ANTHROPOLOGICA

N.S. Vol. XXIII, No. 2, 1981

LE CENTRE CANADIEN
DE RECHERCHES
EN ANTHROPOLOGIE
UNIVERSITÉ SAINT-PAUL

THE CANADIAN RESEARCH
CENTRE
FOR ANTHROPOLOGY
SAINT PAUL UNIVERSITY

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.

Manuscripts, publications for review, book reviews, communications relative to editorial matters, subscriptions, and all other correspondence should be addressed to:

Les manuscrits, les publications pour comptes rendus, les comptes rendus, la correspondance concernant la rédaction, les abonnements, et toute autre correspondance doivent être adressés à:

THE CANADIAN RESEARCH CENTRE FOR ANTHROPOLOGY
LE CENTRE CANADIEN DE RECHERCHES EN ANTHROPOLOGIE
223 Main, Ottawa, Ont., Canada K1S 1C4
Tel.: (613) 236-1393

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.
Les opinions exprimées par les auteurs ne sont pas nécessairement celles du Centre.

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.

ANTHROPOLOGICA

N.S. VOL. XXIII No. 2 1981

SOMMAIRE - CONTENTS

Interpretation and the Canadian Exploratory Narrative[1]

CHRISTOPHER STEPHENS
Carleton University

RÉSUMÉ

Une étude de la vie aborigène dans la région subarctique au début des explorations européennes doit nécessairement s'appuyer sur des textes. On a consulté un de ces textes en particulier: le récit d'exploration. Le genre « récit » cependant n'est plus compris comme il se doit. Il a été traité comme un réservoir de 1) différents faits sur la vie aborigène; 2) dont le sens est déterminé indépendamment de la forme cognitive et linguistique dans laquelle les faits ont été coulés. Les études actuelles ne réussissent pas à comprendre 1) comment le sens des événements et des activités est structuré dans les textes, ni 2) comment l'histoire peut être interprétée. Pour éviter ces incompréhensions, on doit adopter une perspective adaptée à l'époque historique étudiée. L'histoire, croit-on, exige qu'on prenne d'abord le point de vue de celui qui l'a produite.

History is purveyed in texts. A study of native life in the Canadian sub-arctic during the period of early European exploration depends largely on the use of texts. One text in particular – the exploratory narrative – has received frequent use; however, the genre

[1] This paper was prepared for the post-plenary session "Folklore and Literary Anthropology", Xth International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences, Calcutta, India. I would like to thank Dr. Bruce Cox, Department of Sociology and Anthropology, Carleton University, for coaxing my ideas into print. I am indebted to the continuing support of the Canada Council.

of the narrative has been corrupted.[2] It has been treated as a reservoir of (1) discrete facts about events and activities in native life, (2) the meanings of which have been determined independently of the cognitive and linguistic form into which the facts were cast. The adequacy of explanations has been judged on the basis of this indiscriminate ascription of meaning to fact; adequacy has not been assessed in terms of an analysis of the structure by which facts are articulated in the narrative or of the logic by which the facts are connected in the scholar's interpretation. Quite clearly, little attention has been paid to the question of the analysis to be given of how fact and meaning are related. In short, it is argued that current studies fail to understand (1) how the meaning of events and activities is structured in texts, and thus (2) how history can be interpreted.

Correction of both misunderstandings requires, as a first step, that the scholar adopt a perspective suitable to history. The paper is concerned with this perspective. History, it is believed requires preliminary viewing from the standpoint of the one who produced it.

THE PROBLEM

The anthropologist's interest in native life centres on the process by which the native responds to a world of exigent and contingent events. The anthropologist, therefore, studies contingency and change. More particularly, the anthropologist studies changes in the relation between the individual native or native group and the demographic, ecological and economic conditions of the society in which either the individual or group is located. It is within the definition of this relationship that peculiar social or cultural arrangements are discussed (D. Smith 1975; Crook 1973).

[2] The phrase 'exploratory narrative' has been taken from Maurice Hodgson's (1967) discussion of the early Canadian exploration journal. I refer, in particular, to Samuel Hearne's narrative "A Journey to the Northern Ocean" (Glover, 1958). This is the most commonly used narrative by historians and anthropologists alike; although other narratives of travels in northern Canada, such as that of Alexander MacKenzie, are also cited. The range of uses to which Hearne's work has been put is extremely broad; arguments (1) are sometimes built entirely upon his statements (Gillespie 1975), (2) often depend upon his observations for supporting evidence (Yerbury 1976; Smith 1975), and, (3) invariably resort to his account for at least partial corroboration (Ray 1974; Rich 1967).

The study of change requires a focus on time. And since time is conveyed to us by that which is its document, namely the past, we appeal to the records and annals of the past to gain a view of time and a perspective on change. It is for this reason that anthropologists have directed their attention to history: the record of past events.

With a few exceptions, studies of native life in the Canadian sub-arctic are a study of native life over time (Bishop 1974; Gillespie 1974; J. Smith 1975; Yerbury 1976). History is used by these scholars for one purpose: to extend the dimension of time. This orientation departs from traditional approaches. Whereas traditional studies approached native life within the confines of a very short span of time, recent studies have extended their view of native life to a long time span. Native life is viewed in terms of its existence over time. The adoption of this view implies that something more can be had from studies of native life that are not confined to brief and solitary moments of the latter's existence. And that something is, of course, an understanding of change. A study of native life over stretches of time reveals life in transition; it draws on information pertinent to how a people survived and withstood change.

Such studies however have not achieved much success. The reason for this is clear. The logic with which anthropologists proceed lacks an explanatory framework fitting to the exercise at hand. The results are paradoxical. Although anthropologists proceed to sample history for evidence of change, their models of native life lack a suitable framework into which this evidence for change can be integrated. The problem is twofold: the first is a problem in theory, the second is a problem in methodology[3] (Hughes 1976).

In the first place, the models are impoverished with a transposition of the perspective which characterized traditional ethnographic approaches. As Michael Smith recognized it (1962: 77), models of this sort commit the ethnographer's pathetic "fallacy of the ethnographic present". Traditional approaches confined their study of native institutions to brief periods of time. The reason for this was because ethnographers believed that such a time period was sufficient to understand native life. Since the institutions of most native societies geared the responses of individual natives to maintaining

[3] In other words there is a problem with the model used to explain change as well as with the logic by which the scholar proceeds to verify the explanation.

their continued existence, it was felt that a brief study would yield the same information as a study extending over a long time period. Indeed, since studies of this sort were principally concerned with the different types of social action vis-à-vis the roles set by institutions, and thus how action participated in maintaining the system of institutional ties, it was extremely difficult to reconcile any sort of human behaviour outside this arrangement. From viewing the functional interdependence of all facets of a given society at any time, the conclusion is drawn that the function of native life is geared to the preservation of the system of institutions, roles and standards by which the society is thought to owe its existence and stability. Of course, the corollary is that this structured interdependence remains constant over time. That it became *impossible* to model the behaviour of individuals in terms of particular institutional roles, over time, was a predicament neatly side-stepped. History could therefore be consulted for evidence of external factors of change; but internal changes were not possible. Native life could therefore be pictured as a staccato type of existence; the balance of its institutions – economic, kinship, etc. – punctuated periodically by external abruptions. The same scene is sketched by models of past sub-arctic native life. Change is not an internal characteristic because the models map all behaviour into what is assumed to be a fixed and functionally united system.

In the second place, arguments are oblivious to the nature of the text. Questions as to how history is formed and whether this formation gave rise to a meaning recovered only by recourse to its process of construction are bypassed. History is viewed as offering a delectable assortment of facts about life. The problem lies not in their meaning, but their selection. The strategy is to sample and order according to the argument which the facts best fitted. The facts of history – statements of actions and events – are abstracted from their historical context and judged independently of this context; they are evaluated and arranged by a system of direct reference to the present (Butterfield 1950). The question of how past events drew their significance and arrangement in texts raises little concern. Furthermore, that 'it' was a European who imprinted their meaning, and gave events their history has never received much attention.

The purpose of most explanations of events and action in history is to resolve a quandary of some kind. In order to do so, the analysis

embodying the explanation must examine the events and actions of history in a framework which is instructive of their meaning; that is, the way the events and actions are informative of their relationships in time and space, causality, identity, etc. Now the problem to date is that this is exactly the sort of meaning which has not been examined. Instead, events and actions have been examined in terms of everything but the relations of text and context. The general problem is, as Butterfield points out, one of 'fact extraction' rather than 'meaning extraction'. The particular problem is, as Smith points out, one of a search for 'function specifics' rather than 'structure specifics'.

Both problems arise from erroneous assumptions about history. The assumptions are about what history is and therefore how history renders meaning. But the root of the problem lies in one assumption; we might call this assumption, after Dudley Shapere, a presupposition. The pre-supposition is about human nature and the connections that scholars infer between cognition and behaviour. In other words, the root of the problem lies in the assumption scholars hold about how people behave based on a notion of how they think. Regardless of whether it is providing reasons for the actions of an agent in an historical drama, imputing motive to the writer of the narrative, or assigning a kind of logic to the argument of an historian. Historians and anthropologists alike fail to examine the process by which cognition and action really work. Put another way, we might say that they are working from their idea of how an agent reasons his actions or how an historian articulates his argument, two things which in their view are entirely different processes, rather than the actual operations (i.e. actions in thought) of cognition which are universal to all human beings – agent and historian included. So the failure to examine the events and actions of history in a framework which is instructive of their meaning is grounded in a much grosser failure to pay any attention to the process by which this meaning was initially arrived at; that is the cognitive process. They fail to examine (1) the logical principles by which cognition organizes information, (2) the operations which gear behaviour, and (3) the interplay between cognition and action. And in doing so, they are thus unable to penetrate through to the links between the structure of knowing and the structure of narrative form; in other words the similarity in form between the language base of the narrative and the way the events and actions transcribed into the narrative were initially structured (i.e. given meaning) in the cognition of the narrator.

This failure can be corrected. Although it is a failing characteristic not only of the approach to narrative but also of the explanatory models created by scholars to interpret history, a readjustment can be made by focusing on the way texts are structured. This serves a dual purpose. First, it enables the scholar to become acquainted with the correspondence between the way actions and events are structured in the text and the cognitive process which gave rise to their initial meaning before any translation into language or writing occurred. It provides therefore a view from which to look at all cognitive operations or analyses, whether they are explanations of how things came to pass in the narrative, or whether they are explanations of how things came to pass in the scholar's own account.

Second, since a personal understanding of how cognition works will be broadened, then explanations will begin to follow the methodology by which recovery of this working in the narrative is made possible. Simultaneously the logic from which explanations spring will be reassessed in terms of the process by which a personal cognition, embodying this logic, is seen to work.

This can be said another way. What I have done elsewhere is shown why current explanations are inadequate (Stephens n.d.)[4]. There it was reasoned that this inadequacy stems from the inability of scholars to come to grips with both the process and the logical principles by which their own cognition works. The failings both of models of human behaviour and assumptions about what history is stem from this inability. Strangely enough, it can be corrected by analysing the very material upon which the models depend for information – the narrative itself. The narrative is the end result of the cognitive process by which information about direct experience is first encoded by the European and then translated into linguistic and written form. And understanding of this process – and therefore the process by which cognition works – could be obtained through a structural analysis of the narrative; in other words, an analysis of the logical rules and principles by means of which the narrative makes

[4] The argument in Stephens (n.d.) deals with the problem of using history to explain actions and events in the past. It contains an extended critique of two attempts to explain native events (Gillespie 1975, 1976) and European actions (Hodgson 1967, 1968) during the eighteenth century in sub-arctic Canada. It also demonstrates the needs for an analysis of narrative that deals with both inherent structure and meaning.

sense. At the same time, viewing the narrative in terms of the structure by which its statements yield the meaning with which it was originally embued, is tantamount to viewing it from the perspective of the individual who underwent the experiences and interpreted the circumstances described within its lines. This is, as I argue below, the most appropriate position from which to understand history and advance explanations about its course.

THE SOLUTION

The trouble with the current anthropological approach to history lies in the assumptions held about its nature. Historical texts are interpreted in terms of current theory and practice, they are not viewed in terms of their inherent structure. This has a debilitating consequence. Anthropologists miss the key to recovering the meaning of events; the key is that events derive their meaning from the way statements of their occurrence are structured. The meaning of events is coded within the text; it is a distinct arrangement of words and it is a meaning translated into words by an individual who observed the event's occurrence. Before *a* meaning is abstracted, *the* meaning must be decoded. Only then is it possible to ascertain the context and relations of an event.

With reference to the history of the Canadian sub-arctic and the native life of the past, events drew their significance and thus their meaning from the Europeans, and the English in particular, who gave them history in written words.[5] So the meaning of the events is structured by the process through which they were initially interpreted by the European and later translated into the everyday discourse.

History is seldom revealed to the anthropologist other than in written form. So the question as to what significance can be attached to events of the past, the observation of which has already been made and thus interpreted, is a crucial one. Since the anthropologist's use of these texts supplements this initial interpretation with another,

[5] I refer to the records and journals of the Hudson's Bay Company, a British enterprise, as well as to the correspondence of their employees whilst resident in North America. Accounts of occasional travellers and visiting ships captains can be added to this list.

namely the anthropologist's own, a quandary is posed: either the facts of history are dealt with independently of the text or the arrangement from which facts derive their meaning is unravelled.

The problem therefore, set in more general terms, is how to explain either the actions of individuals or the events arising from particular circumstances in history. And we can resolve this problem and that of the quandary by recalling two characteristics of explanations. For the resolution lies in the way these characteristics are explored. Lest we forget, explanation has to do not only with the models by which scholars first generalize about and then deduce the particular actions and events of history. It also has to do with the assumptions underlying these explanatory models. One such assumption concerns the way the meaning of events is thought to be arranged in the texts of history. As Carl Becker (1969) reminds us, there are two views: we choose to see facts with a meaning either independent *or* dependent upon the linguistic and writing structure which carry their meaning. In other words, either facts offer particular information or meaning regardless of the process by which meaning about these facts was initially arrived at and later reproduced on paper; or, the meaning of the statements about actions or events from which facts emerge is arranged according to this process. And a recovery of this meaning depends upon an understanding of this process.

So explanation, by my reasoning, is concerned with two elements: (1) the interpretation of the facts of history *and* (2) the analysis to be given of how the facts about events and actions have been arranged, or set down in the historical text. I emphasize 'by my reasoning' and the 'two part' explanation because it is this sort of explanation which I believe that scholars have failed to produce. To interpret the facts of history, it is necessary that these facts – the statements about events and actions – be analyzed in terms of the way that their meaning came to be constructed. In other words, we must come to understand the process by which the meaning about the facts pertaining to particular events and actions was initially arrived at by the observer and that which was meaningful to the observer later translated into the written word. Meaning, in other words, is the way observations of events and actions were interpreted and then set down onto paper for later reading.

It is just this sort of explanation with which anthropologists, especially those using history to study Canadian native life, have not

concerned themselves. And it is here that I will show that this lack of concern has deprived them of the rewards of history.

The arguments coined by anthropologists to explain their use of history have already been covered. Several anthropologists (M. Smith 1962; Lewis 1968; Burton and Lowental 1973; Bishop and Ray 1976) urge the use of historical texts to study change in indigenous life. Regardless of the drawbacks inherent in the models into which such information may be incorporated to explain 'change', there is the question of how the facts of history should be used. If it is the aim of anthropology in the sub-arctic to study the course of native life in the face of environmental and economic vicissitudes (Bishop and Ray 1976) then it makes no sense to exclude the character of the texts which, at the least, impose a structure on the meaning of the facts.

The reason for this exclusion is rooted in the anthropologist's perspective on history itself. Anthropologists possess the assumption, rarely made explicit, of an 'objectivity peculiar to history'. Indeed, they hold expectations about the connections between and the nature of past events viewed through historical texts. Anthropology it would seem with its interest in change expects history to make the past of human societies attain an objective distinction. In other words, the working out, the putting in order and the interrogation of the texts of history is seen by anthropologists as the means by which the past then becomes understood. The anthropologist believes that whatever the role – observer, cataloguer, historian – and whoever the individual – explorer, clerk, ship captain – the work and participation in the ordering of past events has resulted in the presentation of an objective history. And to believe that this objectivity is actually attained, that the facts of history really are true and have independent meaning, the anthropologist expects the individual making or interpreting the history to possess a certain quality of subjectivity; a position which enables the past to be viewed with a perspective suitable to a complete understanding of this past. By this argument then, a consideration of the character of the historical texts is unwarranted. The facts of history need no further consideration, they have already been distinguished objectively.

Having disposed of this problem, another related feature of history which anthropologists face is also sidestepped. This other feature has to do with the origin of the historical texts. Although

anthropologists are interested in studying native life, the documents upon which they depend for facts about this life are written by non-natives. The only history of past events is a European or English history. Nevertheless, this has posed no problem to anthropology. Using the above argument, if history gives the past of human societies an objective distinction, there are no parties to objectivity. What is objective remains so regardless of the history, or the people to whom the facts may refer.

Summed up, we may say that anthropologists disregard the texts of history on the basis of two assumptions about the nature of history. They believe that the European origin of the texts has nothing to do with the events described. Events are interpretable independently of how they came to be inscribed in the written word. The facts are equally imputable in meaning to either native or European. This overlies a more fundamental assumption: they suppose that these texts follow a line of reasoning which is unique in revealing an objective history.

