ANTHROPOLOGICA

N.S. Vol. XXII, No. 2, 1980

LE CENTRE CANADIEN
DE RECHERCHES
EN ANTHROPOLOGIE
UNIVERSITÉ SAINT-PAUL

THE CANADIAN RESEARCH
CENTRE
FOR ANTHROPOLOGY
SAINT PAUL UNIVERSITY

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ISSN 0003-5459

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

Anthropologica is published twice a year and features articles in the fields of cultural and social anthropology and related disciplines.

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

Anthropologica paraît deux fois par année et publie des articles relevant de l'anthropologie culturelle et sociale et des disciplines connexes.

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Subscription rate: $20.00 per annum.

Le prix de l'abonnement est de $20.00 par année.

The views expressed are the authors' and not necessarily those of the Centre.
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Anthropologica is published with the assistance of the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada.
Anthropologica est publié avec le concours financier du Conseil de recherches en sciences humaines du Canada.

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A Structural Approach to the Tsimshian Raven Myths: Lévi-Strauss on the Beach

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RÉSUMÉ

Cinq mythes du cycle tsimshien du Corbeau, recueilli par Franz Boas, sont analysés selon la perspective structuraliste. On insiste sur les modalités d'oppositions binaires qui forment les structures essentielles des mythes, de même que sur la notion de transformation. Le caractère principal est le Corbeau, le «décepteur», qui est le médium entre le monde des esprits et le monde de l'homme, entre la nature et la culture. Les mythes sont perçus comme servant à communiquer les valeurs sociales: les actions incorrectes ou antisociales du héro conduisent au désastre. De plus, les mythes ont une fonction épistémologique: ils expliquent aux Tsimshiens la genèse de leur monde et ils identifient les forces qui soutiennent la réalité matérielle.

INTRODUCTION

Much published structural analysis has concentrated on mythology (Lévi-Strauss, Leach, Maranda, Hammond-Tooke; see bibliography). One of the most significant contributions to this analytic approach has been the work of Lévi-Strauss, most notably his four volume opus magnum "Mythologiques". This present paper is a structural approach to the mythology of the Northwest Coast Tsimshiam Indians. It employs variations on structuralist techniques, particularly those developed by Lévi-Strauss.

The myths here considered were collected from the Tsimshian by Franz Boas. As the stories progress, a series of transformations

occur. The "hero", or central character, battles against various uncontrollable forces and is gradually changed. In these myths important social and moral elements or values of the culture are mirrored against opposite elements or values. The transformations which occur in the main character, Raven, occur in terms of these oppositions.

Raven is an example of a character type found in all mythologies: the trickster. The trickster moves between the static state of the animal-spirit world and the state of constant change which is the world of man. He exposes the contrast, reveals the dialectic. Thus light arises from dark, heat from cold, and mortality from timelessness. In these transitions it is most often the trickster who is the agent of these transformations. In the end, however, it is Raven himself who is altered the most.

The myths transmit cultural messages. These messages we find to be packaged in codes, generally in imagery related to sensory aspects of the material world. Thus we find contrasts of visual (e.g. light-dark), tactile (hard-soft), auditory (loud-quiet), and other sensory factors. The characters, the trickster and his foils, are seen to move among these elements and at the same time are a part of them.

This paper experiments with a formula for mythic analysis constructed by Lévi-Strauss (1963). The formula:

$$\frac{fx(a)}{fy(b)} :: \frac{fx(b)}{fa\text{-}1(y)}$$

describes the way in which a myth manipulates oppositions. X and y are functions, a and b are characteristics of these functions, and a-1 stands for an original state as it is transformed.

The message of a myth concerns man's understanding of the universe. This understanding necessarily relates to the problem of logically opposed pairs. This study of Tsimshian mythology tries to delineate some of these oppositions and show how they relate to Tsimshian cosmology.

To the Tsimshian Indians of the Northwest Coast the universe was as much vague and spirit filled as it was immediate and tangible. Behind any material object or creature stood a non-material force that supported the substance of solid things. The two aspects of real-

ity were not divorced from one another but were two faces of the same thing. These two sides of reality came together in the native mind through concepts of mediation, these concepts being made comprehensible through the medium of myth.

For the Tsimshian the primal mediating force between the nonmaterial and the concrete was represented by the figure of the Raven. In its worldly guise, the raven occupied the same environments as man and competed with man for food. But a difference existed in that the raven ate its food uncooked, and it spent most of its time in those parts of the environment which were transitional between contrasting aspects of the universe. The raven was seen either on the beach, in the liminal space between land and sea, or in the sky, aloft or perched on a branch, between earth and heaven. The spirit behind the raven was associated with these transitory aspects of the universe. This spirit was Raven, also known as Txamsem or Giant. Raven was not only the major mediating figure between the incorporeal and substantial worlds, but also was seen as the creator, the force that disrupted the timeless and static universe which existed before the material world coalesced.

Myth tends to deal with important sociological aspects of a people's reality. Very often we find social prescriptions dealt with by inversion. A social convention is not followed in the myth and this sets off disturbances in the world where the myth occurs. We shall see that in the Tsimshian Raven myths this is what occurs: a contrasocial action by a father leads to his son's death and sets off a series of disruptions through the universe. We will observe the oppositions and contrasts that are involved in composing the people's sense of reality. In seeing how these relate to basic patterns of social organization, we will be moving in the direction of trying to understand the structure of consciousness. The more particular aspect of social regulation relates to one culture (here Tsimshian), but the way in which the relevant information is packaged and communicated relates to universal human adaptation.

In dealing with his environment man processes data in terms of contrasts — a binary complex. But there is an inherent ambiguity in the concept of duality, for between the two oppositions is always a mediating force relating the two. Thus there is a triad co-existent with, or in the same space as, the duality. We find then in the Tsimshian concept of the duality of universal nature — material versus

immaterial, world of man versus world of spirits — that there is always a mediating force. There is always something to bridge the gap. We might imagine the beach that lies between land and sea is a part of both but at the same time neither. It is a thing unto itself. As we look at the Raven myths we will see that there are many aspects of this particular "culture hero" that join two sides of a duality, but at the same time he is a thing separate. We shall see Raven as a creature of the beach, between land and sea, and as a creature of the air, between heaven and earth. And in terms of man's place in the cosmos, we will see Raven as a creature with both human-ness and non-human-ness, a being that the Tsimshian identified with yet which also represented the world opposed to man's, the world of spirits. Between worlds Raven was the mediating force and the agent of transformation.

This paper will present an analysis of the structure of five of the Tsimshian Raven myths. These myths are part of a cycle of 38 Raven myths collected by Boas. This analysis will involve a study of contrasts found both within and between myths. Such a structural approach, following the directions pointed out by Claude Lévi-Strauss, follows the assumption that human consciousness comprehends the world through the contrasting of opposites. Reality is the result of complex organization of such oppositions as light-dark, hot-cold, up-down, pain-no pain, and so on. As such basic intellectual processes are true of all men, an analysis of the art, literature, or social organization of any society should reflect these processes.

To more clearly see how these changes occur within the myths we are studying, the analytical concepts of armature, code, and message will be referred to. By armature we mean a combination of properties which remain invariant throughout several myths; code refers to the pattern of functions ascribed by each myth to these properties; message is the subject matter of an individual myth (definitions from Lévi-Strauss, 1969: 199).

In the myths here being studied armature refers to an invariant combination of elements: the search for food of the main character, the constant travelling from one place to another, and a turning point in the middle of each myth where the fortune of the hero reverses. This combination of elements is a flexible but nonetheless permanent program inside which changes in code are inserted.

Code refers to the design of the program in any particular myth. More particularly, it refers to the detailed ways in which the armature elements are presented, using contrasts between tangible qualities. We see in different myths different codes, all basically related to man's sensory experience, are used. For example in Myth 1 the search for food is, in part, couched in visual terms as light (fire) in contrast with universal darkness. This produces a luminescent being who because of his demands for food is made into a black Raven. In other instances we will see the same search for food expressed in digestive (gustatory), auditory and tactile terms.

Message refers to the subject matter of an individual myth. As the whole Raven cycle deals with an essential discontinuity, the reverberations caused by the discontinuity, and its eventual resolution, there is one basic message throughout. The superficial subject matter varies, but the real statement about human social relations is again and again repeated, using different codes. Put simply, the message of the Raven myths is of the necessity for cultured beings, spirits or men, to observe social conventions.

As a final point on the concept of message, it should be noted that various authors (Lévi-Strauss, 1969; Beck, 1978) have used the concept of message when comparing changes that occur in a myth (or folktale) when it passes from culture to culture or from one social stratum to another. In these cases message is seen to alter and often invert as the various social groups absorb and individualize the stories. In the Raven myths we find many alterations of code and inversions of elemental detail, but these changes simply augment one another. They do not alter a basic, constant message.

Mythology is a form of human communication. Culturally important ideas are transmitted person to person, generation to generation, through the medium of myth. Generally the types of messages communicated deal with social cohesiveness. The story line of myths usually deals with nuclear family relations. Usually the story passes on information about correct (or destructive) social interaction in a family context. We will see that in the Raven myths an incorrect action by a father (giving too much care and attention to his son) leads to the death of the boy. This destructive action sets off a chain of events that is universally calamitous. The social message about how to care for a son is thus subtly but powerfully communicated.

A simple message is being passed through the culture, but at the same time there is always a hesitancy or ambiguity involved. Things are not easily understood and cannot be perfectly explained. Inconsistencies abound in mythology. Thus as we look at the Raven myths we will see that in the first myth the father who originally heaped excessive attention on his son, eventually rejects the youth and expels him from the community. And in the last myth we will see Raven, at first an epitome of greed and trickery, eventually reversing his role and being generous. So the myths pass on rules and explain the universe, but at the same time do not leave the individual actor with a total understanding of the world around him. Myth functions, in part, to perpetuate ambiguities essential for the preservation of cultural and behavioral flexibility.

I

In interpreting their experience the Tsimshian, as all cultures, constructed their own unique complex of oppositional relations. Basic black / white, up / down, type contrasts were mixed with other cosmological concepts which allowed for a connection of opposites. Hence the concept of height is related to the supernatural and otherworldly, whereas places near the ground are linked to the world of man. The creatures of myth mediate these two realms. The opposition of east-west, or in Tsimshian, towards land versus towards sea, also relates to a difference between the unknowable and the everyday. In this situation there exists the mediating force of the salmon and oolichan (Lévi-Strauss, 1967). These pass through Tsimshian territory on their way upstream, travelling west to east. And it should be mentioned that this is also the direction of travel that we find the hero of the Raven myths moving in. We must keep in mind these types of oppositions as we view the Tsimshian myths.

Within the Tsimshian universe Raven was the creator; not the ultimate creator but the mediator, the supernatural being whose role it was to transform a universe of stillness and dark into the busy world wherein man finds himself. The first myth of the Tsimshian Raven cycle deals with the origin of chaos and the birth of Raven. The story is set in the world of the animal spirits. The spirits live, as the Tsimshian could only imagine them, in a world identical in social detail to the Indian world. The animals are perceived as supernatural

beings who live in a natural order — and who have access to powers that man does not.

> *MYTH 1:* The world is still and timeless and dark. An animal spirit chief has a favourite son for whom he has built a bed, over his own, in the rear of his house. The chief cares for his son very well and in fact too well, washing the boy regularly and pampering him. As a result of this excessive care the boy weakens and dies. The boy's intestines are burned and his body is placed in his bed. Miraculously the next day another young man, the Shining Youth "bright as fire" appears in the dead boy's bed. This new youth is accepted as a new son by the chief and is given great affection by all the animal villagers. But the Shining Youth worries his new parents as he does not eat. Then two slaves, who eat great quantities of whale meat, tell the young man that their great appetites come from the fact that they have eaten scabs. One of the slaves tricks the youth, making out that their great appetites are pleasurable. The youth asks for and is given scabs to eat by one of the slaves, though the other slave objects. The youth develops an insatiable hunger. He soon eats his family and the whole village out of house and home and is finally sent away by his father who gives the Shining Youth gifts of a stone, a bladder full of berries and fish roe, and a raven blanket. With the raven blanket the Shining Youth becomes Raven. (Boas, 1916, page 58.)

At the outset of this myth we find the situation stated in terms which relate to oppositions. As was noted in the first paragraph of this section, the concepts of higher / lower and towards land / towards sea are important within Tsimshian world view. So when we see that the boy's bed is placed above his father's bed and to the rear of the house (meaning away from the sea, since Tsimshian houses face the sea), we see that the son is indeed placed in an honoured position, a position too honoured for a non-adult. This point cannot be overemphasized, for it is the elemental factor of the whole Raven myth cycle. The fact that the father cares for his son so very well, pampering him, is in opposition to Tsimshian social custom. Drucker (1965) notes that among the Tsimshian, boys of 9 or 10 years were sent to live with their mother's brother, as it was felt that a father would not be strict enough with his own son. And this is just the point at the start of the Raven myth: a father pampers his son and the boy weakens and dies. This unnatural situation is the basic cause for all the turmoil which is to come and which eventually results in the origin of the material world.

The smoke from the burned intestines has risen in the atmosphere and the next day the Shining Youth appears (sent, he says by Heaven). The youth has two notable qualities: he shines in the dark

(and in the animal world all is dark) and he does not eat. We see here a relationship between the fire, which destroyed the intestines of the chief's son, and the youth "bright as fire" who has no appetite. The relevant elements are fire and food; there is a play on these elements throughout the Raven myth cycle. Fire is the transforming force which man uses to treat raw meat and make it into "cultured" food. But in Myth 1 fire is used to burn human flesh (which is inappropriate) and the result is an unnatural appetite in a miraculous being.

The pivotal point in this first myth comes when the slaves give scabs to the boy to eat. The consuming of this most unnatural sort of "food" results in the youth's transformation from having no appetite to having an insatiable one. Because of the youth's peculiar origin, related to the burning of intestines and thus being essentially related to food and appetite, when he eats the hunger inducing non-food he develops endless hunger.

The slaves are the paramount instruments of mediation in causing this transforming in the youth. They have mixed qualities as mediators. Among Northwest Coast peoples, slaves were captured enemies and thus were beings from outside the local society. They could not be considered human beings in the way in which members of their captor's society could be. Thus slaves were non-human beings and yet were at the same time another type of human being. In the Raven myths the slaves are at one extreme of a continuum, the other end of which is the spirits, the midpoint of which is man.

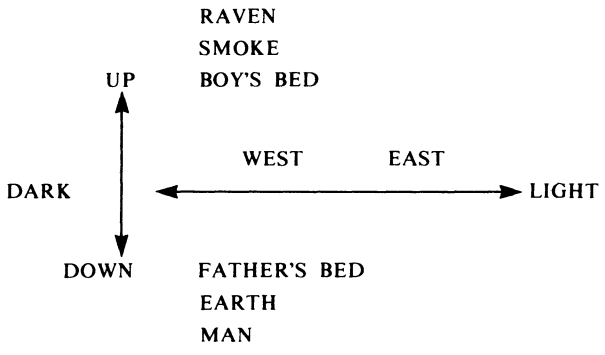
The two slaves must also be viewed as twins. Although they are husband and wife, they are two of a kind, different from all else around. Lévi-Strauss (1963) notes that twins tend to bring opposites into association but leave them individually distinct. We find this with the Shining Youth. Though at first he does not eat and then is introduced to food through the mediators, he remains apart from other beings for he eats too much. The action of the slaves is the point around which Myth 1 swings and is the cause of the great change in the Shining Youth.

A third aspect of the slaves is that they can be seen as tricksters. We conclude this because the slave who gives the scab to the youth is called "a bad man" by his wife. Lévi-Strauss (1963) finds that tricksters are mediators who bring opposites into juxtaposition. In Myth 1 we see that because of the actions of the slave, the Shining Youth is

sent away and becomes Raven the creator, the great mediator. This figure is himself in juxtaposition to the world he creates and through whom the world of man and the world of the spirits meet.

The great appetite of the youth results in his father banishing him. We thus see a complete reversal of the first part of the myth, where the father was over-attentive to his son. In the second half of the myth the father is guilty of extreme under-attention and actually expels the Shining Youth. To leave the spirit world and seek his fortune the Shining Youth dons the raven blanket and becomes Raven. Raven ascends and travels east, over the sea.

DIAGRAM 1



We have noted various opposing forces and elements in Myth 1. They can be summarized as:

higher	*lower*
east (towards land)	west (towards sea)
dead boy — Shining Youth	Shining Youth — Raven
burned (cooked) intestines — no appetite	raw meat — super appetite
excessive attention by father	rejection by father
stasis	movement

These oppositions swing around the incident of eating the scab. From the earth-bound world arises Raven, moving from the still

timeless spirit world to the unpredictable world of man. The over-attention of the father at the start of Myth 1, followed by the burning of the boy's intestines, has led to the miraculous arrival of the Shining Youth with an unnatural (negative) appetite. The eating of the scabs results in a different (positive) unnatural appetite and ends in the rejection of the boy by his father.

The primary oppositions in Myth 1 can be better seen by adopting the Lévi-Strauss (1963) formula.[1]

$$\frac{fx(a)}{fy(b)} :: \frac{fx(b)}{fa\text{-}1(y)}$$

where fx and fy are functions, a and b are characteristics of these functions.

We can substitute:

$$\frac{\text{overdemanding father}}{\text{loss of son}} :: \frac{\text{overdemanding son}}{\text{fatherlessness of a lost person}}$$

That is, the over-demanding (of affection) by the father for the son *is to* the loss of the son *as* the over-demanding (of food) by the son *is to* the fatherlessness of a lost person (Raven). Again, it is the slaves who are the central point around which this opposition swings. A diagram helps to see the progression of events in Myth 1 (see Diagram 2).

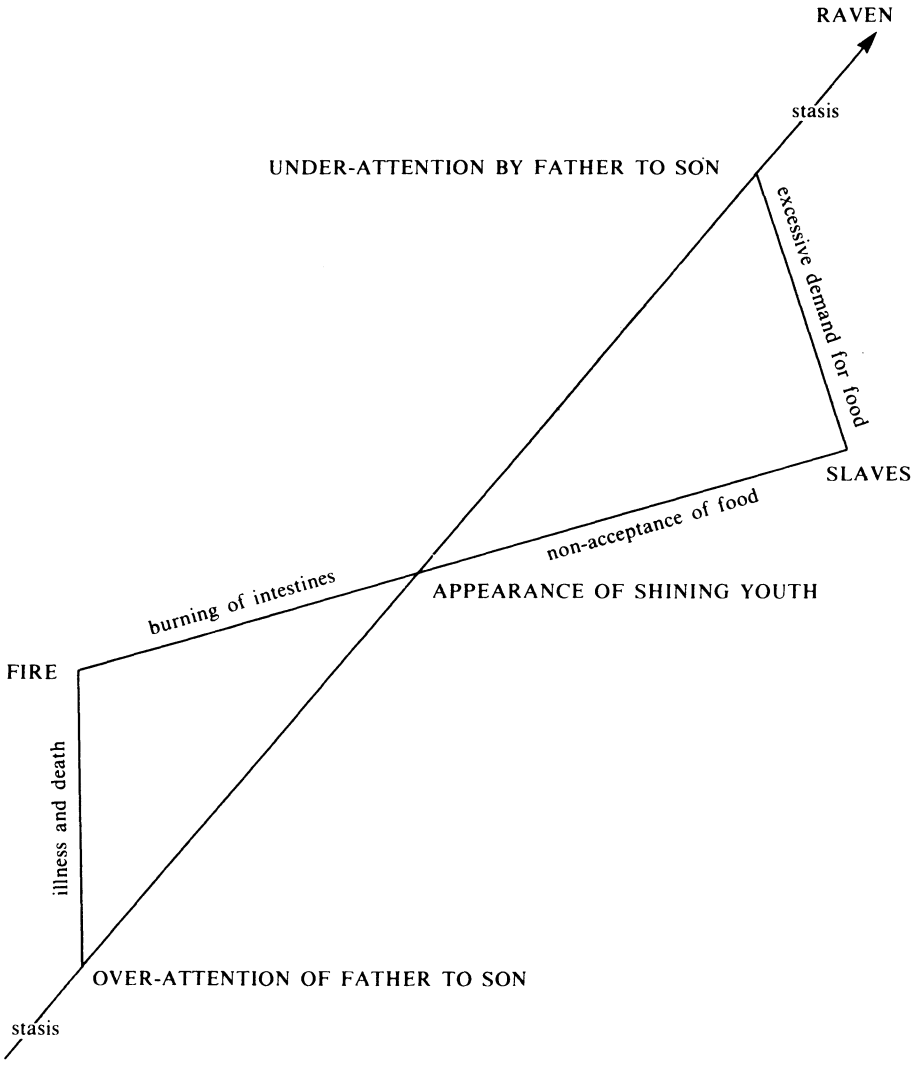
The message in Myth 1 is implicit in the formula we have arrived at: the incorrect social action is threatening to the very roots of the culture. It will lead to destruction if something is not done to rectify the situation. What in fact the father does, does solve the problem in the animal village but does not correct the situation more generally. Thus a seed of destruction is planted in a hitherto stable universe.

This first myth is communicated in terms of visual and gustatory codes. In the primeval darkness light exists only in the form of fire which the (cultured) spirits use for cooking. When the intestines are

[1] In this formula a and b are terms (e.g. father, son), while x and y are functions of these terms (overdemanding, loss). "A relationship of equivalence exists between two situations defined respectively by an inversion of *terms* and *relations* under two conditions: (1) that one term be replaced by its opposite (in the above formula a and a-1); (2) that an inversion be made between the *function value* and the *term value* of two elements (above, y and a)." (Lévi-Strauss, 1963, p. 228).

The formula is an attempt by Lévi-Strauss to construct a universal statement of progression and transformation in myth. It suggests that there is always a major transformation wherein a change in a main character occurs.

DIAGRAM 2


RAVEN
stasis
UNDER-ATTENTION BY FATHER TO SON
excessive demand for food
SLAVES
non-acceptance of food
burning of intestines
APPEARANCE OF SHINING YOUTH
FIRE
illness and death
OVER-ATTENTION OF FATHER TO SON
stasis

burned (treated like food), the result is the appearance of the Shining Youth, a creature of light in a world of darkness. The essential relation between the Shining Youth and cooked food leads (through the slave sequence) to the boundless hunger which necessitates expulsion. The gift of the raven blanket returns us to darkness once again. The body of the Shining Youth is cloaked in black as he sets out into the darkness.

