At last a great, single cause has happened along that serves to unite the historically factioned groups of Indians, Eskimos and Aleuts in the

state. Working together as a single force through a new organization, the Alaska Federation of Natives, the village people are attempting to press land claims. The validity of the claims or subsequent good that land or money grants to these forgotten villages is overshadowed by a greater benefit — the fact that at last Alaska's village people are united in one great crusade.²³

The matter of monetary compensation and other economic goods, of course, is not entirely without attraction. The Tyonek Village story has presented a case study of what riches Alaskan natives might get from the exploitation of resources on their lands. The Tyonek village is located across Cook Inlet from Anchorage. In the 1960 census it was reported to have 187 inhabitants who lived in the poverty and squalor typical of the isolated bush village. In 1908 and 1915 the federal government had withdrawn 26,000 acres of land from the public domain to establish school facilities for the village, and in the late 1950s it became apparent that the reserve was potentially rich in petroleum. The Secretary of Interior, as trustee for the Indians, made arrangements with the oil companies to lease the lands and put the money in escrow for the benefit of the villagers. This was done without the consent of the Indians who brought suit against the Department. The suit was dropped when the Department's solicitor held that the land was a reservation for purposes of the 1927 mineral and oil leasing act and the Tyoneks could lease the land and use the money as they saw fit. The approximately \$13 million initially received was used to completely remodel the village and the balance invested in real estate in Anchorage.²⁴

There is another aspect of the Tyonek case, the irony of which has not been lost on the natives. In the eyes of the white community a large part of the natives' inferior status is due to their relatively heavy dependence upon welfare and relief programs. The stigma seems to lie in the fact that these payments are not made in exchange for work. Income that is not earned must be degrading. Almost every committee of Congress has come back with quotations from natives to the effect that they would rather work than receive welfare. The largess showered on the Tyoneks, like welfare and relief, was not earned income, but somehow it transformed them immediately into respectable and admired citizens of Alaska. White bankers and businessmen, who before would never have admitted them into their offices,

now seek their patronage. When visiting Alaska as a member of a U.S. Senate sub-committee, the former Hollywood song-and-dance man, then U.S. Senator from California, George Murphy, sang the praises of the Tyoneks as an example of what the native "can do for himself" if he would only "lay off the bottle."²⁵ Suddenly, they are respectable in the eyes of the white community simply because they are wealthier on a per capita basis.

The New Men in Native Politics

The creation of the political movement based upon land claims can be an instrument for the necessary raising of the native self-esteem by making them aware of their strength and their ability to control their own destiny. But political instruments, like the psuedo-native corporations and agencies created in the past under the direction and ultimate control of white administrators, will fail in their purpose of achieving social and economic control if they are not placed in the hands of leaders who represent their people. Diamond Jenness, in the passage quoted earlier put the development of an elite corps of leaders among the natives themselves as a prerequisite for their full participation in the total development of Alaska. The appearance of true native leaders would be the final blow to past dependence upon the Great White Father.

As discussed above, there have always been leaders, but since the mid-1960s there has appeared a whole new breed. These are younger men, better educated and more knowledgeable about the non-native world beyond the village than had been the earlier leaders. In discussing the possibilities of the emergence of a native leader who could be successful in a state-wide political campaign, the young native writer quoted previously looked over the present prospects: "What kind of person will this new leader be? In all probability it will be a Tlingit or an Eskimo. ... Among the new, young Tlingit leaders are some very possible state-wide candidates. Two who are very obvious to most Alaskans are John Borbridge of Juneau, now working for the Public Health Service in Anchorage; and Byron Mallott, who, at 25, is the past mayor of Yakutat, a former local-government aide of the Governor's Office, an unsuccessful candidate for the State House just last November (he lost by 19 votes) and the

Grand Vice-President of the ANB. Borbridge could make a statewide race in a few years; Mallott in a few more. Either one would be a credit to Alaska and their people. Ironically, both are considered radicals by the conservative ANB... Neither the Athapascans, Aleuts or Haidas (of whom the numbers are small) seem to have men of this quality coming up in the ranks. As for Eskimos, it is a different story... Included in this group are Willie Hensley, a 29-year old law student and legislator from Kotzebue; Moses Paukan, a young mayor from St. Mary's; John Nusinginya of Barrow; Robert Newlin of Noorvik and many others. Of these, Hensley will unquestionably be ready and willing to make a statewide bid in the next few years, and that bid may be successful because he has a lot of charismatic urban appeal."