This view is perverted for no other reason that it omits from consideration the nature of the material from which it draws its information. If it is held as, for example, do Charles Bishop and Arthur Ray (1976: 121) that history tells us about both the early periods of native life and the way this life changed, then it makes no sense to treat history without treating the structure of the texts and the underlying structure of the European's cognition, which at the very least impose limiting factors upon the history "doing the telling" (for an argument close to this see Cove and Laughlin 1977). Put more directly, the events which anthropologists consider indicative of the change occurring in native life, accrue significance through the interpretation of those who initially observed their occurrence. Unless a means is adopted which would enable the scholar to assess the way events are structured in texts and thus the way an observer understood the event, then attempts to "wring the evidence from history" will be considered both inadequate *and* inaccurate.

Some will argue that this is an impossible task. The position from which the anthropologist may view the past, a view appropriate to the comprehension of this past, would appear to them to be inaccessible. What is required they believe is both an understanding of the text in terms of the way it is put together and *then* an extraction of the facts. But there is no assurance they retort that

understanding a text's structure is sufficient for the extraction of its real facts! Put in this way, the task is impossible. But the argument is confused. Facts do not exist apart from their meaning established within the relations structured by the text. The question is not whether one can view the events and actions of the past divorced from the texts which give witness to their occurrence, but how one can understand the significance of these events and actions in terms of their meaning to the observer (Ricœur 1965).[6] Therein lies the solution: an objectivity proper to history. Emphasis is laid upon "proper" because history requires that a particular perspective be adopted; that is, the perspective of the individual who created the history, who put the products of individual cognition into words. The very historical texts which anthropologists consult yield the key to this objectivity. The character and order of ingredients – events and actions – in these records flow from the way the European – trader, missionary, explorer, traveller – rectifies the pragmatic experiences of an individual past. Should an understanding of the consequences of the interaction between native and European on the former's way of life be desired, then nothing could serve the anthropologist better than coming to terms with the attitude fostered by, and meaning derived from, the individual's encounter with natives – the events and actions linked with both native and surroundings. It is this attitude, the meaning of the events or actions to the European, which influenced the outcome of the encounters and confrontations between European and native. Statements about events in historical texts are scrutinized therefore for their meanings in terms of those for whom the event was significant.

For the sceptics, this may not be enough. Surely this is insufficient, they argue, to permit an explication of that change in native life which they envisage. We do not quibble with this point. That is another step, as is constructing a model and logical procedure appropriate to the recovery of the text's meaning. But no argument to this effect has been made. It has been suggested only that the current anthropological use of history to study the change which native life underwent in response to European economic exploration and trade (see for example Bishop 1974; Ray 1974; Gillespie 1975;

[6] This portion of the argument owes far more to the work of Paul Ricoeur than that which is readily apparent. I am also aware that this does him an injustice; his recent work is far better testimony to the cogency of the reasoning.

J. Smith 1975) ignores the nature of the history itself. It ignores the character of the historical texts in which information about particular events and actions in conveyed. And by doing so usually (but not always, see Heindenreich and Ray 1973) it commits several errors, one of which is assigning whatever meaning may be derived from the facts of history to the native experience. Whatever the facts of history may mean, they are revealed in a text written by Europeans. Their manner of characterization was decided on the basis of meaning to the European. Understanding this meaning is the key to unlocking the frame of reference by which Europeans acted in North America towards native people. Only in terms of this frame of reference is it possible to set native life and the responses of native groups. Questions concerning the native experience and the native response cannot however be answered on this basis alone; they must be couched in an analytical model that also includes independent propositions concerning native cognition, behaviour, and adaptation. And that is the stuff of another study.

REFERENCES

BECKER, C.
1969 "What are historical facts", in *Ideas of History*, vol. 2. Edited by R. A. Nash. New York: Dutton.

BISHOP, C. A.
1974 *The Northern Ojibwa and the Fur Trade.* Toronto: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

BISHOP, C. A. and A. J. RAY
1976 Ethnohistoric research in the central sub-arctic: some conceptual and methodological problems. *The Western Canadian Journal of Anthropology*, VI (1): 116-144.

BURTON, W. and R. LOWENTHAL
1974 The first of the Mohegans. *American Ethnologist*, 1 (4): 589-599.

BUTTERFIELD, H.
1950 *The Whig Interpretation of History.* London: George Bell.

COVE, J. J. and C. D. LAUGHLIN
1977 Myth, cognition and adaptation. Paper presented to the annual meeting of the Canadian Ethnological Society, Halifax, Canada.

CROOK, R.
1973 Men, situations and structure: an essay. *Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology*, 10 (3): 252-265.

GILLESPIE, B.
1975 "Territorial expansion of the Chipewyan in the 18th century", in Proceedings, Northern Athapaskan Conference, 1971, vol. 2. Edited by A. McFayden Clark, pp. 351-388. *Canadian Ethnology Service Paper, 27.* Ottawa: National Museums of Canada.

1976 Changes in territory and technology of the Chipewyan. *Arctic Anthropology* 23 (1): 6-11.

GLOVER, R. G.
1958 Editor. *A Journey to the Northern Ocean*, by Samuel Hearne. Toronto: Macmillan. (Pioneer Book Edition).

HEIDENREICH, C. E. and A. J. RAY
1976 *The Early Fur Trades: A Study in Cultural Interaction.* Toronto: McCleland and Stewart.

HODGSON, M.
1967 The exploration journal as literature. *Beaver*, 248: 4-12.

1968 Initiation and quest: early Canadian journals. *Canadian Literature*, 38: 29-41.

HUGHES, S.
1976 *The Frog Lake "Massacre". Personal Perspectives on Ethnic Conflict.* Toronto: McCleland and Stewart.

LEWIS, I. M.
1968 "Introduction", in *History and Social Anthropology.* Edited by I. Lewis, pp. ix-xxviii. London: Tavistock.

RAY, A. J.
1974 *Indians in the Fur Trade.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

RICH, E. E.
1967 *The Fur Trade and The Northwest to 1857.* Toronto: McCleland and Stewart.

RICOEUR, P.
1965 *History and Truth.* Evanston, Ill.: Northwestern University Press.

SMITH, D.
1975 Natives and Outsiders: Pluralism in the Mackenzie River Delta, Northwest Territories. *Mackenzie Delta Research Project 12,* Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, Ottawa. Ottawa: Information Canada.

SMITH, J. G. E.
1975 "The ecological basis of Chipewyan socio-territorial organization", in Proceedings, Northern Athapaskan Conference, 1971, vol. 2. Edited by A. McFayden Clark, pp. 389-461. *Canadian Ethnology Service Paper, 27.* Ottawa: National Museums of Canada.

SMITH, M. E.
1962 History and social anthropology. *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, 92: 73-85.

STEPHENS, C. D.
n.d. Some comments on the use of a Canadian exploratory narrative. ms.

YERBURY, J. C.
1976 The post-contact Chipewyan: trade rivalries and changing territorial boundaries. ms.

Revocation of Surrender and Its Implications for a Canadian Indian Band's Development

LISE C. HANSEN

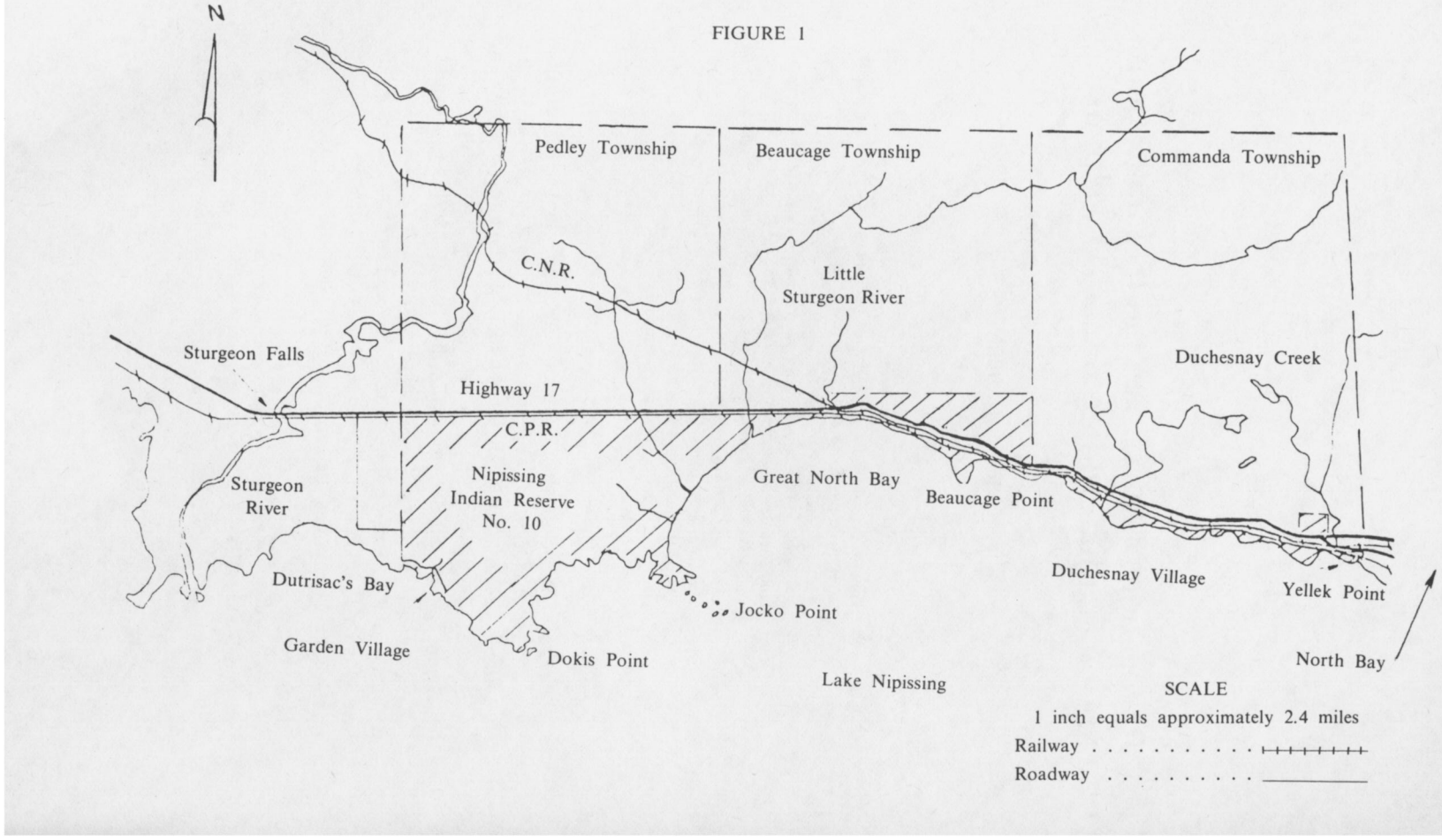
RÉSUMÉ

On considère ici les revendications territoriales des aborigènes comme des stratégies pour obtenir l'autonomie économique et politique. Une de ces revendications est celle de la Bande du Nipissing qui vise à faire révoquer une cession en vue de la vente et à faire retourner 33,000 acres de terres non vendues au statut de réserve, de telle sorte que ces territoires puissent être développés et administrés par la Bande. L'histoire des transactions territoriales de la bande de Nipissing est revue depuis le temps du Traité, de même que les usages actuels et leurs plans d'expansion future. L'autonomie économique et politique devient possible pour la Bande de Nipissing au moyen du développement de sa base territoriale.

Native land claims in Canada are emerging as significant processes for native political and economic autonomy. Based on the land rights of the aboriginal inhabitants, these claims embody the processes through which the goals of direct participation in resource development and self-determination may be attained. For example, Native peoples residing in Northern Canada are exercising their political power, insisting that their claims to extensive tracts of land be recognized and dealt with by the Federal Government. The Dene Declaration exemplifies the general attitude of these northern groups. They state:

> We the Dene of the Northwest Territories insist on the right to be regarded by ourselves and the world as a nation.
>
> Our struggle is for the recognition of the Dene Nation by the Government and peoples of Canada...

FIGURE 1


N
Pedley Township
Beaucage Township
Commanda Township
C.N.R.
Little
Sturgeon River
Sturgeon Falls
Duchesnay Creek
Highway 17
C.P.R.
Nipissing
Indian Reserve
No. 10
Great North Bay
Sturgeon
River
Beaucage Point
Dutrisac's Bay
Duchesnay Village
Yellek Point
Jocko Point
Garden Village
Dokis Point
North Bay
Lake Nipissing
SCALE
1 inch equals approximately 2.4 miles
Railway
Roadway

> Our plea to the world is to help us in our struggle to find a place in the world community where we can exercise our right to self-determination as a distinct people and as a nation.
>
> What we seek then is independence and self-determination within the country of Canada. This is what we mean when we call for a just land settlement for the Dene Nation (Watkins 1977: 3-4).

Industrial concerns are pressing on the Government the need to develop the North and extract its resources for use in the South. Recognizing the implications of such actions, the various Indian and Inuit organizations are striving to negotiate their land claims as quickly as possible for they are faced with the appearance or threat of appearance of southern industrial development and its accompanying disruption of a way of life. The Dene are using their land claim as a process to secure their goals of self-determination and direct participation in resource development to ensure that they will continue as distinct and viable communities (c.f. Berger, 1977; Barber, 1977).

According to Lloyd Barber, former Indian Claims Commissioner for Canada, there are two basic types of claims: treaty claims and band claims. Treaty claims, like those of Northern native groups, pertain to the issues surrounding the treaties between the Government and the Indian people, focusing on problems such as reserve land entitlement, hunting and fishing provisions, and education, health and economic development (1977: 15). Band claims include claims resulting from a loss of land and other natural resources from established reserves, and often include issues pertaining to the Government's stewardship of the financial assets derived from the sale of the land and/or resources. Land losses account for the majority of band claims. Pressure for reserve land acquisition by settlers and speculators appears to have been a common factor in such losses (1977: 24).

In Northeastern Ontario, a band claim for land loss is currently under negotiation. An Ojibway band on the north shore of Lake Nipissing is pressing for the revocation of a 1907 surrender for sale of reserve lands. Both the Federal Government and the Provincial Government of Ontario are involved in these negotiations. The former, by virtue of the fact that it retains final say in all dealings with Indians and lands reserved for Indians; the latter, because the surrendered lands were placed under Provincial jurisdiction. Nipis-

sing Band is negotiating with these two levels of government to revoke the 1907 surrender for sale and return to reserve status all the unsold surrendered lands.

The proceedings are being conducted with what can only be considered as extreme caution on the part of the Provincial Government. Every angle of the agreement to transfer the Province's interests in the lands in question to the Federal Crown, which will in turn re-establish the reserve status of these lands, has been methodically and carefully examined. The Province intends to leave no stone unturned before it relinquishes its interests in some 33,000 acres. The Band has been equally relentless, securing some hard fought concessions from the Province.

The Nipissing band claim, not unlike the treaty claims of Northern native groups, will entrench the resource base of the Band and provide them with an opportunity for further development. Nipissing Band has not entered into these negotiations solely to regain lost lands for the sake of the land itself. The Band has definite and productive plans for this land, plans that, in all likelihood, will enable this group to achieve a greater measure of autonomy and self-direction than has been feasible in the past.

Towards this goal, the Band has profitably utilized its existing land resources to produce a sizable revenue through leasing parts of the Reserve not used by Band members. The completion of their negotiations with the Federal and Provincial governments will permit greater expansion of this important resource base. Presently, there are numerous existing (and several planned) residential lots along the shoreline of Great North Bay, which are leased to non-band members, as well as recreational facilities at Beaucage Point Park, which is frequented by Band and non-band persons alike during the summer. The Reserve's scenic lake frontage – its major natural resource – has been utilized to its best advantage.

In addition, the Band has leased land to three small commercial enterprises. Although the revenue from these leases is less than that from the residential lots, the planned expansion of this form of land use will produce a more significant revenue source for the Band in the years to come.

During the last decade, the gradual transfer of community and social services, such as housing, welfare, roads, policing and health,

to the Band administration from provincial agencies has given the Band an opportunity to administer the programs which directly affect the residents and to develop the skills which are required for self-directed development of reserve resources. The incumbent Chief is in favor of the continued transfer of services from provincial to local control. Recognizing that this process takes time and preparation, he is of the opinion that it would be to the Band's disadvantage to assume the responsibility for a particular program before the necessary trained and experienced personnel are available.

One such program is the leasing of lands. Indian Affairs currently administers the leases, with the approval of Band Council. When the leasing program was initiated in the early 1960's, the Band did not have any administrative staff other than a relief officer. Since that time, however, a Band office has been constructed and nine employees, including a full-time chief and special police constable, handle the administration of various programs. Band Council is now considering taking over the administration of the leases from Indian Affairs. This move will create another administrative position and a full-time job for a Band member. A local lease administrator may eliminate many of the problems encountered under the existing arrangement. Indian Affairs' District office is located in Sudbury, approximately 70 miles west of the Reserve. The distance from the lease area and the time consumed by mail correspondence have proven to be detrimental to giving the leases the prompt attention they require for effective management.

HISTORY OF LAND DEALINGS

In 1849, commissioners Vidal and Anderson undertook a journey by canoe from Fort William to Penetanguishene, with the intention of visiting those Indians living on the north shores of Lakes Superior and Huron, and investigating their claims to territory bordering on these lakes. The area had recently been discovered to be rich in minerals, thus providing the impetus for the Government of the Province of Canada to secure the surrender of Indian interests in these lands. The commissioners' report contains several interesting ethnographic references, as well as a list of the bands and their respective "chiefs," and a description of the lands "desired" by the bands for their reserves. However, there is no specific reference to the Nipissing Band, although the Lake itself is mentioned as part of the

reserve desired by two French River bands (Vidal and Anderson 1849: n.p.).

Accordingly, the following year William B. Robinson negotiated for the surrender of these lands on September 7th and 9th. Nipissing Band was included on the list of bands signing the Robinson-Huron Treaty. Shabokishick signed as chief for the Band and Nipissing Reserve No. 10 was thus established (Canada 1964: n.p.).