In our discussion of the visual code we can see a gustatory code emerging as well. The too-well cared-for boy's intestines are cooked as food. The slaves give non-food, scabs, to the Shining Youth. He then swings from no appetite to too great an appetite. These visual and gustatory domains form binary oppositions. They are codes which serve to symbolically express the sense of disturbance which will occur if actions threatening to culture are perpetrated. These codes are intertwined around the properties of seeking food, travelling, and reversals of fortune which were above defined as aspects of armature. This complex communicate the message.

So Raven is sent out into the world. The burning of the boy's intestines left a cosmic gap which caused endless hunger. This is an instability in the order of the universe of the animal spirits and they send him out of their world. Raven's only choice is to go desperately seeking relief for the burning in his belly. It is in taking to wing and flying over water that the Shining Youth really becomes Raven. Thus in a sense Raven is born of water as the Shining Youth was born of fire. Aloft, neither in the world of spirits nor the world of man, between heaven and earth, Raven flies east towards the Coast, to the home of the Tsimshian.

II

The cycle goes on to describe Raven's arrival on the mainland and his endless search for food. He restlessly wanders, overturning and upsetting things in his desperation. As the character of Raven becomes clear we see him as a classical figure of myth, a trickster and thief who has no inhibitions about how he satisfies his needs. Raven is the epitome of disorder in the static and changeless spirit world. His relentless wandering, and the poking around with his beak, constantly upsets things. This new order he initiates is the changeable but generally predictable material world.

Raven's qualities span the intangible world of the spirits and the material world of man. He is thus an essentially ambiguous character. This can be seen in the various myths which follow his wanderings. At times he is a powerful thief and trickster; at the other times he is the victim of even very weak enemy forces. At times he is arrogant but at other times he is a tragic, even pathetic figure. These various aspects of the mediator and great transformer, Raven, can be seen in most of the myths in the cycle. We will look at two of these, observing the character of Raven. We will see how his characteristics relate to Tsimshian culture, and observe how the various myths in the cycle are related one to the other. We will see, too, how the system of oppositions established in Myth 1 continues on. The structure is maintained while the same theme reworked in different harmonies.

> *MYTH 18:* Raven appears with a slave to help him in his endless quest for food. They arrive at a village and Raven instructs his slave to tell the people that a great chief, wearing abalone ear ornaments, is walking on the beach in front of the town. One of the village chiefs invites Raven and his slave into a house to eat. Raven instructs his slave to tell the chief that he would like to eat. But the slave, being greedy like his master, tells their host that the great chief (Raven in disguise) does not want to eat. So the slave gets all the food, Raven none. Raven is angry and when the two have left the village, Raven builds a bridge over a deep canyon out of a skunk cabbage stem and forces his slave to walk on it. The bridge collapses and the slave plummets, his belly bursting when he hits the bottom. Raven flies down to the bottom of the canyon and eats the contents of the slave's stomach, taking the food into his hands and eating every bit. (Boas, 1916.)

Parallels exist between this myth and Myth 1. As the Shining Youth arrived at the house of a chief and was welcomed, so is Raven in Myth 18. The fact that Raven is referred to as a great chief with iridescent abalone ear ornaments places him in the position of an exceptional outsider, as was the Shining Youth. As in Myth 1, Raven does not eat in the first part of the myth and over-eats in the second part. And in both of these myths it is slaves who are the major forces of mediation. In Myth 18 Raven at first gets little food for he is tricked by his slave. Thus in both Myths 1 and 18 the slave is a trickster who tricks Raven; in both myths this trickery is the turning point.

The slave in Myth 18 is autochthonous, having been created by Raven from a piece of rotten wood in Myth 17. Thus the slave's very being mediates between non-life and life. As in Myth 1, the incident

with the slave is directly related to food. A superficial difference exists in the ways in which the hunger of the Shining Youth / Raven is satisfied. In Myth 1 the village is emptied of food through the Shining Youth's endless appetite. In Myth 18 the slave's guts are emptied. Raven is almost cannibalistic — almost but not quite. He eats the food from the slave's belly but not the slave's flesh. These two incidents of gluttony have an essential quality. Both involve taking all the food from one's kin, and result in either threatening or causing death.

A further parallel between the two series exists. Myth 18 ends in a similar way to that in which Myth 1 begins: the slave's guts are emptied out of his body as the boy's intestines are removed. The incident in Myth 1 is in fact the cause of the incident in Myth 18. A chart comparing these two myths helps to see the parallels — see diagram 3

DIAGRAM 3
Comparison of Myth 1 with Myth 18

MYTH 1 — OVERATTENTION: incorrect action father to son destroying)	UNDERATTENTION: incorrect action son to father (consuming)
BURNING INTESTINES	GLUTTONY
SLAVES	
SLAVE	
MYTH 18 — UNDERATTENTION: incorrect action son to father (consuming)	OVERATTENTION: incorrect action father to son (destroying)
GLUTTONY	EMPTYING INTESTINES

Things are not always straighforward in myths and ambiguities continually appear. So we find that although there is a direct parallel between Myth 1 and Myth 18, there is also a reversal. But both relate to a similar theme: to demand more that what is rightly one's due is unnatural (whether that demand is for affection or food). Such unnatural demands upset the order of the universe.

$$\frac{\text{trickery of a created person}}{\text{hunger of Raven}} :: \frac{\text{trickery of Raven}}{\text{destruction of a glutton}}$$

The driving force in Raven causes him to destroy his own creation (his son) just as Raven's father banished him.

The message in Myth 18 is the same as that of Myth 1: incorrect social action leads to chaos and disaster. The armature relates to the search for food, travelling and reversals in fortune. The primary code in Myth 18 is one we saw earlier used in Myth 1, a gustatory code. Binary oppositions of too little and too much food exist in both halves of Myth 18. Raven's emptiness and the slave's gluttony in the first sequence are opposed to Raven's gluttony and the slave's emptiness at the end. The incorrect action of the slave in eating his father's (i.e. Raven's) food in the first part is countered by the equally incorrect action of Raven tearing the food from the belly of his own son in the second. It is quite clear, here, how code and armature interact and work together to convey a message of proper social action.

Myth 26 presents us with an ambiguity of a different sort. Here Raven's fortunes are reversed. The culture hero and great transformer is thwarted in his attempts to get food. Now he is left pathetic, helpless, and earthbound.

> *MYTH 26:* The myth begins with Raven, thinking quietly, on the lookout for food. Coming to a great plain, he sees a large house and hears people singing. As he approaches, a voice calls him great chief, invites him in, and he enters proudly, seating himself before the fire. There are voices but no visible beings for this is the house of chief Echo, one of the invisible spirits. Food is miraculously (invisibly) prepared and presented to Raven, in dishes which appear to move of their own accord. There are large pieces of mountain goat and mountain sheep fat hanging on the walls of the house and, while he is eating, Raven plots to steal these. But as soon as he thinks of this, he hears women laughing and saying that they know Raven is plotting a theft. He feels ashamed. These spirits are not only invisible, they can read thoughts. Raven jumps up impulsively, snatches up some meat, and heads for the door. But before he is able to escape a large stone hammer beats him on the ankle and he is badly hurt. He is dragged and cast out. He lies in the dirt crying from hunger and pain. The next day he takes a stick and tries to walk away. (Boas, 1916.)

This myth is unique among the Raven myths for the only character to actually appear is Raven. Yet the forces he must deal with are completely beyond his abilities. As in Myths 1 and 18, he is offered hospitality by a chief. And as in the other myths the central elements are Raven's hunger and greed. These inspire trickery and thieving. Again the food he gets is enough to satisfy his endless appetite.

In a way this unusual myth takes us to the bare bones of the Raven cycle and perhaps of all mythology. The "hero", in his quest, must deal with incomprehensible forces. These invisible forces are

what men, too, must deal with. The rules and mores of culture are such invisible forces. If one goes counter to these rules, one can expect disastrous consequences.

The point of transition in Myth 26 is the laughter of the women. On entering the house and being treated like an honoured guest, Raven feels pride; with the laughter of the women he feels shame. Thus the change that takes place in this myth is not cosmic or even mortal life-death. Rather it is a change in a person's sense of self worth, his ego. In the end, Raven is reduced from pride to pathetic weeping and hobbling.

The women are the force of mediation between the states of Raven's mind. Once he is seated and eating, the only voice he hears is that of the women. The transformation in Raven's character is accomplished through the mediating force of a power which scorns him with female voices. Presumably, being laughed at by women is something that would never happen to a Tsimshian chief. A completely disconcerting situation arises in reply to Raven's anti-social inclinations towards greed and thievery. We once again see the theme of incorrect action and disastrous results repeated.

The action of Myth 26 can be summed up by expressing our formula:

$$\frac{\text{pride of Raven}}{\text{humility of invisible spirits}} :: \frac{\text{laughter of invisible spirits}}{\text{the shame of a humiliated person}}$$

Chief Echo, who is obviously very powerful, offers food and shelter to Raven, a weaker person, and even calls Raven "great chief". Chief Echo is of great strength and yet can be humble. Raven is also of the spirit world but his tragic flaw, endless hunger, makes him weak. Rather than being humble, he will only ever be humiliated.

In terms of our analysis of armature, code and message, we once again note the similarities running through the myths of the Raven cycle. The message is in essence the same as in the myths previously cited: an anti-social act leads to turmoil and the downfall of the actor. In the instance of Myth 26 the negative act is not within a kin group. Rather it deals with the treat to society when hospitality is answered with aggression and theft. It becomes apparent that the theme of correct versus incorrect social action is, throughout the myth cycle, related to various types of social relationships. Society is

built on a framework of such relations and when these are threatened, the whole fabric of social structure is threatened.

Again we find systems of codes intertwined around the armature of searching for food, movement and reversal of fortune. Minor codes in Myth 26 augment a major, gustatory code. The strongest of the minor codes is that related to sound. The impact of the sound images arises as the spirits Raven encounters are perceived only by the ear. At the very start of this myth we find Raven quietly thinking. Then he comes to the house which has beings who make noise though they have no bodies. So the beginning quietness has its opposition in creatures whose very being is noise. The auditory code is similarly complemented by the visual. Things are either there or they are not; visibility opposes invisibility. There is another code which here comes into play, that of emotion. As noted in the formula above, this myth counterposes pride and shame. These are communicated through the laughter of the women (in response to his pride) and the crying of Raven (in shame at being thwarted).

These various codes are on a level separate from the primary, gustatory code. It is Raven's hunger which causes him to travel through the forest and onto the plain. It is hunger that leads him to attempt the theft of food. He goes from an environment of no food to one where he is surrounded by the raw meat hanging on the walls. He is fed all he can eat but still wants more. A very great hunger and a very great supply of food are here opposed. The uncooked meat hanging on the walls is in opposition to Raven's hunger, the mediating force is the cooked food offered to Raven which he devours but "rejects" in tyring to steal the raw food. Raven rejects hospitality as he rejects the cooked food of Chief Echo. He is thus rejecting culture for nature. The results are calamitous. Again the message of correct social action is communicated through the code.

III

The adventures of Raven continue as he relentlessly searches for food. He wars with supernatural forces, thieving and tricking various animal spirits, sometimes getting food but never satiating his hunger. In Myth 36, Raven steals food from the wolves but is found out. He flees north, paddling on a log. This sets up Myth 37, in which Raven's frantic quest is ended. This is not necessarily the end of Raven,

as we shall see in Myth 38, but it is the end of his nomadic wanderings. And more, it is the end of the spirit world. Now time and space begin as man perceives them. Raven is the mediating force that brings about this transformation: while he wanders the universe is in a state of flux between the world of spirits and the world of man. As was said before, the trickster brings two states into juxtaposition. As long as Raven exists incarnate and active, this juxtaposition exists. But when Raven's restlessness ceases, the spirit world retreats and time begins. It is the era of man.

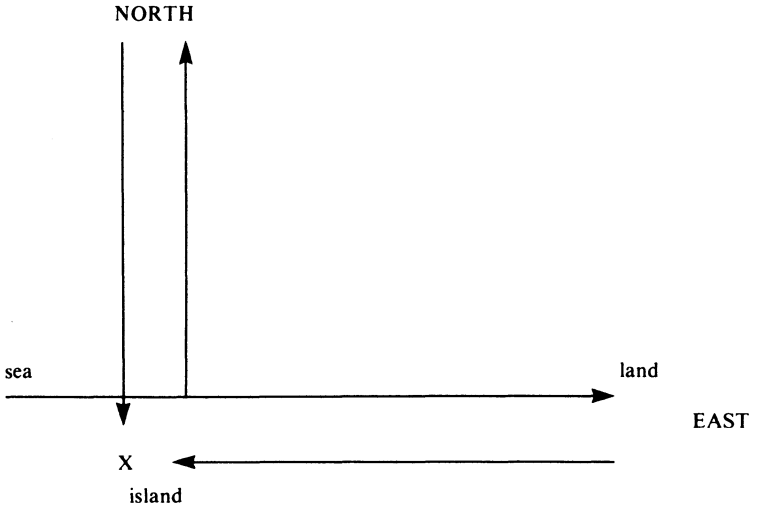
The potent symbol of the arrival of the new area is the solidification of the formerly incorporeal universe, signified by spirits turning to stone. In the world of man things are substantial and predictable.

> *MYTH 37:* Raven returns from the north wearing his old Raven blanket. On arriving he gives a feast for the spirits. Raven invites the spirits to his new house, on an island, and holds the first potlatch. When his guests have all arrived, he addresses them saying he wishes they would turn into rocks. The spirits do become rocks and then Raven himself decides to become a rock. Only one spirit, the devilfish (a kind of octopus) refuses to become a rock but he must remain at the bottom of the sea. (Boas, 1916.)

As a potlatch is the ultimate statement in sharing property, Raven, a great symbol of greed, gives up his past inclinations and offers to share. The powerful shaking force of universal instability is thus subdued. The consequent stasis is symbolized by the spirits turning to stone. This all takes place on an island; that is, a place that is neither land nor sea but in between. It contains conceptual elements of both. The spirits become stone thus become attached to — become a part of — the earth, no more to roam as they did. So things solidify, and the ephemeral timelessness of the spirit world coalesces into the material world. The great mediator has accomplished the last great transformation. The few spirits that do remain must stay away from the world of man for now they will be susceptible to corporeal injury. This is seen in Myth 37 where it is said that if the devilfish leaves his place at the bottom of the sea he may perish. And we shall see in Myth 38, if a spirit living in the mountains comes down to the world of man he is in danger.

Raven comes to rest on an island, west of the land where he first travelled to, south of the north country where he next went to. The island is neither land nor sea, jutting up and filling a space between the sky and the surface of the world.

DIAGRAM 4



Until this myth the Raven cycle delivers its message of correct / incorrect social through inversions. Through portrayal of the disastrous consequences of incorrect action, correct action is implied. But now we find a significant reversal, both in the character of Raven and in the method of communication. A correct action, of generosity by Raven, leads to a positive situation — the end of turmoil and the start of the world of man. So correct social action leads to stability.

The armature, however, remains unchanged. Raven travels from the north, holds a potlatch, and all the spirits come to receive gifts and food. The reversal of the situation is now really a reversal of state. The incorporeal spirits turn to stone. This latter limb of the armature relates directly to the code which strikes the strongest chord in Myth 37, tactility. The change from a non-material state to a solid state signifies not only the end of the spirit world but also the end of Raven's wandering. This is the final conclusion to the original problem which the messages in the various myths refer to. Corporeal life, signified by the devilfish (or by implication, man) lies at a mid-point between these two extremes of solidity / insolidity. The transition from incorrect to correct action is further expressed by a code of

old / new: Raven arrives from the north in his old Raven blanket, but builds a new house. The potlatch represents the transitory stage from the old to the new covering. It is through the giving of the potlatch that Raven reverses disorder, acts correctly, and stabilizes the universe.

IV

The cycle does not end with the petrification of Raven. He is the creator, a child of heaven, and is immortal. The final myth, Myth 38, concerns his further adventures and his relations with man.

> *MYTH 38:* It is the period just prior to the arrival of white people. A great Tsimshian chief has built a new house which is very beautiful and becomes famous. Raven hears about this house, comes to look at it and is shot and wounded. Years pass and a new character, a man, is introduced. He has lost all his goods, and those of his wife and children, through gambling. The man goes away and wanders aimlessly in the mountains. He eventually comes to a great plain and on crossing the plain finds a deep valley with a house at the bottom. This is Raven's home. The spirit introduces himself and says that he has known about the man ever since the man left his home. After feeding the man, Raven sends two pups he has up into the mountains to get food. The pups are transformed into a pair of "hau hau", frightful roaring monsters. They go to their work and throw down many mountain sheep. Raven wraps the meat around a stick, squeezes out the fat, and gives it to the man. The man is then able to return quickly to his home on the coast, his trip made easy by Raven's "magic". Raven flattens out the mountains in front of the man and these make terrible noises as they return to their original shapes. On returning home the man distributes his new wealth among his kinsmen. (Boas, 1916.)

This last myth is a bit problematic. Boas seems to reject it as an integral part of the cycle. He suggests (p. 723) that it is a recent conglomeration and he points out certain elements such as the two dogs, the wounding of a giant who visits a house, and a deep valley which is the home of a spirit. These elements are, says Boas, taken from other myths, some Tsimshian, some Kwakiutl. Thus Myth 38 is a pot-pourri of bits and not traditional. But such elements could be isolated in any myth. For myths, particularly myths in the same cycle, are very largely recombinations of similar elements. In myths dealing with the same theme, such as the Raven myths, this interchangeability is functional as it reinforces the message. Further, Boas does not deal with the essential point of Myth 38, which is that Raven is still alive. The people of the Northwest Coast believe this to be true. Aurel Krause writing in 1885 cites the observations of a Russian ethnographer, Veniaminoff (in 1840) on this matter: "Raven...

creator of the world... never died. His home is called 'Nass-schakijelch' and is at the source of the Nass River and is inaccessible to humans as well as ghosts. When Raven had accomplished his deeds on earth he is supposed to have returned there." (Krause, p. 183). This quote deals with Tlingit, not Tsimshian beliefs, but the two are really hardly separable. Their mythologies and cosmologies are virtually identical. The Nass River passes through both Tlingit and Tsimshian territory and the lower Nass was Tlingit territory until the Tsimshian drove them out (Drucker, p. 115). The early date of Veniaminoff's observation strongly suggests that the idea of Raven living to the east in the mountains — as he does in Myth 38 — predates white contact. Finally, it is worth noting Lévi-Strauss' observation that any version of a myth is valid.

Further credence can be given to the idea of more than one version of a myth existing when we consider an article by Hammel (1972). Hammel looks at a popular European folk-tale, finds many versions of it, and asks why. The basic reason, he suggests, is that various versions arise at different points in time. Hammel argues that a folk-tale will, over time, become structurally more perfect. Thus, in a series of variants in a tale, a historical progression should be visible. His observations on the changes in tales over time is valuable, but his idea that myths become perfected over time must be questioned. All things considered, Myth 38 may be thought of as a valid part of the Tsimshian Raven cycle. This position is strengthened when we look at it in structural terms, comparing it with other myths in the cycle.

In terms of use of code, the gustatory element is the strongest in Myth 38. The difference between this myth and previous myths where the gustatory code is also important is that here Raven is the giver of food instead of the taker. The one who lacks food is the son of Raven. This myth, with its description of the presentation of a large quantity of food, parallels Myth 1 where Raven's father gave Raven a very large quantity of food. But Raven's father could not afford the gift, whereas in Myth 38, Raven has an abundance of food. Hence the gustatory code of Myth 38 contrasts the abundance of food with the total emptiness of the man, from the start.

In Myth 38 the two really supernatural or magical incidents that occur to the man are both accompanied by loud frightening noises.

These incidents are the roaring of the "hau hau" and the 'terrible noises' which follow the man on his trip home. These sounds accompany a movement between worlds. The food provided by heaven is thrown down from the mountain, and a man carries the food given to him down to the world of mortals. In the first instance noise is related to the (positive) existence of the mountains which the "hau hau" climb. In the second instance the noise relates to the (negative) removal of the mountains in the man's path. In terms of opposition, the loud sounds relate to the apparent quietness of the spirit world.

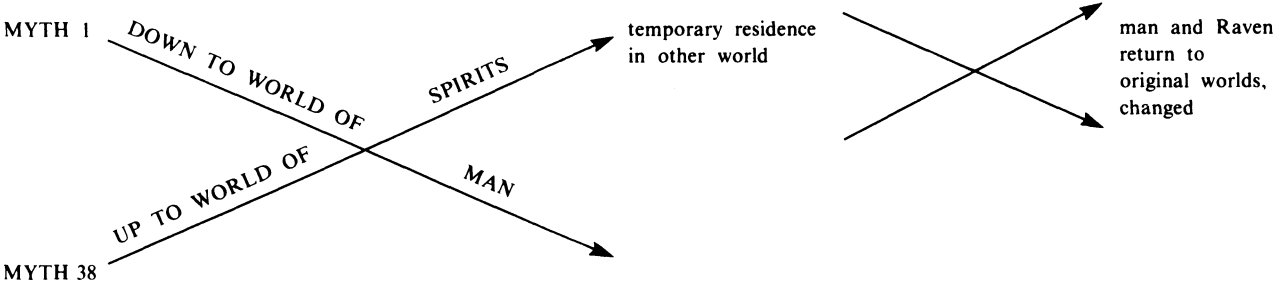
These silence-noise and mountain-no mountain oppositions in Myth 38 counterpoint its central, gustatory code. And both are mediated by food. The "hau hau" throw down raw food; Raven prepares the food for cooking and gives it to the man; the man takes the food down to his world to cook and eat. A culture / nature bridge, supported on pillars of sensory based codes, carries the basic message of correct attention to kin. The message is carried from the world of spirits to the world of man. (Raven appears as kin to the man as he is a father figure and aids the man in distress.)

In detail, Myth 38 is notably similar to Myth 1. This last myth tells of a man, driven by need, who crosses into the world of Raven. In the first myth Raven, driven by his hunger, crosses into the world of man.

As Myth 1 starts with the Shining Youth arriving at the house of a chief, so Myth 38 starts with Raven coming to inspect the new house. But the reception given is quite different in the two versions: in the first the Shining Youth is welcomed and loved; in the last Raven is feared and shot. In Myth 1 Raven, because of his voraciousness, is sent away to the East. In Myth 38 it is a man, who has lost everything through his greed in gambling, that travels East. Both pass from one cosmic world to another. Diagram 5 helps to pinpoint these contrast.