There are indeed "many others," but this is suggestive of the type who are finding a new and fulltime career in Alaska politics. That Willie Hensley, and some of the others, do have "charismatic urban appeal" is reflected in his description as a delegate to the 1968 Democratic Party National Convention as given in a press service's standard personal interest pot-boiler. "With his neat blue suit, button-down collar and striped necktie, William Hensley looks like almost any other delegate to the Democratic National Convention. Several things, however, distinguish him from other delegates. For one thing, he is an Eskimo. For another, he lives in Kotzebue, a village of 2,300 persons in Alaska — 35 miles within the Arctic Circle and only 150 miles from Siberia. At 26, in hornrimmed glasses and darkly handsome, Hensley is a leader of his people and, like most spokesman for minority groups, a man with a cause." The reporter may not have realized how far Hensley also departs from the native's stereotype of the leader of his people as the great hunter or man who excels in the things having meaning to the traditional Native way of life. "While many Alaska natives speak no English, Hensley is cosmopolitan. He attended high school at Harrison Chibowee Academy near Knoxville, Tennessee, and was graduated in 1966 from Georgetown University. He also has visited Eastern Europe as an exchange student."²⁸ Unlike the older political leaders, Hensley is a fulltime politician. He is executive secretary of the Northwest Alaska Native Association, was elected to the Alaska Legislature in 1966 (the resulting annual salary of \$6,000 gives him the core

of financial freedom), chairman of the board of the Alaska Village Electric Cooperative and a part-time consultant to University of Alaska programs. His natural abilities, intelligence and education have earned him a position of general respect among his legislative colleagues and other Alaskans.

As pointed out by a visiting journalist in 1966, however, this is only part of the white attitude. "Other whites reacted resentfully to young opportunists like Willie Hensley... To their way of thinking, if he had been born a Negro instead of an Eskimo he would be a 'Black Power' advocate. Indeed, during the 1966 campaign, it was difficult to leave a conversation with Hensley without the feeling that he really did not want a settlement of the controversy, either by cash payment or an assignment of acreage, but preferred to keep the matter, and his own political career, at a boil."²⁷ This observer elsewhere makes amply clear his understanding that much more than mere dollars and land are involved, but the quotation given above out of context does reflect a widespread reaction among the still dominant white population to the native's attempt to make a basic adjustment of the balance of power within the State of Alaska which fairly reflects his numerical position and his aspirations.

It is too early to draw conclusions concerning these new young men. Are they truly native leaders or merely political personalities? In the present age of political image-making this question is difficult to answer at any level of politics. But it is a crucial one in the present state of the native's development. The white reporter's characterization of Hensley as a "young opportunist" is unfair as a condemnation. What modern political figure has not been an opportunist, at least at some critical point in his career? But when a wholly sympathetic writer characterizes him as having "a lot of charismic urban appeal" more serious doubts arise. This may be a major asset in winning support among the majority of Alaska's population, the urban non-native, but how does this "appeal" effect his relationship with the rank and file of the native people. Hensley and many of the others named as having the greatest political potential are men of only fractional native blood. They are further set apart from the general native population by reason of their better educations, higher incomes, and increasing absences from the village life. As the native popula-

tion becomes more mobile, these differences will diminish as differences. But if the development of the native people does not move forward, the leaders will be separated from their following and no longer be leaders but a latter day button-down collar version of Uncle Toms utilized by the federal and state governments to administer programs for natives. Through contracts with the federal poverty and economic development agencies, the AFN and its officers may begin to move in that direction. The editor of the *Tundra Times* in writing on various forms of paternalism which hold back the native's development, took a hard swing at those whom he feels have done this. "There are, of course, some of our own people who thought they have attained the white status and having attained it, began to look down on their own people. There is no more despicable person than that type and their own people can do well without them."²⁸

In all places and all times, the leader is a product of many forces. The new young native men in politics are a product of their own personal abilities and motivations. They are a product of the discontent and desire for change among their people. They are a product of the times which have brought forth the sort of national programs which can support them and their causes. What they will become will be a product of their continuing relationship with people, now that they have set themselves somewhat apart by entering the political arena. But most importantly it will be influenced by the reaction of the white community. They may become simply managers for its programs, or they may become the dangerous Native Power leaders some of the white community fear they now are. Or they may become Jenness' elite corps who will truly lead their people.²⁹

Notes

1. Kaj Birket-Smith, *The Eskimos* (London: Methuen, 1959) p. 232. I am indebted to Graham Rowley for calling my attention to this concluding example in Smith's work and its unconscious significance, which I had previously overlooked.

2. Diamond Jenness, *Eskimo Administration, V: Analysis and Reflections*, Arctic Institute of North America Technical Paper no. 21 (Montreal, 1968), p. 38.