It covered 80,640 acres, extending from a planting grounds on the lakeshore, west to the Hudson's Bay Company post at the mouth of the Sturgeon River, and six miles inland from the shore between these two points (D.I.A. 1879, S.P. 127). The major Reserve resource at the time was prime stands of timber that could very well have provided a livelihood for Band members in years to come, as was the case for the Dokis Band across the Lake (c.f. Mortimore, 1974). However, for one reason and another, Band members were to benefit little from this resource, as several events during the next 57 years altered boundaries and diminished the Reserve's size.

When the 1850 Treaty was signed, the Reserve's lake frontage was determined to lie between the Sturgeon River and a farming area to the east, somewhere between Beaucage Point and Yelluk Point. In 1852, the Crown surveyor, J. S. Dennis arrived to officially mark the boundaries. The following extract from his diary clearly depicts the chain of events that led to a major alteration in the location of the Reserve's east and west boundaries.

> October 6, 1852... arriving at Hudson Bay Station on Sturgeon River... Here we found Shobokishick, Chief of the Band and taking him on board proceeded down Lake Easterly, to establish South East limit of this Reserve, it being understood that on West, Reserve is to be bounded by Sturgeon River. Got down 10 miles when camped.
>
> October 7, 1852 Examined Little Sturgeon River in passing a mile up and camped in the evening at Indian village.
>
> October 8, 1852 Accompanied by Chief, went down this morning and marked a Birch tree at the mouth of a small Brook about 3 miles below the fillage at the South East angle of Reserve.
>
> October 11, 1852... had intended leaving... for French River, but at insistence of Chief remained to hear some objections, which he stated some of his Band wished to make to the manner in which the Reserve had been bounded.

> October 12, 1852... were waited on by Chief and part of the Band when a Council was held, when it appeared that there were some cornfields and improvements still farther East than where we had fixed the South East angle of the Reserve and they now wished to take off about 4 miles of frontage from end next Sturgeon River and add that distance on to the East end so as to include the said cornfields and improvements, which we agreed to do tomorrow.
>
> October 13, 1852 Left Hudson Bay Company's Station this morning to go down Lake to mark South West and South East angles of Reserve according to the arrangement desired by the Band. For the former marked a white Pine tree in a sandy cove, about 2 miles West of Dokis Point and 3 or 4 miles East of Hudson Bay Station, and then continued down lake. At about five o'clock arrived at a small River about 5 miles East of the tree marked the other day for the South East angle of the Reserve, the River is called "Nashkamicktanshick." Here on the East bank and about 5 rods from the Lake marked a red Pine tree as the Boundary... (Dennis 1852: n.p.).

Had the western boundary remained as outlined in the terms of the Treaty, the town site of Sturgeon Falls would be on Reserve land.

During the latter part of the 1800's, the reports of the Indian Superintendents for Nipissing Reserve reflected the Department's policy of encouraging settlement and agriculture on reserves throughout Canada. For example, visiting Superintendent C. Skene reported the following in 1879.

> About the Indian village of the Lake Nipissing Band I saw good crops of corn, potatoes, oats and hay; and those of the band who reside upon other clearings on the reserve said their crops were good. Upon the whole the crops were good... (D.I.A. 1880, S.P. 127).

And again, in 1885, Superintendent Walton reported that,

> The Nipissing band is in a very prosperous condition, and when it is remembered that only a few years since their reserve was in a wilderness, and that, save with lumbermen, they seldom came in contact with white men, their advance in civilization seems remarkable... At a meeting of the full band, he whom I consider their best man was elected 2nd chief... The first school house is in course of erection... The land of the reserve, which is very good, is rapidly advancing in value (D.I.A. 1886, S.P. 4).

This last statement, "The land... is rapidly advancing in value," takes on a much greater significance in light of the surrender that was to follow twenty-two years later and the varied pressures exerted on the Band to agree to this surrender. The negotiations which ensued, and are summarized here, indicate that the value of the Reserve's land and its resources were obviously appreciated by the Indians

living on the land as well as by the White settlers living in the immediate vicinity of the Reserve. As Barber aptly points out, "...the problem of pressure for reserve land acquisition by speculators and settlers..." (1977: 24) was an operating factor in the reduction of reserve size, both here and in most parts of the country.

In 1891, a timber license for pine on the Reserve was issued to lumber baron John R. Booth, who was seeking new forest reserves to replace the depleted stands of timber in the Ottawa Valley area (Leatherdale 1975: 167-68). This permit covered an area of 108 square miles and was renewed yearly until 1909 (D.I.A. 1914: n.p.), two years after the surrender for sale was signed by the adult male members of the Band. The implications of this event will be examined further on.

In 1893, an employee of the Canadian Pacific Railway, concerned with colonization work, suggested that Nipissing Reserve be opened for settlement. When the local superintendent was introduced to this idea, he felt that it would be in "the best interests" of the Band to surrender all the land to the south of the C.P.R. track and a strip a half mile wide to the north of the track, if a sufficient price could be obtained for the land. However, when the superintendent brought up the subject of surrender with the Band members while distributing their Fall interest money, they refused to consider the proposal (D.I.A. 1903: n.p.).

But the settlers on either side of the Reserve were not willing to drop the matter, and the following year, 1894, again brought the question of surrender to the attention of the Department of Indian Affairs. The superintendent, when asked to provide a sketch of the area he felt should be surrendered, informed the Department that he considered it unlikely that the Band would agree to a surrender unless they were "educated into seeing the advantage of such an action" (D.I.A. 1903: n.p.).

Still not dissuaded, the North Bay Board of Trade then sought the assistance of the Bishop of Peterboro (sic), who sent a letter to the Department in February of 1895, stating that he would advise the Band to surrender the Reserve on the condition that land be given to them on Lake Temiscaminque in exchange. Two weeks later, he sent a second letter, reversing his former position. The Bishop stated that he now objected to the surrender of the land south of the C.P.R. line

as this would cut off the Band members' access to the Lake and prevent them from fishing. As an alternative, he suggested that sufficient land be retained to provide each family with 100 acres, and the rest, north and south of the track, could then be sold. The Department's reaction to this suggestion was favorable (D.I.A. 1903: n.p.), but no action was taken just then.

The North Bay Board of Trade and the Corporation of the Town of Sturgeon Falls continued to lobby for the surrender of Reserve land over the next three years. In August of 1898, a delegation of concerned citizens went to the Reserve and was met with an absolute refusal from Band members to sell any of their land. In frustration, the Board of Trade recommended to the Department that Parliament be asked to have the Reserve opened for settlement and road construction (D.I.A. 1903: n.p.).

In May, 1899, petitions from the settlers of North Bay and Sturgeon Falls were sent to the Department, again requesting that the Reserve be opened for sale. The following June, another petition was sent. In response, the Department sent an inspector to secure a surrender of the Reserve. He returned to report that such an action was inadvisable at the time and negotiations were consequently stopped in January of 1900 (D.I.A. 1903: n.p.).

The pressure to open up the Reserve continued, despite the Department's decision, and in 1904, 6,400 acres or 10 square miles in the vicinity of Sandy Falls on the Sturgeon River were surrendered, and then sold for $10,000 to the Occidental Syndicate (D.I.A. 1905, S.P. 27). Prior to this, applications had been made by several different parties in 1895, 1896, 1897 and again in 1899 for use of the Falls and the surrounding land to generate water power, but these requests were refused by the Department on the grounds that since the land had not been surrendered by the Band for either sale or lease, and since they had refused to surrender parts of the Reserve for settlement purposes, the Department felt that a request for a surrender for generating water power would also be refused. In addition, the area requested was covered by a timber license issued to John Booth, and the granting of water power rights was thought to interfere with the rights and privileges of the timber licensee (D.I.A. 1899: n.p.). However, as is evident by the surrender of the 10 square miles, the Department had altered its previous position; perhaps Booth himself had a hand in this. Mr. Booth had obtained a license

to cut pine on the Reserve in 1890, and in order to gain control of the pine timber limit, he had purchased those rights from other lumber companies. In 1904, he apparently bargained with the purchasers of the surrendered 6,400 acres. The sale was to have been made to Imperial Paper Mills of Canada Ltd., but instead, the land and timber were sold to the Occidental Syndicate of London, England, who controlled Imperial Paper Mills. The Order-in-Council for the surrender contained a clause that the Minister was authorized to sell the land without reference to the Departmental land regulations (McLean 1978: 1).

The last major land transaction took place on 24 January, 1907. The Nipissing Band surrendered for sale 50,000 acres of Reserve land, located north of the C.P.R. right of way (D.I.A. 1908, S.P. 27). The surrendered lands were to be held in trust by the Crown until they were sold, and all proceeds from the sales were to be credited to the Band, interest being calculated and paid in the usual manner. Further conditions of the surrender stipulated that: 1) a road allowance be provided from the eastern to the western boundary of the Reserve, paralleling the C.P.R. line (possibly satisfying the earlier demands of North Bay and Sturgeon Falls residents for roads through the Reserve, as well as providing a means of land travel for residents of the Reserve): 2) each Band member was to receive $100 in cash upon completion of the surrender; 3) the land was not to be sold for less than $2 an acre; and 4) the first and second chiefs were to receive $1,000 each (Canada 1907: n.p.). As with the 1904 surrender, "...the Order-in-Council allowed the Superintendent General to sell the land in the best interests of the Band without reference to departmental land regulations established September 14, 1888" (McLean 1978: 2).

The Band had succumbed to the pressures to surrender that had been exerted for possibly fifteen or more years. In point of fact, as early as 1892, the local agent's report contained a reference to the rapidly increasing value of the Reserve. The report also stated that Band members had been approached with a view to surrendering a considerable part of the Reserve for $2.50 an acre, but had refused to consider the offer (D.I.A. 1893, S.P. 27). Perhaps they regarded a surrender for sale of merchantable timber in 1868 and the sale of 227 acres to the Canadian Pacific Railway in 1884 for a right of way (McLean 1978: 1) as sufficient contribution to the settlement of the

area. The persistence of the Department and the settlers eventually undermined the Band's determination to retain their Reserve in tact.

The surrendered lands were surveyed and divided into three townships: Beaucage, Commanda and Pedley. Then the lots were advertised for sale by public auction in North Bay on 16 June, 1909. However, this first sale was postponed for eight years as a result of a protest made by Mr. Booth (D.I.A. 1914: n.p.). The Department had refused to renew his timber license after April, 1909, presumably because the lands were to be sold to private buyers. Booth took the matter to court and a decision was finally reached in 1916 when the Supreme Court judged in favor of the Crown. Booth settled for $50,000 and his license was cancelled (McLean 1978: 2). A second public auction was then orgainized in 1917, and the first parcels of surrendered lands were sold (D.I.A. 1919, S.P. 27).

A total of 12,372.42 acres were sold for $57,018.88 or about $4.60 an acre. The remaining lots were placed in the hands of the agent at Sturgeon Falls in November, 1917, for sale at "upset prices" (D.I.A. 1919, S.P. 27). Land sales after this date appear to have been slow, as two-thirds of the surrendered lands remain unsold, an unexpected situation in view of the pressures exerted on the Department by white settlers to secure a surrender and open up the Reserve. Perhaps the reason for this apparent lack of interest lies in the location of the surrendered lands. The City and Town residents desired the land to the south of the C.P.R. tracks, a very scenic and, as the Band itself has proven, lucrative strip of lakeshore frontage. Instead, land to the north of the tracks was surrendered and it would seem that the settlers were not as enthusiastic about purchasing land in this area as they were about the land fronting the Lake.

If this is the case, why then was the surrender of 50,000 acres secured from Nipissing Band? Booth Lumber Company had a timber license for pine on the Reserve, and was granted yearly renewals for this license up to and beyond the time of the surrender. The settlers were evidently interested in lake frontage purchases, as in evidenced by the relatively few land purchases in Beaucage and Commanda Townships. It is possible that the surrender was occasioned by the attitude of the Department of Indian Affairs, which reasoned that the Band would be in a better position with the proceeds from the sale of their land than with the land itself. But if the intent was to create an economic base with these funds, then the intent failed

miserably, for fifty years later, the Band was encouraged to develop a camp site at Beaucage Point and to surrender land for lease at Jocko Point to replenish the Band's depleted funds.

The answer to this question is likely a combination of several factors, including the intentions of the Department, the vested interests of North Bay and Sturgeon Falls residents, and the continued operation of the lumber companies which felled virgin growth for several decades on the surrendered lands. The exact reason(s) for the surrender may be uncertain but the Band's intention in revoking the surrender for sale is quite clear. The terms of the surrender stipulated that the lands would be sold for the benefit of the Band. However, only one third of the total surrendered area was sold before all sales were halted in the late 1940's or early 1950's. Band members can now hunt and cut timber on the unsold surrendered lands but are able to do little else with the land because of its surrendered status. Therefore, Nipissing Band is seeking to revoke the surrender for sale and return the unsold lands to reserve status so these lands may be managed by, and for the benefit of, the Band under the terms of the Indian Act.

CURRENT LAND USE AND DEVELOPMENT

Nipissing Band, under the direction of its Economic Development Committee, has become directly involved in the development of its major resource – land. Three hundred residential lots were surveyed and surrendered for lease by the Band along the west side of Great North Bay, from Jocko Point to the Little Sturgeon River. The impetus for this plan originated with the Department of Indian Affairs in the 1950's as a means of increasing the Band's revenue. The initial reaction of Band members to this surrender for lease was unfavorable. Many, remembering the 1907 surrender, felt they were losing more of their land even though the area was considered to be a swamp and was used infrequently, mainly for duck and moose hunting. They did not fully comprehend the benefits that would accure from a surrender for lease but the referendum decided in favor of the plan. Now, the majority are in agreement with this form of land use, and when a second surrender for lease was proposed by the Band Council in the early 1970's, it was accepted with few objections.

This second residential subdivision is located on the east side of the Bay above Beaucage Point. Twenty of the proposed sixty lots were surveyed following the surrender for lease and the remaining forty will be laid out in late 1980 or early 1981. The subdivision road was constructed during the summer of 1980 by a local contractor through L.E.A.P. funding in preparation for lot leasing in the spring of 1981.

The yearly rental costs to the residents, who themselves build and consequently own the houses on these lots, are nominal, much less than they could expect to pay in taxes if they owned similar lots elsewhere. But these leases provide an important source of revenue for the Band, amounting to approximately $100,000 a year. This figure represents an increase of about $30,000 over the now-expiring leases, as the current ones more accurately reflect the appraised market value of the lots, yet are still less than the taxes for comparable lakeshore lots elsewhere on the Lake.

In addition to these residential lots, several light industries have leased land in the east end, near North Bay. A concrete plant, a major transport company, and a building materials industry requiring land for lumber storage provide approximately $4,500 a year in revenue. The Band plans to develop an industrial subdivision in and around this area in the near future, and has already received a few inquiries from other light industrial concerns interested in locating on the Reserve. A consulting firm was hired in 1979 by the Band to design the industrial subdivision. A response from Indian Affairs on possible funding sources is now needed before work can begin. The intent of Band management in leasing land to small industries is not simply to create revenue, but also to provide employment, an intent that is pointed out to potential leaseholders. Consequently, industries that agree to hire Band members have been and will continue to be favored over those who do not.

The Band developed a 65-acre camp grounds on the east side of Beaucage Point, with facilities for both tents and trailers, a picnic area, and a well-maintained sandy beach for swimming. Initially, the Ontario Government was interested in developing a provincial park in this area. The Ministry of Natural Resources was willing to hire and train Band members in park management and would then turn its operation over to the Band if so desired. The Council turned down the offer, however, and a few years later, in 1958, Beaucage

Park was started as a co-operative Band project that took fifteen years to complete. A major development obstacle appeared with the loss of the plans for the Park when a local D.I.A. official, the central planning figure, was transferred. Consequently, it was not until 1965 that work actually began on the Park.

Financing for its development came from Band funds and grants from the Department of Indian Affairs. The road from the main highway into the Park was completed in 1970 with a grant from the Indian Community Branch of the Ontario Government, after the Band overcame the problems encountered in securing highway access and a crossing over the C.P.R. tracks. Then, in 1971, a grant from the Ministry of Agriculture and Food (ARDA branch) enabled further development, leading to the official opening on 7 July, 1973.

Band Council and the local Economic Development Committee have put a great deal of effort into the development of Reserve land, attempting to stimulate local employment and income whenever possible, and to utilize the Reserve's resources to their fullest. The same sort of long-range planning has gone into the creation of a residential subdivision for Band members in the east end of the Reserve. House lots have been surveyed with the intent of making them large enough to retain a degree of rural privacy, but not so large as to make the costs of providing services prohibitive. While Council may be criticized by some for attempting to adopt "White ways" and discouraging members from building wherever they please on Reserve land, their reasoning is sound. By concentrating settlement in Garden Village (the main settlement) and Duchesnay Village (a smaller east end settlement and the location of the subdivision), services such as water, hydro and fire protection can be provided at minimum cost to Band members. In addition, this form of settlement may very well foster a greater feeling of community and facilitate further development of lines of communication among members, Band Council and external agencies.

REVOCATION OF SURRENDER FOR SALE

Land is the major resource available to the members of Nipissing Band; not simply land for the sake of land itself, but land for development, leasing and revenue production. It is evident that

the Band is successfully managing this resource, but it is also evident that there will soon be a premium on available land. The Band government is well aware of this problem and for this reason, is engaged in negotiations with the Provincial and Federal governments. The intent of the Band is to revoke the 1907 surrender for sale and return those lands which remain unsold, about 33,000 acres, to reserve status. The terms of the surrender stated that the land was to be held in trust by the Crown and sold for the benefit of the Band. In seventy-three years, the Government has sold approximately one-third of the land. The Band believes that the Government has been unsuccessful in handling these lands for its benefit and would now like an opportunity to manage it.