Raven knows of the man's history and assists him. Raven appears as a father figure. The gift of food in Myth 38 parallels the gift of the Raven blanket in Myth 1. Raven travelled across the ocean in the air, the man climbed into the mountains, also rising above the earth. When the man reached the vicinity of Raven's above, he had to climb down into a deep valley. Raven descended from the sky to settle down in (what was to become) the world of man.

DIAGRAM 5
Comparison of Myth 1 with Myth 38



The major transformation in Myth 38 is completed through the mediation of a pair of twins, as in Myth 1. But where the slaves in Myth 1 had caused one who was not hungry to become ravenous, the pair of "hau hau" cubs in Myth 38 bring food to satiate one who suffers from a lack of food. Also the more basic "emptiness" that the man is suffering from, which led to his gambling and inability to contribute to the upkeep of his kin, is also "filled". On his return home he shares his new found bounty with his kinsmen. The formula used earlier may be used here to point out the major transformation in Myth 38:

$$\frac{\text{generosity of Raven}}{\text{starvation of Man}} :: \frac{\text{generosity of a cultured man}}{\text{poverty of a starving person}}$$

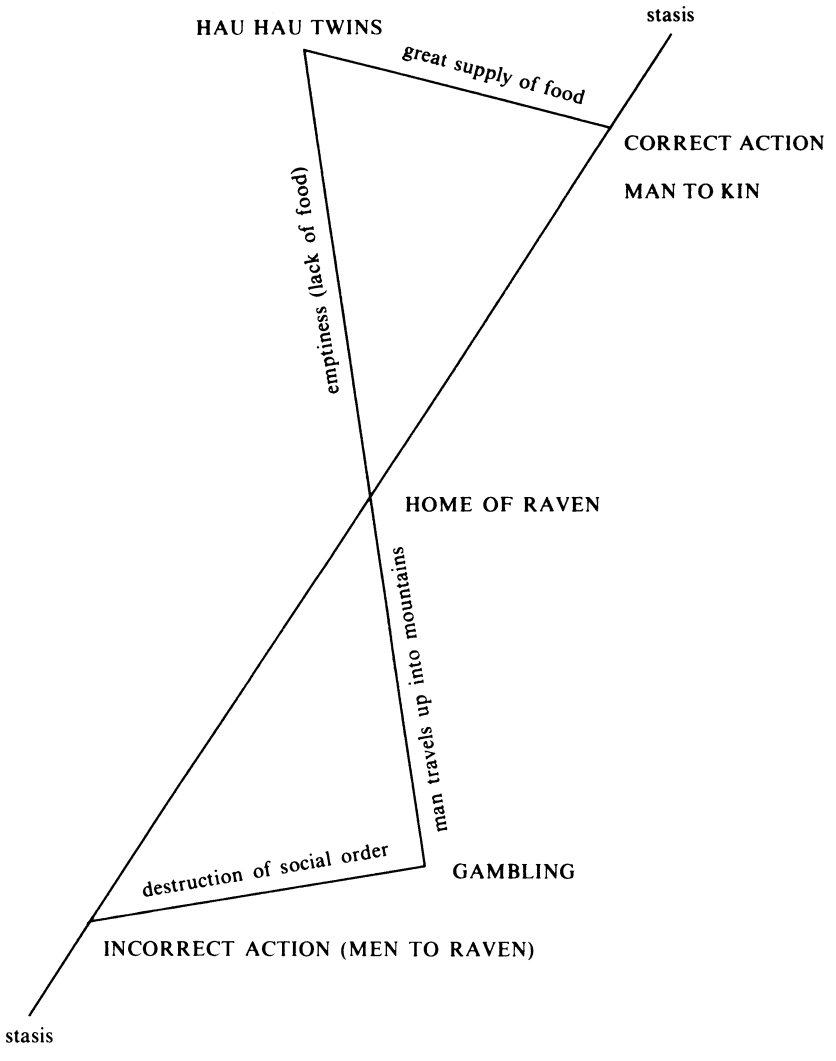
Raven is again a mediator. In this case he restores social order through his gift of food. This can be seen as an opposite statement to that which we saw in Myth 1, but with the same message: culture can only exist if correct action is maintained. The man alters his earlier behaviour. Instead of gambling his new wealth, he distributes it amongst his kin. This is the socially correct thing to do. The essential symbol of culture in this context, as throughout the myth cycle, is food. The key now is food that is cooked or (as in Myth 38) is prepared and ready for cooking. Diagram 6 shows the progression of events in Myth 38.

The end result of all these oppositions and contrasts from one myth in the Raven cycle to the next is the same. The message which comes through from these various inversions is identical. This is true of all the myths we have looked at. In Myth 1 over-attention by the father leads to instability; in Myth 18 under-attention by the son leads to instability; in Myth 26 the attempted theft by a guest from his host continues by instability. Finally in Myths 37 and 38, proper attention by (Raven) the father serves to change instability into stability.

We have used Lévi-Strauss' formula to examine the transformations in Myths 1, 18, 26, and 38. Now looking at the whole cycle we can again apply this rule, seeing the changes which have occurred throughout the entire cycle:

$$\frac{\text{overattention of a father to son}}{\text{loss of a son (Raven)}} :: \frac{\text{generosity of cultured being (Raven)}}{\text{poverty of a starving person}}$$

DIAGRAM 6

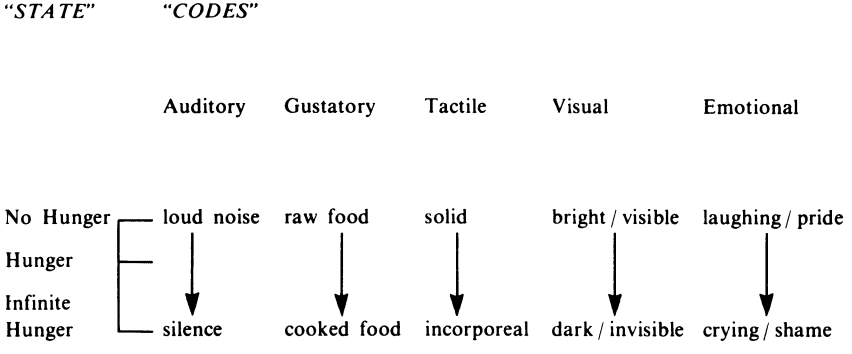

HAU HAU TWINS
stasis
great supply of food
CORRECT ACTION
MAN TO KIN
emptiness (lack of food)
HOME OF RAVEN
man travels up into mountains
destruction of social order
GAMBLING
INCORRECT ACTION (MEN TO RAVEN)
stasis

The prodigal son in Myth 38 is taken care of by his kinsman (the father figure, Raven) and the discordant vibration sent out in Myth 1 is quieted. Quieted for a while, for the man is informed that Raven will travel once again, at a further day.

The oppositions we have seen are built up through the use of various codes. The codes, and the interactions of these with the armature, are what actually communicate the message. They are the form in which the culturally relevant information is packaged. Within the Raven myth cycle the gustatory code is clearly the essential way in which the message, about correct social action, is communicated. Other codes, relating directly or indirectly to the various human senses, however, serve to augment this central one.

DIAGRAM 7

Adapting an idea from Lévi-Strauss (1969 p. 153) we can construct a table relating the various uses of code to a basic concept we will call "state". By state we refer to the basic device for communicating the message. The major code (gustatory) relates directly to the state. Lévi-Strauss limits his discussion to sensory coding systems but it appears that, at least in Tsimshian mythology, an emotional coding system must also be considered.



Through the codes, the myths search for a median point, bouncing from one aspect or extreme to another. Culture is the mid point.

The chart (diagram 7) shows the various codes in relation to each other and expresses the opposed poles of each code. "Culture" is the mid-point. Culture mediates between the world outside and the world of man. What we find as the message of the Raven myth cycle, the necessity of maintaining correct social action, relates directly to cul-

ture. It is a key factor that separates man from the non-human world. When Raven the transformer brings the world of materiality into existence, he brings a species into being that patterns its existence after the spirits. We saw in Myth 1 that the spirits had a social organization and ate cooked food. Throughout the myth cycle it is always cooked food that Raven seeks. Social situations, be they of kinship or of hospitality, always relate to the structure presented in Myth 1. It is noteworthy that the only time we find Raven eating uncooked food is in Myth 18. There he takes food from the belly of his slave; the raw food has been "cooked" in the slave's digestive tract.

Thus beyond the opposition of over-attention versus under-attention we see a basic opposition of culture / nature. These myths thus go beyond "exploring the unsatisfactory conditions of social life" (Hammond-Tooke, p. 85). They deal with the larger human consciousness of self as well. They aid in the realization that man is somehow separated from the universe wherein he exists. The transformation which culture wrought carried man into a realm of socially and economically patterned existence. Man became distinct from both spirit and inanimate worlds. Myth arose to explain the genesis of this distinction, or of man's emergence from nature.

For the Tsimshian, Raven, thief and trickster, represents a connection between these two worlds. A diurnal creature who arose in darkness, he embodied a multiplicity of oppositions. And as a mediating figure, he became an agent of transformation. He triggered off changes in the state of the universe. His essential motivating force is a drive to seek culturally treated food, true of man also who is child of the Raven. The myths communicate at first an explanation of how things in the world came to be. On a deeper level they show the dangers which arise when a person acts counter to social custom. And on a still more basic level they are an attempt to explain man to himself, indeed to make the very universe intelligible.

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Three Montagnais Myths: A Structuralist Approach

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RÉSUMÉ

Voici une analyse structurale de trois mythes Montagnais. Dans chacun des mythes, l'analyse démontre tout d'abord l'opposition fondamentale de deux séquences ou séries d'événements. Ces séquences sont constituées d'unités plus petites pouvant correspondre d'une séquence à l'autre. Les processus physiques ou géographiques décrits dans chacun des mythes servent à exprimer métaphoriquement des processus sociaux ou abstraits de la société Montagnaise. C'est cette capacité de passer d'une dimension à une autre, sans que la «signification» en soit changée, qui donne au mythe son efficacité culturelle.

Montagnais mythology tells about land, people and relationships. The following analysis of three Montagnais myths proposes to look into how Montagnais culture deals with these domains, and what a structuralist approach can say about this cultural process. These myths (the translators refer to them as legends) constitute a small booklet (Basile and McNulty, 1971), part of a collection on Quebec Indian studies published by Laval University. They were collected in Mingan, a small village located on the northern coast of the St. Lawrence Gulf.

Little has been written about the prehistory of north central Quebec in general and specifically about what the cultures of this area were like before the time of European contact. Early ethnographies of Montagnais groups were first attempted by explorers (Cartier, Champlain) and by Jesuit missionaries.

More recently, Serge Bouchard (1977) has collected and edited a fascinating account of the seasonal life of the Montagnais hunters who lived around Mingan. The traditional Montagnais economy was based on hunting and gathering. The harshness of the environment, with its long winter and short summer, did not permit any form of sedentary life. With the introduction of the fur trade, the Indians became fur gatherers. From early fall to late spring, individual family groups dispersed in the interior to hunt and trap. From year to year the frequency of game varied greatly. This contributed to periods of great misery and sometimes to starvation. These small hunting family groups had to keep on the move and be ready to face any kind of situation. Pressure and stress were inevitable. People had to adjust to changing, unpredictable conditions. Reciprocity, in terms of helping or altruistic behavior was generalized, rather than formalized or institutionalized. Individuals enjoyed a great freedom of action. Many decisions had to be taken individually rather than collectively.

Montagnais society was egalitarian in character. No formal leadership was exercised and no division of labor beyond those based on sex and age was practised. Various forms of divination were used in order to insure the success of the hunt, but few of these were used outside the realm of hunting activities. The summer period coincided with the yearly gathering of several of these groups around a trading post. But on the whole, they remained cut off from other groups, abandoned to the prospects of a harsh environment. Before engaging into the analysis itself, the author wishes to emphasize the experimental character of this analysis, specially with regard to the application of Lévi-Strauss' transformational formula (Lévi-Strauss 1967: 225). This paper intends to offer a parallel to Jensen's analysis of Northwest Coast myths (1980).

I

The first Montagnais myth in our analysis is called "Mesapus and the Bears" (Basile and McNulty, p. I). We will later refer to it as M_1. This is a story dealing with anthropomorphized animals who engage in culturally familiar activities. The story begins with the social identification of the main character, Mesapus (a huge hare). He is described as living like a man and engaged in activities that are culturally familiar to the Montagnais.

Action starts when Mesapus first discovers a bear path and then meets an old she-bear. She tells him that she is no longer able to walk and that she is waiting for the other bears to return. Mesapus kills her and puts on her skin. As long as he wears it, we will refer to him as "Mesapus-Transformed". Hence there are two characters at the beginning, Mesapus, (a hunter) and an old she-bear. The distinctions between the two are worth mentioning. First, the bear is female and old, while Mesapus is male and relatively young. She is unable to walk because of her old age, while he seems free to move around as he wishes. One character is, therefore, almost "stuck to the ground" and the other is "free moving". As soon as Mesapus transforms himself into the old she-bear, however, he becomes "stuck to the ground" as well. The following events in the story examplify this important change.

Mesapus-Transformed hides some meat away after a big meal. The rest of the bear family shows up, visibly astonished to find the old female away from the campsite. When night comes, Mesapus-Transformed is described as shaking from cold. But in reality, we learn that he is frightened of being found out. Here we have two levels of explanation, one apparent (physical or natural, cold temperature), and one latent (psychological or cultural, his fright). The next day, Mesapus-Transformed stays at the campsite, but he gradually moves a bit farther away to hide more meat. Each night, he secretly kills one bear cub. There is a definite pattern, then, that involves the killing of a bear cub at night, while eating, hiding meat and walking farther away from the campsite during the day.

On the third day, Mesapus-Transformed breaks out of this cycle. He first gets out of the old she-bear skin and hangs it up in a tree. Free to move again, he heads toward the mountain, leaving tracks all over in order to blur his trail for pursuers. As the bears come back at the end of the day, they find out about Mesapus' trick. Then they start to follow him, but to no avail; the snow hampers their movements. When they realize their failure, the bears curse Mesapus saying "May you die by the hand of somebody weaker than yourself". Thus Mesapus' escape puts an end to his relationship with the bears. His superiority as a "free moving" animal permits this escape. The bears' curse, however, hints at the potentiality of a less fortunate fate at a later date.

Mesapus in now all by himself. He follows a stream (as if a path) and arrives at the campsite of a lynx family. At their campsite, Mesapus meets two lynx cubs. At first, the cubs are afraid of him, but upon his peaceful insistence, they climb down out of the tree. One of the lynxes is asked to make a fire for Mesapus and the other one to scratch him. The former obeys Mesapus, but the latter is blamed for not doing a good job (i.e. for not using his nails). A struggle follows between Mesapus and one of the cubs whereupon Mesapus burns his own fur and is finally killed. The story ends as mother and father lynx come back to the campsite, learn about Mesapus' death and cook his head for food.

There are several levels of meaning and structures that are related to each other in this story. First, a dividing line can be drawn about halfway through the myth, at the point of Mesapus' escape. The syntagmatic structures of M_1 (i.e. the order of succession of episodes and actions within these episodes), is therefore characterized by a binary opposition of two sequences of events: the first sequence involves Mesapus' interaction with the bears, and the second his interaction with the lynxes.

In the first sequence, Mesapus initiates most of the action. He transforms himself temporarily and kills several times. After each killing, he eats a good meal and hides more food away. In the second sequence, the lynxes initiate most of the action. In his struggle with the lynx cub, Mesapus is killed and therefore transformed permanently. Finally the lynxes eat his head.

The similarities between these two sequences are striking. Killing and eating are the complementary aspects of a single relationship, that between hunter and hunted. We will soon come back to this relationship and expand on its meaning and implications. In the first sequence, Mesapus was "struck to the ground". He did not or could not go away from the bears' campsite. He was confined to the bears' path. By following a stream and through his deadly encounter with the lynxes, he is again limited in his movements a second time. Also, the enemy (she-bear) is very old in the first part of the story and very young (lynx cubs) in the latter.

A junction of the two sequences takes place when Mesapus escapes in the snow — "free moving" — and leaves many tracks. The following diagram illustrates the structure of the above distinctions:

(1) Temporary Tranformation ..... In-Tracks
(in the old she-bear) (about the camp)
Junction
(tracks all over the place)
(2) In-Tracks ..... Permanent Transformation
(along the stream) (through Mesapus' death)

Characteristics of the participants and of the actions between them form the paradigmatic structure of the story. The old she-bear is not only female, but she is also old. Her old age adds to her feminity by also making her male (hence androgynous). Furthermore, Mesapus' transformation by climbing into her skin has caused the two sexes to blend temporarily. The bear cubs are not differentiated in terms of sex. On the other hand, the lynx family is fully differentiated. The following diagram illustrates this second paradigmatic structure:

	Parents		*Children*	
(1)	(±)		$(\overset{\circ}{\circ})$	— The bears: Excess or lack of differentiation
	(+)	→ (o) →	(+)	— Mesapus: the mediator
(2)	(+-)		(++)	— The lynxes: Right degree of differentiation

\+ = Male o = Sexless - = Female

Now to test Lévi-Strauss' formula, I have assigned four specific values to the terms and functions relevant in this analysis of M_1.

Terms: a = bear
b = Mesapus (hare)

Functions: x = stuck to the ground
y = free moving

With regard to Lévi-Strauss' formula, the relationship and transformation in terms of movement can be displayed in the following manner:

$$\frac{f_x(a)}{f_y(b)} :: \frac{f_x(b)}{fa\text{-}1(y)} = \frac{\text{Stuck (bear)}}{\text{Free (hare)}} :: \frac{\text{Stuck (hare)}}{\text{Free (lynx)}}$$

This formula is meaningful because it illustrates the concise and logical transposition of this myth's paradigmatic and syntagmatic structures. The characters' main concern in this myth is food (eating), and how to procure it (killing). As mentioned above, these are comple-

mentary aspects of a unique relationship, that between hunter and hunted. The story tells us that Mesapus' relationship with the bears is inappropriate. In the first sequence, there is no distinction between types of meat eaten: the parts appear to have been consumed raw. In the second sequence, it is clear that the head is singled out and that it is cooked before it is eaten. The relationship between what is morally acceptable and unacceptable treatment of the hunted animal can be synthesized in the following manner:

(1) Immoral Killing: Food undistinguished in manner and parts eaten

(2) Moral Killing: Food distinguished in manner (cooked) and parts eaten (head)

Killing and eating, being killed and being eaten, are part of the inevitable reality of the Montagnais. But the context in which these activities are carried out is structured by cultural rules. The relationship Hunter-Hunted involves ideas about reciprocity: what is given must also be returned in one way or another. Similarly, certain expectations are an integral part of the relationship between the old and the young, between those who cannot survive by themselves and those who do. Where the struggle for survival seems to favor the fittest, there is still room for what we would call a moral "order".

We can also view Mesapus' transformation into the old she-bear as an intrusion of the human into the animal world. Mesapus the hunter creates a conflict between these two by his improper conduct among the bears. It establishes the negative value of a familiar relationship (between hunter and hunted) when carried too far. A confrontation was temporarily avoided by Mesapus' flight from the bears' campsite. But as a cultural being, he cannot live without the support of animal food and fur. His encounter with the lynx cubs, however, shows that the same animal kingdom can also be threatening. By making arrogant demands he wants the lynxes to assume a subserviant attitude that is totally devoid of reciprocal feelings. The last sequence also expresses the idea that animals and men do share certain qualities. The end of the story portrays the lynx family (mother, father and two *sons*) as humanized beings. This ending suggests the desirability of both realms, and the story itself shows how human behavior can be metaphorically expressed in Montagnais culture.

II

The second myth I am going to analyze is called "Ayahis" (we will later refer to it as M_2). This story starts with a presentation of four characters. Here Ayahew's second wife encourages him to abandon his son by his first wife, Ayahis. He is to be left on an island with the pretext of gathering (birds') eggs. Left alone, the boy starts crying until he falls asleep. In a dream, he is promised help by his grandfather who then appears in the form of a sea-dragon and takes him to the mainland. But the boy is advised not to sing, otherwise the earth will be destroyed by fire. This prescriptive piece of advice runs counter to an important Montagnais tradition. According to custom, the leader or senior member of a family is always the first to perform a song, then he can hand it on to the next senior (male). The proscription on singing in the myth amounts to a breach with this cultural tradition. The lack of a song implies an eventual family split.

Ayahis' departure from the island leaves the boy in a liminal situation. He is no longer in touch with his family (not even his grand-father) or with society. He is told to obey two old women. The obstacles the boy is confronted to are evidently perillous, as his grand-father warned. Success depends upon compliance to unequivocal instructions provided by the females.

What this myth conveys so far is the extreme dependence on old people (grand-father, two old women). His safe return home and very survival have become contingent on Ayahis' submission to their knowledge.

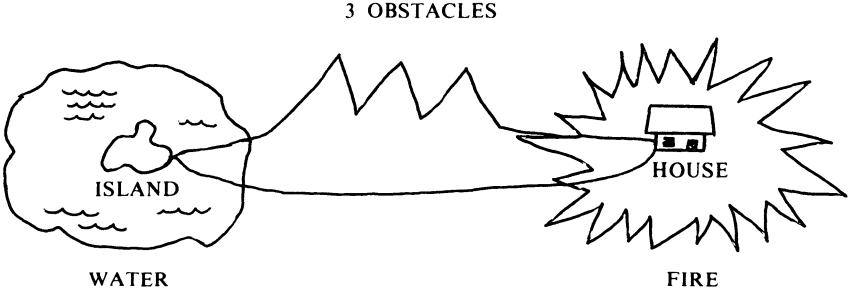
The obstacles the boy has to go through also are unusual. They are removed from everyday experience and sharply contrast with one another. But more important, they are the symbols of a transient state. The first one is described as boiling spruce gum. Following one of the old women's dogs through a tunnel constitutes a way to overcome this danger. Swinging human shoulder-blades provide the second obstacle; the trick is to put fat on them. The Montagnais use "animal" shoulder-blades in divination rituals just before the hunting season. Putting fat on them "appeases" the threat of famine. People with sharp-pointed elbows constitute the third obstacle. Ayahis throws his coat at them and they kill each other over it. This scene suggests people suffering from starvation or extreme poverty.