3. No attempt is made in this section to present a complete detailed survey of special programs for Alaska's natives or the experience in applying general programs to them. Only as much of the past as still appears operative in the present is summarized. The current situation is too fluid and changing to permit anything more than generalization of types and trends, anything now said concerning even a listing of operating agencies and programs being out-dated by the time this went to press. For more complete coverage refer to; Diamond Jenness, *Eskimo Administration, I: Alaska*, Arctic Institute of North America Technical Paper no. 10 (Montreal, 1962); Robert D. Arnold, "A Survey of the Administration Situation in Alaska as it Affects Eskimos, Indians and Aleuts," (Paper prepared for the International Conference on Cross-Cultural Education in the North, Montreal, August 18-21, 1969). For more critical and analytical treatment of the long-standing native programs, their underlying philosophies, implementation and results see: Jenness, *Eskimo Administration, V*: pp. 31-39, 48-50; Ernest Gruening, *The State of Alaska* (New York: Random House, 1968), "Native Claims: Equality versus Wardship," pp. 355-381. "The Natives — And the Still-Unsatisfied Hunger for Land," pp. 540-546; George W. Rogers, *Alaska in Transition: The Southeast Region* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1960), "The Federal Bureaucracy and the Indian," pp. 220-269.
4. Jenness, *Eskimo Administration, I*: pp. 5-12.
5. R.D. Arnold et al., *Alaska Natives and the Land*, Federal Field Committee for Development Planning in Alaska, October 1968 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1968), p. 31.
6. This policy was embodied in provisions of the 1844 Charter as translated in Vladimir Gsovski, *Russian Administration of Alaska and the Status of Alaskan Native*, U.S. Senate, 81st Congress, 2nd Session, Document no. 152 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1950), pp. 43, 46, 48-49. A somewhat different interpretation is given in S.B. Okun, *The Russian-American Company* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1951), pp. 193-216.
7. Arnold, *Administration Situation in Alaska*, p. 29.
8. Rogers, *Alaska in Transition*, pp. 230-234.
9. Arnold, *Administrative Situation in Alaska*, p. 10.
10. R.A. Smith, *The Frontier States — Alaska, Hawaii* (New York: Time-Life Books, 1968), p. 42.
11. For a fuller discussion see Rogers, *Alaska in Transition*, pp. 264-269.
12. J. Brady, "Native Land Claims," *Review of Business and Economic Conditions* 4:4 (November 1967).
13. Rogers, *Alaska in Transition*, pp. 223-224.
14. "White Man, Will You Listen To Me?" *Today in Alaska*.
15. Smith, *Frontier States*, p. 42.
16. Arnold et al., *Alaska Natives and the Land*, p. 453.
17. For reviews of the complex and conflicting legal background see Arnold et al., *Alaska Natives and the Land*, pp. 427-516; Brady, "Native Land Claims."
18. Lyndon B. Johnson, *President's Message to Congress on Goals and Programs for the American Indian*, March 6, 1968.
19. R.C. Haring and C. Correno, *Economic Base of the North Star Borough*, Alaska SEG Report no. 14 (University of Alaska, 1967), p. 49; F.Q. Sessions, *Fairbanks Community Survey: A Profile in Poverty*, SEG Report no. 16 (University of Alaska, 1967), p. 13; Federal Field Committee for Development Planning in Alaska, *Villages in Alaska and Other Places Having a Native Population of 25 or More, Estimated, 1967*, Anchorage, Alaska (undated).
20. Sessions, *Fairbanks Community Survey*, pp. 2, 18.

21. "Hensley Says Land Claims Solution Will Take Years," *Fairbanks Daily News Miner*, January 19, 1967.
22. Brady, "Native Land Claims," p. 12.
23. "White Man Will You Listen to Me?" *Today in Alaska*.
24. Brady, "Native Land Claims," p. 11.
25. *Anchorage Daily News*, April 13, 1969.
26. Associated Press, "An Eskimo Named Bill," *Southeast Alaska Empire*, August 28, 1968.
27. Smith, *Frontier States*, p. 41-42.
28. *Tundra Times*, June 28, 1968.

29. From internal evidence, some readers may have correctly deduced that this essay was written in late 1969 and/or early 1970. Since then a number of things have happened, but not much has changed. As of June 1971, Congress still had the native land claims under consideration with three bills in the House of Representatives and two in the Senate, each with differing land, cash and royalty provisions. The Alaska Federation of Natives demonstrated gains in political strength and maturity in the 1970 primary and general elections. Emil Notti, then president, ran a state-wide campaign on a cash budget of \$5,000 and the volunteer labour of AFN members and supporters and finished a solid second in a three-way race for Democratic nomination for lieutenant governor. But the impressive showings were in the bush districts where long-entrenched white politicians were overthrown by young native politicians. On the basis of this showing, one reporter has suggested that the day of the gussuk (white) politician in Alaska's bush was over: "State Rep. Willie Hensley, D-Kotzebue, moved over to the Senate and handily defeated Sen. R.R. "Bob" Blodgett, D-Teller. Then he trounced Republican Werner Bohrer of Nome 2,532 — 733 in the general election. At the same time, Chuck Degnan of Nome defeated Rep. Lester Bronson, D-Nome, in the primary, then skinned Republican Leo Rasmussen 1,212 — 472 in the general. Hensley's old House seat was taken in the general election by another Native, Democrat Frank Ferguson, who defeated Republican Jerry Crow 1,096 — 356. In the Wade-Hampton House District, one of the State's most economically depressed areas, Martin Moore, an articulate young Democratic Native leader from Immonak, won election unopposed. In the Kodiak area, Democrat Ed Naughton defeated Republican Don Slater 1,187 — 610, while in the Aleutian chain Rep. Robert Moses won re-election unopposed after switching parties... [In the Ketchikan district] veteran Native legislator Rep. Frank Peratrovich, D-Klawock, easily led the field of four in the race for two House seats from that area." (Tom Brown, "Day of Gussuk Politician Over?" *Anchorage Daily News*, Nov. 13, 1970). Not all natives who ran were elected. Those running in the urban centres of Anchorage and Fairbanks, for example, were unable to muster sufficient support. But clearly AFN had virtually assured that henceforth representation from the dominantly native areas would no longer be by white traders and administrators.