From the time of the surrender until the late 1940's or early 1950's, Band members were led to believe that the surrendered lands were completely lost to them. They did not hunt in the area or cut any of the timber. Consequently, the benefits of the timber resources went to the large lumber companies. Once land sales were terminated, however, the agent informed Band members that they could use the unsold lands; small-scale logging operations were started up, and hunting and trapping activities were resumed.

When members resumed their use of the unsold surrendered lands circa 1955, they began to speculate about the possibilities of having the lands returned to reserve status. Initially, this desire was based on a wish to regain possession of the land for the sake of the land itself, as a part of their heritage. But as the Band moved through the 1960's and the 1970's, this desire became more firmly grounded. The developmental and financial benefits that could result from an expansion of the Reserve's land base began to formulate and take root. However, the surrendered for sale status precluded the development or leasing of these lands.

Band Council made numerous formal and informal requests of Indian Affairs, asking for a return of the unsold surrendered lands. Band Council resolutions (BCRs) were drawn up and sent in, and countless discussions between Council and the agent took place. For example, in February of 1968, Council asked Indian Affairs for clarification of the status of lands in Beaucage and Commanda Townships. In April of that same year, a BCR was drawn up, requesting Lands and Forest to transfer 4 lots in Beaucage Township to the Federal Crown to give the Band control of the land in a more

uniform unit. A second BCR was sent to D.I.A., requesting the Department to start unsurrendering procedures. In August of 1973, Council submitted another BCR, asking Indian Affairs either to organize a referendum on the question of unsurrendering or to proceed directly with the unsurrendering. Very little or no response seems to have been forthcoming from Indian Affairs.

A major stumbling block appears to have been the 1924 Lands Agreement between the Federal Government and the Province of Ontario. When reserve lands were surrendered prior to 1924, they were administered by the Provincial Crown. The status of these lands was in doubt at this time as some of these surrenders were being examined in appeals to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. These appeals were obstructing the sales of surrendered lands for the benefit of the the bands involved. Consequently, the Federal and Provincial Governments attempted to solve this problem by drawing up the Indian Lands Act, 1924, whereby,

> All Indian reserves in the province of Ontario heretofore or hereafter set aside, shall be administered by the Dominion of Canada for the benefit of the band or bands of Indians to which each may have been or may be allotted... (D.I.A. 1925, S.P. 14: 10).

It seems that the Province agreed with the Federal Crown's administration of the "hereafter" surrendered lands but not the "heretofore" surrendered lands. This issue has not been satisfactorily resolved, hence the need for the Province to agree to transfer its interests in the unsold surrendered land to the Federal Crown before it can be returned to reserve status.

The superintendent of Sudbury District's Indian Lands Department began to act in concert with the Band and in January, 1976, wrote to Indian Affairs Regional Office concerning the Band's wish to have the unsold lands returned to Reserve status. He stressed the opportunities available for land leasing and employment of Band members, and also indicated that the Band was concerned with the Province's inability to set a date for the amendment of the 1924 Agreement. The Regional office conveyed the request to Headquarters in Ottawa who in turn wrote to the Province. The Ontario Ministry of Natural Resources' response was that the Province was prepared to proceed with the transfer of the land if D.I.A. could provide an adequate description of the area involved. The necessary information was supplied in February of 1977 and in December the

Director of Lands for Indian Affairs advised the Regional office to proceed with the revocation of the unsold lands. In January of 1978, the Band was instructed by the Sudbury District office to draw up a BCR requesting a referendum of revocation and a revocation meeting was authorized by Headquarters two months later. The Band then retained the legal advisor for the Union of Ontario Indians and asked that he prepare the necessary documents for the revocation.

The Province's position of the transfer of unsold surrendered lands to the Federal Crown was outlined for the District office in June, 1978. The Province stated that the Bed of Navigable Waters Act would apply and consequently, any lands to be set aside as Reserve lands would not include the beds of navigable waters. The 1924 Lands Agreement had stipulated that any sale, lease, or disposition of surrendered Indian land in the Province "...shall be subject to the provisions of the statute of the Province of Ontario entitled "The Bed of Navigable Waters Act"..." (D.I.A. 1925, S.P. 14: 10). In addition, egress and ingress were to be guaranteed by the Band to owners of patent parcels of land surrounded by unsold surrendered lands. The Province agreed to sell to the Federal Crown, at market value, some parcels of land forfeited for taxes. The Band responded in January, 1979, stating that they wished to have the lake and river beds excluded from the discussion of lands to be returned to Reserve status. They believed that since the terms of the Surrender made no mention of the waterways, they had not been included in the surrender and hence were still part of the Reserve. The referendum was scheduled for April 4.

A meeting was held in March of 1979 between the Band, District and Regional representatives from Indian Affairs, and an official from Energy, Mines and Resources. The intent was to work out the differences between the Province's position and that of the Band. It was determined that the Province should clarify its position with regard to the applicability of the Beds of Navigable Waters Act in reference to the Little Sturgeon River, Laronde Creek and Duchesnay Creek. The Union's legal advisor desired assurance from the Federal Government that the lands would revert to original status (i.e., status held prior to the 1907 surrender) rather than to reserve status. A follow-up meeting was held in May, 1979 with all parties except the Province. The legal department for Indian Affairs informed the Band that a revocation meeting was not required and that the Band should

approach the Province to start Federal-Provincial negotiations for the return of the land. A time frame work for negotiations was then drawn up, to culminate with a Band vote in September, 1979.

The first negotiating meeting was held in June. Each side outlined its tentative positions, but the major focus was again on the waterways. The Province was to identify for the next meeting what it considered to be navigable streams and the Band was to identify its concerns as to the control of activity on these streams. The Band was also asked to consider the question of access by owners to parcels of land surrounded by surrendered lands.

At the second negotiating meeting in July, the representative for the Ministry of Natural Resources indicated that the Province did not want to transfer to Canada those sections of river bed that passed through patent lands but would agree to compensate the Band for these sections. Examination of a map revealed that these sections of river bed were fronted by tourist camp operators; the Province was striving to protect the interests of these businessmen. The Band agreed to provide reciprocal access to land-locked patent lands but deferred comment on the status of the river beds as they maintained that the 1907 surrender dealt with lands alone.

Prior to the third scheduled meeting, the Band determined that the lands in question should be returned to reserve status and not to original status as suggested by the Union's legal advisor. A return to anything other than reserve status would delay the development of the lands for they could not be dealt with under the terms of the Indian Act if they did not have full reserve status. At the meeting in August, the Band and Federal Government jointly agreed to guarantee access to land-locked parcels as requested by the Province. The Band maintained its position on waterbeds and no further decision could be made at that time as the Province's representative was uncertain as to the exact provincial position. This matter was a major concern of the Province, especially the area of river bed on the Little Sturgeon River which fronted the two tourist businesses there.

At the fourth meeting, in September, the Province indicated that it would retain interest in river beds which have patent lands on both sides only. This meant that all other lake and river beds would return to the Band, who in turn once again agreed to provide access through Reserve land to patent lands. However, the Band still insisted that it

retain title to the river beds adjoining patent lands and was asked to re-examine their position, possibly considering an exchange of land for the river beds, for the next meeting.

In January of 1980, a fifth negotiating meeting was held. The Band remained firm and would not consider an exchange of lands but did agree to consider the suggestion that the disputed areas be transferred to Federal control with the condition that they did not acquire reserve status unless the Band purchased the patent lands or the land owners no longer required the use of the river beds.

At a sixth meeting in March, the Band agreed to the conditional transfer of the river beds in question to the Federal Crown. Then the question of forfeited lands was introduced; the Province wished to dispense with these lands at the same time as it transferred the unsold lands and indicated that they could be returned for market value in cash or land. The Band was interested in acquiring these lands and requested extra time to determine the method of payment. The Province agreed to another meeting, stating that it was not yet certain as to the exact procedures required for returning the unsold lands and needed additional time to ascertain the correct means of doing so.

In April, 1980, the Province was still not certain that an Order-in-Council was the proper method. Indian Affairs, however, informed the Province's representative that it felt a Band Council Resolution or Band referendum was sufficient.

At the eighth meeting in May, the question of the appropriateness of an Order-in-Council was settled in favor of this proceedure and the Province indicated it would begin preparing a draft. The forfeited lands were again considered and the Band indicated that it would request funding from Regional Office for their purchase at the market value of $45,000. After lengthy discussion, it was determined that the land transactions in Pedley Township should be reviewed for the next meeting. All parties concerned had assumed that the Band no longer retained any interests in Pedley and a thorough check had not been done to determine the validity of this assumption.

At a meeting with Indian Affairs District personnel in June, 1980, it was revealed that the Band was not compensated for eight acres of river bed on the Sturgeon River in Pedley Township. The

Band decided that it would like to retain interest in the eight acres but, if this stand were to hold up the return of the other lands, then it would be forfeited for the sake of the larger interest. The District Lands Superintendent told the Band that he felt the Province would take the same stance on these eight acres as it had on other river beds fronting on patent lands.

In September, 1980, the Province, Indian Affairs and Band Council again met to discuss the draft Order-in-Council and the decision to be made on the outstanding eight acres of river bed. As a matter of routine questioning, the negotiator for Natural Resources inquired as to the amount of compensation given the Band for the rest of the river bed. No one was certain whether compensation had ever been received for the approximately 92 acres in question and the matter is to be investigated further. Should it be proven that the Band has not received any compensation, it will be up to the Province to determine the status of the river bed. The 1924 Lands Agreement complicates the issue for it states that unless specified in the terms of a surrender, all unmentioned lands retain reserve status. Since the 1907 surrender mentions only lands, the Band may very well retain an interest in approximately 100 acres of the Sturgeon River despite the fact that the Agreement clearly stipulates that the Beds of Navigable Waters Act applies to waterways within surrendered areas. The Province will not sign the Order-in-Council transferring the unsold lands in Beaucage and Commanda Townships to the Federal Government for the benefit of Nipissing Band until this issue is resolved.

Band negotiators are optimistic about the eventual outcome of the revocation, despite the most recent delay in discussions. Hopefully, the status of the Sturgeon River bed will not retard the progress that has been made up to this point or alter the established terms of the draft Order-in-Council. The major points of the agreement are: Ontario agrees to transfer its interests in all the unsold, surrendered lands in Beaucage and Commanda Townships to Crown Canada for the benefit of Nipissing Indian Band; Band Council and the Government of Canada agree to guarantee access to surrounded patent lands within the two townships; Ontario agrees to return to Crown Canada for the benefit of the Band, its interests in three lake beds and in the beds of all navigable watercourses with unsold surrendered lands on both sides on the condition that the Navigable

Waters Protection Act will apply and the public right of navigation on them is guaranteed by the Band and the Federal Government; and Ontario agrees to return to Canada for the benefit of the Band, its interests in the beds of navigable watercourses with patent land on one or both sides on the condition that the lands not be set apart as reserve land and the watercourses are available for free public use and passage (Ontario 1980: n.p.). When completed, this revocation of surrender for sale will double the existing land base of Nipissing Reserve.

CONCLUSION

In many areas of Canada, the major natural reserve resource available to resident band members is the land itself. Nipissing Band has effectively utilized just such a resource by leasing it to outsiders for residential and commercial use, thus creating a sizable revenue source for the Band and employment opportunities for a number of Band members. The market for recreational and residential land on Lake Nipissing is good and approximately twenty miles of as yet undeveloped shoreline put the Band in an excellent position to capitalize on this market. The City of North Bay, from all indications, is growing, as is the need for industrial lots for use by the support industries of mining and forestry which are the primary industries in the area. The appeal of tax free lots has not been ignored by the Band's Economic Development Committee. Recognizing the advantages that would result from more available land, Nipissing Band Council has divested a great deal of time and energy in negotiations for the return of 33,000 acres of land.

The band claim is a process whereby the goals of economic and political autonomy may be achieved. When the negotiations are completed and the land returns to reserve status, a continuation of the current development strategy will increase opportunities for employment on the Reserve itself and produce greater revenue funds. Land leasing will require an expansion of the present administrative staff and will locate industries and businesses on the Reserve that will provide job opportunities for residents. Local employment opportunities may even attract some members who have left to find employment elsewhere. The increased revenue monies could be channeled into further Reserve development and Band projects. A

source of revenue such as this, created by local initiative and self-directed development, could reduce the Band's present dependence upon Indian Affairs and other government agencies for a major portion of their funding and would lead to greater local autonomy.

REFERENCES

BARBER, Lloyd
1977 *Commissioner on Indian Claims. A Report: Statements and Submissions.* Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services Canada.

CANADA
1907 *The Nipissing Band of Indians, to the King, Surrender of Part of Nipissing Reserve.* Public Archives of Canada.

1964 *The Robinson Treaty Made in the Year 1850 with the Ojibewa Indians of Lake Huron.* Ottawa: Queen's Printer.

CANADA. DEPARTMENT OF INDIAN AFFAIRS (D.I.A.)
1876-1935 *Sessional Papers* (S.P.). Ottawa: Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development.

1899 *Memorandum:* - To the Secretary - Ottawa, 4th May, 1899. Public Archives of Canada.

1903 *Memorandum:* - The Deputy Superintendent General, Re: Nipissing Reserve: - Ottawa, 11th February, 1903. Public Archives of Canada.

1914 *Statement of facts in re Timber Licence to Mr. John R. Booth, covering Nipissing Indian Reserve.* Public Archives of Canada.

DENNIS, J. S.
1852 *Report, Diary and Fieldnotes, Survey of the Indian Reserves on Lake Huron, 1851-1852, to the Honorable John Rolph, Commissioner of Crown Lands, Quebec.* Public Archives of Canada.

FANJOY, Howard
n.d. *Summary. Nipissing Band - Return of Unsold Lands.* unpublished.

1980 *Summary Nipissing Unsold Land Negotiations. May, 1979 - May, 1980.* unpublished.

LEATHERDALE, Murray
1975 *Nipissing From Brule to Booth.* North Bay: North Bay and District Chamber of Commerce.

MCLEAN, Kathy
1978 *History of Nipissing Indian Reserve No. 10.* unpublished.

MORTIMORE, George E.
1974 *The Road to Eagle Bay: Structure, Process and Power in a Highly Acculturated Ojibwa Band.* Ph.D. Thesis. Toronto: University of Toronto.

ONTARIO
1980 *Draft Order-in-Council to Transfer Ontario's Interest in all Scheduled Lands to Crown Canada for the Benefit of the Nipissing Indian Band.* unpublished.

SWARTZ, M. J., V. W. TURNER, and A. TUDEN (ed.)
1966 "Introduction", *Political Anthropology*, Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company.

VIDAL, A. and T. E. ANDERSON
1849 "Report of Commissioners A. Vidal and T. E. Anderson on visit to Indians, north shores Lakes Huron and Superior, Dec. 5, 1849," *Irving Papers.* Archives of Ontario.

WATKINS, Mel (ed.)
1977 "Dene Declaration," *Dene Nation. The Colony Within.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

The Acquisition of Personal Property Among Hutterites and Its Social Dimensions

KARL PETER & IAN WHITAKER
Simon Fraser University

RÉSUMÉ

Cet article veut analyser un cas de changement social provoqué par des pressions culturelles provenant de l'environnement social. Les Hutterites, en effet, sont en train de modifier leurs façons d'agir dans la manière d'acquérir des biens personnels sous l'influence de la culture nord-américaine.

The Hutterites, a religious sect within the Anabaptist tradition that first arrived in North America in the 1870's, are still a significant social laboratory, more especially since in recent years the colonies, which form the exclusive residential units of members of the community, are coming under significant pressure from the surrounding North American society and culture. In this paper we shall discuss changes in respect to the acquisition of personal property which we believe have crucial importance for understanding the process of social change among members of this sect.

The Hutterites presently comprise some 24,000 members, living in 250 colonies scattered across the western parts of the U.S. and Canada. These colonies, which often present an austere appearance in keeping with the religious teaching of the sect, are essentially agricultural collectives. It should be observed, however, that the Hutterites conform to no single ethnographic description. There are three major divisions within the sect – the Dariusleut, the Schmiedeleut and the Lehrerleut – but within each of these endogamous

divisions there is demonstrated a range of cultural behaviour which makes it difficult to make meaningful generalizations. As other anthropologists have discovered, selected observations of a part of a society cannot form the basis of widesweeping generalizations without much imprecision in the final statement: this is certainly the case among the Hutterites who display a continuum of practices from the most severe and 'traditional' on the one hand, to relatively 'liberal' and emancipated on the other. Furthermore it is often difficult to capture the correct descriptive adjective, since the social reality consists of a moving boundary of principle, so that a characterization at one point in time may rapidly date. Yet to ignore this inherent dynamic is to neglect one of the most important elements in many contemporary Hutterite communities: their pragmatic adaptability to the changing social world in which they are located.

We might in parenthesis ask why Hutterite research in particular has often consisted of the presentation of a uniform model in the place of the actual diversity which is to be empirically observed. Perhaps the visible but deceptive uniformity in dress, in standards of housing, and even to some extent in the more superficial aspects of behaviour to outsiders, might lead an observer to assume that there is such a thing as a single Hutterite ideal type. Certainly the Hutterites themselves might welcome such a false assumption, since it could serve as a protective device in their relations with the outside world, as well perhaps as concealing temporarily, even from themselves, the degree to which in practice different Hutterite colonies have moved away from the severe code that characterized the foundation and early history of their sect. Moreover the presentation of this ideal type and its reinforcement is an effective way of eliciting the desired response from the outside world. It is, however, necessary to look beyond such an idealization to the dynamics that contemporary Hutterite life documents.