There is a definite structure of meaning in these three obstacles. The first one has to do with the physical environment (spruce gum). It is mediated by a domestic animal (the dog). Human shoulder-blades, the second obstacle, refers to the practice of divination in hunting. Food (fat) is a necessity made available to the Indians by the animals. It is the object of great spiritual effort. Finally, Ayahis' encounter with poverty-stricken people symbolizes a relationship between groups and individuals of unequal wealth. Their reaction to the boy's abandonment of his coat expresses a negative relationship. Wealth is viewed here in terms of the use it is put to. It possesses an ambiguous and ambivalent quality in social terms.

As Ayahis nears home, he hears somebody chopping wood. At first, he cannot recognize (distinguish) who it is. But as she turns around, he realizes that it is his mother, not his father's second wife. Ayahis suspects torture. He sees burns on her face. When he first calls her, she cannot see him. This brief but important series of events provides an inversion of what took place on the island. When Ayahis was told by his father to go gather eggs, the latter took the occasion to leave. Now, the son arrives (instead of leaving) home. He calls out to his mother (instead of he to his grand-father) and then asks her to go to the house announce his arrival. Qualitatively, the latter series of inverted events shows a marked improvement. Ayahis does succeed in calling out to his mother. And she finally does respond to her son's call. Hence, Ayahis' position vis-à-vis his mother is the opposite of his position toward his father. The inversion of the series of events expresses this opposition.

The next series of sequences have to do with Ayahis' welcome home. The laying down of cariboo skins between Ayahis and the house to welcome him suggests a parallel with Ayahis' previous crossing of water, between the island and the mainland. Both emphasize the symbolism of the threshold. Ayahis' reaction, however, contrasts with his father's: he blame his father for having abandoned him when he was younger. From that time on Ayahis is treated well by his father until one night when he is asked to perform the singing ritual with him. At first Ayahis flatly refuses, but his father finally convinces him. This suggests the idea that Ayahis agreed to conform to family tradition, but as we will see, it involved disastrous consequences.

As Ayahis keeps on singing and drumming, smoke starts to appear. Soon there is fire. As predicted by his grand-father, this divination (singing) is bringing about the destruction of the earth. Despite his father's repeated attempts to stop performing (in contrast to his previous request), Ayahis continues. He takes the initiative, voluntarily giving deadly advice to his father. The fat that saved him, now kills his father. But he saves his mother, and the burns she suffered now consummate his father. Noteworthy is the fact that since his return, Ayahis has given advice to and also taken a generally responsible stand toward his father. From a position of dependence and youthfulness, he moved to one of independence, maturity and adulthood. In a sense, then, the three obstacles and trip back home can be viewed as a rite of passage. Here is a drawing of this spatial dimension of the myth:



The story ends with a short description of the animals' reaction to the devastating fire: they jump into the water, a safe environment, out of reach of human affairs. Three animals are mentioned: a hare (a terrestrial animal), a beaver (both a terrestrial and aquatic animal), and a seal (an aquatic animal). This triad parallels another one, the three obstacles Ayahis was confronted with:

— Terrestrial (hare)	— Physical (spruce gum)
— Terrestrial-Aquatic (beaver)	— Physical-Social (shoulder-blade for divination)
— Aquatic (seal)	— Social (people with sharp-pointed elbows)

Concluding the story, Ayahis and his mother transform themselves into birds and thereby escape, as do the three animals, from the devastated land.

The presence of two wives in the story is also interesting. At the beginning of the story, Ayahis' mother is not mentioned, while his stepmother clearly expresses her hatred toward him (negative relationship). At his return home, both women are present: his stepmother still entertains malevolent feelings toward him, but his mother is definitely on his side (negative / positive relationships). At the end of the story, his stepmother has disappeared, while Ayahis and his mother come out triumphant (positive relationship). Sequentially, Ayahis' relations with both women could be expressed in these binary terms:

— Beginning of the story: (−)
— Middle of the story: (−+)
— End of the story: (+)

This inversion or transformation of female relationships uncovers a very important dimension in this myth: the opposition between "own" (mother) and "foreign" (mother). The conflict "own / foreign" within the family is resolved by a victory over the villain (the father) and by a transformation of the status of the persecuted son into a higher one, that of a mature adulthood. The relationship which is most emphasized in the myth, however, remains a male-oriented one: the whole story, from beginning to end, revolves around this conflict.

In M_2, then, the relationships between the participants follow a distinct pattern. Each attitude expressed in the first sequence is inverted in the second, except the one between Ayahis and his father: until the end, the latter entertains a hypocritical relationship with Ayahis. It is interesting to note that the father is the only one to die, This could be explained by his failure to "change" his attitude at all from one sequence to the other.

In the light of Lévi-Strauss' formula, the following values can now be ascribed to the major terms and functions:

Terms: a = Boy
b = Father

Functions: x = Dependence
y = Authority

where

$$\frac{f_x(a)}{f_y(b)} :: \frac{f_x(b)}{fa\text{-}1(y)} = \frac{\text{Dependence (boy)}}{\text{Authority (father)}} :: \frac{\text{Dependence (father)}}{\text{Independence of an adult son}}$$

The formula could read: the unwilling submission of the boy is to the authority of the father what the unwilling submission of the father to the will of an adult son. This inverted relationship, from the first sequence to the second one, asserts a new "order" that may be considered inevitable, Ayahis' coming of age is also the resolution of a crisis confronting a shift from inhuman to cultural behavior.

An "auditory" code can be seen to expres these ideas as well. The first auditory element is the action of "crying out". Twice in the story "crying out" is ascribed to the same person (Ayahis). These sounds relate him with two different characters, first with his father, then later with his mother. The difference between these two situations resides in the fact that the first cry was unsuccessful, while the latter one was. Both, however, are attempts to suppress a state of disjunction or separation. The second element belonging to this auditory code is a percussion "sound". And again, the story mentions this twice. The first time, a noise is made when Ayahis hits the dragon's horns with a flat rock: here, we have the use of a physical or natural object whose purpose in hitting the horns is to "appease" the weather. Later in the story, Ayahis hears "axe blows" when approaching his father's house. This second sound also coincides with the suppression of a threat. Percussion sounds, then, contain a certain "threshold" symbolism. They emphasize the suppression of a disjunction.

Another area of interest in Montagnais symbolism is the "gustatory" code. We also have two elements which belong to this code, fat and eggs. Both are derived from the animal world and both have to be heated for human use. Fat played the role of mediator to appease the shoulder-blades, Ayahis' second obstacle; and it was used as a pretext to kill the father. Eggs, on the other hand, were given to Ayahis in order to appease his hunger; and also served as a pretext for the father to abandon Ayahis on the island. The following diagram offers a synthesis of these elements of the gustatory code:

Fat	(initiator)	*Eggs*	
(1) Pretext to kill father		(1) Pretext to abandon son	Creation of disjunction
(2) Mediator to appease shoulder-blades	old women	(2) Given to son to appease hunger	Suppression of disjunction

Finally, it is interesting to note that Ayahis' journey starts from his home and also ends there, while the myth itself is the story of a

one-way trip from the island to the house. This apparent paradox finds its meaning in the symbolic character of mythic language: an abstract and temporal process (Ayahis' transition from dependency to maturity) is expressed metaphorically by a concrete and spatial one (his trip from the island to the house of his parents).

III

The last myth of this analysis is called "The Abandoned Child". We will later refer to it as M_3. The story starts with a presentation of the environmental setting: once there was a country where it was always winter and another one where it was always summer. The following story is said to take place in the one where it was always winter. The initial situation, therefore, is one based on an imbalance, a seasonal disequilibrium.

The first episode describes a dialogue between a mother and her child and narrates how this child became abandoned at the old campsite. Despite the child's attempts to hang on to his mother, she pitilessly leaves him alone in the cold. Coming along to help is Atsen, a malicious giant, who first frightens the child but soon takes on the task of bringing him back to his parents. From that time, the child calls him grand-father. To feed themselves, Atsen kills beavers from which he only eats the lungs, liver and intestines. When they finally arrive at the parents' campsite, the mother asks the child how he found their place. The child answers by telling her about Atsen's help. The latter adds that she must be the most wicked of all, as only she abandoned the child.

So far, this puts Atsen in a mediating position which has two dimensions. First, Atsen assumes the characteristics of both a bad giant and a (child) savior. Second, accusing the mother of more wickedness than he is himself usually endowed with, puts Atsen midway between her (unnaturalness) and the traditional idea of a mother-child relationship. Hence both are aspects of the same opposition: that between what is a normal, natural mother-child relationship and that which is an abnormal, unnatural mother-child relationship. Atsen's mediating role resides not only in restoring naturalness to a situation previously unnatural in character (i.e. bringing back the child to its parents), but also in clearly formulating both his own and the parents' stand on the matter.

Now we continue the story. The mother's reaction to the child's suggestion of keeping Atsen is almost indifferent. The child's tent being too small, Atsen has to build his own. However, because of his ambiguous nature, Atsen does not fit in the village life anymore than he fits in the child's tent. During his brief stay, it is mentioned Atsen quits hunting. Hence the child must feed him with lungs and the livers of animals that were killed by other villagers. Rejected and accused of laziness, one day Atsen leaves for good. However, the child misses him and nobody can stop his cries.

Asked what can stop him from crying any longer, the child answers that he wants to shoot arrows at birds. But because they live in the winter country, bird hunting is a hardly feasible game for a child. The conclusion the people reach is to go look for the summers (and bring them back). Men as well as animals set out on this journey. First, they meet two old women who warn them about obstacles on their way: these are the muskrat and the woodcock. They also encounter a huge beaver carrying a sack of fat which they soon steal. The woodcock is easily dealt with, but the muskrat hesitates to comply to their demands. Given some fat (food), the muskrat agrees to help the seekers by making holes in the canoes of the summer people and by dragging a log down the river. As they gradually approach the summer country, the story increasingly refers to summer types of animal; this is a recurrent progression.

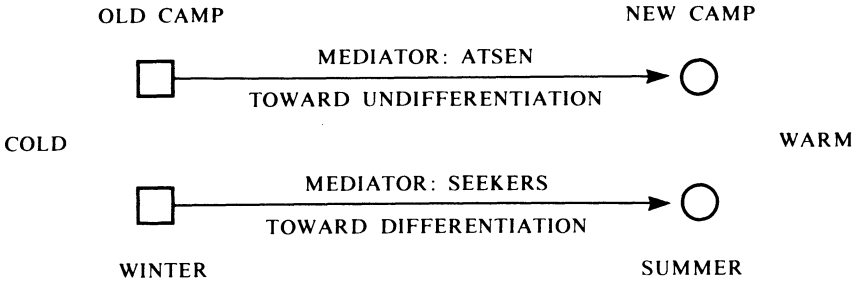
As they reach the campsite where the summers are kept, the owl is sent scooting ahead. The next day, the muskrat performs what he was asked to do. While the keepers of the summers engage in pursuit, the seekers take the occasion to steal this commodity. The cariboo carries the summers back because he is faster than the other animals. Chased through the mountains, the seekers are finally forced to allow the summer people to share their summers: each country will have them for six months. On their way back, they meet the two old women who happily welcome harbingers of summer. Now the snow is melting and the animals are coming back. The child can now shoot at birds. But the story concludes by saying that to punish him for shooting at them, the birds turned the boy into one of them.

This lengthy story involves a lot of details which I purposefully do not explore. Rather, I confine myself to the analysis of processes and oppositions that occur on a larger scale. First of all, there is an inversion of processes here which it is interesting to consider:

From:	*To:*
Unnatural situation	Natural situation
(1) Differentiation mother-child (abandonment of child)	(1) No differentiation of mother-child (reunion mother and child)
(2) No Differentiation of seasons	(2) Differentiation of seasons (winter and summer)

In the second sequence, the mediating process is carried out by the "seekers". These are described as including both, men and animals. These figures assume the role of bringing back to "normal" a situation previously witnessed as "abnormal". Of course, if we are to acknowledge this transformation process, we must consider as normal the six-month periods of cold and warm weather in north central Québec. The role of the seekers is one which is therefore similar to that of Atsen. Both these mediators constitute social and cultural mechanisms which aim at re-affirming the normality of things (the family or the weather). The mediating role they play is not inherent in their character but temporarily acquired for the purpose of the myth.

The following is a diagram illustrating and summarizing these processes of opposition, mediation, and transformation:



Lévi-Strauss' formula provides a framework for expressing the opposition and transformation of these several structural elements:

Terms: a = Family
b = Seasons

Functions: x = Disjunction (differentiation)
y = Junction (non-differentiation)

The formula

$$\frac{f_x(a)}{f_y(b)} :: \frac{f_x(b)}{fa\text{-}1(y)} = \frac{\text{Abandonment of a son}}{\text{Junction of seasons}} :: \frac{\text{Disjunction of seasons}}{\text{Reunion of generations}}$$

Hence, the rejection of a son is to the junction of the seasons what the permanent disjunction of the seasons is to the reunion of family members. The differentiation of seasons acts as a metaphore, as a concrete process to express a more abstract one, that of the family reunion.

IV

The three myths I discussed in the preceeding pages may first look quite different from each other. The stories involve various characters who come to play equally various roles and entertain toward each other various relationships. But at closer look these contrasts should permit us to uncover certain regularities and similarities of elements which, taken individually, do not yield any substantive meaning.

The first and highest level on which the three myths can be compared is in terms of the binary oppositions between their sequences. In each myth, there are two basic sequences which oppose each other and express processes of different value. The first process describes some aspect of conflict or source of tension that can be found in Montagnais culture. The second one indicates how these can be or should be solved in Montagnais terms.

In the syntagmatic structures, smaller units of actions or episodes also have their parallels in each sequence. These provide the dynamism for an exploration of dilemnas that are raised by a confrontation of cultural-social situations. The sequential counterbalancing of units is also closely associated with the formulation of interpersonal relationships and attitudes. Lévi-Strauss' transformational framework has provided a basis for synthesizing these various patterns.

The relationships between characters and roles sometimes appear to be contradictory from one myth to another, for instance, the

mother-child relationship. At other times the structure remains quite consistent across myths (the old people or grand-parent-child relationship). Even within the same myth, then the role of a character may differ from one sequence to the other (the case of Atsen). This is why an analysis should be directed at the larger structural units.

Finally, the use of physical processes to express social ones puts myth to the level of language of symbolic thought. This appropriation of the concrete to express the abstract also gives meaning to the apparent contradictions in the story, marking the plot with actions or statements that inevitably lead back to the abstract. With the abstract in concrete actions and statements, myth unfolds the story of Montagnais worldview.

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Lévi-Strauss on Art: A Reconsideration

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RÉSUMÉ

Cet article propose une revision de l'hypothèse de Lévi-Strauss sur la nature du lien entre la structure sociale et la structure de l'art. La nouvelle hypothèse se lit comme suit: dans une société divisée en un certain nombre de groupes bien définis et stratifiés, plus le nombre d'individus associés à plus d'un de ces groupes est grand, plus l'art de cette société sera susceptible de mettre l'accent à la fois sur la symétrie et l'asymétrie. Cette hypothèse cadre bien avec les données Caduveo exposées par Lévi-Strauss. L'article expose ensuite un procédé utilisé en science héraldique européenne qui produit des dessins presque identiques aux dessins étudiés par Lévi-Strauss. L'examen des règles différentes utilisées en Angleterre et en France pour transmettre les titres de noblesse conduit l'auteur à prédire que ce procédé de fabrication de blasons sera plus utilisé en Angleterre qu'en France.

> *...all these rules inevitably remind one of the principles of heraldry.*
>
> (Lévi-Strauss, 1975: 191)

All that Lévi-Strauss and his co-workers have done in connection with myth derives from the conceptualization and programme that was set out in his "The structural study of myth", originally published in 1955. But the success of this single article in giving rise to an entire research tradition is to be contrasted with the failure of another article by Lévi-Strauss — dealing not with myth but with the visual arts — to give rise to a similar tradition. This second article is his "Split representation in the art of Asia and America", originally published in 1945 but later reprinted — like the article on myth — as a chapter in his *Structural Anthropology* (1963).

For instance, while a great many of the 55 articles in three readers (Hayes and Hayes, 1970; Lane, 1970; Rossi, 1974) on structuralism are concerned with Lévi-Strauss' approach to myth, none are concerned with his approach to art. Those books which purport to give a comprehensive overview of Lévi-Strauss' structuralism either ignore his approach to art entirely (as in Leach, 1973; 1976) or consider the subject only in passing (as in Gardner, 1972: 130-131). Even when Lévi-Strauss himself now talks about art (as in 1976: 276-283), he seems to have moved away from the detailed analysis of particular designs in particular cultures and towards philosophical reflections upon the nature of art in general.

Since both of his seminal articles (on art and myth, respectively) were equally accessible (as both were reprinted in *Structural Anthropology*) it is tempting to conclude that his structuralist approach to art has not generated a research tradition simply because structuralism is not as amenable to the study of art as it is to the study of myth. On the other hand, it is entirely possible that structuralism can provide insight into the visual arts, although the particular analysis developed by Lévi-Strauss is flawed and not easily applied to other cases. It is this second possibility that will be investigated here.

LÉVI-STRAUSS ON ART

In his original article (1963), Lévi-Strauss was concerned with a type of artistic style that (he argued) was found in several different cultures, including the Caduveo of South America, ancient China, various Indian cultures of the Pacific Northwest, and the Maori of New Zealand. He later (1973: 178-197) expanded and to a large extent reformulated his analysis through an indepth consideration of Caduveo art alone, and it is this later analysis that will serve as our starting point.

Considering a sample of Caduveo facial designs that he had gathering during his field researches in the 1930's, Lévi-Strauss points out that if such designs are divided into quadrants, then the designs in diagonally-opposed quadrants (that is, in the upper right and lower left or the lower right and upper left quadrants) are more or less identical, though inverted (that is, they are upside-down with respect to one another). Designs in adjacent quadrants, however, are quite dissimiliar. (Several examples of these designs are reproduced in each of the already-cited articles on art by Lévi-Strauss.)

He summarizes the underlying structure of such designs by saying that they express an opposition between *symmetry* (because diagonally-opposed quadrants contain the same design) and *asymmetry* (because the designs in adjacent quadrants are so diferent).

To this point Lévi-Strauss has done in connection with Caduveo art what he always does in connection with the study of an individual myth, in the sense that he has described "structure" in terms of a set of underlying contrasts. But the delineation of such underlying contrasts is a less interesting part of Lévi-Strauss' work than what he does next. In the case of myth what he does next is either to show how each of the oppositions that define a myth are mediated by the introduction of a third element or to show how the structure of one myth can be transformed into the structure of another myth. What he "does next" in the case of Caduveo art is something different: he tries to show that the structure underlying Caduveo paintings is produced by a particular form of social organization.

The modern Caduveo are the remnants of a culture called the Mbaya, and the Mbaya believed themselves to be a type of nobility who had the legitimate right to exploit the members of surrounding cultures. The charter myth that Lévi-Strauss gathered from the Caduveo relates that the Supreme Being created men by drawing each tribe from a hole in the earth and then allocating to each certain activities. Initially the Mbaya had been overlooked at the botton of the hole, and since everything else had been allocated to others, they were given the only remaining function, which was the right to oppress and exploit everyone else.

After then noting that the Mbaya were divided into three hereditary castes, Lévi-Strauss introduces an element that has absolutely nothing to do with Mbayan ethnography:

> The danger present in a society of this type was therefore segregation. Either by choice or necessity, each caste tended to shut itself in upon itself, thus impairing the cohesion of the social body as a whole. (1973: 195)

Those familiar with the entire corpus of Lévi-Strauss' work will recognize in this passage an echo of the argument that he develops at great length in his massive study of kinship (rf. Lévi-Strauss, 1969). A central premise of that book is that there exists a tendency on the part of unilineal kin groups to close in upon themselves and that this process has to be countered by some social process that would knit

all such groups into a cohesive whole. For Lévi-Strauss, that process is activated by an exogamy rule, as this forces the exchange of women among the various kin groups in a society and thereby fosters societal integration.

In any case, what he concludes from all this in the case of the Mbaya is that Mbayan social structure exhibited a strain towards hierarchy (as the castes tended to be both segregated and stratified) *and* a strain towards reciprocity (as there was a need for some sort of exchange that would bind the castes together). It is his hypothesis that the opposition between symmetry and asymmetry in Caduveo designs reflects this opposition between hierarchy and reciprocity in their social structure.

Unfortunately (for this hypothesis), there is no ethnographic basis for asserting that a "strain towards reciprocity" existed (or exists) among the Mbaya. The only ethnographic evidence that Lévi-Strauss does cite in support of his argument is drawn from two other South American cultures, the Guana and the Bororo. Like the Mbaya, these two cultures had castes that were both hereditary and stratified. But unlike the Mbaya, each of these two cultures overlaid this hierarchial ("asymmetric") structure with a reciprocal ("symmetric") structure: both the Guana and the Bororo are subdivided into moieties that cut across caste boundaries, and the members of one moiety had to choose their spouse from the other.

The fact remains, however, that such a moiety structure *was* lacking among the Mbaya, and that Lévi-Strauss is therefore attributing a strain towards reciprocity among the Mbaya not in light of the ethnographic evidence but rather in spite of it.

Incidentally, since he does document an opposition between hierarchy and reciprocity in the case of Guana and Bororo social structure, his argument would suggest that these cultures — like the Caduveo — should be characterized by artistic styles that involve an opposition between symmetry and asymmetry. Although Lévi-Strauss is quite knowledgeable about both cultures, he presents no evidence which suggests that this is the case.

A REVISED HYPOTHESIS

Breaking down Lévi-Strauss' argument into its component parts produces two separate propositions:

(1) Social hierarchy tends to increase the use of asymmetry in art, and

(2) social reciprocity tends to increase the use of symmetry in art.

Is there any evidence in support of either proposition? Yes, and it is provided in Fischer's (1961) study of art in pre-industrial societies.

Using a sample of 28 societies, which had previously been coded for the presence / absence of stratification and for the degree of symmetry / asymmetry used in a society's art, Fischer found a statistically significant association between the *presence* of a stratification system and an emphasis upon *asymmetry* in art. This is obviously supportive of the first proposition listed above. But the second proposition does not fare as well. The reverse of the result just reported indicates that an emphasis upon symmetry is associated with the absence of a system of stratification, which is *not* the same thing as saying that such symmetry is associated with social reciprocity between clearly defined social groups.