Abstracts

Jean Usher. The Long Slumbering Offspring of Adam: The Evangelical Approach to the Tsimshian.

William Duncan, lay missionary of the Anglican Church Missionary Society, laid the groundwork for his famous Metlakatla mission during his four years among the Tsimshian at Fort Simpson, British Columbia, from 1858 to 1862. Following the methods established by the C.M.S. Duncan gained intimate knowledge of Tsimshian society and this, together with his readiness to compromise with elements of that society, is considered the main reason for his successful conversion of the first group of Tsimshian. The disorientation of the Indians after the gold rush was also a major reason for their willingness to accept the dual goals of Christianity and civilization which their Victorian missionary offered to them in the new utopia of Metlakatla.

H. B. Hawthorn. The Survival of Small Societies.

The relative size and power of societies are variables that enter into the determination of the nature and extent of cultural change. Societies of relatively small size are likely to experience a greater cultural flow. Short of constructing indices of cultural gain and loss it can be said impressionistically that for societies of the Indian reserve type this flow is likely to result in net cultural loss, as the loci of control, creativity and decision are removed from them. However, where separate identity becomes valued for its own sake, or where specific institutions are valued highly, even small societies are able to halt or reverse this process.

Bruce G. Trigger. Champlain Judged by His Indian Policy: A Different View of Canadian History.

Samuel de Champlain has commonly been pictured by historians as a man who understood Indians and was generous and considerate in his dealings with them. This paper, based on a re-study of Champlain's own writings, reveals that he understood little about the Indians with whom he had dealings and that he was uninterested in learning more about them. Rebuffs brought about by his unfamiliarity with Indian ways, and growing anxiety about his own career led to an increasingly hostile and manipulative attitude towards them. These attitudes caused him to favour a policy of assimilation for groups he felt were dependent on the French and of genocide against groups like the Iroquois, whom he perceived as being inveterately hostile.

Robin Ridington. Beaver Indian Dreaming and Singing.

Beaver Indian culture contains the vision quest and a semi-messianic prophet cult, but Beaver Indians are not familiar with the relevant literature and hence are unaware of these facts. What they know about is dreaming and singing and much of which we, being unfamiliar with the relevant non-literature, are unaware. Dreams present symbols that bridge from the unconscious to the superorganic, and songs are a medium through which the symbols touch resonances between subjectivities. The vision quest becomes an initiation when its meaning is dreamed and a song given. The prophet's initiation is death and his songs are the road to heaven.

Julie Cruikshank. The Potential of Traditional Societies, and of Anthropology, Their Predator.

Anthropology is sometimes characterized as a discipline which studies the obsolete; that is, "primitive" isolated societies. This paper suggests that, in fact, the designs for living found in traditional cultures, particularly in the Canadian North, may have application to post-industrial society. It is possible that anthropologists may have a particular role in suggesting some of the lessons, embodied in traditional cultures, which could be useful

to 'modern' western man. If so, this could provide alternatives to assumptions that thorough westernization inevitably and necessarily precedes modernization.

J. W. Berry. Psychological Research in the North.

A review is made of recent psychological research, carried out mostly in Canada, with northern native peoples. Organized in four sections, the review covers perceptual and cognitive skills, attitudes and values, personality traits and psychological response to acculturation. A final section provides an examination of the role of the psychologist in investigating and guiding the process of development in the North, and suggests some research topics which are urgent and essential if balanced development is to take place.

Donat Savoie. Bibliographie d'Emile Petitot, missionnaire dans le Nord-Ouest canadien.

Emile Petitot (1838-1916) was an Oblate missionary. He wrote extensively about the life he led in the Canadian Northwest and of the history, languages and customs of the native population. After introducing Father Petitot's theories of history, development and anthropology, the author presents a bibliography of eighty-one items.

Peter J. Usher. The Canadian Western Arctic — A Century of Change.

Demographic, economic and social changes among the Eskimo population of the Western Arctic during the four major phases of white-Eskimo contact are examined. Journals from the exploration era provide a baseline from which change can be measured. The whaling and fur trade eras caused profound demographic changes and served to orient the Eskimos to a commercial economy. The modern era has forced a shift off the land to an urban wage economy, and this has had a more profound impact on the Eskimo way of life than the changes which occurred in earlier eras.

John J. Honigmann. Formation of Mackenzie Delta Frontier Culture.

In 150 years of intense acculturation and heavy migration, a local frontier culture that is shared by many native people came into existence in the western Canadian Arctic. The frontier culture consists of outdoor-type activities and appurtenances, and it also consists of a readiness to neutralize particular norms and values of the mainstream Canadian culture, particularly those related to formal organization, use of alcohol, and the police. Frontier culture in Inuvik is a symbol through which native people may assert their native identity by following a relatively distinctive way of life.

Derek G. Smith. The Implications of Pluralism for Social Change Programs in a Canadian Arctic Community.

The basic thesis of this paper is that the condition of poverty and social marginality differ in the structural factors that establish and maintain them in plural and nonplural social systems. In addition, these structural factors differ in the plural society and the plural community. The model of pluralism used here refers to systems displaying rigid hierarchical relations between ethnically and culturally differentiated social segments between which differential access to authority and power, rather than consensus of values between the segments, constitute the principal source of social integration. This model is applied to the social system of the Mackenzie River Delta, and some of the implications of pluralism for planned social change in this system are examined.