In this paper we shall discuss changes recently observed in Dariusleut colonies. Although the communities observed show many departures from the archetypal model in such matters as the restriction of community size, the adoption of an aggressive and highly sophisticated technology and marketing, and their utilization of a highly specialized economic base (Peter and Whitaker 1982), additional observations show that the phenomena we analyse here are much more widespread in Hutterite society; indeed the process of

acquisition of personal property by individual Hutterites is to be found in some degree in almost all colonies. Rather it is here suggested that in the most modernized colonies the process has evolved further.

* * *

The classical Hutterite community was based on the concept of communal living and the sharing of goods. This feature goes back to the very foundation of the sect, when in the spring of 1528 Jakob Wiedemann and his followers inaugurated the *Guetergemeinschaft* [community of goods] (Zieglschmid 1947: 18). From that time onwards this sharing has characterized the sect, and become the foundation stone of their religious doctrine and practice. Indeed it has undergone a process of reification, in the sense that the participation of the individual in the 'community of goods' bestows on him the security of salvation. All subsequent statements of Hutterite doctrine take this feature as axiomatic for the members. Thus when Peter Rideman, one of the earliest leaders, after Jakob Hutter,[1] compiled his *Rechenschaft unserer Religion, Lehr und Glaubens* [Account of our religion, doctrine and faith] about 1540 while he was imprisoned in Hesse, he wrote of this doctrinal feature as follows (we quote the somewhat lengthy passage in full so as to include the theological rationalizations):

Concerning community of goods

> Now, since all the saints have fellowship in holy things, that is in God, who also hath given to them all things in his Son Jesus Christ – which gift none should have for himself, but each for the other; as Christ also hath naught for himself, but hath everything for us, even so all the members of his body have naught for themselves, but for the whole body, for all the members. For his gifts are not sanctified and given to one member alone, or for one member's sake, but for the whole body with its members.
>
> Now, since all God's gifts – not only spiritual, but also material things – are given to man, not that he should have them for himself or alone but with all his fellows, therefore the communion of saints itself must show itself not only in spiritual but also in temporal things; that as Paul saith, one might not have abundance and another suffer want, but that there may be equality. This he showeth from the law touching manna, in that he who gathered much had

[1] Rideman's life and work has been summarized in Friedmann 1970.

> nothing over, whereas he who gathered little had no less, since each was given what he needed according to the measure.
>
> Furthermore, one seeth in all things created, which testify to us still to-day, that God from the beginning ordained naught private for man, but all things to be common. But through wrong taking, since man took what he should not and forsook what he should take, he drew such things to himself and made them his property, and so grew and became hardened therein. Through such wrong taking and collecting of created things he hath been led so far from God that he hath even forgotten the Creator, and hath even raised up and honoured as God the created things which had been put under and made subject to him. And such is still the case if one steppeth out of God's order and forsaketh the same.
>
> (Rideman 1950: 88)

The community of goods, it should be noted, did not provide for equal sharing of all the material possessions; rather it became a finely tuned rationale which secured an individual member's access to communal resources according to needs. Many of the earliest Hutterite *Ordnungen* [ordinances] acknowledged differences in such important matters as diet, by granting persons in occupations which involved much expenditure of physical energy a higher scale of rations (Peter and Peter 1980: 12ff). Other differences, such as those of age and sex, were also recognized in this way. In fact it might be asserted that the community of goods offered members of the sect unequal access to resources according to *demonstrated* needs, and these needs might be physical, emotional, or spiritual. In this respect the early Hutterite practice resembled some of the provisions of the social programmes of the 20th century.

Given Rideman's elaboration (as well as many others in Hutterite religious writing), how is it possible that the possession of private property seems to be increasing? We believe that this is facilitated by the more frequent occurrence of what might be termed 'grey areas' [our terminology] in Hutterite conduct: that is to say an expansion in the number of situations where individual deviation on a minor scale is not formally subject to sanction, even though flagrant persistence in such deviance might ultimately elicit formal disapproval. In making this distinction it should perhaps be pointed out that Hutterite doctrine provides for the individual to come forward voluntarily, recognizing his wayward departure from the traditional code, and expressing repentance and requesting the elders for punishment and forgiveness. The onus to seek atonement must come from the offender, except in the most culpable offences when

an intransigent person may be confronted with his misdeeds. Although originally such requests for punishment were seen to originate in the conscience of the individual, today forces of social control most likely push the individual towards making such a request. This resort to social control, which is no longer directly tied to the conscience as used to be the case, results in a more relaxed mode of conduct, and the display of a degree of tolerance. It follows, therefore, that minor deviations may occur, and even be remarked casually by other members of the community, but the offending individual must take the first step towards repentance and change. Although, therefore, gossip may be expressed against the offender, a more decisive process of retribution will not necessarily follow until the offence has been acknowledged by the deviant member.

Since many of the minor deviations in respect of the acquisition of personal property may be essentially private, and perhaps known only to the offender and his family, such behaviour may continue without eliciting any formal expression of disapproval. We believe that a significant factor in this connection is the growing tendency for the dwelling to be a private sphere. In earlier times there was essentially no private domain, as Peter Rideman indicated when he wrote:

> Therefore do we watch over one another, telling each his faults, warning and rebuking with all diligence. (Rideman 1950: 132)

Now, however, there is a degree of privacy, and this is associated firstly with the dwelling, and secondly with the kingroup, who will be trusted to overlook minor deviance without attracting the attention of the whole community. This process, which may be labelled 'privatization', is one of the keys to the developing trend to acquire personal items. Another, and compounding, feature of such deviance is to be found in the shifting nature of the boundary between the permissible and the illegitimate. It is our belief that in earlier times the division between 'right' and 'wrong' in Hutterite society was perhaps more clearcut, and in any case the same standards were in force for many decades, so that the present confusion among younger Hutterites, as among other people in western society, was not present. Today the boundary is continually changing, as deviant practice becomes sufficiently widespread for new norms to prevail.

It might be argued that there is a basic Hutterite principle that precludes personal possessions, although this is no longer universal.

Indeed in respect of property in the form of land, housing and the means of production, this remains the rule. A colony is a corporation whose property belongs to all the members. There are no private pieces of land, and the houses themselves are owned by the colony as a whole. They are built collectively, still on a somewhat spartan model – although increasingly in some of the most modern colonies major concessions are made to urban planning and design. The houses are allotted to families by the leadership of the community, and hence an individual's living quarters are subject to reallocation as the needs of the community dictate, and as the family's requirements grow and diminish through marriage and death.

In the more traditional colony, when a newly married pair are granted living quarters, a present is also made of furniture, often sparse, and conforming to a community pattern. Whether this furniture becomes the exclusive and personal property of the married pair is, perhaps, not clear; expectations might vary from colony to colony, and also over time. In general in the newest colonies such furniture is seen as the exclusive property of the couple, and, as we shall see, under certain circumstances they might dispose of some of it (although not flagrantly). Meals are still largely taken in the communal eating-halls, where in fact women are seated apart from men, so that the need for a kitchen in the family's dwelling is confined to preparing light refreshment, especially following the arrival of visitors.

Significant to our discussion is the distinction between goods allocated for ready consumption, in contrast to goods over which the individual has the power of disposition, a disposition which does not necessarily include their immediate consumption. This distinction relates to cash, and also to some non-cash goods, such as the less fundamental elements in diet. Thus adult Hutterites would be given an allocation of wine, and families would receive fruit, honey, as well as materials for clothing, wool, etc., in a regular ration. This would be allotted to households or to individuals, and the items would be removed to the privacy of the individual dwelling in which, it was expected, they would be consumed, or in the case of materials, made into clothes by the womenfolk of the household.

Although the regular allocation of these foodstuffs and materials offered Hutterites within the same social category (such as those based on gender, health and age) equality of access, it did not ensure

that the use of these items was similarly equal. Indeed it was inevitably the pattern, recognized in practice in many communities, that different people would use these equally distributed items differentially, so that the idea that a person might dispose of the surplus of a given product that he or she did not wish to consume, was soon apparent. This practice became a 'grey area', not formally forbidden, but not openly legitimated. The goods were clearly distributed on the assumption that they would be used, but consumption could not be regulated, only expected.

Thus there was also a range of permissible behaviour in disposing of items that had formed part of such a communal allocation. A woman might give some material for a blouse that she had received from her colony to her married daughter who would always be living elsewhere, since as a norm colonies formed exogamous units. This would not formally be allowed. However the donation of material to a daughter would also have other social consequences. Since Hutterite colonies would buy their clothing materials in bulk, there was a uniformity of dress among the women (or the men) of a colony, which was socially desirable since it conformed to the religious ideal of the avoidance of personal vanity. Material obtained by a woman from her mother would probably be of a different quality and appearance from that worn by her fellow womenfolk, and hence the gift would carry with it the chance of relief from uniformity, and thus also a minor assertion of individuality. The demonstration of personal attachments, other than that between husband and wife, was disapproved in Hutterite thinking, but we observe the increasing acceptance of stronger emotional bonds between parents and children, especially in the younger generation of parents. Few colonies among the Dariusleut would now disapprove of the giving of a gift of material by a woman to her daughter, even if the other social consequences of such a gift might still be condemned. We see, therefore, that since the Hutterite family does not have an economic base, the individuals are only able to bestow minor economic benefits through such gift-giving, which in turn leads to a strengthening of the ties between members of the extended family.

There are also certain specific allotments in kind made to individual Hutterites; these include the household items a young Hutterite woman receives towards her dowry, which are kept in a

personal chest given to her by the community when she reaches the age of 18. These will mostly be soft goods such as domestic linen, which she will have been employed in making for her household, and some of which she will be allowed to keep for her future personal use. When a woman becomes pregnant she is given bedding for the coming child, including feathers. If a mother has already had children she may not need the new supplies, and so they become surplus goods which she can eventually sell or barter, and she may retain the proceeds. We might also mention at this point the burgeoning home industry, including quilt-making, down jackets, and other needlecraft which is occurring in Hutterite colonies, and provides items for private sale, often through the conversion of raw materials, or poor quality materials, into saleable goods. Wine, honey, and dried fruit, if available, are also items that an individual may legitimately acquire, but which he or she may not need, and can consequently later trade. Furniture that a family has received from the colony in the past, but which also proves surplus to their requirements, may also be sold to outsiders for cash (usually by the women). Thus it will be seen that there are a number of ways in which a female Hutterite can engage in personal marketing, although usually it is by the conversion of goods into cash.

Perhaps the most striking deviation from the traditional way of life is manifested in the allocation of sums of personal money, which the individual may keep, and be permitted to accumulate. This may be obtained by methods both 'legitimate' and 'illegitimate' (although these are not categories used by our informants). However as we have already stressed, this boundary is a shifting one. Foremost among legitimate money is a small personal allotment made to all adult members of the colony. One Hutterite community, which we shall call Colony X, recently raised this allowance to $10 per person per month; in others it may be as low as $2 - $4. These personal funds are given without precise specification as to how they are to be used and no distinctions in respect of gender, relative age among adults, or health, are made. Further, it has long been Hutterite practice that when individual members travel on the business of the colony they are given a daily allowance, which with some care may result in a surplus which an individual retains. This may then, for example, be converted into candies, which on return to the colony, will be given to selected children for somewhat surreptitious consumption.

For male members of the colony there is a trend to acquire cash directly. This may be achieved by undertaking minor economic services for their neighbours. Of course this will by no means be on a full-time basis, but Hutterites, with hitherto a good supply of male labour, would often be called upon by neighbouring farmers in an emergency. The service that they performed might be paid for in ready cash, which the persons completing the task would partially or wholly retain. Small items of furniture that a man might make in his spare time could also be sold. Machinery belonging to the collectivity might be loaned, usually with labour to operate it, and the method of paying for this would be somewhat imprecise. These 'grey areas' are a frequent source of money for the male Hutterite. One cannot altogether preclude the occasional sale of goods, such as vegetables, correctly belonging to the whole community, but which might also fall in this 'grey area' and become the source of individual gain.

There is a further source of personal property, however, that is increasingly being manifested in some of the more 'progressive' colonies. This is particularly associated with *rites de passage*, especially marriage. Today many Hutterite couples are given gifts at the time of marriage by relatives from other colonies in particular, and these gifts are always seen as personal property. They will have been purchased by the donors out of personal rather than community funds, generated in ways outlined above. Although the individual items might be relatively inexpensive, the large number of contributing relatives may result in a great number of gifts, so that whole rooms might be furnished, often with consumer items that indirectly conflict with Hutterite principles, such as toasters, dishes, and other cooking equipment which incidentally also appear to contradict the Hutterite practice of communal eating. The birth of a child, traditionally treated with a degree of religious indifference due to the rejection of infant baptism, also now becomes the occasion for the sending of further gifts, although these are not usually on such a lavish scale.

* * *

In this essay we have sought to document the growing practice among Hutterites of setting apart specific articles or products as private property, belonging to the individual or to the immediate family unit, rather than to the community as a whole. The

consequences of this practice are perhaps of greater social than economic significance. We believe that they constitute the tangible modification of the earlier Hutterite ideal of communal ownership. The bestowal of personal gifts necessarily involves redefining the 'community of goods'. Redefinitions of the community of goods are seen by us as a continuing process in Hutterite life stretching back to the sect's earliest years[2] and are the means by which major discontinuities are averted, offering an opportunity for change without the direct challenging of tradition. Such changes have, however, to occur within the context of a three-generational traditional memory for them to be acceptable.

These processes do not occur in isolation from other social trends, however. Thus we have identified increasing privatization, although this process may apply to a whole family as well as to an individual. We have also noted the stronger emphasis on kinsmen, who may be the source of private property through gift-giving.

Of fundamental importance to our analysis is the recognition that the process is marked by imprecision and uncertainty. Flagrant violation of the norms is accompanied by scandal, which leads to the reassertion of the traditional practice, so that the process of change is temporarily halted or even reversed. This is the anthropological reality, which would be concealed if we simply chose to present a single model of Hutterite society, analysed in terms of a uniform progression. However what is most apparent from our study is the enhanced differentiation to be found within a single Hutterite colony, a differentiation manifested not merely in a growing trend away from a total uniformity in such external matters as dress, but also in visible inequality in the extent to which houses may be equipped with consumer items, in variable practice in minor ways such as the enjoyment of supplements to the food still largely eaten communally, and in differing behaviour towards children, as well as in a variety of views concerning what constitutes appropriate behaviour between parents and children. The diversification that we describe is to be found not only within a single colony, however, but also between different colonies within the same endogamous division (i.e. the *Leut*). Although ostensibly concerned with the acquisition of private

[2] This has recently been discussed in Peter 1982.

property by Hutterites, our study may also have illuminated the role of informal social control in the process of cultural change.

REFERENCES

FRIEDMANN, Robert
1970 "Peter Riedemann, early Anabaptist leader", *Mennonite Quarterly Review* Vol. 44: 5-44. Goshen.

PETER, Karl A.
1982 "The routinization of salvation, traditionalization of religion and economic rationality among Hutterites", *Comparative Studies in society and History.* (In press)

[PETER, Karl & Franziska PETER, (eds.)]
1980 *Der Gemein Ordnungen (1651-1873).* Reardon, Wash.: Spokane Gemeinde.

PETER, Karl & Ian WHITAKER,
1982 "The Hutterite economy: recent changes and their social correlates". *Anthropos* (In press)

RIDEMAN, Peter
1950 *Account of our religion, doctrine and faith* (trans. Kathleen E. Hasenberg). [London]: Hodder & Stoughton.

ZIEGLSCHMID, A. J. F.
1947 *Das Klein-Geschichtsbuch der Hutterischen Brüder.* Philadelphia: Carl Schurz Memorial Foundation.

The Cultural Context of the Jamaican National System: Ethnicity and Social Stratification Reconsidered[1]

CAROL S. HOLZBERG
University of Toronto

RÉSUMÉ

Cet article s'intéresse au système national jamaïcain, en particulier aux domaines de l'économie politique et du nationalisme. Plus particulièrement, on cherche à comprendre pourquoi la communauté juive de l'île a diminué de 25% entre 1974-1975 et 1978. Ce problème sera traité avec l'aide de Sahlins (1976) comme le point de départ d'une révision du débat *pluraliste-stratificationniste*. Le texte souhaite apporter des éléments à la compréhension de deux processus généraux: 1) ethnicité et stratification sociale et 2) les élites et l'économie politique nationale.

Of the many debates that inform the theoretical writings in anthropology, arguments between the "materialists" and the "mentalists" have been some of the most consistent and controversial. The debate translates into "the dualism which separates a mindless external world from the universe organized by the activity of the mind" (Douglas 1970: 22). Fundamentally, it reflects an epistemological concern over what the anthropologist must examine in order to understand, explain, and even predict the structures and interrelations of socially constituted phenomena. Both the materialists and the mentalists seek to grasp the nature of the "social totality" (Keleman 1976: 865) in order to illuminate those principles

[1] This is a revised version of a paper prepared for presentation in the symposium entitled "Caribbean Studies", Richard Frucht, chairperson, Canadian Ethnological Society Meetings, London, Ontario, February 1978. Special thanks go to Vera Rubin and Bobbie Silverstein for comments and criticisms on the earlier draft.

that govern the production and reproduction of the total socio-cultural system, i.e. the society. The materialist however, looks to economic resources as well as technological and environmental factors in order to demonstrate how these material "forces" constitute the imperatives of culture and the blueprints for action. From this perspective, human beings are perceived as economic animals, rationally motivated to maximize their access to and control over substantive resources. They accomplish this maximization through collective organization designed to minimize deprivation and insure their own survival[2]. The mentalists on the other hand, suggest that the material forces (i.e. economic resources, technology, environment) are comprehended only by social apperception, structured logically in the mind. Furthermore, they claim that it is only by uncovering the nature of this logical structure that the analyst can derive the organizational principles that define the resources and govern the production and reproduction of societal forms.