In short, the second proposition is not supported by Lévi-Strauss' own data, and the Fischer investigation clearly associates the use of symmetry with something (the absence of stratification) besides social reciprocity. Given all this, a revision of the original Lévi-Strauss argument seems in order.

Assume for the moment that the presence of clearly defined and stratified social groups does give rise to the use of asymmetry in art and that the absence of such groups does give rise to the use of symmetry (as is suggested by the Fischer results). In what type of society should we then find designs — like the Caduveo body designs — that express simultaneously principles of asymmetry and symmetry? I would like to suggest that *such designs are most likely to be found in societies whose members cannot clearly define their society as being stratified or not.*

In a purely technical sense, of course, the presence of a system of stratification would seem to be easily determined: if a society is composed of several social groups, if these groups are markedly different with respect to values, lifestyles, economic interests, etc, and if there is consensus in the society that these groups can be ranked in a linear order reflecting differential evaluation, then the society possess a stratification system; otherwise it does not.

But "stratification" refers to the ranking of different social groups, not to the ranking of individuals. What happens in the case of a society that consists of *groups* that are clearly stratified according to the definition just given, but which nevertheless posesses a relatively large number of *individuals* who are associated with more than one of these groups? Borrowing from the work by Douglas (1966; 1975) and Leach (1976) on primitive classification, I would like to suggest the following answer: the existence of a class of objects (in this case, persons) which are associated with more than one category in a classification scheme (in this case, with more than one ranked group) serves to blur the distinctions between the categories in the scheme (which in this case means blurring the distinctions between the various groups in the stratification system). But if the distinctions between the ranked groups in a society are blurred, then the very existence of "stratification" is thrown into doubt (as, by definition, "stratification" involves the ranking of clearly *distinct* social groups).

Whatever the merits of the argument developed to this point, it is clear that the following hypothesis follows as a strictly logical consequence of that argument:

> Given that the members of a society agree upon some set of criteria (based upon divergent values, lifestyles, economic interests or whatever) for establishing a set of rank-ordered social groups, then the greater the relative number of individuals associated with more than one of these groups, the more likely is that society to simultaneously emphasize BOTH symmetry AND asymmetry in their art.

Since Lévi-Strauss' explanation of his Caduveo designs was taken to task because it did not fit the facts of Caduveo ethnography it seems reasonable to ask if this alternative hypothesis can account for the Caduveo case.

Remember that the Mbaya saw themselves as a "noble" class with a divine sanction to exploit the "commoners" in surrounding cultures. But membership in this nobility was not entirely ascribed. Lévi-Strauss (1973: 122) reports that due to high rates of infanticide ans abortion, the Mbaya found it necessary to maintain their numbers by adopting children that had been captured in raids on surroundings cultures. The number of such adoptions appear to have been relatively large: he (1973: 182) cites one 19th century source which suggests that in a particular Mbayan community less than 10%

of the population belonged to the original stock. These adopted children were thus associated with both of the two major social groups within Mbayan cosmology, that is, they were associated with the "commoner" group into which they were born and the "noble" group into which they were adopted. It is therefore perfectly consistent with the hypothesis just presented to find that Mbayan art exhibits a simultaneous emphasis upon both symmetry and asymmetry.

But because I have developed my analysis with the Mbayan case clearly in mind, the fact that this case is consistent with the hypothesis that comes out of this analysis is probably not all that convincing. Data from an entirely different source seem called for.

EUROPEAN HERALDRY

Actually, Lévi-Strauss (1973: 191) suggests where such data might be found:

> Finally, the pattern often obeys a twofold principle of simultaneous symmetry and asymmetry, and this produces contrasting registers which — to use heraldic terms — are seldom parted or couped but more often parted per bend or parted per bend sinister, or even quartered or gyronny. I am using these terms deliberately, for all these rules inevitably remind one of the principles of heraldry....
>
> Finally, the complex patterns obtained by this method are themselves redivided and juxtaposed by means of quartering like those in heraldry.

These passages contain virtually all that Lévi-Strauss has to say about heraldry, and so this section will take up where he leaves off, by considering heraldric designs in greater detail. The first task is to isolate more precisely the subset of heraldic designs which are similar to his Caduveo designs.

The Marshalling of Arms. In Caduveo art, the division of a space into quadrants, and the placing of one design in each of two diagonally-opposed quadrants and a completely different design in the other two diagonally-opposed quadrants can be viewed as a procedure to combining two separate designs into one new and unified design.

In European heraldry[1], the needs to combine two separate designs into one new design occurs most frequently with regard to

[1] The present discussion is based upon the discussions of European heraldry presented in Fox-Davies (1904), Boutell (1931), Gayre (1961) and Pine (1974).

the merging of one "coat of arms" with another. (NB: "Coat of arms" refers specifically to the design on a heraldic shield; the term "armourial bearings" is typically used to designate both the shield and the various paraphrenalia that surround such shields, such as crests, helmets, supports and mottoes.) Such a merging (technically called a "marshalling") of arms is occasioned by three events.

The first occurs when an armigerous (arms-bearing) male marries an heiress (a woman who has the right to bear arms and to transmit these to her descendants). In this case the husband marshalls the arms of his wife with his own by placing a small scale replica of her shield design (called an "escucheon of pretence") directly in the center of his shield.

In the second case, an armigerous male marries a woman from an armigerous family (but who is not herself an heiress). Here the husband marshalls his and his wife's arms by "impalement". Impalement means that a new shield is outlined and then split down the middle. The entire shield design of the husband is then crowded into the righthand side of the new shield and the entire shield design of the wife's family into the lefthand side.

A moment's reflection will indicate that the over-all design produced by using either an escutcheon of pretence or impalement does not in any way resemble the Caduveo designs described by Lévi-Strauss.

But in these two cases, the marshalling is occasioned by marriage, and theuse of the marshalled design is supposed to cease when either party to the marriage dies. The final instance of marshalling is quite different. If an armigerous male marries an heiress, then upon the death of these two their heir has to right marshall the arms of his parents into a new unifed design and to transmit this new design to his own descendants. Of particular importance to us, marshalling in this case is typically achieved by "quartering".

This means that a new shield is divided into quadrants ("quarters") and the father's shield design is placed both in the upper left and the lower right quadrants, while the mother's shield design is placed in the upper right and lower left quadrants. *In other words, in a quartered heraldic shield, the designs in diagonally-opposed quadrants are identical, while those in adjacent quadrants are different — and thus the overall design is similar to the Caduveo designs stud-*

ied by Lévi-Strauss. The only difference is that in the Caduveo case the designs in diagonally-opposed quadrants are inverted with respect to one another, while in a quartered shield they are not so inverted.)

But there would be little point in establishing this similarity between Caduveo designs and quartered heraldic shields unless it could be demonstrated that the same causal process was at work in both cases. What this means is demonstrating that the hypothesis developed earlier, which was consistent with the Caduveo data, is also consistent with data derived from heraldic societies.

To begin with then, I should point out that quartering a shield is a purely voluntary activity. A person who inherits the right to bear arms from both his parents can simply elect to display the arms of one or the other, rather than both together. Methodologically this means that different heraldic societies — at least in principle — could exhibit variation with respect to the use of quartering.

Given all this, the following would seem to be a reasonable adaptation of the general hypothesis developed earlier to the specific case of heraldic societies:

> Within a heraldic society divided into "noble" and "non-noble" classes, the greater the number of individuals associated with *both* of these classes, the greater the use of that particular heraldic procedure — "quartering" — that simultaneously emphasizes both symmetry and asymmetry.

A consideration of structural differences between the nobility in England and that in France provides a basis for constructing a quantitative test of this prediction.

The Nobility in England and France. Social historians (such as Bloch, 1961: 329-332; Anderson, 1971: 58-62; Pine, 1974: 796-797) have noted many differences between the English and the French nobility, but the one that is of particular relevance to the present discussion concerns the procedures used to transmit noble status across generations.

In France, the ennoblement of an individual meant (and means) that that individual, his entire family and all his descendants were thereby ennobled. In England, the case was (and is) quite different: an armigerous male or female usually transmitted the right to bear arms only to his or her eldest son.[2] In other words, in England the ennoblement of an individual conferred noble status only upon that

[2] A daughter may inherit the right to display arms (1) if she has no brothers, or (2) if all her brothers die, leaving no issue, male or female. If there are several daugh-

individual and his spouse (and *not* upon his entire family) and upon that individual's death this status was generally transmitted to only one other person (and *not* to all his surviving descendants).

The effect of all this was that while the dividing line between "noble" and "non-noble" was relatively clearcut in France, in England it was relatively blurred. Consider for instance all the offspring of an English nobleman who did not inherit noble status. Were they members of the nobility or not? Strictly speaking, the answer is obviously no. Nevertheless these offspring would be associated with the values and the lifestyle of the nobility in a way that those having no hereditary connection with a nobleman could never be. In short, those offspring of a nobleman who did not inherit noble status would be associated with both the "noble" and the "non-noble" classes, and such a category of offspring existed *only* in England.

This observation, coupled with the prediction previously made concerning the use of quartering in heraldic societies, leads us to expect that *the use of quartering should have been more frequent in England than in France.*

In order to test this expectation, a table of random numbers was used to select 100 armourial designs from among the several thousand listed in Fox-Davies' *Armourial Families* (1902) and another 100 such designs from among those listed in Morant's *L'Armorial Français* (1931). These 200 designs were then crosstabulated according to country of origin (England or France) and whether or not they involved the quartering of two separate shield designs. The resulting distribution is presented in Table 1

TABLE 1

Use of quartering to merge two designs, by country of origin, for 200 randomly selected heraldic shields.

Country of Origin	*Use of Quartering to Merge Two Designs*	
	Yes	No
England	17	83
France	7	93

(chi-square = 4.72, p. = .05)

ters in a given family, and either of these two conditions are met, then all the daughters become joint coheiresses.

As is clear, our expectation *is* borne out, that is, English heraldic shields are more likely than French shields to involve the use of quartering (and the result is statistically significant: chi-square = 4.72, p. = .05).

CONCLUSION

The immediate goals of this article have been (1) to revise Lévi-Strauss original hypothesis linking social structure to the structure of art and (2) to demonstrate that this hypothesis is consistent with the data drawn from two disparate sources, involving Caduveo body designs and European heraldry.

A more general goal has been to demonstrate that structural analysis is as applicable to the study of art as it is to the study of myth. Whether it will revolutionize our approach to art in the way that it has undeniably revolutionalized our approach to myth is of course an open question. But this question will never be answered until structuralists turn their attention to art, and this article is meant to be but one contribution to that effort.

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Ethnic Succession in the Eastern Townships of Quebec

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RÉSUMÉ

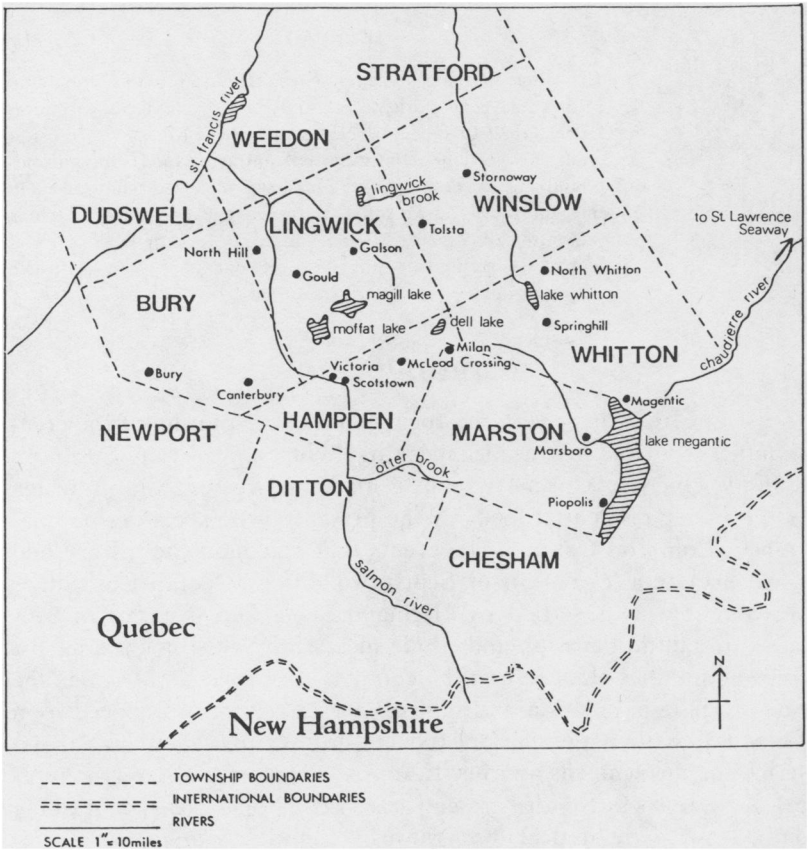
Cet article présente une analyse de l'évolution socio-économique des colonies de gens d'origine gaélique dans le comté de Compton au Québec (1829-1976). L'arrivée des Canadiens français et l'érosion des solidarités gaéliques sont mises en contraste avec les mécanismes qui maintiennent encore un certain degré d'identité culturelle. On présente un profil de l'identité culturelle gaélique dans le temps pour montrer que même si une conscience culturelle persiste, il n'y a pas de mécanisme pour assurer une continuité culturelle à ce segment du milieu culturel québécois.

INTRODUCTION

This article deals with the socio economic evolution of the communities founded by gaelic speaking Scots pioneers in Compton County, Quebec. A primary focus is made on Scotstown itself, which is the major residential locus of the present gaelic speaking population in Compton County. The events that surround the history and socio economic evolution of Scotstown differ in detail from other surrounding areas settled by Highland Scots, but in terms of processes of cultural erosion and ethnic succession Scotstown is a mirror for communities elsewhere in the county. The processes by which the Scots Gaelic population and milieu have largely been replaced by a French Canadian population and culture are discussed; and I describe the mechanisms and institutions that preserve a sense of cultural consciousness for the present descendants of the gaelic speaking emigrants. A theoretical discussion of identity maintenance is fol-

lowed by the construction of a profile of gaelic culture which analyzes the properties of cultural distinctiveness that still serve to differentiate the present Scots population from other populations. This examines the changing significance of factors such as extended kinship, agricultural mode of production, patterns of mutual aid, language use, presbyterianism, poetic tradition and mysticism for the present Scotstown population in terms of the way in which day to day activities are organized. In this way the elements of gaelic culture which have become redundant are identified and the remaining mechanisms that reinforce a sense of common identity and shared consciousness are isolated.

FIG. 1: GAELIC SPEAKING SETTLEMENTS IN COMPTON COUNTY, QUEBEC



HISTORY AND FIRST SETTLEMENT

There were two main waves of emigration from the gaelic speaking areas of Scotland to the eastern townships (Gravel, 1967). The first occurred in the mid 1820's when settlers migrated to Beauce and Megantic counties (Blanchard, 1937). This population was mostly drawn from Arran and Mull. The emigration that concerns us most is the second wave, which occurred between 1838 and 1855, when small groups of gaelic speaking Highland Scots predominantly drawn from Lewis, were brought to Canada and settled in areas of Compton County opened up by the British American Land Company.

The root causes of both waves of emigration are found in the economic and social conditions of Highland Scotland in the 18th and 19th centuries which are examined in detail elsewhere (Prattis, 1977; Hunter, 1976; Prebble, 1963).

In the mid 1820's the Duke of Hamilton cleared his Arran estates of small tenants and in 1829 assisted with the passage of 12 families — 89 people in all — to Canada. The emigrants were originally bound for Renfrew County in Upper Canada but were diverted to Megantic County in lower Canada on arrival in Montreal (McDougall, 1960, 37). They settled at Inverness and were joined by other emigrants from Mull and Bute. The apparent success of the foothold gained by these emigrants in lower Canada prompted Lord Aylmer, then Governer of Canada, to recommend to the British Secretary of State that the eastern townships in Quebec could support an additional 500,000 people. His 1831 report gave impetus to the formation of the British American Land Company (MacDougall, 1960). Established in 1833 this colonization company was ceded large tracks of land in the Eastern townships by the British Government and was instrumental in opening up the eastern part of Compton county to settlement (Day, 1869; Caron, 1927).

The adverse social and economic conditions in the Western Highlands of Scotland proved to be a fertile soil for the efforts of company recruiting agents. They found little difficulty in persuading people in Lewis to move to Canada where there was the prospect for crofters to own the land they worked upon. In 1838 the first group of Lewismen — 8 families in all — were brought to Compton County by the company and settled in Lingwick (see Fig. 1). The second group of settlers — 27 families — arrived in 1841 and settled in the

Lingwick area and thereafter small groups continued to follow this particular emigrant route till the 1860's. The experience of the first group of settlers in clearing land, building cabins and raising crops alleviated some of the pioneering problems that faced subsequent waves of settlers. The emigrants followed the same route to Port St. Francis on Lake St. Peter, from where they trekked along the St. Francis road to Shipton, Sherbrooke and thence by Craig's road to the Lingwick settlement area.

To the south and east of Lingwick there was little or no settlement prior to 1849 (MacDougall, 1960) but after that settlers from Lingwick moved to these areas of Compton County and quickly dominated the townships of Marston (1854), Winslow (1851) and Whitton (1859). By 1880 there were upwards of 450 Highland Scots families distributed over the townships of Lingwick, Winslow, Hampden, Marston and Bury (Channell, 1896).

In 1874 the township of Hampden was separated from Whitton and Winslow, and it was from the Hampden municipality that Scotstown was formally incorporated in 1892. Prior to incorporation by act of the Quebec legislature, Scotstown had developed into a thriving village. The abundant water power from the Salmon River and the thickly forested environs made it a natural location for saw mills and a pulp industry. For a time Scotstown was the terminus of the International Railway and the completion of the railway line from Montreal to Halifax brought added prosperity to the community.

Lovell's gazette of 1888 gives Scotstown a population of 600, 3 saw mills, a tannery, carriage factory and 4 churches. By 1917 the population had increased to 850 and the directory of business, professions and farmers (Rioux's Gazetteer, 1888-1917) shows an overwhelming preponderance of Scots names. Similarly land registration in Hampden (1867-1890) shows that 95% of those receiving land are Scots (Langelier, 1891, 336).

This is in marked contrast to present day Scotstown where all the businesses are French owned and most of the land. By 1948 the population had grown to approximately 1400 but this increase was due to a steady French Canadian influx since the mid 1920's. The present population of Scotstown is just over 800 and is predominantly French Canadian. At present there is very little industry in the area and employment opportunities are scarce. The Scotstown econ-

omy is largely based on welfare with the service industry the major employer. The only replacement industry is that of tourism but this is on a small scale. This is a marked contrast to the origins of the community. The descendants of the Highland Scots settlers had out migrated at a high rate and were replaced by incoming French Canadians. The reasons for this population change and ethnic succession will be discussed in the next section on socio-economic evolution.

SOCIO-ECONOMIC EVOLUTION

The replacement of the Scots Gaelic speaking population of the Scotstown area by French Canadians is part of a process that has affected the eastern townships of Quebec as a whole (Ross, 1943; 1954). This process will be illuminated in the following brief discussion of the changes that have occurred in educational, religious, political and economic institutions in Scotstown (cf. Ross, 1954).

Initially in Scotstown there was only an English speaking protestant school. In 1890 the first French speaking catholic school was established in the village. Separate schools were established in Quebec by the Act of 1875 which divided the school system into Catholic and Protestant committees with each committee having complete jurisdiction over their own educational institutions. Thus from the beginning of the 20th century there were 2 school systems in Scotstown; since 1969 there has been only one — French speaking Catholic. The two educational systems are separated by language and philosophy.

The protestant system, particularly in Scotstown, stressed a purely secular approach. The obvious Calvinist influence "to work to better oneself" was a major goal in the education of Scotstown's young Scots protestants. The ambition of parents was for their children to achieve higher occupational and social positions than themselves. The indirect result of this was to educate children to fit into an urban world and to eventually leave the community.

The Catholic schools in Scotstown, with nuns as teachers since 1909, tended to a more sacred emphasis. Education was viewed not in terms of equipping children for life in a highly secularised society, but rather as encouraging them to accept a way of life which emphasises spiritual rather than material values. The educational aspira-

tions of French Canadian parents for their children, at least prior to the 1950's, were radically different from those held by Scots parents. One consequence of this difference was that there was a movement of protestant educated children out of Scotstown and an influx of French Canadians into the township. With fewer pupils the protestant schools had to consolidate and the protestant educated children in the remoter areas had to travel further to school. In 1952 the protestant school in Milan was closed and the children were bussed to Scotstown. The protestant secondary school in Scotstown closed in 1963 and in 1969 the primary school shut down, and the few remaining pupils were bussed to Lennoxville and Bury. This process of protestant school consolidation led to a large number of Scots families leaving the area as bussing, under these conditions, was too high a price for education. Thus many Scots families left, selling houses, businesses and farms to incoming French Canadians.

The process of consolidation also affected the French catholic system, as since 1972, secondary education has been located at schools in La Patrie and East Angus. The Scotstown primary school, however, has not been touched by consolidation and presently has an enrollment of over 150 pupils. Staffed by nuns and lay teachers it serves the immediate French Canadian community and provides a central focus and basis of solidarity which the Scots community cannot emulate.

Just as educational institutions produce different solidarities in the French and Scots community in Scotstown, so do religious institutions. Divisions within Protestantism in Scotstown — Presbyterian, Anglican and United churches — in a situation of declining population puts enormous pressure on the financial resources, time, energy and morale of their respective congregations. None of the Protestant churches in Scotstown presently have the congregation or finances to justify a resident minister, and the Scots population is divided within itself on religious grounds. On the other hand the "Catholic church with its resident priest, close integration with all community institutions and its denominational unity, serves as a strong unifying community force for the French Canadian population." (Ross, 1954).

In Quebec the municipal vote is restricted to property owners. The gradual buying of land by the French Canadians in Scotstown

has had a double significance for the Scots population. For it means that with the acquisition of land and property the French not only take over the actual land, but also gain the power to take over the municipal council. In Scotstown the municipal council was dominated by Scots long after they ceased to be the numerical majority. This was by merit of their own control of land and industry. So in the 1940's and 1950's Scotstown municipal council was still dominated by Scots and even in 1960 there was a Scots mayor, but since then with outmigration following the closing of the veneer mill and the Protestant schools, the council has been dominated by French-Canadians.