Milton M. R. Freeman. The Significance of Demographic Changes Occurring in the Canadian East Arctic.

This essay investigates the relationship existing between fertility and development in the Canadian North. The high rate of population increase, rather than population size itself, is seen as a major impediment to development in regions having the demographic characteristics similar to those extant in the Arctic. Eco-

conomic, social and political consequences of high fertility in such areas are discussed, and the principle reiterated that no rational social and economic development programs can be formulated which ignore rationalization of fertility through extension of medical services. In view of prevailing attitudes in Canadian society toward population control programs, the prognosis for successful development of human resources in high fertility regions of Canada appears to be poor.

Edwin S. Hall, Jr. The "Iron Dog" in Northern Alaska.

The snowmobile, a recent technological innovation in northern Alaska, has caused dramatic changes in the lives of the Noatak Eskimos. Only a few quantitative measures of the nature and extent of cultural change attributable to the introduction of the snowmobile are now available, but some trends can be discerned.

Roger Pearson. Settlement Patterns and Subarctic Development: The Southwest Mackenzie, N. W. T.

Throughout most of the Northwest Territories forces of economic decline and population increase and concentration have produced serious socio-economic problems, which are possibly best alleviated by out-migration. In contrast, the South Mackenzie area possesses adequate and expanding economic resources to meet the population changes. Current settlement patterns and policies, however, inhibit goal achievement.

Henry B. Collins. Composite Masks: Chinese and Eskimo.

Mask-like carvings portraying a human-animal face of demonic aspect, made of sections of walrus ivory, found with burials at a prehistoric Eskimo site in Alaska (Ipiutak) are compared with similar carvings made of sections of marble and shell found in Shang dynasty tombs in China. These composite masks are regarded as further evidence of early Chinese influence on prehistoric Eskimo culture.

George Rogers. Good-bye, Great White Father Figure.

The development of government-native relations in Alaska is outlined from the Territorial period through to the granting of statehood, and in subsequent years. The wide variety of native peoples in Alaska has resulted in the growth of a number of native associations. These organizations have been riven with internal strife, and have seldom co-operated with each other. However, the oil discoveries on the North Slope of Alaska, and the proposed settlement of native claims to land in the states has provided a focus for concerted action for native rights organizations. The author suggests that a new type of native leader is emerging — one who can understand and interpret the internal social and economic dynamics of the state, and also deal justly with the large private and government entities involved in the present and future development of Alaska.

Résumés

Jean Usher. The Long Slumbering Offspring of Adam: The Evangelical Approach to the Tsimshian.

C'est durant ses quatre années de 1858 à 1862, avec les Tsimshian à Fort Simpson, que William Duncan, missionnaire laïc de l'Anglican Church Missionary Society, établit les bases de la fameuse mission Metlakatla.

Se basant sur les méthodes établies par le CMS Duncan acquit une connaissance toute particulière de la société Tsimshian.

Ses succès de conversion chez les Tsimshian furent certainement dûs à cette connaissance et à son empressement d'arriver à un compromis avec les éléments de cette société. Une autre variable qui a facilité la tâche de Duncan fut certainement la désorientation des Indiens, après la course à l'or, qui les fit s'empressement à accepter les doubles buts de la chrétienté et de la civilisation que leur missionnaire Victorien leur offrit dans la nouvelle utopie de Metlakatla.

H. B. Hawthorn. The Survival of Small Societies.

La grandeur et le pouvoir relatif des sociétés sont des variables qui entrent dans la détermination de la nature et de l'étendue du changement culturel. Les sociétés relativement petites sont sujettes à être exposées à un plus grand flot culturel. Point n'est besoin de construire des exposants de gains ou de perte culturelle, nous pouvons déduire de toutes nos impressions que, pour les sociétés de type réserve indienne, ce flot a un résultat net de perte culturelle à mesure que le siège de contrôle, la créativité et la décision leur sont enlevés. Toutefois, certaines petites sociétés peuvent arrêter et voir même renverser ce processus quand l'identité devient une valeur en soi ou que certaines institutions bien spécifiques prennent une grande valeur.

Bruce G. Trigger. Champlain Judged by His Indian Policy: A Different View of Canadian History.

Nos historiens ont toujours dépeint Samuel de Champlain comme un homme qui avait compris l'Indien, qui était généreux et plein de considération dans ses interactions avec eux. Ce court exposé basé sur une nouvelle étude des écrits de Champlain nous révèle qu'il n'avait à peu près rien compris aux Indiens avec qui il avait des rapports et était complètement désintéressé d'en apprendre plus sur eux. Les butades encourues par son manque de familiarité avec les coutumes indiennes et une anxiété grandissante pour sa carrière l'amena à une hostilité accrue et à une attitude manipulative envers eux. Ce sont ces attitudes qui lui firent épouser une politique d'assimilation, pour les groupes qu'il percevait comme dépendants des Français et de génocide pour les groupes tels que les Iroquois qu'il croyait des ennemis invétérés.

Robin Ridington. Beaver Indian Dreaming and Singing.