Marshall Sahlins has recently added fuel to the debate with the publication of his book entitled, *Culture and Practical Reason*. For Sahlins, the social totality that must be explained is *culture* not society and though he claims he is not a mentalist, nor a materialist, the following quote which outlines the object of his book, suggests a definite idealist propensity. Thus, he writes.

> For some, however, it is clear that culture is precipitated from the rational activity of individuals pursuing their own best interests. This is 'utilitarianism' proper; its logic is the maximization of means-ends relations. The objective utility theories are naturalistic or ecological; for them, the determinant material wisdom substantialized in cultural form is the survival of the human population or the given social order. The precise logic is adaptive advantage, or maintenance of the system within the natural limits of viability. As opposed to all these genera and species of practical reason, this book poses a reason of another kind, the symbolic or the meaningful... It therefore takes as the decisive quality of culture... *not that this culture must conform to material constraints but that it does so according to a definite symbolic scheme which is never the only one possible.* Hence it is culture which constitutes utility (1976: vii-viii, emphasis added).

From Sahlins' perspective, culture pervades all levels of thought and action and constitutes the social logic of praxis. Culture is the social expression of human perception, cognition, and experience; the

[2] For a more in depth discussion on how humans seek to minimize deprivation by a process known as "cathexis", that is, "the attachment to objects which are gratifying and rejection of those which are noxious", see Parsons and Shils *et al.* (1951: 5).

symbolic quality which governs social relations and mediates between social action and the material environment. "...in as much as the material forces are socially constituted, their specific effects are culturally determined" (Sahlins 1976: 14).

Sahlins criticizes contemporary anthropological theory for regarding custom as "merely fetishized utility". His argument is interesting for two reasons. First, he challenges the explanatory value of material determinism as the prime mover (underlying structural principle) of social behaviour. Second, he invests the cultural realm with a logic all its own and sets the stage for a reexamination and reinterpretation of the social arrangements of persons in time and space. And while he claims that *Culture and Practical Reason* was written for the analysis of the cultural dimensions of primitive society, his views on the cultural properties of social action have influenced the formulation of much of what is to follow below[3]. To some extent these views are echoed (pre-empted?) by Clifford Geertz, when he writes: "...culture is not a power, something to which social events, behaviors, institutions, or processes can be causally attributed; it is a context, something within which it can be intelligently – that is, thickly – described" (Geertz 1973: 14).

THE SETTING

Jamaica is an ex-British West Indian colony that achieved political independence from Great Britain in 1962. I have been working on the relationship between big business elites and political economy in Jamaica since 1973. My research has focused on the mechanisms and strategies by which the Jamaican national entrepreneurial elites secure access to and control over the pivotal positions of local economic power. It has highlighted the nature of their economic resource base, and has shown how the political administrators not only reinforce but also institutionalize and reproduce the privileged positions of those persons in charge of organizing, directing, and financing the largest publicly subscribed corporations on the island, i.e. the companies quoted on the Jamaica Stock Exchange. Government grants big business tax remissions,

[3] I wish to thank my colleagues and the graduate students who participated in the seminar called Kinship and Social Organization (taught at the University of Toronto 1977-78) for heightening my awareness and crystallizing my interest in the cultural meaning of social organization.

protected markets, depreciation allowances, low rents, financial incentives, and subsidies to expand its plants and modernize its machinery. Sometimes the government invests directly as a joint partner with the companies of the private sector; on other occasions government lends support indirectly by improving island infrastructure (roads, water, machinery). To some extent, the infrastructural improvements facilitate the production and distribution of local manufactures (Holzberg 1977c).

In addition to examining and documenting the social organization, composition, and characteristics of the national entrepreneurial elite (Holzberg 1977b), my research has also elaborated a general ethnography of the Jamaican Jewish community[4]. This was done in an effort to make more intelligible why the Jews constituted 23% of the national entrepreneurial elite (9 out of 38) while at the same time making up less than .025 per cent of the total island population (about 450 persons in 2 million). This part of the research addressed the relationship between ethnicity and social stratification in order to puzzle out the social and cultural dimensions of Jamaican Jewish ethnicity that predisposed these Jews to disproportionate membership in the class fraction identified as the national entrepreneurial elite. To some extent, I concluded that externally imposed pressures of social discrimination (until 1831) crystallised a segmental cultural response (Jewish) in the form of the establishment of a voluntary association matrix. The networks of overlapping ties that resulted consolidated Jewish mutual self-help and facilitated the collective upward social mobility of the segment. It wasn't the ethnic symbols or the ethnic content of the Jewishness per se (something generically Jewish) that was crucial to this process of upward social mobility. Rather, "Jewishness" served as the medium that articulated the social organization of the group into a cohesive community of criss-crossing ties and mutually-reinforcing social networks. This made Jewish identity economically expedient as well[5]. The fact that many of

[4] My fieldwork in the summer of 1973 and from January 1974 to February 1975 was funded by a Canada Council Doctoral Fellowship, a Québec Ministry of Education graduate scholarship, and grants from the Memorial and Canadian Foundations for Jewish Culture. In the summer of 1978 I returned to Jamaica for 13 weeks funded by the Wenner Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research and the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council (Canada Council).

[5] This view is consistent with Patterson (1975) who writes about the Chinese in Jamaica. He claims that the Chinese crystallized into an ethnic group as they became conscious of the fact that shared ethnicity would facilitate individual economic

the Jews in Jamaica are not Jews by birth but by marriage emphasizes this point[6]. Those who "marry in" to the community do not necessarily convert to Judaism, yet marrying in gives them access to membership in a number of voluntary associations and instrumental networks and enables them to achieve upward social mobility by obtaining employment, education, and finance from Jewish Jamaicans or the business associates of Jewish Jamaicans.

THE PROBLEM

By pointing out the critical dimensions of Jamaican political economy, focusing on the hierarchies of economic and political power, and reflecting upon the Jewish experience as overlapping social networks and institutional affiliations, one might surmise that my theoretical affinities are materialist rather than mentalist. And yet, at the start I suggested that I would be looking at "cultural reason" as the meaningful context that one needs to examine in order to understand some ambiguous Jamaican social phenomena. The purpose of this paper is not to dismiss or refute the causal connections between the material condition of Jewish cultural response. In other words, no attempt is made to reverse the direction of the linkage between economic forces and the meaningful aspects of Jamaican Jewish culture, positing Sahlins' cultural reason as the *underlying* or *causal* structural principle of Jamaican Jewish ethnicity. However, the paper does attempt to come to grips with another order of phenomena, that is, the reciprocal relation between praxis and Jamaican *national* system in an effort to show that the current drop in numbers of the Jamaican Jewish community is not explainable in terms of a single factor such as internal group dynamics (ethnicity), or socio-economic imperatives, or racial conflicts. Thus, the paper represents some tentative suggestions on how to explain why the Jewish community has dwindled by almost 25 per cent from 1974-75 to 1978 (350 from 450). By addressing the question of the disappearance of the Jewish community, the paper hopes to shed light on

success through the establishment of ethnic-based commercial networks. Thus ethnicity derives from a motivation to accommodate to and be successful in an economic environment. This is similar to the approach taken by Aronson (ms) and Cohen (1974) who treat ethnicity as a political rather than an economic mode of adaptation.

[6] At a B'nai B'rith meeting in 1975, 18 of the 25 couples present were intermarriages. Of these 18, at least 2 couples were composed of females who did not convert to Judaism upon marriage.

two more general processes: 1) the relation between ethnicity and social stratification and 2) the relation between elites and national political economy.

PLURALISM AND SOCIAL STRATIFICATION RECONSIDERED

The problematic debate between the materialists and the mentalists seemingly extends into the writings on the Caribbean through the work of the "stratificationists" and the "pluralists". But for someone working in Jamaica on the social organization and characteristics of the national entrepreneurial elites and the Jewish community it becomes difficult to classify the Jamaican social structure as an either/or proposition. Kuper and Smith refer to plural societies as "societies possessed of a minimum of common values. They appear to be maintained more by coercion than by consent. They are divided by sharp and persistent cleavages which threaten their dissolution" (1971: 3). Some amplification on the points raised by the pluralists and the stratificationists are necessary in order to highlight the nature of the problem. As will become evident later on in this section, the solution does not lie in choosing sides – of determining which structural representation is of greater analytic value. Rather, it is more appropriate to designate an "encompassing" (Dumont 1972) conceptual scheme, one that frames ethnicity, race, and social class into a meaningful systematic whole. This should not be at the local level of confrontation that is, between ethnic, racial and class groups in the society, but rather at the national level of the cultural integration.

Jamaica has frequently been described as a plural society with a multiplicity of cultural segments that participate in socially differentiated institutions (Smith 1957, 1960, 1961, 1974). These segments have been characterized by M. G. Smith (1960: 81) and Leo Despres (1967, 1968) as "cultural sections" or as "ethnic groups" by Patterson (1975)[7]. To some extent, culture/ethnicity in the Carib-

[7] Patterson (1975: 309-310) differentiates an ethnic group from a cultural group primarily on the basis of shared consciousness. Though both ethnic and cultural groups are marked by distinctive symbolic content, members of an ethnic group are consciously aware of belonging to a distinct group, while members of a cultural group do not have a sense of shared identity.

bean also reflects phenotypic variations, though like in Latin American societies there is a tendency for money to whiten and for rich "non-whites" to be socially accepted in elite social circles.

The first person to coin the term "plural society" was Furnivall, the Dutch economist and colonial administrator, who used it to account for the problems of unity and disruption in the colonial society of the Dutch East Indies (1939). Furnivall argued that the plural society in Indonesia was characterized as a "medley of peoples" united only through the political force exerted by the dominant segment rather than by a common system of shared values, beliefs, and cultural symbols which were in fact non-existent. According to Furnivall, people mixed in the market place, but they did not combine. Each group operated in terms of its own culturally specific – way of life – region, dress, language, ideas, and values (Furnivall 1939). Although the groups seemed to coexist side by side, they really lived "separately within the same political unit" (1948, in Morris 1967: 170). Thus, as regarding the nature of social action, the pluralist position suggests that ethnicity sets cultural parameters and organizational guidelines around behavioural and ideational repertoires and can help to *explain* institutional discontinuities and disharmonious (conflict) relations. Society is not a unitary phenomenon; it is characterized by a plurality of differentiated societal segments. This is not a tautological argument, i.e. that culture determines cultural response. Rather, it suggests that culture is a system all its own and can govern the nature of social expression.

Those who have taken issue with the plural model as an analytical device have argued that society is a unified entity, not a plural structure. A "culturally divided society" (Smith 1960: 81) would therefore be a contradiction in terms, since the unitary theorists see society as integrated by a system of *social stratification* based on class membership or participation in a common "economic structure" (Benedict 1970: 32). Thus, the structural principle that organizes thought and action for the "unitary" theorists is not cultural logic, but rather the nature of access to society's critical resources (Benedict 1962, 1970; Skinner 1955, 1960). Social conflict results from opposing class interests, that is, from the social perception of inequality of access. Classes may be polarized one against the other, but they are still integrated into a single institutional framework such that there is a general consensus over

occupational, income, and status rankings. Benedict, for example, suggests that the underlying difficulty with pluralism as a model is that it is basically descriptive and classificatory rather than analytical. He notes that plural phenomena diminish in importance as "the society [begins] to change from one which is ethnically stratified, with each ethnic section confined to a single set of occupations to a society which is economically stratified with each section pursuing a whole range of occupations" (1962: 1244). Hence the sections should be defined "structurally, and not by cultural criteria" (Benedict 1970: 32). People from different socio-economic strata are likely to hold somewhat different views (Mau 1968: 48) but these views are based upon conditions of unequal resource control rather than ethnic specific and mutually exclusive cultural affiliations.

By way of an illustration for the Jamaican situation, the pluralist would argue that membership in the Jamaican Jewish community predisposes the individual to act in ways that are institutionally incompatible with other cultural affiliations. Thus Jews have their own unique bundles of symbolic forms that encompass behavioural strategies for specific situations, and these symbolic forms separate them from other groups in the society. The stratificationist would counter the argument by demonstrating how Jews share much in common with other cultural/ethnic segments by virtue of their membership in the middle and upper classes. Class affiliations are assumed to override cultural/ethnic allegiance.

To the pluralists, the fact that the Jewish community has dwindled by almost 25 per cent since 1973 (50 per cent since 1960) might suggest that Jews are responding as Jews to intra-segmental problems or rivalries, or to external situational pressures and contradictions that they cannot deal with as Jews. Jewish response therefore takes the form of emigration. They seek out places where they can be free to practice their ethnicity. The stratificationists however, see socio-economically derived assimilation rather than emigration as the critical process whereby Jews are "disappearing" from the Jamaican scene. Actual emigration doesn't even seem to be considered. Hence Patterson (a stratificationist) notes,

> Unlike their counterparts in Curaçao, Jamaican Jews have already slowly given up their ethnic identification in favor of middle and upper class allegiance and a growing identification with the white and light-skinned community at large. Today they are found in all aspects of the country's life, including its economy, its political system (the recently elected Minister of National Security

and Justice comes from a prominent Jewish family), in the professions, and in the arts and recreational institutions. It is only a matter of time before the group becomes completely absorbed in the creole elite" (1975: 320).

The common failing of both the pluralist and the stratificationist arguments, is that members of a society can hold serial but not simultaneous allegiances. It is impossible to be both Jewish and a member of the creole elite. This assumption creates a double analytical dilemma. First, it denies the role of culture within a given situational context. Second, it creates an artificial separation between ethnicity and class, reducing ethnicity to purely voluntaristic identity (conscious affiliation) and explaining behaviour in terms of a response to pragmatics, whether these be ethnic strategies or socio-economic pressures.

In order to explain why the Jews are leaving the island, it is important to note that it is not only members of the Jewish community who are in fact emigrating. Newspapers report the heterogeneous composition of the emigrés. Bumper stickers read: "Will the last person to leave the island, please turn off the lights." Whites, Blacks, Chinese, middle class, upper class, Jews, Christians, the unemployed in search of jobs, etc. are all flocking from Jamaica. Hence emigration cannot be reduced to a distinctly ethnic and/or racial phenomenon. An explanation of the exodus should not lie in focusing upon ethnicity as a segmentally distinct cultural system that has failed to cope with or adapt to the Jamaican environment. On the other hand, the movement cannot be explained as a distinctly class phenomenon, because the Jews who have left do not belong to the same socio-economic class. Moreover, some Jews who remain in Jamaica are doing extremely well under Democratic Socialism. Their economic positions are bolstered by the expansion and diversification of their corporate holdings and by their appointments to para-political positions in the Government[8].

To some extent it is possible to reconcile the artificial dualism of ethnicity (pluralism) and class (stratification) by showing how each is a "reciprocal" of the other rather than its antithesis. As Sahlins points out: "In most general terms the reciprocal logic is that each

[8] Those who move from Jamaica after retirement must sometimes make do with a lower standard of living than they were accustomed to on the island. They move to smaller homes, and have less domestic help.

'kind' mediates the nature of the other" (1976: 25). By examining the historical development of Jamaican society, it is possible to show how the Jamaican national context favoured both, 1) the social isolation and cultural perpetuation of a qualitatively distinct Jewish ethnicity by predisposing individual Jews to group together and establish ethnic-specific (exclusive) voluntary associations. This was the result of civil disabilities and legislative discrimination imposed upon a "community" of Jews until 1831 (Holzberg 1976), and 2) the integration of Jews in the social circles of the white elite which favoured Jewish interaction with non-Jewish whites. Though Jews were identified as ethnically distinct and differentiated from the whites of European descent in the censuses, the plantocrats and the colonial administrators perceived them as allies against the blacks and created a social and cultural environment that predisposed the Jews to adopt European lifestyles in order to be accepted by the colonial bureaucracy and plantocracy. This in turn fostered the collective upward social mobility of the Jamaican Jewish community.

A more appropriate framework that encapsulates the variables of ethnicity and class and highlights their mutual interdependence focuses on the national cultural context in which the Jamaican emigration takes place. This revolves around the analytic conceptualization of Jamaica as a national level cultural system whose historical trajectory has laid the foundation for a social arena of multiple and simultaneous intranational allegiances and conflicts. This multiplicity of "reciprocals" alludes to the socio-cultural complexity of Jamaican social structure. The contradictions and conflicts that result are the logical consequences of historical and contemporary confrontations among groups of people organized in terms of ethnicity, race, political parties, business interests, and social class membership and the like. The confrontations cannot be reduced to simple expressions of either ethnic hostilities, racial antagonisms or class conflicts. As Dumont suggests, "...the whole should not be seen by starting from the notion of the 'element', in terms of which it would be known through the number and nature of the constituent 'elements', but by starting from the notion of the 'system' in terms of which certain fixed principles govern the arrangement of fluid and fluctuating 'elements'" (Dumont 1972: 71). This is not an argument in favour of integrating pluralistic cultural segments within a unitary encompassing structure of social stratification based on competing class interests. Rather, it is a plea for examining those dimensions of

the national cultural context that frame and integrate both the ethnic-specific cultural forms with the social class strata.