The coming of industry to Scotstown did not provide the boost to local Scots initiative and drive that one would expect. The large lumber and veneer factories were owned by outside firms who brought in their own management and were only willing to recruit local labour for the less skilled and less remunerative jobs. This did not attract the young Scot in Scotstown who preferred to leave rather than accept conditions of labour and pay that did not match his occupational aspirations. The incoming French Canadians were willing to take the unskilled jobs which the Scots rejected. The Scots who remained quickly worked themselves into the foremen's jobs, but the avenue to management was closed to them. Most young Scots left; they had been educated to expect something better than unskilled industrial employment, and indeed found it elsewhere in Canada and the United States. Also Parker and Jenckes Ltd., on taking over one of Scotstown's large saw mills, recruited former employees from its plant in Piopolus, Quebec producing the first major influx of French Canadians to Scotstown in the early 1900's.

The French Canadians also gradually bought out the local Scots owned commercial enterprises simply because the heavy outmigration of Scots had left no one available to pass the business on to. On retirement the elderly Scots owner had no alternative but to sell to a French Canadian entrepreneur. Farms in the surrounding rural areas followed the same sequence. Little points out that the consolidation that took place on Scots farms as the pioneers expanded their holdings in the latter part of the 19th century eventually benefited French Canadian incomers. The outmigration of the younger generation of Scots and the numerical increase of the French left the Scots farmers with none of their own kind to leave their farms to (Little, 1976).

Thus in Scotstown there has been French Canadian succession and dominance in municipal and business affairs, the maintenance and bolstering of French solidarity in religious and educational affairs with a corresponding decline in Scots solidarity in these areas of social activity. Religious, educational and family institutions provide the core elements for transmitting heritage yet despite the erosion of many institution the Scots still feel their own identity strongly. I now turn to look at what mechanisms of cultural consciousness perpetuates this identity in the face of the overwhelming French Canadian dominance in the community.

ETHNIC IDENTITY AND CULTURAL CONTINUITY

Ethnicity is usually defined in terms of properties of endogamy and descent. This characterises a particular population as distinct from other populations. Indicators of ethnic identity are generally restricted to members of groups by merit of these properties, but it should be pointed out that ethnic indicators and attributes can be assumed and manipulated by individuals who do not necessarily share common descent. Ethnicity provides one basis for individuals to organise their relationships. Alternative organisational modes are based on ties of occupation, religion, class, sex, age and ideology. These alternative modes of association often overlap with ethnicity but do not always do so. Each set of ties takes on different degrees of importance as social, economic and historical conditions change.

It should be remembered that ethnic categories simply provide an organisational medium that is used for different purposes in varying economic and socio cultural conditions. The categories may be of great relevance to behaviour, but need not be, then may pervade all social life, or they may be relevant to only minor areas of social activity (Barth, 1969). Thus the selection of ethnic identity as a means of organising the meaning of social action depends heavily upon the context and conditions within which the social action takes place. It is important, then, to establish the areas of social and economic activity, where gaelic identity has salience and conversely those areas where it does not.

The remaining major factor in an examination of ethnicity and cultural retention is the idea of community solidarity. One of the basic functions of ethnicity is to bind individuals to a group. Its foun-

dation is a sense of common manners, rituals and values, and the limits of this mutuality set boundaries for group interaction and shared consciousness.

LEVELS OF ANALYSIS re CONDITIONS OF CULTURAL RETENTION

One proceeds at two levels with a study of ethnicity. There is the static and descriptive level whereby one isolates particular traits and cultural traditions peculiar to the population — folklore, language use, legend, etc. Then there is the dynamic level whereby one examines through time the way in which the traits, traditions and symbols change, and the way in which they are or are not used to maintain group cohesiveness and communal solidarity.

This level concentrates on the notion of boundary maintenance and examines the mechanisms and institutions that validate, in symbolic terms, the boundary between the given population and other populations. I maintain that ethnic boundaries can only emerge and persist when there is a continual feedback from everyday experience that bolsters the ethnic categories ideally employed by members of the community. When experience, institutions and activities continually reinforce ideas about difference, then ethnic dichotomies and hence boundaries can be retained and reinforced. However, if experience falsifies the categories, or demonstrates the lack of relevance of the categories for interaction and day to day life, then discrete ethnic identity will not persist because of the lack of a validated boundary (Barth, 1969).

Thus ethnicity refers to descent from ancestors who shared a common culture manifested vis a vis other populations in terms of distinctive ways of speaking and acting. The main defining characteristics are endogamy, descent and community solidarity. Cultural retention refers to activities, institutions and mechanisms that reinforce and maintain a sense of cultural distinctiveness. The gaelic culture brought in by the first settlers from Lewis can be defined as clustering round a number of key elements which are then studied through time. The major elements to be examined are:

1. Extended kinship networks
2. Agricultural mode of production and patterns of mutual aid

3. Language use
4. Presbyterianism
5. Poetic tradition
6. Mysticism

EXTENDED KINSHIP NETWORKS

The method of data collection in this study was primarily geneological. This involved the collection of geneologies of 7-8 generations depth from the time of the first settlers to the present day. The geneologies provided a "skeleton" upon which information was recorded. The data collected gives me language use and marriage patterns through time, residence and migration patterns, family size and educational levels by generation, land holding and religious affiliation through time, occupational change by generation and the extent to which the group retained its own institutions. From the geneologies collected a number of distinct trends can be discerned.

In general, gaelic language was passed down only to generation 3 and was accompanied by high rates of endogamous marriages (gaelic speaking Scot marrying gaelic speaking Scot). The language, however, was rarely passed to the fourth generation due to a marked increase in exogamous marriages, outmigration from the area and a certain stigma that was attached to speaking the language by the younger generation. English was the language of progress and there was no pressure in the home for children to learn gaelic even when both parents were fluent gaelic speakers. The tendency was for the parental generation to speak gaelic to one another but to use English in communicating with their children. In homes where one parent did not speak gaelic, English became the medium of communication.

Outmigration from the area is not a recent phenomenon. It had begun on a large scale by the 2nd generation and settlers moved to three main areas in North America: the urban industrial areas of Quebec (Sherbrooke, Montreal), the prairie provinces of Canada and the border states of the U.S. — Maine, Connecticut and Vermont. With the outmigration, exogamous marriages became the norm and gaelic language use became largely redundant. The genealogies also showed distinct changes in occupation. The first and second generations were primarily farmers but with increasing prosperity, employ-

ment opportunities and educational levels the trend is away from farming, logging and associated activities to business, service and professional occupations in generations 3 to 7. This trend was accompanied by a radical decrease in family size.

The extended kinship network was a vital support mechanism for the first pioneers as they adapted to Canadian conditions and is tied up very intimately with patterns of mutual aid and the agricultural mode of production.

AGRICULTURAL MODE OF PRODUCTION AND PATTERNS OF MUTUAL AID

In the conditions faced by the first pioneers extended kinship ties were an essential mechanism for survival. Tasks of clearing, harvesting and building could only be completed through an individual's ability to call upon kinship and community affiliations in order to get tasks done. Patterns of mutual aid, cooperation and reciprocity and the reliance on extended kinship networks were at their strongest when the Highland Scots communities were agricultural. In this situation extended kinship and community ties provided the reciprocal expectations that integrated and bound individuals to the group. Marriage was much more than a contract between two individuals. During the early period of settlement marriage partners not only represented two sex categories, they also represented two family groups and as such were subject to group expectations and control. The web of kinship and marriage alliances and the mutual aid obligations they reinforced made it possible for the early Scots communities to survive at all.

These networks and attendant obligations were, however, a consequence of the particular mode of agricultural production practiced in Compton County. The farm lots were small, requiring vast inputs of labour at periodic intervals in the annual cycle. The mutual aid of necessity provided a framework for interaction which perpetuated ceilidh and poetic traditions and bolstered the traditional extended family networks. But once agriculture ceased to supply the majority of occupations, and as individuals were less sorely pressed to the margins of necessity than the maintenance of patterns of mutual aid, extended kinship and all that went with it ceased to be of paramount importance. In a sense the very success of the settlers in "making it,"

as it were, created a new set of conditions under which there was less and less recourse to many of the elements that had been definitive of Scots gaelic culture.

The agricultural neighbourhood and common experiences of privation and survival provided a strong integrating force for the Scots pioneers communities. But when faced with French ethnic succession and less reliance on neighbourhood and kin ties the solidarity of the Scots communities — which were no longer primarily agricultural — declined.

This suggests rather crudely that gaelic culture (as classically understood) is closely related to an agricultural mode of production organised in a relatively egalitarian manner. It furthermore suggests that trends away from this organisation of occupation will produce inroads to that culture. It thus comes as no surprise that the few remaining areas of the world where gaelic culture is flourishing are in fact areas of marginal agriculture organised in egalitarian terms — W. Isles, gaidhealtachd in Ireland and rural Cape Breton, Nova Scotia.

LANGUAGE USE

The present residents of the Scotstown area who are descendants of the original gaelic speaking immigrants are elderly. They are in their 70's and 80's and are third generation descendants. Subsequent generations (4th — 8th) are rarely resident in the area and if they return at all it is for holidays and funerals. The extended kinship system has broken down to a large extent, in that elderly parents spend their last years in a nursing home rather than with kinfolk.

Many of the present residents speak gaelic (Scotstown, 24; Milan, 9; Lac Megantic, 3; Bury, 1; Gould, 5; Stornoway, 1) a few fluently, other less so. The language is rarely used, however, in day to day interaction. People will speak gaelic when a social anthropologist asks them to or when a special occasion such as a birthday or homecoming warrants it. English is used almost exclusively as the medium of communication. This again is not a recent phenomenon. Third and fourth generation descendants were not encouraged to learn the language as a certain stigma of backwardness and primitiveness was associated with it.

PRESBYTERIANISM

Presbyterianism is perhaps the single most important factor in maintaining a sense of gaelic identity for the present Lewis descendants in the Scotstown area. The succeeding generations that have left the area and assimilated to the North American mosaic reflect the general secular nature of the wider society in their lack of religious affiliation. The Presbyterian church of St. Andrews, Scotstown was built in 1885 and 40 years later it was to become part of a tug of war between Presbyterian and United Church congregations over the 1925 church unification vote.

The strict calvinism of the Presbyterian church was closely associated with gaelicness, by the Lewis descendants and this was seen clearly in the 1925 vote. The proposal in 1925 was that all presbyterian, congregational and methodist churches in Canada unify to form the United Church of Canada. In Scotstown there were no Methodists or Congregationalists at the time and the vote was entirely an internal presbyterian affair. The majority voted for unification and the vote split the Scotstown congregation along age and language lines. The elderly, gaelic speaking members voted against unification, while the middle aged and young members, who were by and large non-gaelic speaking, voted for unification. The gaelic speakers refused to go along with the majority verdict and they left their former church (St. Andrew's) having lost the building and their minister to the United cause. A year later they built their own church (St. Paul's) on Albert Street — which soon became known as "Presbyterian Row." Even to this day discussions of the 1925 vote frequently refer to families that 'turned'. Very bitter feelings were produced by the 1925 affair but it was a clear identification by the Lewis descendants of their gaelicness with their presbyterianism.

The point to note is that in church structure, services and administration the Scotstown United Church was practically indistinguishable from the previous presbyterian church. But this was irrelevant, given that the decision by the gaelic speakers to build a new presbyterian church was a matter of identity that overrode convenience. The present presbyterian congregation numbers approximately 45 (cf. 150 in 1925). The United Church at present has a congregation of 15. The irony is that the student ministers who serve both churches at present, are frequently one and the same person, conducting identical services in the two churches on alternate Sundays!

After the 1925 division of the community by age and language, the presbyterian gaelic speakers relied on student services from the Montreal Presbyterian College. At first the Sunday services alternated weekly between Gaelic and English; the prayer meeting on Tuesday and Thursday were in Gaelic. By 1933, in the Rev. G. Murray's time, gaelic services were held once a month. They were reinstituted on a week about basis by Murray's successor, the Rev. A. D. MacLean. By 1938 the Tuesday prayer meeting had been dropped and the Thursday prayer meeting alternated between Gaelic and English. Gaelic dropped entirely from church use in Rev. Ivor McIver's times (1955-58) as he had no Gaelic. His predecessor, the Rev. Smith was the last Gaelic speaking minister to be in residence, and the Rev. Ross Davidson (1971-3) was the last resident minister. Since 1973 the congregation have relied on student supply from the Montreal Presbyterian College. From 1957 the Presbyterian churches in Milan, Lac Megantic and Scotstown have united to extend calls to ministers to serve all three communities, but since the departure of Rev. Davidson, it is unlikely that any minister will take up a call.

So without a resident minister there is an enormous lack of leadership from the church. Yet despite this, the Sunday service still is the major focus for the Scots remnant, the one weekly occasion when the elderly and infirm try to 'make it' and worship in the company of fellow Scots. The manner in which everyone lingers on the church lawn after the service, talking and exchanging news indicates that this is the one occasion each week when their mutual identity and shared consciousness is ritually reinforced. Visiting patterns during the week are not extensive as old age and infirmity tends to keep people housebound.

At present no prayer meetings are held during the week and there is no Sunday School, simply because there are insufficient children. Other church activities include the Ladies Circle and missionary society. The former hold monthly meetings and organise church suppers, while the latter have teas and study church work in other countries. It is the same group of women who are in both groups. Apart from the Kirk session there are no occasions upon which the men meet for church based association. It is the Sunday service that is the single most important continuous mechanism for validating a sense of boundary and distinctiveness.

An additional symbolic "booster" to the sense of Gaelic identity is the annual memorial service instigated in 1969 by the Rev. Donald

Gillies. These have been held every year since 1969 (with the exception of 1975). The service is in Gaelic and is held at Milan Bethany Church, after which everyone repairs to the Winslow cemetery for a picnic and get together prior to the evening service there. The cemetery at Winslow is set on top of a hill overlooking a lake and is a perfect location for the worshippers to repeople with their past heritage. Headstones mark the resting places of McLeods, McRaes, McRitchies, McIvers, MacAuleys, Camerons, Buchanans, Morrisons, Munroes, McKays and MacArthurs. In the adjacent village of Stornoway, which had been a major commercial and communication centre for the Lingwick and Winslow settlers, no English or Gaelic is to be heard. The French Canadian ethnic succession is complete.

Attendance at the memorial service is mainly local though numbers are swollen by people coming from Lennoxville and Sherbrooke. Elderly kinsfolk in the States and other parts of Canada make the attempt to coordinate their holidays with the time of the memorial service, but it is a geriatric attraction only. The middle aged and young descendants of the 3rd generation residents rarely make an effort to attend the memorial service. However for the elderly, the Presbyterian Church in Scotstown is the remaining focus for gaelic identity. This is bolstered by the annual memorial service and by patterns of social interaction and visiting with other Scots.

POETIC TRADITION AND MYSTICISM

The attention and affection given to poets and bards is an accepted part of gaelic culture (MacLean, 1974). Local poets were formerly very prominent in the Scotstown area. They were rarely known outside their local vicinity and they composed songs and poems which were hardly ever written down. The local residents learnt the poems and songs by heart and sang them in their own homes. When it was known that one of the bards was at a house it would rapidly fill with folk eager to learn of his latest, especially as they expected fun to be made of local incidents and personalities.

The most prominent bards were Finlay McRitchie and his nephew Angus MacKay — Oscar Dhu. They were composing and singing their songs from the 1890's onwards. The Murray brothers from Dell and Alec Nicholson were prominent in the early 1920's as Donald Morrison from Tolsta, and Murdo "Buidh" MacDonald

from Marsboro. With a few notable exceptions none of the songs were recorded or written down. They were part of an oral tradition that coincided with the prominence of kin and community relationships over other kinds of relationships. The last bard of note to take his songs round the houses was Norman Murray from Milan. He is remembered most for his long, scathing and humourous poems on the 1925 church vote. Although Norman Murray would still visit houses in the 1940's the true poetic tradition died out in the 1930's. His last poem — Lament for Milan — was written much later. It was a song about walking to Milan from Scotstown and finding no one to speak Gaelic to. This poem is perhaps an epitome of the situation he described as it lay outside of both the oral tradition and community solidarity that had once characterised the Scots gaelic communities in Compton County. It was recorded by chance by a CBC Radio production team in 1967 when they were collecting background material for a programme on Donald Morrison, the Megantic Outlaw. Shortly afterwards Norman Murray died, and with him went the last vestige of the gaelic poetic tradition. There are present residents of Scotstown who write poetry, but it is in English and largely private.

Second sight and associated phenomena are expected to be found in some kind of conjunction with Gaelic culture (Campbell J. G. 1900), even with a dominant presbyterianism. Stories of supernatural phenomena abound for the early period of settlement but the last person attributed with gifts of this nature was A. D. Morrison who foresaw many local disasters and tragedies right up to his own death in 1942.

MAINTENANCE OF CULTURAL BOUNDARIES

The prominence of factors such as bards, mysticism and ceilidhs within the Gaelic culture reconfirmed for the gaelic Scots population their sense of difference vis-à-vis French Canadian and English populations. The bards were larger than life characters, sometimes given to excess but they provided a constellation of cues and reminders about the culture of which they were a part. It was not just their particular performances that were reinforcers of cultural boundaries but people talking about them shared a mutual and exclusive identity with the cues and reminders of gaelic culture. Even today talk about past bards, mystics, and tragedies has the function of redefining the

cultural distinctiveness of the Scots gaelic remnant in the Scotstown area.

The Megantic Outlaw story (Epps, 1973) and the Pot of Gold legend are told and retold at visits and become more significant as folklorists and anthropologists make enquiries into the cultural heritage of the present descendants of the Lewis pioneers. The observer effects of professional enquiry into the factors and processes of cultural retention is itself a factor than encourages the population to define and re-affirm their cultural distinctiveness. The obvious observer effects are increased levels of interaction between the Scots population with respect to ceilidhs and dinners and the refurbishing of memories and events that are often almost forgotten.

Patterns of interaction between 3rd generation residents also help to reinforce a sense of common identity. Shopping trips, telephone calls for news and gossip weave a web of interdependency and communication that stops short of the French Canadian community. Also kin taking holidays in the area reinforce a sense of common identity, but it is noticeable that the grandchildren that return intermix much more with French Canadians than their elderly relatives, who live there all the time.

The ethnic succession and dominance of French Canadian culture in Compton County described previously, is an additional factor that serves to maintain a sense of boundary. Conflict and hostility between the French and Scots communities has been a continuing feature of ethnic interaction since first settlement. The repatriation and colonisation schemes sponsored by the Quebec government in the latter part of the 19th century frequently encroached upon the land rights of Scots communities (Little, 1976). French resistance to conscription during the first world war, the frequent contempt that Scots had for poorer French Canadian farmers were part of an enduring hostility that has simply been magnified by the fait accompli of French Canadian control of commercial, political and community interests that were formerly a Scots preserve.

It is worthy of note that in reconstructing the changes that had occurred in the last 50 years in Scotstown, my elderly informants could provide me with details of occurrences in 1926 and 1956, yet could not give a complete picture of the present situation, as it is now dominated by a French Canadian milieu. Few of the elderly Scots

descendants speak French and their consciousness and identity does not include consciousness about French Canadian activities. Their identity in fact takes part of its definition from their hostility to the French fact.

Although there are sufficient mechanisms, institutions and activities to reinforce a sense of common cultural consciousness, the events and processes described in the section on socio economic evolution preclude the possibility of providing for cultural continuity. With the outmigration of families and young folk many activities that were formerly worthwhile failed to continue. Up until 1971 the annual church concert in Scotstown would have a gaelic play that would include skits on local events and situations. The problem arose, however, especially after the departure of the last resident minister, the no-one was willing to lead or take part in the absence of leadership from the church. After the 1969 closure of the last protestant school in Scotstown, many families left and there were simply fewer young people around to make the whole effort worthwhile. Gaelic language lessons for children were conducted in Scotstown at this time but when the Scotstown school closed and the children were bussed to school, they were simply too weary after 10 hours away from home to continue a voluntary language course. As the number of children decreased with more and more families moving out of the area the prospect of any kind of cultural continuity was lost.

So while visiting, reminiscing and hostility to the French Canadians are mechanisms that reinforce a sense of identity the single most important focus for gaelic identity is the presbyterian church in Scotstown.

CONCLUSION

I stated earlier that there had to be feedback from experience to validate a sense of difference, otherwise an ethnic boundary could not be maintained. It is true to say that while there is ethnic consciousness with respect to gaelic culture among the present Scotstown residents, there is no ethnic continuity. It must be remembered that the present residents are 3rd generation descendants of the gaelic speaking Lewismen who settled the area in the mid 19th century. The 4th — 7th generation descendants have by and large become assimilated to the North American mosaic. They may state an identity if

asked, but their day to day activities are not ordered or influenced by ties or relationships that pertain uniquely to Gaelic culture.

Ethnic continuity from generation to generation can rarely be achieved on a solely voluntary basis. It is necessary to have institutional and constitutional safeguards which are not present in Scotstown for the gaelic cultural remnant. There is insufficient population of the requisite age to perpetuate institutions that may have preserved the culture, and furthermore, there are insufficient people who agree on the value of continuing with a gaelic identity.

It should be emphaised that the social and cultural fabric of the gaelic speaking immigrants had been subjected to enormous disjunctions and strains. This particular consideration must always be borne in mind in a discussion of the erosion of gaelic culture within the new land of Canada. The society and culture that had sustained the gael through the Highland Clearances were unlikely to remain the same when faced with transportation across the Atlantic to a radically different set of social and economic conditions.

However, with the passing of the present elderly Scots descendants in Scotstown, Quebec will lose all trace of the Gaelic part of its heritage. Some residents recognise this and state that perhaps their contribution to Quebec is to remain true to the style of their ancestors, in order that they give an example to the French Canadians of what Highland Scots pioneers were like. Such a view is stated with courage but little realism, as the vast majority of the French Canadians in the Scotstown area came to the region in the Quebec government's colonisation programme in the 1930's and the 1940's. They have had no reason or opportunity to remember anything about the Gaelic speaking pioneers who opened up an area of Quebec that is now almost entirely Francophone.