La culture indienne "Beaver" se compose de recherche visionnaire et d'un culte de prophète semi-messianique, cependant l'Indien "Beaver" n'est pas familier avec la littérature sur le sujet et par conséquent ignore ces faits. Ce qu'il connaît ce sont le rêve, le chant et beaucoup de ce que nous ne sommes pas conscients n'étant pas familiers avec la non-littérature qui s'y rapporte. Les rêves présentent des symboles qui font l'union entre l'inconscient et le superorganique, les chants sont les moyens par lesquels les symboles touchent les résonances entre les subjectivités. La recherche visionnaire devient une initiation quand le rêve donne la signification et qu'un chant est donné. L'initiation du prophète est la mort et ses chants sont le chemin du ciel.

Julie Cruikshank. The Potential of Traditional Societies, and of Anthropology, Their Predator.

L'anthropologie est quelquefois caractérisée comme une discipline qui étudie le périmé; sociétés primitives et isolées. Cet exposé suggère que, en fait, les patrons de vie des cultures traditionnelles, particulièrement dans le Nord canadien pourraient avoir

des applications dans la société post-industrielle. Il est possible que les anthropologues aient un rôle tout particulier à proposer certaines des leçons incarnées dans les cultures traditionnelles, qui seraient d'un grand secours à l'occidental "moderne". Si cela était, ceci pourrait donner une alternative aux prétentions que toute modernisation doit être nécessairement et inévitablement précédée d'un complet occidentaliste.

J. W. Berry. Psychological Research in the North.

Cet article comprend une revue des recherches psychologiques récentes, pour la plupart entreprises au Canada, avec les peuples indigènes du nord. Organisée en quatre sections, cette revue englobe l'habileté perceptuelle et cognitive, les attitudes et les valeurs, les traits de personnalité et la réponse psychologique à l'acculturation. Une dernière section nous fournit un examen sur le rôle du psychiatre dans l'enquête et la conduite du développement dans le nord toute en suggérant certaines recherches qui sont urgentes et essentielles dans un développement équilibré du nord.

Donat Savoie. Bibliographie d'Emile Petitot, missionnaire dans le Nord-Ouest canadien.

Emile Petitot (1838-1916) était un missionnaire Oblat. Il a beaucoup écrit sur sa vie dans le Nord-Ouest canadien et sur l'histoire, la langue et les coutumes des populations indigènes. Après l'introduction des théories d'histoire de développement et d'anthropologie du Père Petitot, l'auteur présente une bibliographie de 81 articles.

Peter J. Usher. The Canadian Western Arctic — A Century of Change.

L'auteur examine les changements démographiques économiques et sociaux dans la population esquimaude de l'Arctique occidental durant les quatre phases principales de contact entre blanc et Esquimaux. Les journaux de l'ère des explorations donnent une base par laquelle le changement peut être mesuré. L'ère de la

pêche à la baleine et de la traite des fourrures a causé des changements démographiques d'une importance capitale et a servi à orienter l'Esquimau vers une économie commerciale. L'ère moderne a obligé un mouvement de la terre vers une économie urbaine à gage et ceci a occasionné un choc profond sur la façon de vivre des Esquimaux, un choc plus profond encore que tous les changements encourus dans les ères précédentes.

John J. Honigmann. Formation of Mackenzie Delta Frontier Culture.

Dans les 150 années d'acculturation et de migration intense, une culture locale de frontière partagée par un nombre important d'indigènes se développa dans l'Arctique occidental canadien. Cette culture de frontière est formée d'activités en plein air et connexes, elle consiste aussi en un empressement à neutraliser certaines normes et valeurs de l'essentiel de la culture canadienne spécialement celles rattachées aux organisations formelles, usage de l'alcool et la police. La culture frontière d'Inuvik est un symbole par laquelle la population indigène peut affirmer son identité en s'enjoignant une façon de vivre relativement distincte.

Derek G. Smith. The Implications of Pluralism for Social Change Programs in a Canadian Arctic Community.

La thèse de base de cette dissertation est que la condition de pauvreté et la marginalité sociale diffère dans les facteurs structuraux qui les établissent et les maintiennent dans des régimes pluraux et non pluraux. De plus, ces facteurs structuraux diffèrent dans la société plurale et la communauté plurale. Le modèle de pluralisme, dont on se sert ici, se rapporte à des régimes marquant des relations hiérarchiques et rigides entre des segments sociaux, différencié par la culture et l'ethnicité entre lesquelles existe une différenciation d'accès à l'autorité et au pouvoir, plutôt qu'un consensus de valeurs entre les segments, constitue la principale source d'intégration sociale. Ce modèle est mis en œuvre dans le régime social du Mackenzie River Delta et certaines des implications du pluralisme sont étudiées pour un changement social planifié dans ce régime.

Milton M. R. Freeman. The Significance of Demographic Changes Occurring in the Canadian East Arctic.

Cette étude se rapporte aux implications, pour les programmes de développement, qu'a le haut taux de fertilité de la population esquimaude.

Dès 1968 le "N.W.T. Council" demandait une application du programme de contrôle de fertilité. Avant qu'un développement rationnel puisse maintenir le progrès déjà accompli dans les secteurs socio-économiques de la population esquimaude de l'est, l'application immédiate de ce programme est une nécessité.