In arguing for the theoretical utility of the "plural model", Despres suggests that the stratificationists have erred because "the structure of society cannot be systematically delineated as a unitary entity either in terms of logic or empirical evidence. To state the matter differently, society is composed of numerous structures, and not all of them reticulate in terms of the criteria of differential command over the actions of others and differential command over resources and benefits" (1968: 12). Whereas I would agree with the second part of the statement, that the meaning of action cannot be reduced purely to power relations, the remainder of this paper will be a critique of his first statement by showing the logical and empirical factors that unify Jamaican experience. The diacritica of societal unity lie in the cultural integration of ethnicity and social class within a national socio-cultural system. In other words, it is not a contradiction in terms to conceptualize the structure of a plural society as unitary. But the integrating principles are more than simply either the features of social class or the regulatory force of the political administrative bureaucracy.

THE JAMAICAN CULTURAL CONTEXT: POLITICAL ECONOMY AND CULTURAL NATIONALISM

The Jamaican national system constitutes a cultural context which makes sense of the social action of individuals, ethnic groups and social classes. The national cultural context constitutes an encompassing framework to the extent that it is a system of interrelated parts wherein the definition of the parts is governed by the relation of the parts to the whole. As Geertz points out: "Hopping back and forth between the whole conceived through the parts that actualize it and the parts conceived through the whole that motivates them, we seek to turn them by a sort of intellectual motion into explanations of one another" (1974: 235). So far, the paper has examined the inter-meshing of ethnicity and social stratification with respect to the Jamaican Jewish community in an effort to demonstrate how neither of these elements are sufficient in and of themselves to account for Jewish emigration from the Island. This is true even when set against the back-drop of the historical development of the society.

The features of national cultural context that are relevant to an explanation of Jewish emigration are 1) political economy and 2) cultural nationalism. Political economy articulates a context that is not simply reducible to ethnic and social class oppositions; cultural nationalism suggests that the Jews as members of a differentiated ethnic minority or as symbols of a déclassé "white" social elite, may have become irrelevant in an environment that stresses Afro-West Indian national identity.

I have chosen to deal with political economy and cultural nationalism at greater length rather than the more traditional institutional domains such as religion, education, family and kinship because in Jamaica the different cultural sections, ethnic groups, racial enclaves, and social strata participate in differentiated forms of these respective institutions. Thus for example, lower class blacks are often members of the fundamentalist or pentacostal sects rather than the official state religion (Anglican); Chinese tend to be predominantly Anglican; Syrians are divided between Anglicans and Catholics; Jews worship at the *Shaare Shalom* ("Gates of Peace") as members of the United Congregation of Israelites. Thus religious affiliation does not unify the Jamaican population under a single encompassing framework. Similarly, some of the ethnic groups and social classes have their own private and parallel educational facilities – Jews have Hillel Academy[9] and the Sabbath Religious School at the synagogue, Chinese have their own parochial schools, and upper class individuals in general send their children to private rather than public secondary schools. With respect to family and kinship relations – lower class blacks are characterised by consensual unions, female headed households, and absence of the rule of legitimacy[10], whereas the middle and upper classes place more of an emphasis on marriage, monogamy, and nuclear families.

On the other hand, Jamaican national political economy and cultural nationalism are the dynamic encompassing structures which

[9] Hillel Academy has many non-Jewish children in attendance than Jewish children (250: 30 in 1974/74, 280: 15 in 1978. But the school was built and architecturally designed by members of the Jewish community, its trustees sit on the board of the United Congregation of Israelites, it closes on Jewish holidays, and the Jewish children must attend the Hebrew classes.

[10] González (1969) pinpoints the structural features of lower class household structure in the Caribbean. See also Slater (1977) for more information on matrifocality, mating, family and household patterns among the lower classes in Martinique.

serve to integrate a bounded national entity and differentiate the Jamaican national cultural system from others in the Caribbean, Third World, or the international market economy. And, when ethnic groups and / or social classes are seen as elements governed by the interplay of political economy and cultural nationalism it becomes possible to understand why either a pluralist or a stratificationist explanation of Jewish emigration would be inconsistent and ambiguous.

a) *Political Economy*

To some extent it is impossible to ignore the fact that the rate of Jewish exodus has seemingly increased since the political proclamation of Democratic Socialism in 1974. In September of that year, the Prime Minister declared an end to "capitalism" and announced the government's intention to create a new economic order. The response of the national entrepreneurial elite to this new politico-economic platform was one of fear and ambivalence. In lieu of popular rapprochement with Cuba, China, and the U.S.S.R., big businessmen became apprehensive of a "communist" takeover, and the adverse economic effects that socialism and greater state intervention would have on foreign investment and the private sector's capacity to expand the scale and scope of their business interests. Their initial public statements in the media (T.V., radio, and newspapers) suggested that they would be responding with a "wait and see" approach to investment. They were afraid that government involvement in the economy might prove deleterious to economic stability.

Interesting enough, three years later this apprehensive response to government intervention has been expressed by others in the society. In a recent opinion poll carried out by Dr. Carl Stone of the Department of Government at the University of the West Indies in Mona, the findings suggest that the Kingston and St. Andrew Corporate Area middle class and working class as well as the rural small farmers each ranked government mismanagement above radical talk, import prices and the private sector as factors contributing to the current economic difficulties on the Island. "In all three classes, however, the directing of blame towards the private sector as a whole falls lower in order of rank than either of the other three causes..." (*Jamaica Weekly Gleaner*, January 16, 1978: 1). (See Table 1).

TABLE 1

Factors Contributing to Current Economic Difficulties

Factors	Middle Class	Working Class	Rural Small Farmers
1. Government Mismanagement	82%	55%	87%
2. Radical Talk	70%	44%	54%
3. Import Prices	58%	45%	80%
4. Private Sector	21%	38%	37%

Source: Opinion Poll # 1, Dr. Carl Stone, *Jamaica Weekly Gleaner* Jan. 16, 1978, p. 1.

The similarity among the opinions of the national entrepreneurial elite, middle class, working class, and the rural small farmers in relation to government activity and Democratic Socialism suggests a unity of social perception and experience that transcends ethnic and class interests. To the extent that everybody in the country participates in, or is affected by, matters of national political economy, the constitutent segments and classes of Jamaican society are encompassed within a unitary interaction framework. Some elaboration of the features of Jamaican national political economy that articulate a collective (mutually supportive) response will serve as illustration. These features are abstracted from a description of the economic environment and the actions taken by the politico-administrative bureaucracy to cope with increasing economic difficulties.

Symptoms of the current economic crisis that is affecting the island are reflected in the statistics on balance of payments, annual rates of Gross Domestic growth, and Consumer Price Increases, compiled by the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank. These statistics point out Jamaica's weak economic situation. Jamaica's financial insolvency becomes even more critical in the light of comparisons with Trinidad, an oil rich nation. (See Tables 2 and 3).

In June of 1977, Finance and Planning Minister David Coore revealed that the total public (governmental) deficit at the end of December 1976 was more than J$1 billion, made up of J$653 million in internal debts and J$580 million in external debts (Caribbean Monthly Bulletin 1977b: 4). Add to this the fact that the Jamaican dollar has just undergone its third devaluation in the 1977-78 financial year and the seriousness of the "economic crisis" becomes all the more acute. In April 1977, the government adopted a

TABLE 2

Summary of Balance of Payments, 1974-76[a] (in millions of U.S. dollars)

	Current Account Balance			Capital Account Balance[b]			Surplus or Deficit[c]		
	1974	1975	1976	1974	1975	1976	1974	1975	1976
Jamaica	-151	-310	-316	201	231	36	50	-79	-280
Trinidad	304	197	253	-3	163	24	301	360	277

Source:

[a] *Finance and Development*, Volume 14 (2): 35, 1977. *Finance and Development* is a quarterly publication of the International Monetary Fund and World Bank.

[b] includes changes in commercial banks' foreign assets and liabilities and error and omissions.

[c] as measured by changes in the monetary authorities net foreign reserve holdings.

TABLE 3

Annual Rates of Real GDP Growth and Price Increase, 1974-76[d] (in per cent)

	Annual Rate of Real GDP Growth			Consumer Price Index		
	1974	1975	1976	1974	1975	1976
Jamaica	4.3	-2.3	-4.3	27	17	11
Trinidad	0.3	6.8	9.6	22	17	11

Source:

[d] *Finance and Development*, 1977, Vol. 14 (2): 33.

two-level exchange rate, a *basic* rate for import transactions involving "goods which are consumed by the masses, government transactions and the transactions of the bauxite alumina section" and a *special* rate for "other exchange transactions" (Caribbean Monthly Bulletin 1977a: 4)[11]. Not only does the devaluation create an ambigous investment climate for the private sector, but it also creates severe economic strains for members of the working and non-working lower classes whose minimum wage of J$24.00 a week or J60¢ an hour is insufficient to cope with spiralling consumer prices. In 1974-75, the

[11] The third devaluation which occurred in February 1978 represents a 15.5% devaluation of the Jamaican dollar against the American dollar on the basic rate, and a 45.5% devaluation on the special rate since the first devaluation in April 1977.

government had instituted a minimum wage of J$20.00 a week or or J50¢ an hour.

In response to pressures exerted by the international market economy, to spiralling prices brought about by the higher costs of petroleum products, and to local demands for more jobs and higher wages, the government deems it necessary to intervene in the operations of the Jamaican economy, to stimulate production and to push for import substitution. To this end, government has taken over ownership and operation of many companies (sugar, flour mills, bus company, the radio station, etc.), has invested heavily in the private sector (bauxite and banking), has legislated import quotas and has limited the amount of foreign currency that can leave the country. The executive director of the Private Sector Organization of Jamaica (PSOJ) has noted that while government was not the prime mover in the Jamaican economy

> it was the dominant force in the housing sector having set a target of 13,500 new units with itself being responsible for 10,000 and the private sector 3,500. In the banking sector, as soon as negotiations are completed it would hold more than 50%... in the tourist industry Government now owns 51% of the hotel rooms... in the export of bananas and sugar, Government would be the biggest planter and would also be controlling the bulk of sugar processing facilities (*Caribbean Monthly Bulletin* 1977b: 7).

Some companies have gone into voluntary liquidation since 1974 and while there is no specific evidence that Democratic Socialism has been the direct cause of these bankruptcies, there is the suggestion that matters of national political economy may be the instrumental catalyst of the recent wave of Jamaican emigration. The situation, however, is quite complex and it is beyond the scope of this paper to detail which businesses have gone bankrupt, which businesses have experienced heavy government investment, and which businesses are managing to sustain and even increase the scale and scope of their interests[12].

While the role of the politico-administrative bureaucracy must be taken into account in a description of the Jamaican economy, it is not sufficient unto itself to explain the emigration of Jews from the Island. For example, data support the curious conclusion that despite

[12] Such a paper is in preparation.

the popular consensus regarding government mismanagement, Democratic Socialism is not actually antithetical to the private sector. To be more specific, 1) In May of 1977, the Jamaican Development Bank (the central bank) secured a loan of J$2.5 million from the Reconstruction Loan Corporation of the Federal Republic of Germany. The loan was to be "used for the financing of credits to cover import costs of capital goods for small and medium sized private enterprises engaged in manufacturing and processing" (*Caribbean Monthly Bulletin* 1977a: 11). 2) The executive secretary of the Private Sector Organization of Jamaica went on record at the monthly luncheon of the Life Underwriter's Association of Jamaica, as saying "that a strong shift away from a private sector economy to a mixed economy [government participation] has been made without much dislocation but with much misapprehension" (*Caribbean Monthly Bulletin* 1977b: 11). 3) The majority of corporations which continue to be listed on the Jamaica Stock Exchange are still expanding and diversifying (Holzberg 1977b). 4) Members of the national entrepreneurial elite are still being called upon to serve the politico-administrative bureaucracy as advisers, consultants, diplomats, chairmen of statutory (government) boards, and commissions of inquiry.

In addition, there is evidence which suggests that corporate executives who emigrate are in fact really "absentee proprietors" in relation to their Jamaican investments, given the governmental restrictions on taking money out of the country. In other words, the Jamaican businessman becomes an absentee proprietor as he moves his residence but not his assets from the country. Retaining control of his corporate holdings, a member of the national entrepreneurial elite returns to visit Jamaica for holidays, board meetings, and business conventions. This tendency to maintain social and economic linkages with the country has been reflected in the recent decision of the executives and trustees of the United Congregation of Israelites to introduce in 1977/78 a "by-law allowing for life membership for those residing overseas and who wish to continue their membership" (United Congregation of Israelites 1977: 7). As many of the Jewish émigrés return to visit sometimes as many as six times a year, they are still regarded as "members" of the community.

The preceding analytical focus on Jamaican national political economy brief though it may have been, highlighted features which constitute the integrative material conditions of Jamaican society.

Ethnic groups and social classes are encompassed withing a single political-economic framework as Jamaicans. They must come to grips with the limited resources of the Jamaican national domain. The fact that individuals, ethnic groups, social classes and racial groups are differentially positioned with respect to access to and control over limited resources (social class) does not negate the integrative nature of national political economy. Rather, it sets the stage for a unique collective response in the form of Jamaican cultural nationalism.

While unification of the Jamaican national system seems an impossibility in a politico-economic environment of duplicatory and parallel ethnic segments and social classes, cultural consensus stemming from participation in a common political economy still exists. I have already discussed the similarity of opinions concerning government intervention in the Jamaican economy. This consensus is not indicative of a total and absolute homogeneity of values, attitudes, beliefs, styles of life, etc., but rather sensitizes us to the extant relative cultural agreement over what may be the most important factors sustaining the island's current economic problems.

b) *Cultural nationalism*

The material conditions of Jamaican society however, are not the only factors which give rise to a mutually supportive collective response. There is also the symbolic content of cultural nationalism which in and of itself articulates a unified Jamaican national context. In other words, what distinguishes a Jamaican from a non-Jamaican besides matters of national political economy revolves around the symbols of a qualitatively unique cultural nationalism. These cultural symbols are institutionalized and they interact with and mediate the domain of political economy. To some extent they even constitute the social logic of praxis.

National integration is accomplished through the popularization of such symbolic idioms as: language, reggae, rastafarianism, the national flag, the national Heroes, John Canoe, "Miss Lou", the Pantomime, the national Dance Theatre School, the coat of arms, the national bird, the national flower, saltfish and ackee, the "pattie", Air Jamaica, "Joshua", the "capitalists", the "sufferers", "white man", and more. The meaning of these symbols may be differentially perceived by those in different situational contexts. There may even

be disagreement over which symbols constitute the most important ones for national unity. For example, the Jamaican private sector is often referred to as being made up of "capitalists" or "oppressors", while the workers or unemployed are known as "sufferers". However, members of national entrepreneurial elite are not particularly pleased with their characterization as "capitalists" because it suggests that their business activities are the cause of the oppression and suffering. Thus, while in the long run these symbols may be inherently divisive, they nonetheless frame a common social arena of interaction. To say that these symbols are differentially perceived does not negate the fact that they are perceived nonetheless. Jamaicans agree over what to disagree and it is because of this differential agreement (perception) that it becomes possible to suggest that the Jews are emigrating not only as Jews interested in raising their children in a more "Jewish" environment; not only as national entrepreneurial elite apprehensive about their investment and property holdings and/or the general state of the economy; but also, as "whites" in an environment where "whiteness" makes them extremely visible and even places them at a cultural disadvantage.

The new Jamaican cultural nationalism stresses Afro-West Indian cultural traditions, a commitment to the "new economic order"; and a history of colonial exploitation by whites of European descent[13]. Thus, at this moment, the Jews also constitute a segmental component of a social stratum of the Jamaican population – white elites – whose phenotype, social privilege, and economic resource base have been called into question since the promulgation of Democratic Socialism in 1974. The "cultural" irrelevance of the white minorities appears to have increased since the advent of Democratic Socialism but perhaps this is more of an illusion than a cultural reality as some analysts would trace the demise of "whiteness" to political independence from Great Britain in 1962 or even universal adult suffrage as far back as 1944.

CONCLUSION

Societies that are characterized by certain conditions of cultural diversity (ethnic segments) and social conflict (class antagonism) may

[13] See Holzberg (1977b) for a more detailed elaboration on the role of the White minorities in the formation of Jamaican national symbols.

still be a unitary system of shared experience. The paper has concentrated on the social arrangements that obtain when ethnicity and social stratification are considered against the backdrop of the Jamaican national cultural context. Ethnicity and social stratification are reciprocal phenomena not antitheses. They are mediated in a national cultural environment that is framed by the integrative structures of political economy and cultural nationalism. It is just as much of an oversimplification to treat ethnicity and social class as independent variables as it is an oversimplification to treat the island's materialist conditions as the prime mover of collective action. To the extent that Benedict (1962, 1970), Patterson (1975), and others dismiss the role of cultural factors in the organization of social structure – their analyses are oversimplified descriptions of national political economy.

The fact that members of the national entrepreneurial elite do not come from the same ethnic group, religious background, or racial groupings, suggests a "cultural" heterogeneity that upon first glance predisposes the analyst to dismiss "national culture" as a significant organizational context. And yet, there is an underlying cultural logic that informs social behaviour and serves as context wherein matters of political economy are played out. Jamaica is an ex-British colony, a tropical island in the Caribbean, a Third World developing nation in a state of dependent underdevelopment, a producer of primary resources (sugar, bananas, and bauxite) for export, an historically defined socio-cultural entity with tendencies to cleavage along racial, ethnic and class lines. All these factors combined suggest that there exists a qualitatively distinct Jamaican national sentiment that is engendered by the aggregation of reciprocal elements culturally integrated into a social totality. This is the meaningful context that frames social action and transcends ethnic and class divisions. Without understanding the nature of the Jamaican national culture it would be impossible to understand why the Jews (whites? national entrepreneurial elites?) are leaving the island.

REFERENCES

ARONSON, Dan R.
Ms "Ethnicity as a Cultural System." Anthropology Dept., McGill University.