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Silas T. Rand, Nineteenth Century Anthropologist Among the Micmac[1]

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RÉSUMÉ

Cet article présente la vie et l'œuvre de Silas T. Rand parmi les Micmacs des provinces maritimes au dix-neuvième siècle. Même s'il était officiellement un missionnaire chez les Indiens, Rand a aussi apporté une grande contribution comme pionnier de l'Anthropologie. Il appartient à ce groupe de gens qui ont contribué à la "proto-anthropologie" canadienne et qui méritent une place dans l'histoire de la discipline.

The *History of the Baptists of the Maritime Provinces,* published in 1902, gives short shrift to Silas Tertius Rand, one of the Baptists' nineteenth century ministers. In a brief biographical sketch of Rand, the *History* states merely that he was born in Cornwallis, Nova Scotia, in 1810, was ordained a preacher in 1834, and died at Hantsport in 1889. Three sentences then sum up Rand's life and work:

> In 1853 he removed to Hantsport [from Charlottetown], where as preacher, author, and missionary, especially to the Micmacs, he spent the rest of his life. He had remarkable aptitude for languages and had a reading knowledge of seven or eight. He was devoutly pious (Saunders 1902: 497).

[1] An earlier version of this paper was presented at the annual meetings of the Atlantic Association of Sociology and Anthropology, in Antigonish, Nova Scotia, in March, 1974. I would like to thank Richard Miller for his helpful comments on this paper.

The text of the book proper enlarges on this only slightly by mentioning the formation of a religious mission among the Micmac in 1849 and the appointment of Silas Rand as missionary to these Indians.

What the Baptist *History* does not mention is the subsequent functioning of the mission or the lack of proselytizing success enjoyed by Rand among the Micmac. It does not mention that during Rand's lifetime, he was openly condemned by some church members for wasting his time among Indians, whom it was thought there was no hope of converting, much less civilizing. Nor does it mention that Rand was criticized for spending so much time learning an Indian language which could only be regarded as a vanishing one. The *History* also neglects to mention Rand's excommunication from the Baptist Church in 1873. The Baptists in 1902, then, clearly did not regard Rand as one of their more illustrious figures.

On the other hand, anthropologists looking at Rand and his work among the Micmac tend to dismiss him as just another missionary. Wallis and Wallis in their 1955 ethnography of the Micmac admit that Rand "mastered the language, and familiarized himself with [the Micmacs'] customs and with many of their beliefs" (1955: 14), but in a summary of significant work on the Micmac prior to 1900, they mention only that of the Jesuit priests and a few other standard sources such as Lescarbot, Denys, LeClercq, Dièreville, and Maillard.[2] Bock cites two Rand sources in the bibliography of his 1966 study of the Micmac of Restigouche, Quebec, but makes only a general reference to each in the text (1966: 36, 73).

While the Baptists may fell free to disown Rand, anthropologists should not dismiss lightly the products of his work, for without Rand, we would be lacking a great deal of information on Micmac life in the latter half of the nineteenth century. We would have very little recorded Micmac linguistic data and few recorded legends. Rand's selfless and objective observing and recording of information make it impossible for anyone to carry out any study of the Micmac today without consulting his publications for perspective and background. In addition, during his lifetime, Rand was well known, liked, and respected by the Micmac and in his efforts to help them gain fair

[2] Ironically, the Wallises then go on to cite Rand's work liberally throughout their book.

treatment from the Whites, he showed himself to be a humanitarian and an applied anthropologist. He was a remarkable individual living in a time when most people considered the Indians a vanishing race of indigents who simply didn't know enough to appreciate the benefits of European civilization. And so it is worth our time to take a look at Rand's own background and his work, and to assess the latter in the light of anthropological efforts of the time.

As previously mentioned, Rand was born in 1810 and, as his mother died before he was two and his father remarried a woman who apparently didn't want the boy, he was sent to live with his grandparents for several years. The grand-parents were very religious people who impressed on young Silas "the reality of eternal things," as Rand later put it ([1847]: MS.). Rand's father had had little education, but wanting better things for his children, the father taught them to read; beyond that, Silas' formal education was almost nonexistent. As a young child, he was sent to stay with several different women teachers for a few weeks at a time, from whom presumably he was to acquire additional knowledge, but he profited little from this since the women knew scarcely more than he did. One of them readily admitted that while she could read, she did not know how to write at all. Somehow during these early years, Rand managed to spend four winters at school, but in later years, he confessed that he had generally dislike school and had no desire to study until, at the age of thirteen, he was impressed by another boy using words Silas could not understand.

Young Rand then began to read on his own. His autobiographical notes tell us that throughout childhood and adolescence, he led a very sheltered and religious life, and that he spent his adolescence obsessed with thoughts of death and feelings of guilt at not spending all of his time on his knees in prayer.

Rand did manage to become involved in life somewhat, as at age 18, he learned a trade, that of building chimneys, and he comments that "...my labor was in great demand and I determined to become rich" (*Ibid.*), hardly a statement one would expect from a prospective religious ascetic. His diversions included wrestling and playing the flute, with a fair degree of success at both. Despite shyness and his strong religious feelings, he agreed on several occasions to play the flute at dances, although he says he regarded this as "serving the

devil," and he was so distressed at this "that I would turn away my eyes and not look at [the dancers]" (*Ibid*).

At the age of 21, Rand taught school himself briefly. Then, at 23, he spent four weeks at Horton Academy, then connected with Acadia University in Wolfville, Nova Scotia. Here he began to study Latin; this stimulated an interest in languages in general which continued through the rest of his life as Rand taught himself to read French, Spanish, Italian, German, Hebrew, and ancient and modern Greek, all in addition to perfecting his Latin and studying at least three North American Indian languages (Webster 1894: xvii). Rand planned for a career in the church and was ordained a Baptist minister in 1834, at the age of 24. church missions to Asia were prominent in the nineteenth century and Rand even contemplated becoming a missionary to India or Burma.

But any decision on missionary work was postponed by his marriage in 1838. After that, Rand was assigned various Baptist parishes in Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island. During the early 1840's, the idea of a mission to serve the Micmac Indians was discussed by the Baptists, including Rand, but the main problem in establishing such a mission lay in no one's knowing the Micmac language, and the missionaries of the day considered it important that whoever served as a missionary should be able to speak to native peoples "in their own tongue." There were no books available in Micmac or any available teachers, so plans for the mission were always shelved.

Then, in the summer of 1846, Rand was appointed to a parish in Charlottetown. He later said of this:

> On my way [to Charlottetown], I took my first lesson in Micmac. It was about twenty words, down with great difficulty from the mouth of an old Indian in Windsor. In Charlottetown I found... the outlines of a Micmac Grammar. It was published some years ago by a Mr. Irvin, who died shortly after my arrival in Prince Edward Island. Meagre as this Grammar was, it was of incalculable service. I cannot help thinking now, when I recal [sic] to mind how eagerly I transcribed it, lest the precious boon might slip out of my hands.
>
> I soon found a greater prize than this. It was a man who had been thirty years among the Indians, who spoke their tongue well, and understood it better than he spoke it; and who spoke English as correctly as tho' he had never been among the Indians... He was also both able and willing to render me all the assistance I could possibly expect in the case.
>
> One more thing was needful. I could not pay my teacher nor meet other incidental expenses, without money; this was supplied from a quarter I had little

> dreamed of. Several officers of Her Majesty's Navy, were engaged in surveying and making charts of the coast... they had often been brought in contact with the Indians, they had pitied their condition, and... they had long desired to see some plan in operation for their spiritual good... No sooner was the whisper conveyed to their ears... that I was giving some of my time and attention to the poor Indians, then they sought me out... and... gave me all the money I needed for the object (Rand 1850: 36).

So Rand was now learning Micmac. In order to facilitate his studies, he sought out old Micmac story tellers and recorded legends from them in Micmac, then from his teacher got literal translations of the legends and compared the two versions to understand the structure of Micmac better.

But it was still several years before he became firmly committed to Micmac studies. In his autobiographical notes of October 27, 1847, he tells us that "I have just been requested by the Baptist Board of Missions, in Nova Scotia, to undertake a foreign mission to Burmah... the longer I think of going among the heathen, the stronger my desires to become... Much will depend upon the decision of my dear wife" ([1847]: MS.)

We have Mrs. Rand to thank, then, for Rand's decision to devote his life to the heathen at home. While Rand remained at his Charlottetown parish, he pushed his Micmac studies forward with vigour. He says that his most pressing concerns were "to reduce the language to writing; to collect words into something that might be called a dictionary; to reduce it to grammatical rules... then to translate portions of the Bible and to compose a few prayers in Micmac" (Rand 1850: 37). And he made progress. January 6, 1849, he wrote in his diary that:

> I can converse with [the Indians] to some extent, read the Scriptures to them, — having translated about a dozen chapters — and am compiling quite a full vocabulary of their words (*in* Clark 1899: 11).

During this time he was busy visiting with the Micmac in their "camps", as he called them, sometimes staying all night with sick Indians. His being able to speak their language immeasurably speeded his acceptance by the Indians. They began to trust him and to seek him out for advice.

As Rand learned more about the Indians and how to help them, he urged on Whites the necessity of teaching the Indians to read and write, and generally of elevating them to "civilization." He thought

this could be accomplished by establishing a Baptist Mission among them, and although the church was interested, it was not able to provide continuing financial support for such a venture and so Rand was directed to lay his case before the Christian public at large. He did this in the form of two public lectures on the Micmac Indians that he presented in Halifax in November of 1849. In these lectures, Rand considered the state of the Micmac at the time, as well as describing the traditional culture in standard ethnographic categories of history, material culture, social organization, religious beliefs, literature, and language. Public interest was high and Protestants of all denominations joined in the formation of the Micmac Mission Society. It wasn't long before a sectarian quarrel almost dissolved the fledgling society, when the non-Baptist members insisted that in any Bible translations Rand did for the Indians, he never use the word "Baptist," but instead leave the term in the original Greek. The Baptists reacted strongly to this proposal and the ensuing controversy left lifelong enemies and slanderers of Rand and everything he did.

But this controversy was only the first of a series of headaches over Mission affairs to plague Rand. A constant concern was money, not only to support Mission activities, but to pay his own salary as well. At the outset, the Micmac Mission Society voted Rand an annual salary of £160 with an expense account of another £40; however, the Society made no provision for raising this money. Rand was thus forced to spend much of his time traveling around the province giving public lectures on the Indians, and relying on contributions from this to obtain his salary and expense money.

Internal Mission affairs were only one source of problems. From outside the Mission came jealous competition for the Indians' souls from the Roman Catholic priests whose church had labored among the Micmac for almost 250 years and who claimed the Indians' religious allegiance. Rand found in several instances where he had gained acceptance from Indians and given them copies of his Bible translations to study, that priests had forcibly confiscated and burned the offending pamphlets. Rand also had the experience that friendly Micmac would suddenly and inexplicably become hostile toward him and turn him out of their camps, apparently at the instigation of the priests.

Despite attacks from within and without the Mission, Rand persisted in both his religious and his ethnographic efforts. In 1850,

the two lectures he had given in Halifax in 1849 to get support to found the Mission were printed. This pamphlet (Rand 1850) remains the best mid-nineteenth century account of Micmac traditional culture of changes in this culture brought about by contact with Europeans. But most of Rand's publications which appeared during the first fifteen years of the Mission were in the area of linguistics as Rand laboured to perfect his knowledge of Micmac, to reduce it to writing using the Pitman phonetics system, and then to translate the Bible and other religious material into it. As early as 1850, Rand published the Ten Commandments and parts of the New Testament in Micmac. Over the next few years, the Books of Matthew, John, and Luke appeared; Genesis, the Psalms, Exodus, and the rest of the New Testament followed. Additionally, Rand prepared and published a series of religious tracts in phonetic symbols for the Indians. The series title, "Bread Cast Upon the Waters," reflects Rand's hopes for his efforts. Finally, Rand's translations of Christian hymns into the Micmac language rounded out his proselytizing efforts on behalf of the Micmac Mission.

To enable the Micmac to read and understand all of this religious material, Rand prepared a remarkable little book titled *First Reading Book in Micmac.* It was an overnight success. The 40-page first edition, appearing in 1854, contained an explanation of the structure of the Micmac language, a Micmac alphabet with appropriate phonetic symbols for each sound, and grammar and reading lessons. By 1875, the current edition of the *First Reading Book* had grown to 108 pages, with expanded grammar lessons and information on the Micmac numerary system, terms in Micmac for flora and fauna, and definitions of Micmac place names in Nova Scotia. Rand's intentions for the book, as given in the preface to the 1875 edition, of aiding the Indians in learning to read both Micmac and English and of acquainting the English with the Micmac language, may not have been entirely achieved since it is doubtful how many English actually did become acquainted with the Micmac language, but the Indians were certainly enthused about the effort. Their acceptance and study of the book allowed Rand to claim that "...many of the Micmac Indians have during the last fifteen years learned to read... A determination to learn to read has been aroused among the Indians everywhere" (Rand 1875: iii-iv). Rand's statement is corroborated by correspondence surviving today from Micmac as

far away as New Brunswick and Quebec, to Rand requesting copies of the *Reading Book*.[3]

The fruits of Rand's linguistic labours appeared in non-religious publications as well. His material on both the Micmac and Malecite languages may be found in Henry Schoolcraft's *Indian Tribes*, which appeared between 1851 and 1857. His fame as a Micmac authority is also demonstrated by his being asked to complete the Micmac and Malecite kinship terminology schedules which appeared in Lewis Henry Morgan's 1871 *Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity of the Human Family*. Rand also contributed articles on Micmac language and culture to periodicals of the day, including the *Canadian Science Monthly* and the *American Antiquarian and Oriental Journal*, the latter a Chicago-based periodical. The *Christian Messenger*, official paper of the Baptist Church in the Maritimes in the latter half of the nineteenth century, contains contributions on the Micmac and on the progress of the Micmac Mission Society as well.

While publications and translations appeared in rapid succession after 1849, Rand was of course continuing to spend as much time among the Micmac as possible. His sincere, solicitous nature won their confidence; they trusted him and brought their problems to him. Land claims were as important to the Micmac in the mid-nineteenth century as now, and in 1853, the Indians approached Rand with a request to write a petition about their land problems to Queen Victoria. Rand agreed, and although the resulting petition did apparently spur some investigation of White encroachment on Indian land in the province, no significant results were achieved for the Indians. However, Rand seized on the situation to acquaint the general Nova Scotia public with the problem when he made "The Claims of the Indians" the subject of a public lecture in Halifax in 1854.

In this address, besides championing the rights of the Micmac to the land, Rand urged seven measures that the government should adopt with regard to the Indians. These included:

1. "cease to treat the Indians as idiots or *children* because they speak broken English"

[3] A number of these letters are contained among the Rand papers in the Special Collections of the Vaughan Library. Acadia University, Wolfville, Nova Scotia.

2. investigate Indian claims and admit them if they are just
3. if the claims are just, pay the Indians for the land
4. make "liberal provision" for the care of old and sick Indians
5. "encourage schools and industry" among the Indians; pay White people a bounty for teaching an Indian to read and write
6. "pension their superanuated [sic] chiefs" instead of forcing them to spend their last days in poverty
7. "encourage [the Indians] to take up lands, to build houses, to till the ground, to become industrious" (Rand [1854]: MS).[4]

In short, Rand was urging that the Indians be treated in what he called a "Christian manner." He proposed settling them on land provided by the Whites and encouraging them to cultivate it, then having them pay a small amount of money and become the owners.

And this was one of the things he persuaded the Protestant denominations supporting the Mission to do. In 1854, following consultation with some Micmac, they purchased about 400 acres of land at Hantsport. Rand moved there and took the responsibility of gathering in Indians to settle. While the project initially seemed a success, Rand soon found the Indians' pattern of seasonal moves around the country frustrating to his plans. Undaunted, he pursued other ambitious projects to help civilize the Micmac. Especially impressed with education as a means to civilization, he persistently but unsuccessfully attempted to establish a boarding school for Micmac children; he also planned a "Micmac scholarship" at Acadia University.[5]

The mid-1850's marked the zenith of the Micmac Mission Society. In 1856, Rand made his most prominent convert to Protestantism. One Ben Christmas became a Baptist in April of that year and subsequently led such an exemplary Christian life that he was hired in 1858 to be Assistant Missionary to Rand. This meant that he, too, preached to the Indians, helped translate the Bible into Mic-

[4] The entire text of this lecture has been printed in *The Christian Messenger*, XV: 11, 12, 13, 19. March – May 1855.

[5] Additional information on Rand's plans for Indian education in the latter half of the 1850's may be found in Rand's Annual Reports to the Micmac Mission Society for these years.

mac, and did his share of fund raising by lecturing to the public on the customs of the Micmac. Rand said of Christmas' success:

> We had a lecture here (at Annapolis) last evening that would have passed muster at Exeter Hall... The Hall was crammed, many not being able to get in... At Yarmouth hundreds came to hear him... We got large houses at Liverpool, and Mr. Christmas was pronounced a great man. And he is all that. He is great at his lectures, and is a first-rate fellow every way... The Indians at Liverpool gathered round him — and he lectured, and preached to them. On a second visit, as soon as it was known that he was there they came from all directions (Rand 1859: 8)

Unfortunately for the Society, Christmas resigned within the year to go on a lecture tour in the United States and Eastern Canada, this time raising funds for his own pocket.

At any rate, Silas Rand was totally absorbed in the Micmac Mission, in his linguistic work, and in championing various Micmac causes from 1849 to 1864. As the years passed, financial support became more and more of a problem as the initial enthusiasm of Protestants for the Mission waned and Rand found himself spending increasing amounts of his time "entertaining," as he called giving lectures, in order to raise money. He became increasingly critical of the church after 1860, with statements detailing "the grievous backsliding of the times," and adding, "surely there are no churches that at all come up to the requirements of the New Testament" (*in* Clark 1899: 9). Such criticisms were made not only because of the lukewarm financial support Rand received from the church, but also because some of the church members were starting to insinuate that Rand wasn't mentally sound, basing their insinuations on Rand's frequent and fervent harangues on behalf of the Indians.

Finally in 1864, Rand took his first step toward independence of the churches and the never-ending soliciting of funds. Having read accounts of David Brainerd, an English minister who trusted to God alone to provide for him, Rand decided to follow Brainerd's example. He ceased soliciting funds for the Micmac Mission and, instead, prayed to God. Rand claimed that this brought him more money than he ever had before. Rand continued to maintain the Micmac Mission in Hantsport until the early 1870's, by which time his disgust with what he termed the "lax morality" of the Baptist Church caused him to withdraw entirely from the church and join the Plymouth Brethren, another Protestant group. He remained at Hantsport for

the rest of his life, working among the Indians and at his various linguistic projects. What might be called his *magnum opus* was published in two parts: in 1888, a year before he died, the English-Micmac section of his dictionary, a project he had pored over for more than 40 years, was published (Rand 1888). The larger, Micmac-English section, was published posthumously (Clark 1902), as were collections of the hundreds of Micmac legends he had recorded during all his years among the Indians (Webster 1894).

While the Baptists and most other Protestant churches wrote off Rand and his Micmac Mission as a failure, their judgements were based on the number of converts he baptized in the Protestant faith, and this number happened to be one.[6] Rand, on the other hand, insisted from the beginning of his work that he was not out to discredit the Catholic priests who had held a firm grip on Micmac people for over 250 years, nor did he intend to promote Protestant factionalism among the Indians. Instead, he was satisfied with teaching them the gospel as it came straight from the Bible and with trying to improve the quality of the Indians' lives.

Toward the end of his life, Rand summed up his accomplishments among the Micmac. Admitting some disappointments about backsliding among professed Protestant Indians, Rand made it clear that he valued their social changes above all. He said:

> A comparison of the condition of the Indians generally at the present time with what it was thirty years ago, will prove to any one that a wonderful change for the better has taken place among them. And we may boldy ask, if this improvement has not been mainly owing, under God, the author of all good, to the Micmac Mission, to what other great work has it been due? What other agency has been at work in their special behalf? I know of none... Thirty years ago an Indian that could read, was, in Nova Scotia, Cape Breton, and P. E. Island... an almost unheard of thing. As for the Bible, they knew not that there was such a book, and had they known there was... there was no possibility of their knowing what was in it. Their knowledge of English even now scarcely allows one in a hundred to understand a book in that language, although the most of them speak the language much better than they did thirty years ago. *Now* the whole New Testament and several books of the Old, are translated into Micmac, are circulated freely among them, multitudes of Indians everywhere can

[6] The single Indian whom Rand baptized was the wife of Ben Christmas, Rand's assistant. While Christmas was never baptized and fell away from the church after only a few years, his wife was still leading a Protestant Christian life in 1880 (Rand 1880: 9).

> read them, and they receive them and retain them despite all the efforts made to prevent it... It is pleasing to be able to add, that in all directions now, Indian children attend the schools, which are now open to them as to all classes, and they are cultivating a better acquaintance with the English language, as well as with the customs of civilization (Rand 1880: 7-11).

He continued in this vein several years later:

> And mark the change which has taken place in the condition of the tribe in respect to *civilization* since we began our labours, and as the direct result of our labours... The old dress both of men and women has been discarded, and that of the white people adopted very generally; you can no longer tell an Indian by his dress. Comfortable houses and all the appearance of civilization, are continually to be met with. Everywhere there is a determination to obtain learning, and to learn the English language... many adults have mastered the mysteries of reading Micmac, one at least now living, after forty years of age who never went to school at all (*in* Clark 1899: 35).

Silas Rand, then, considered his most important contribution as that of helping the Indians to achieve "civilization." While such a statement might seem to align Rand with that group of nineteenth century theorists who espoused the notion of social evolution, and certainly from Rand's contacts with such prominent theorists as Lewis Henry Morgan one must assume his familiarity with this theoretical school, nonetheless it is apparent from Rand's writings that he possessed none of the ethnocentrism common to the social evolutionists. In fact, for his time, Rand displayed a remarkably relative point of view with regard to native people, native cultures, and native languages. His pleas to "cease to treat the Indians as idiots," his realization of the inherent value of traditional Micmac culture and the need to record it before all memory of it vanished, and his repeated favourable comparisons of the Micmac language with Indo-European languages all demonstrate this relative point of view, most unusual for a nineteenth century cleric.