Edwin S. Hall, Jr. The "Iron Dog" in Northern Alaska.

Une innovation technologique récente dans le Nord de l'Alaska, l'auto-neige a causé des changements dramatiques dans la vie des Esquimaux Noatak. Seulement quelques recherches quantitatives sur la nature et l'étendue du changement culturel dues à l'introduction de l'auto-neige sont maintenant à notre portée, mais il est malgré tout possible de percevoir certaine tendance.

Roger Pearson. Settlement Patterns and Subarctic Development: The Southwest Mackenzie, N.W.T.

Pratiquement par tous les Territoires du Nord-ouest les forces du déclin économique, la population accrue et concentrée ont occasionné des problèmes socio-économiques sérieux qui, de toute probabilité seraient en partie remédiés par une émigration hors des Territoires. Le district du South Mackenzie a, par opposition des ressources économiques adéquates et croissantes pour faire face à ces changements de population. Toutefois, les modèles et les politiques courantes de la colonisation entravent la réalisation des objectifs.

Henry B. Collins. Composite Masks: Chinese and Eskimo.

Des sculptures simili masques dépeignant une face humaine et animale d'aspect démonique, fabriquées de sections d'ivoire de cheval marin, et trouvées dans une tombe d'Esquimau préhisto-

rique en Alaska (Ipiutak) sont comparées avec des sculptures similaires faites de marbre et de coquillage découvertes dans les tombes de la dynastie Shang en Chine. Ces masques composés sont regardés comme un surcroît d'évidence de l'influence ultérieure des Chinois sur la culture préhistorique des Esquimaux.

George Rogers. Good-bye, Great White Father Figure.

Le développement des relations gouvernementales-indigènes en Alaska est tracé de la période territoriale jusqu'au moment de la formation de l'état et des années subséquentes. La grande variété d'indigènes dans l'Alaska a eu pour résultat de produire un nombre assez considérable d'associations indigènes. Ces organisations en proie à des querelles internes ont très peu souvent coopéré entre-elles. Toutefois, la découverte d'huile sur la Côte Nord de l'Alaska et les arrangements proposés pour les revendications indigènes sur les terres dans les états, ont permis aux organisations de droits indigènes de s'orienter dans une action commune. L'auteur suggère qu'un nouveau type de meneur indigène se développe — un chef qui comprend et peut interpréter des dynamiques sociaux et économiques de l'état, tout en traitant justement avec les grandes compagnies privées et les entités gouvernementaux impliquées dans le développement présent et futur de l'Alaska.

Contributors

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Henry B. Collins, Archaeologist Emeritus at the Smithsonian Institution, has been engaged in Eskimo research since 1927. He is the author of many publications on the art, archaeology, and physical anthropology of the Alaskan and Canadian Eskimos. One of his works, a volume on the archaeology of St. Lawrence Island, Alaska, was awarded the Gold Medal of the Royal Academy of Sciences and Letters of Denmark. His later field work has been in the Canadian Arctic.

Julie Cruikshank received her bachelor's degree in anthropology from the University of Toronto in 1967. The following year, while a research associate with the Canadian Research Centre for Anthropology, she did fieldwork in the Yukon Territory and wrote a report on *The Changing Roles of Indian Women* for the Royal Commission on the Status of Women. She spent the next winter completing a master's degree in anthropology at the University of British Columbia, and followed that, by a year in Alaska with the Institute of Social, Economic and Government Research. She is now working with Historic Sites in Vancouver.

Milton M. R. Freeman is Assistant Professor in the Department of Sociology and Anthropology, Memorial University of Newfoundland. He attended the Universities of Reading, London, and McGill, where he obtained his Ph.D. in 1965. He is Killam Research Associate and Director of the "Identity and Modernity in the East Arctic" Project, Memorial University 1968-71. Since 1959, he has carried out ecological field studies in the Hudson Bay region and the Canadian Arctic Archipelago.

Edwin S. Hall, Jr., received his Ph. D. in Anthropology from Yale University. His work has been centred in the Arctic regions and concentrated on the interior Eskimos of Northern Alaska. Recent research projects under his direction have investigated the late prehistoric/early historic Eskimos of the Noatak and Colville River drainages. Though Dr. Hall's early interests were in pre-history, a year spent in Noatak Village, Alaska, and the realization that a variety of approaches, including ethnography, archaeology and ethnohistory, are necessary to understand past and present change in the Arctic, has led to publications on the modern Eskimos of the area.

H. B. Hawthorn received a M.Sc. from the University of New Zealand in 1932 and a Ph.D. from Yale. Since 1947 he has been Professor of Anthropology at the University of British Columbia, where he is also Director of the Museum of Anthropology. In 1956 he was made a Fellow of the Royal Society of Canada; in 1960 he received the Percy Smith Medal in Anthropology from the University of New Zealand. He has held office in several professional associations and has been Honorary President of the Canadian Sociology and Anthropology Association since 1967. Professor Hawthorn has directed research projects for the Federal government and the governments of B.C. and Manitoba. He has published works on the Maoris, the Doukhobors, and the Indians of B.C., Manitoba and Canada.

John Honigmann, who is Professor of Anthropology at the University of North Carolina in Chapel Hill, received his training for work in the North from Cornelius Osgood at Yale University.

Following a summer's research at Fort Nelson, B. C. in 1943 he spent two summers and part of the winter with the Kaska Indians at Lower Post, B. C. and along the upper Liard River in southern Yukon Territory. He has also had field experience with Cree Indians and Eskimo. In 1963 Professor Honigmann began a seven year project studying northern towns, doing fieldwork himself in Frobisher Bay and Inuvik, while his students studied Schefferville, Great Whale River, and Churchill.

Morris Isaac is a Micmac Indian from Restigouche, P.Q. After graduating from high school he spent two years at business college in Montreal. He has been a member of the Company of Young Canadians, working with the National Film Board and training as a film editor; a Band Councillor on Restigouche Reserve; a co-editor of Indian News, and a research worker with I.A. & N.D. in Vancouver and Ottawa. He is now with the Staff Development Training Group of this department.

Jim Lotz was Associate Director of the Canadian Research Centre for Anthropology, and Research Professor in Community Development at Saint Paul University, Ottawa, between 1966 and 1971. Before that, he worked as a research officer and as a community planning officer with the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development. He graduated from McGill University with an M. Sc. in geography, and then took part in a series of Arctic expeditions. He is the author of *Northern Realities: The Future of Northern Development in Canada*.

Pat Lotz began her bibliographic career at age seven when she catalogued her books into: "About Animals" and "Not About Animals". Since then she has obtained her B.L.S. from the McGill Library School, worked as assistant-editor for the *Canadian Periodical Index* and as editor of the *Urban Research BULLETIN*.

Roger W. Pearson is currently serving as a lieutenant in the U.S. Army (Corps of Engineers), at Army Topographic Command,

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Robin Ridington received a B. A. in History from Swarthmore College in 1962 and a Ph. D. in Anthropology from Harvard University in 1968. He has done field work on the Beaver Indians of the Peace River area from 1964 until the present time. He has written on Beaver kinship, shamanism, and world view and is currently undertaking a book that will bring together what he knows about the Beavers. He feels that the Beavers have been as important an influence in his education as formal schooling. In particular, Charlie Yahey, a "dreamer", has been a patient and perceptive teacher. He has taught anthropology at the University of British Columbia since 1967.

George Rogers is Research Professor in Economics at the University of Alaska. He has carried out a wide range of studies on Alaskan development and is the author of *Alaska in Transition: The Southeast Region* and *The Future of Alaska: Economic Consequences of Statehood*. He recently edited *Change in Alaska, People, Petroleum and Politics*.

Donat Savoie a obtenu en 1969 la Maîtrise ès Arts (Anthropologie) de l'Université de Montréal. Le travail de terrain dans la communauté esquimaude de Port Nouveau-Québec ainsi que la thèse furent dirigés par M. Rémi Savard, ancien directeur du Groupe de Recherches Nordiques. Il a travaillé sous contrat avec le Bureau de Recherches scientifiques sur le Nord (Northern Science Research Group) du Ministère des Affaires indiennes et du Nord canadien, pour l'édition en deux volumes d'une partie du matériel ethnographique d'Emile Petitot. Après un court séjour dans le domaine du développement social au Ministère de l'Expansion économique régionale, il est retourné au N.S.R.G. comme officier de recherche.

Derek Smith received an honours degree in Anthropology at the University of British Columbia in 1964. A Master's degree in

Anthropology was awarded at Harvard University in 1965. He has now completed requirements for the Ph. D. at Harvard. He has done field-work in British Columbia and in the Western Arctic, has taught at the University of Victoria (1967-68), was employed as research officer in the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development (1968-70), and is now Assistant Professor in Anthropology at Carleton.

Bruce G. Trigger (Ph. D., Yale University) is Professor of Anthropology and Chairman of the Department of Anthropology, McGill University. His principal scholarly interests are African archaeology and the ethnohistory of Eastern Canada. In both fields he has published numerous books and papers. He is currently engaged in writing a detailed history of the Huron Indians to 1650. The principal aim of this book is to promote a better understanding of the important role that Indians played in the early history of Canada.

Jean Usher was educated at McGill University (B. A. 1964) and at the University of British Columbia (Ph. D. 1969). She taught kindergarten and adult education at Sachs Harbour, N. W. T. before going to the National Museum of Man in 1967 where she is the Western Canadian historian in the History Division. Dr. Usher has taught Canadian history at the Université de Montréal and in 1970-71 was visiting professor at McGill. She is a contributor to the Dictionary of Canadian Biography and is currently working on the emergence of a Dominion Indian policy in the nineteenth century and is editing the journal of George Hills, the first Anglican Bishop of British Columbia.

Peter Usher, a human geographer, was educated at McGill University and the University of British Columbia. He has been engaged in northern research since 1962. His doctoral research concerned the ecology and economy of the trapping community on Banks Island, N. W. T. He is employed by the Northern Science Research Group of the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development and also teaches part time at Carleton University.



IMPRIMERIE NOTRE-DAME, RICHELIEU, QUÉ.