In the course of his work among the Micmac, Rand had occasion to record a good amount of data of both their traditional culture and on the culture as it changed in response to the presence of Europeans. Rand assigned credit for the increasing acculturation to the influence of his Micmac Mission. While this may be partially true, probably some of the changes in Micmac life style which occurred during the latter half of the nineteenth century were inevitable as the Indians came into increasingly frequent and extended contact with the expanding white population around the Province. Nonetheless,

Rand was present to encourage and to set an example for the Micmac people in learning English, in accepting education, and in acquiring at least the outward trappings of European material culture. Most important for our purposes today, of course, are Rand's recorded observations and comparisons of the changing Micmac culture during this time, some of which have been cited in this paper. While formal acculturation and ethnohistorical studies had not yet been thought of, Rand's work served to preserve an objective view of the Indians' culture for future workers in anthropology.

And finally, the value of Rand's linguistic work should be equally apparent; he had reduced the language to writing and produced a grammar book and a dictionary of it. Rand's dictionary still is used by linguists and scholars today as one of the very few published sources available for the study of the Micmac language.

In the study of the history of anthropology, when we deal with the nineteenth century, we read and think only of those individuals who somehow anticipated ideas set forth by recognized anthropological workers in the twentieth century. We tend to neglect those non-theoretical workers who were for the most part self-educated and of course completely without training in the study of people in the sense in which we think of it today, but without whose traveling, observing, and recording of data on non-literate peoples, the discipline of anthropology would never have gotten off the ground. The valuable legacy of data these individuals have left certainly entitles them to a place in the history of anthropology.

Silas Rand falls comfortably into this class of workers for North America. Their primary expressed purpose at the time may not have been to record data on Indians, but somehow in the course of their work they did record a lot of good data which is usable today. Admittedly, they sometimes leave us some not-so-usable data, such as Rand's list of word comparisons of Micmac with ancient and modern European languages which supports Rand's contention that the North American Indians were descendants of the Ten Lost Tribes (Clark 1902: XIII). Others who belong to the same category for the nineteenth century would be, in Great Britain, the teams of Spencer and Gillen, and Fison and Howitt, all working in Australia, and on whose efforts Durkheim, Mauss, and a host of later workers have relied; in the United States, people such as Lewis and Clark,

Zeisberger and Heckewelder, Schoolcraft, Gibbs, Hale, and even Powell. In Canada, with the exception of Trigger's studies of Sir John William Dawson and Sir Daniel Wilson (1966b; 1966a), such nineteenth century collectors have been largely neglected.[7]

There are at least two reasons for their neglect: first, a general neglect of the study of the history of the discipline until recently in all countries, and second, the fact that Canadian anthropology has been closely allied with anthropology in the United States and in England, resulting in a lack of examination of the roots of the study of people in Canada. But it would seem that with the current wave of Canadian nationalism that Canadian anthropologists would want to become more introspective and retrospective and recognize some of their own heroes of proto-anthropology. Silas Rand is one of these. Others about whom we are sure to hear more as study of the history of the discipline progresses are at least Fraser Tolmie and George Dawson, and some of the Catholic fathers such as Lacombe, Petitat, and Morice; undoubtedly other individuals exist as well who deserve recognition for their early ethnographic efforts. Such study, while admittedly modest in itself at this point, will nonetheless help to develop a perspective and an appreciation for the background of the study of people in Canada.

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Recensions — Book Reviews

Ritologiques 4 Dans la Peau des Autres, Jean-Thierry MAERTENS, Paris, Aubier, 1978.

Le projet des *Ritologiques* de Maertens est ambitieux, trop ambitieux même. Après trois Ritologiques consacrés aux masques, tatouages et aux mutilations génitales, nous en sommes maintenant au vêtement. Malgré les lacunes méthodologiques et théoriques, la lecture des Ritologiques ne peut laisser indifférent. Il en va de la théorie de Maertens comme il en allait du macluhanisme le plus riche et le plus stimulant. Une œuvre de défricheur et de pionnier dont les coupes à travers la forêt sont telles que l'on sait pas si l'on a avancé ou si on est revenu au point de départ. L'œuvre de Maertens soulève une foule de questions, bouscule l'anthropologie trop axée sur l'organisation sociale, prend ses distances vis-à-vis du lacanisme officiel, bref réveille les chercheurs endormis. Elle choque. Nul doute qu'elle générera des analyses plus poussées, plus détaillées, plus locales.

Au plan méthodoloique, nous croyions être sorti du comparativisme à outrance et des analyses faites d'exemples glanés rapidement à travers des dizaines de cultures. Analyser le vêtement occidental et non-occidental à la fois est une gageure considérable. Certes il y a des pages passionnantes sur le vêtement juif, sur le vêtement biblique, sur le vêtement chrétien mais l'analyse du vêtement bourgeois, du vêtement militaire et du vêtement chinois est fort sommaire. Il n'est pas suffisant de dire que l'attrait subit pour l'uniforme est relié aux crises sociales. Le vêtement bourgeois et le vêtement militaire ont connu des variations régionales dont il faudrait davantage tenir compte. Plutôt que de remettre le vêtement dans son milieu social, nous sommes en présence d'archétypes, de généralisations, parfois même de lieux communs. Quant au passage d'un monde primitif à un monde barbare et à un monde civilisé, il s'agit là de grandes catégories dont Deleuze et Guattari ont fait usage avec des risques considérables. La complexité des sociétés condamne une classification aussi rudimentaire et peu utile somme toute.

Au plan théorique, plusieurs difficultés se posent. Il y a une oscillation entre trois types d'interprétation: l'interprétation purement psychanalytique, l'interprétation sociologique et l'interprétation psychanalytique et sociologique des faits. «Le vêtement habille les substituts mis en place pour gommer cette castration de l'origine en statuts, rôles, sexes et âges» (p. 113). La quête du réel est révélation d'impuissance. Nous sommes ici devant un nihilisme latent, une recherche quasi sisyphienne de l'origine perdue où a eu lieu un éclatement entre une phylogénèse et une ontogénèse. Tout est joué. Le vêtement et les modes d'inscription sont dé-corporéisés et ne rejoignent l'érogène du corps que par substitution, par transfert et par sublimation. Les contre-rites déraillent eux aussi. À titre d'exemple le mouvement nudiste actuel y est le produit d'une contre-ritualité dégradée. Le nudisme des jeunes est jugé, lui, sérieux. «Les contre-rites

exprimeraient ce que la ritualité refoule ou laisse au niveau du non-dit; ils sont structurellement importants, surtout en périodes de mutations, mais on ne peut dire qu'ils les déterminent. Un homme qui a été coupé de son origine pour passer à la phallicité symbolique peut vouloir revenir à son corps, à la nudité, mais le corps nu ainsi retrouvé est et reste castré, il n'est pas le corps nu d'avant la coupure» (p. 155). À d'autres moments, l'interprétation met de côté la psychanalyse et opte pour des facteurs socio-économiques. Le vêtement cache dans une apparente unité une inopportune domination de classe. Les vêtements des noirs aux États-Unis à l'époque de l'esclavage, ceux des néo-colonistes africains ont été ou sont des instruments de domination. Il en va de même du vêtement 'blanc' réservé aux nègres qui sont en Afrique du Sud. Puis finalement, l'interprétation prend des formes qui allient psychanalyse et conditions socio-économiques. L'auteur écrit: «La phallicisation du vêtement va de pair avec l'accroissement manufacturier puis industriel» (p. 35). Nous sommes plutôt devant une perspective théorique qui essaie d'intégrer psychanalyse et sociologie avec toutes les difficultés que cela comporte.

La lecture de Maertens demeure captivante et provocatrice. Si la méthodologie et la théorie peuvent laisser le lecteur sur sa faim, il n'en demeure pas moins qu'elle peut susciter un regard neuf sur un élément qui nous accompagne fidèlement dans la vie et dans la mort: le vêtement.

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Université de Montréal

Les plages de la parole: pollution et nostalgie. Communications N° 30, Paris, Seuil 1979.

Au cas où vous ne seriez pas au courant, il y a crise de la conversation. Et pourquoi pas? Ce numéro discourt avec passion sur une espèce disparue: la conversation aristocratique du 18e siècle. Les responsables du numéro, en l'occurrence, Roland Barthes et Frédéric Berthet, ont choisi des textes qui secrètent cette nostalgie d'une époque révolue. La majorité des auteurs portent le deuil de ces échanges verbaux faits avec brio et élégance où l'art de parler s'identifie à l'art de faire l'amour. Malgré certains textes remarquables, il se dégage de la lecture de ce numéro une impression de nostalgie et d'ennui. Peut-être n'est-ce pas après tout une lecture pour le mois de juillet mais plutôt pour les longues soirées d'hiver. Pour confirmer cette impression générale, il est possible de se reporter au texte de Daniel Sibony où le psychanalyste s'intéresse aux plages de la parole et aux oasis du langage où l'on vient avec ses miroirs parlants animer le kaléidoscope d'une conversation (p. 200). Selon Sibony, nous vivons dans la noirceur, dans l'incommunicabilité et dans le trivial. Dans la doxa platonicienne. Et nous ne sortirons pas facilement de cette caverne! Non seulement la conversations aristocratique est morte mais il nous faut faire le deuil de nos conversations à nous qui flirtent avec le vide. Devant un tel nihilisme, on peut se demander si le numéro n'identifie pas trop rapidement la mort de la parole et la mort de la conversation. En reliant trop facilement le procès quasi «ayatollique» de la communication et celui de la conversation, le numéro déprime et déçoit après avoir soulevé des attentes non comblées. Il se dégage alors une impression semblable à la lecture des Tristes Tropiques, à savoir un sentiment qui ne peut s'analyser scientifiquement. Les plages de la conversation ne seraient que des miroirs étincelants.

Le numéro inclut des collaborations diverses (scientifiques, littéraires, artistiques). Ici et là on retrouve des citations fort heureuses comme celles d'un Kant ou d'un Breton faisant corps avec le texte hermétique de Mauriès et l'ennuyeuse conversation matérialiste de Jean Thibaudeau. L'humour même a sa place dans ce numéro. Après les austères remarques de Croizer sur Malebranche, le court texte de Mauriche Roche apparaît comme une bouffée d'air frais sur les plages de la parole.

Des contributions scientifiques et littéraires y ont droit de cité. Parmi les textes littéraires d'importance, signalons l'article d'André Pessel portant sur la conversation chez les précieuses. Il fait une analyse détaillée d'un texte de l'abbé de Pure intitulé la *Prétieuse* ou le *Mystère des ruelles* dédié à celle qui ne pense pas. Pour les précieuses, la parole était un plaisir, un culte nouveau, une Cène subvertie. La conversation suscite la création d'une micro-société dont la fonction est de soigner le paraître. 'Le discours coquet cache l'essentialité du désir, figure d'un dieu caché; et le plaisir, comme le salut, se gagne de façon incertaine» (p. 17). Pour ces «jansénistes d'amour» la vérité devient divertissante activée par le «je ne sais quoi» possédé par les habiles causeurs. les précieuses excellent dans la détermination des types de passion laquelle obéit à une topique: la carte du Tendre. Selon Pessel, celle-ci n'est pas une allégorie mais plutôt la projection de tous les voyages possibles, la carte de tous les avatars du sujet désirant. Cependant l'auteur met fin à son analyse au moment où il se devait de vérifier son hypothèse sur les parti pris théoriques de l'œuvre citée qui échappent à l'histoire de la littérature.

Evelyne Bachellier traite de l'art épistolaire de Mme de Sévigné. La conversation est liée au mode et à la galanterie, l'esprit étant préféré au cœur. La correspondance célèbre entre la comtesse et sa fille est décrite comme une causerie autour d'un feu, une conversation en chambre. Evelyne Bachellier oscille cependant entre l'anecdote et la description du moindre détail. Le lecteur voit les processus centraux propres à l'art épistolaire lui échapper car l'auteur ne les aborde pas pleinement. Un article qui distrait plus qu'il n'instruit. Quant aux éléments de conversations de Frédéric Berthet, ils empruntent des éléments divers aux derniers travaux en psycho-linguistique, en socio-linguistique et en proxémie. Des généralisations hâtives entrent en conflit avec des lieux communs. La facilité verbale de Berthet est remarquable mais elle ne peut tenir lieu d'une analyse serrée. Cette facilité à verbaliser est démontrée dans la publication d'une conversation avec un de ses amis. Il s'agit d'une conversation préparée et intellectualisée à l'avance. Les pauses inutiles et les ratés de la conversation y sont absents comme par miracle. Une preuve à l'effet que la conversation ne se meurt pas tout à fait et que les plages de la parole ne sont pas désertes. La lecture du texte du Cozarinsky redore le blason de la contribution des littéraires. L'auteur y traite avec passion et finesse du potin à travers l'œuvre de Proust et de James.

Les contributions scientifiques donnent au numéro un intérêt réel. L'article de H. Paul Grice sur la logique de la conversation est bien connu des spécialistes nord-américains. Le concept d'implication conversationnelle détenu par Grice est riche et productif. François Flahault critique Grice pour n'avoir pas fait de distinction entre règle constitutive et règle normative, pour n'avoir pas fourni plusieurs paraphrases du terme pertinence et pour n'avoir pas assez souligné que converser n'est pas seulement éviter le mensonge mais pouvoir dissimuler et mentir. Quant à la question portant sur ce qui pousse à parler, Flahault critique injustement Grice. On n'a qu'à lire le texte de

Sibony pour se convaincre de la complexité du sujet. Quant à François Récanati, il développe le concept de sous-entendu. Il fait habilement la distinction entre donner et dire, laisser dire et sous-entendre. Wilson et Sperber critiquent la thèse de Grice en y rendant un hommage implicite un peu comme les disciples de Chomsky critiquent leur maître avec un attachement filial. La théorie de Grice déborde la question de la conversation. Il s'agit d'une théorie de l'interprétation des énoncés (ce qui aurait dû être le sujet véritable du numéro). Wilson et Sperber soulignent que les tropes (v.g. ironie et métaphore) relèvent d'autres mécanismes que du principe de pertinence. Ils soulignent que les maximes de Grice peuvent être réduites à l'axiome de pertinence seul et qu'il ne découle pas seulement du principe de coopération.

Tout n'est pas encore dit sur la conversation. Fondamentalement il manque à ce numéro un article sur les types de conversation et leur variation à travers diverses cultures et situations. Peut-être y aurions-nous découvert dans une perspective vraiment socio-linguistique que la conversation ne meurt jamais.

Gilles BRUNEL
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Strangers in Blood. Fur Trade Company Families in Indian Country. By Jennifer S. H. BROWN, Vancouver and London, University of British Columbia Press, 1980.

Here is a fascinating and extremely well documented book. The title derives from a British legal category serving to describe any relationship, even familial, that the law refused to recognize as legitimate. In the context of Jennifer S. H. Brown's study the expression "strangers in blood" captures the meeting of Whites and Indians in the fur trade of northern North America in the 18th and 19th centuries. Fur traders serve as a focus of this study as their backgrounds, social patterns, domestic lives and families and the problems of their offspring are described. The book is based mainly on archival material, and predominantly on letters written by officers of the fur trading companies. This bias reflects the fact that the companies' labourers, voyageurs and others who remained in low positions were often less literate than people in higher positions and wrote less often because their duties did not call them to write.

Jennifer S. H. Brown establishes convincingly that social contrasts between the Hudson's Bay and North West companies were major influences in shaping two kinds of company men and had far-reaching effects on the lives of their descendants. She shows that the mobility of the North Westers led them to domestic unions more tenuous than those of Hudson's Bay men living in permanent trading posts. In addition, Hudson's Bay men went to great length to educate and place their children in Canadian and British society. The loyalty of North Westers to their progeny contrasts with that of the Hudson's Bay Company men. Their offspring came to constitute mixed-blood descendants who lacked upward social mobility. They joined a common cause that emphasized their indian maternal ancestry, in contradistinction to the dominant patrilineal and patrifocal familial structures that guided many of their peers toward higher social standing as whites and gentlemen. These major differences threatened the security of many native families after the merger of the companies in 1821. In time, the assimilation of the traders' mixed blood descendants into Indian or white communities and the emergence of a new group, the Metis, were major responses to these pressures. Court cases waged

over the years concerning the legal status of these "strangers in blood" originated in the family relationships established during the fur trade period of the 18th and 19th centuries.

This book will be of interest to sociologists, anthropologists, and historians. It will also be of interest to all interested in gaining a deeper understanding of current attempts by Indian and Métis to participate in the Constitutional talks that redefine canadian society and the social avenues opened to "strangers in blood". This is both a timely and scholarly book.

Jean-Guy GOULET
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Swan People: A Study of the Dunne-za Prophet Dance. By Robin RIDDINGTON, Ottawa: National Museum of Man Mercury Series, Canadian Ethnology Service Paper No. 38, 1978.

Here is a paper in which Riddington substantiates Leslie Spier's argument (1935) that the Prophet Dance complex found among all the tribes of the northeastern interior stems from an ancient core of belief, augments Spier's analysis of the distribution of the complex with an exploration of the meaning it has within the tradition of the Dunne-za (Beaver Indians) of northern British Columbia and documents the adaptive changes the tradition has undergone in the last two hundred years of contact with Europeans.

In the first part of his work, Riddington describes the Dunne-za prophet dance and belief in the context of a shamanistic cosmology. A key myth tells the story of the culture hero transformer, Swan, who after an experience of isolation of vision quest, takes the name of Saya and becomes the founding hero overcoming the giant animals that ate people and transforming them into their present form. This cycle of transformation completed, Saya retired from this world to the moon. It is believed he will return at the end of the world. This myth (which appears in full in the second part of the book) articulates a symbolic situation that underlies the Dunne-za directed use of dreaming for personal power and for the general good, in hunting, in curing and in dancing ceremonies. Dunne-za prophets are men who have mastered to a higher degree the control over the travel and return of the mind's shadow to heaven and back to the body. Although the prophets predict the destruction of the world, they also lead their communities into the dance, a mean to defer the moment when the life-regeneration process will come to an end. Riddington's present description of the shamanistic cosmology, compared to previous descriptions of his in earlier publication, lacks the conciseness in style and the graphical representations that helped the reader in grasping clearly the general structure of the Dunne-za universe and the movements of people therein.

Riddington's most original and valuable contribution in this paper lies with his description and analysis of the transformation of the prophet's role in the last two hundred years of European influence. The prophet tradition recognized by contemporary Dunne-za people reaches back through a series of twelve to fifteen dreamers to a man named Makenunatane who lived in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Contemporary stories of Makenunatane are synthesis of myth and history, of traditional and christian beliefs. In his life Makenunatane is likened to Saya, the boy named

Swan, who became the great transformer. In his death, Makenunatane is likened to Jesus who showed his people the new short trail to heaven. Makenunatane effectuated the transformation of the traditional dreamer's role as hunt chief in the communal hunt into a prophet capable of articulating new relationships to new historical contexts.

Riddington's description and analysis is supported by a selection of Dunne-za texts. These appear in the second part of the paper, and they proceed from the author's collection of texts made between 1964 and 1968. The texts are the answers, mostly from old people, to questions about the creation of the world, shamanic songs, how prophets get songs, the culture hero, Swan, and Makenunatane, the first prophet of post-contact period who is credited with formulating a new synthesis of old and new symbols and who is at the origin of the contemporary Dunne-za prophet dance. The complete texts and the tapes from which they were translated as well as extensive tapes of Dunne-za prophet songs, are on file with the Ethnology Archives of the National Museum of Man in Ottawa.

Riddington's paper is of interest to all students of Athapaskan culture, and to all interested in native worldviews and their transformation and resiliency in the context of European and missionary influences.

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Soustelle, Jacques
1955 *La vie quotidienne au temps des Aztèques.* Paris: Hachette.

Salisbury, Richard F.
1966 "Structuring Ignorance: The Genesis of a Myth in New Guinea", *Anthropologica N.S.* 8: 315-328.

In the case of a work by two authors or more, the form of citation is as follows, e.g.

Beals, Alan R., George Spindler and Louise Spindler
1973 *Culture in Process.* 2nd ed. N.Y.: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

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Les manuscrits doivent être dactylographiés à double interligne sur du papier de format 8½ x 11 avec des marges convenables et sur un seul côté de la feuille. Les citations, les notes et les références bibliographiques doivent aussi être dactylographiées à double interligne. Les manuscrits doivent être soumis en trois exemplaires dont l'original et deux copies, et ils doivent être accompagnés d'un précis n'excédant pas 100 mots, en anglais si possible. Il est recommandé aux auteurs de conserver une copie de leur manuscrit. Les manuscrits sont détruits après publication, à moins d'une entente spéciale entre l'auteur et la direction de la revue.

Les renvois bibliographiques ne sont pas cités en notes mais doivent être inclus dans le texte entre parenthèses, avec indication du nom de l'auteur, de l'année de publication et de la page. Par exemple, (Gutkind 1966: 249). Si le nom de l'auteur apparaît dans le texte, il suffit d'indiquer l'année et la page. Par exemple, (1966: 249). Plusieurs renvois doivent être inclus dans une seule parenthèse mais doivent être séparés par des points-virgules. Par exemple, (Gutkind 1966: 249; Leslie 1960: 20). On distingue les renvois multiples à un même auteur pour une même année en utilisant des lettres. Par exemple, (Gluckman 1960a: 55). Tous les renvois bibliographiques doivent être énumérés par ordre alphabétique d'auteur et par ordre chronologique pour chaque auteur sur une feuille séparée portant le titre "Références". Par exemple.

Dans le cas d'un ouvrage de deux ou plusieurs auteurs s'en tenir au style de citation illustré dans l'exemple qui suit:

A noter que les titres de publications entières, telles que livres et périodiques, sont soulignés d'un trait, tandis que les titres de parties apparaissent entre guillemets.

Les notes qui sont des commentaires doivent être numérotées consécutivement et être dactylographiées sur une feuille séparée. Il est demandé aux auteurs d'insérer leurs commentaires dans le texte et non en note dans la mesure du possible.

Tableaux et graphiques avec légendes doivent être présentés sur des feuilles séparées. Indiquer en marge l'endroit où ils doivent être placés. Les graphiques doivent être dessinés avec de l'encre de Chine noire sur papier d'art ou être construits à l'aide de matériel de dessinateur. Les photos ne sont pas acceptées.

Les comptes rendus d'ouvrages doivent donner toutes les informations pertinentes à la publication recensée: titre au complet, nom de l'auteur, collection, date et lieu de publication, éditeur, pagination, tableaux et illustrations, prix.

Les épreuves d'articles sont envoyées aux auteurs. Ceux-ci doivent les lire attentivement et les retourner dans les délais prévus.

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