BENEDICT, Burton
1962 "Stratification in Plural Societies." *American Anthropologist* 64: 1235-1246.

1970 "Pluralism and Stratification." In *Essays in Comparative Social Stratification*, L. Plotnicov, and A. Tuden (eds.). Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, pp. 29-41.

Caribbean Monthly Bulletin
1977a "Jamaica". University of Puerto Rico: Inst. of Caribbean Studies Volume 11 (4-5), April-May, pp. 4-11.

1977b "Jamaica". University of Puerto Rico: Inst. of Caribbean Studies Volume 11 (6): 1-10.

COHEN, Abner
1974 *Two Dimensional Man: An Essay on the Anthropology of Power and Symbolism in Complex Society.* Berkeley: University of California Press.

DESPRES, Leo A.,
1967 *Cultural Pluralism and Nationalist Politics in British Guiana.* Chicago: Rand McNally Co.

1968 "Anthropological Theory, Cultural Pluralism, and a Study of Complex Societies," *Current Anthropology* 9 (1): 3-26.

DOUGLAS, Mary
1970 "Introduction". In *Homo Hierarchicus*, Louis Dumont. London: Paladin, pp. 11-26.

DUMONT, Louis
1972 *Homo Hierarchicus.* London: Paladin.

FURNIVALL, J. S.
1939 "Plural Economy". In *Netherlands India, A Study of a Plural Economy.* London: Cambridge University Press, pp. 446-469.

GEERTZ, Cliford
1973 "Thick Description: Toward an Interpretative Theory of Culture". In *The Interpretation of Cultures.* N.Y.: Basic Books, pp. 3-30.

1974 "'From the Native's Point of View': On the Nature of Anthropological Understanding". In *Meaning in Anthropology*, Keith M. Basso and Henry A. Selby (eds.). Alburquerque: University of New Mexico Press (1976), pp. 221-237.

GONZÁLEZ, Nancie L.
1969 *Black Carib Household Structure: A Study of Migration and Modernization.* Seattle: University of Washington Press.

HOLZBERG, Carol S.
1976 "Societal Segmentation and Jewish Ethnicity: An Historical Account". In *Ethnicity in the Americas*, Frances Henry (ed.) The Hague: Mouton Publishers, pp. 139-157.

1977a "The Social Organization of Jamaican Political Economy: Ethnicity and the Jewish Segment". *Ethnic Groups* 1 (4): 319-336.

1977b Social Stratification, Cultural Nationalism, and Political Economy in Jamaica: The Myths of Development and the Anti-White Bias". *Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology* 14 (4): 368-380.

1977c *Race, Ethnicity, and the Political Economy of National Entrepreneurial Elites in Jamaica.* Boston University: Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation.

KELEMAN, Paul
1976 "Towards a Marxist Critique of Structuralist Anthropology". *Sociological Review* 24 (4): 859-875.

KUPER, Leo and M. G. SMITH (eds.)
1971 *Pluralism in Africa.* Berkeley: University of California Press.

MAU, James
1968 *Social Change and Images of the Future.* Cambridge: Schenkman.

MORRIS, H. S.
1967 "Some Aspects of the Concept Plural Society". *Man* (N.S.) 2(2): 169-184.

PARSONS, T., E. SHILS, et al.
1951 "Some Fundamental Categories of the Theory of Action: A General Statement". In *Toward a General Theory of Action*, T. Parsons and E. Shils (eds.). N.Y.: Harper and Row, pp. 3-29.

PATTERSON, Orlando
1975 "Context and Choice in Ethnic Allegiance: A Theoretical Framework and Caribbean Case Study". In *Ethnicity: Theory and Experience*, N. Glazer and D. Moynihan (eds.). Cambridge: Harvard University Press, pp. 305-49.

SAHLINS, Marshall
1976 *Culture and Practical Reason.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

SKINNER, Elliott P.
1955 Social Stratification and Ethnic Identification. In *Peoples and Cultures of the Caribbean*, M. M. Horowitz (ed.). N.Y.: Natural History Press (1970), pp. 117-132.

1960 "Group Dynamics and Social Stratification in British Guiana," In *Social and Cultural Pluralism in the Caribbean*, Vera Rubin, (ed.). Annals of the N.Y. Academy of Sciences 83 (5): 904-912.

SLATER, Mariam K.
1977 *The Caribbean Family: Legitimacy in Martinique.* N.Y.: St. Martin's Press.

SMITH M. G.

1957 "Ethnic and Cultural Pluralism in the British Caribbean". In *The Plural Society in the British West Indies.* Berkeley: University of California Press (1965), pp. 10-17.

1960 "Social and Cultural Pluralism". In *The Plural Society in the British West Indies.* Berkeley: University of California Press, (1965), pp. 75-91.

1961 "The Plural Framework of Jamaican Society". In *Slaves, Freemen, Citizens: West Indian Perspectives*, L. Comitas and D. Lowenthal (eds.). N.Y.: Doubleday (1975), pp. 174-193.

1974 "Race and Stratification in the Caribbean". In *Corporations and Society: The Social Anthropology of Collective Action.* Chicago: Aldine, pp. 270-346.

UNITED CONGREGATION OF ISRAELITES

1977 *Annual Report 1976-77.* Kingston: United Congregation of Israelites.

Understanding and Interpretation in Historical Ethnology

RENÉ R. GADACZ
University of Alberta

RÉSUMÉ

Les écrits ethnohistoriques ont souvent adopté une position neutre entre l'histoire elle-même et l'ethnologie historique en n'utilisant pas la théorie ethnographique pour la reconstruction ethnographique. Ceci s'explique par le fait que les écrits suivent ce que cet essai considère comme de fausses hypothèses, à savoir (a) que l'histoire ethnologique devrait s'intéresser à la dynamique des groupes, (b) que l'on doit considérer les motivations de ces groupes, (c) et que ces motivations peuvent être comprises objectivement. Ces hypothèses produisent des contradictions méthodologiques qui entravent le développement de l'ethnologie historique. Un argument est avancé pour que l'on abandonne l'objectivité ou au moins cette attitude neutre. Les préjugés et la subjectivité en recherche sont admis comme quelque chose d'inévitable et peuvent être appréhendés par une attitude auto-critique.

This paper concerns itself with a particular methodological approach to historical ethnology. Reference here is especially to notions of "understanding", "objectivity", and "motives" in historiography. These terms are closely related to discussions in philosophy and epistemology; the aim of this paper is to discover

---

Acknowledgements: A previous version of this paper was presented at the 8th Congress of the Canadian Ethnology Society, Ottawa 1981. I wish to express my gratitude to Dr. Charles Bishop (SUNY-Oswego) for commenting on this paper and for providing criticism and encouragement.

what bearing they may have upon ethnohistorical methodology. These concepts guided Trigger (1976) in the writing of over nine hundred pages of Huron specific history, and "objectivity" in particular was defended in a previous paper (Trigger 1975). In discussing these concepts (or precepts, to be more accurate) it is maintained that the following are false assumptions: (a) that to investigate the relations that exist between groups, we must consider motives, and (b) that motives can be understood objectively. Finally, in arguing against these assumptions, the position of ethnology in historical reconstruction is reaffirmed.

I

Presumably, all social scientists are concerned with observer bias and the effects such may have upon scientific conclusions. Ethnohistory in this regard is no exception. De Laguna (1960) as well as Washburn (1961) acknowledged explicitly that interpretation of history requires the preception and the reconciliation of biases and prejudices. The method and ideal of ethnohistory, according to Washburn (1961: 41), can be furthermore attained when the values and history of both groups, Native and white European, are fully understood, and, according to De Laguna (1960: 41), when the motives of human beings are also understood. Application of "the best theories" to an "understanding of motives" is thus considered the key to achieving desired objectivity.

It is not unlikely that these views have been shared by other practitioners of historical ethnology even earlier than 1960. More recently, Trigger declared at one point in his writing that the precise objectives of ethnohistory are still uncertain. So uncertain are they, I believe, that not all writers have been concerned with *how* they conduct their research or with what intellectual baggage they embark on the journey through the historical sources. Trigger, however, is explicit in his methodological orientation:

> ...it [is] especially important that current ethnohistorical writing should aim to make the behavior of Indian groups logical and understandable. Moreover, and this many anthropologists tend to forget, if we are to understand the total situation, we must attempt to achieve a similar dispassionate understanding of the motives of European groups... who interacted with the Indians (1975: 55).

Trigger is interested in achieving parity in his treatment of both groups. He is strictly concerned with the relationship between these

groups, and he emphasizes that he is not concerned with the inner dynamics of the groups themselves (Trigger 1975: 55). Trigger has reiterated essentially what Washburn stated in 1961, when he stated that "the desirability of focusing on this relationship rather than on the history or ethnology of the individual peoples would seem to have special relevance" (Washburn 1961: 42).

II

If there is a common thread to the statements quoted above (and there are many more) it is that all of these authors are keen to minimize bias in their ethnohistorical writing. Yet in doing so they sit on the fence between specific history and historical ethnology, that is, between culture history and ethnographic reconstruction. This apparently neutral posture has been held to the detriment of ethnographic and anthropological analysis and has led to serious contradictions between the goals of the methodology and the aims of ethnohistory. Even Trigger recognized that "only the anthropologist's understanding of Indian life can provide the background needed to assess and understand the behaviour of the Indians as it is recorded in historical records" (1976: 13). Is not the anthropologist's understanding of Indian life informed by his knowledge of the inner dynamics of Indian groups? And does this not in turn inform his understanding of their behavior? As Carmack (1972: 229) rightly pointed out, "by turning to the relationship between the dominant and subordinate cultures of colonial societies, both American and British anthropologists were forced to study cultural dynamics, 'the mechanisms that had brought about the observed results in the institutions and beliefs of peoples who had been in contact'".

To assess the results of change and to focus upon the relationship between groups surely presupposes ethnographic knowledge and requires a combined historical and functionalist approach (Gadacz 1979). Indeed, to make the behavior of Indian or white groups logical and understandable requires detailed and informed knowledge of "the standards governing life in the society in [which the groups we are considering] live" (Winch 1958: 83). To learn what are the accepted standards of reasonable behavior in a given society constitutes nothing less than ethnography and true to the phenomenological rule of thumb, it establishes the basis for an understanding before an explanation emerges. In other words,

explanation presupposes understanding. To fully achieve an "understanding of motives", then, causal explanations in the scientific sense are sought – relationships between conscious events and actions to which they give rise are thus said to constitute "motives" (Winch 1958: 78). Motive explanations, therefore, are causal explanations.

A serious difficulty which motive explanations is that "the motive ascribed to a sequence of behavior is simply a synonym for that behavior itself", in other words, this sort of explanation may render tautologies (Winch 1958: 76, 78). If this is true, learning what motives are does not lead to understanding at all. Indeed, motives cannot be said to suffice for a *logical* knowledge of the relationship between events and actions themselves *(ibid)*. For those who endorse the understanding of motives as part of the goals of ethnohistory, the implications are particularly critical. Consider the information base with which ethnohistorians must deal. The data are finite; events and actions are "fixed". We can neither change them nor their context. Clearly, we risk tautology when we attempt explanation. Our understanding of the relationship or connection between the events and actions is constrained and therefore depends to a significant degree upon the wisdom with which we interpret them. Our explanation of events and actions must, as stated before, be informed by our ethnographic knowledge.

III

Writers who espouse the idea that motives can be understood face two contradictions. One is that motives are synonymous with the actions they purport to describe – motives go no further than to reiterate what has already occured. Certainly, that is not what explanation means. The second contradiction that this methodological orientation faces is that (even if motive explanations *were* valid) the establishment of a causal explanation *cannot* be objective. One may attempt to formulate objective explanations, but one cannot formulate them objectively. The subtle difference here has important methodological implications. Explanations are always informed by interpretations, and interpretations are always subjective. How, then, can interpretations and explanations avoid ethnographic knowledge? To formulate a truly "objective" explanation much anthropological knowledge and background is

required, yet it is precisely this knowledge that is ignored when the relationship between groups is stressed, as opposed to the inner dynamics of these groups. Likewise, examining the relationship between Europeans and Indians does not constitute increased objectivity. We have merely expanded the circle to encompass still more events and actions, but we are no closer to either a better understanding or an explanation. It is suggested therefore that the inner dynamics of the groups themselves, and not merely the relationship between them, *contra* Trigger, are important to consider. In disagreement with Washburn, the history and ethnology of the individual peoples must receive primary attention, or else interactions, relationships, motives (if these are what one is after) and so on, are also meaningless. Interaction between groups and relationships ensuing from these interactions are *givens* – they are part of an immutable historical record and it is the goal of historical ethnology to interpret them. Thus, interactions and relationships must be approached subjectively, even ethnocentrically. Of course, both subjectivity and objectivity are dangerous precepts: subjectivity may tend towards blatant ethnocentrism, and objectivity can be reductionist and instrumental, even unintentionally.

Trigger employs Brecht's *Verfremdungseffekt* as part of his methodology. This "technique of the theatre" is said to create a distance between the observer and the observed and results in detached, objective observation (Trigger 1975). It is not an altogether satisfactory device: Peter Winch has remarked that "what is dangerous is that the user of devices such as these should come to think of *his* way of looking at things as somehow more real than the usual way" (Winch 1958: 118). Scholte (1978: 182) likewise declares, *contra* Trigger's appreciation of Brecht's device, that "the act of detached observation [or description]... effectively dehumaniz[es] the observed [and described] and reduces him to an inferior position". Winch (1958: 118), with specific reference to Brecht, calls his technique a "God-like attitude". From these criticisms it is clear that there is an important difference between an objective description or observation, and a description that is said to be done objectively.

IV

It is ironic that the search for value-freedom, neutrality, scientific objectivity, and even cultural relativism all turn out to be

nothing less than synonyms for a peculiar ethnocentric conception of rationality – *our* rationality. Habermas (*op. cited* in Scholte 1978: 183) suggested these terms are symptoms, not solutions, of what is wrong with our rationality. Diamond (*op. cited* in Scholte 1978: 188, n. 79) went even further and declared that "relativism is the bad faith of the conqueror, who has become secure enough to become a tourist". This is not the time to elaborate on criticisms of objectivity but it is noteworthy to mention that social theory – and this includes anthropology – is also guided by instrumental notions of reason and that cultural relativism is merely an aspect of this same instrumental rationality. This is because we have come to model social life after experimental physics (Scholte 1978: Radcliffe-Brown 1952). Yet we have also come to realize that to operate within such a *scientistic* context is an epistemological error (Giddens 1977: 138; Agar 1980: 255). Dilthey (Watson-Franke and Watson 1975: 248) reminded us that in the natural sciences and in the humanities, objectivity has different premises entirely. Consequently, the use of Brecht's *Verfremdungseffekt* is unwarranted because it is too closely allied with instrumentalism. Objectivity of this sort is unacceptable.

In pursuing explanations that are founded upon subjectivity the researcher must pay particular attention to "the risks of taking a partisan position and of the unintended consequences" (Scholte 1978: 185). Nevertheless, "these risks... are... preferable to the rigor mortus and 'hygienically perfected alienation' of scientism" *(ibid).* Agar expressed it very well:

> Rather than trying to eliminate 'observer effects', for example, one focuses on the interpreter as participant in a tradition which guides and is changed by the process of understanding another. Rather than striving for 'objective knowledge', one accepts the fact that knowledge is situated in an historical moment (Agar 1980: 255).

Indeed, "there must be a frank recognition that our primary means to understanding another culture is through the stock of categories, beliefs, and values we acquire as members of our own culture" (Hudson 1973: 135). This is not to suggest that this point of view is negative or that it posits a return to ethnocentrism in its denegrading form – far from it: "From the point of view of hermeneutics, it is the *bridge* between two cultures" (Watson-Franke and Watson 1975: 253). Lévi-Strauss also argued that "rather than forgetting his own specific form of life, the ethnographer (or the

historian for that matter) must believe that his own culture is an asset, rather than a liability" (Bauman 1978: 220); Lévi-Strauss tells us that our culture serves as a datum point, as a kind of yardstick against which we project and measure the facts and features which we have found in history or ethnography. One form of culture only makes sense when compared with others. Trigger is correct in asserting that it will require effort and self-discipline to understand the actions of European groups (Trigger 1975: 55), but this does not mean that ethnohistorians must embrace objectivity in order to accomplish this. Certainly, the kind of objectivity which Trigger and others wish to gain is much more difficult to deal with than merely to acknowledge and account for observer bias by way of *caveat*. Bias is probably preferable to dehumanization.

V

To achieve an even greater and deeper understanding beyond just realizing the value of our own positions in time and space, we need as well to be equally aware that self-reflection and "critical reason [also] embraces a theory's origin and 'the context in which knowledge is produced and used'" (Scholte 1978: 184). This is the *caveat* to which reference was made above. Sturtevant (1966: 18, 21) realized – as have many generations of historians before him – that "as ethnological theory developes, the reanalysis of earlier ethnographic sources will increase". If explanation presupposes understanding, then it is plain that our interpretations are informed by our theories. The soundness of our understanding and the quality of our explanations are thus closely tied to the development of theoretical thinking – in anthropology, ethnology, ethnography, as well as in history. Theory in historical ethnology is interdisciplinary; how can it be objective or be put to objective use?

In conclusion, neither "detached and critical commentary" nor a strict concern with relationships between groups as opposed to their inner dynamics, will contribute to a better understanding of "the total situation". On the contrary, such a perspective may do more harm than good. That some ethnohistorians have adopted such a perspective may be explained by the fact that "for all the sophisticated mechanical models that we have developed to describe, explain, and interpret 'culture', none prepares us to discover or

understand 'the meaning of a phenomenon in a foreign context against our own background'" (Watson-Franke and Watson 1975: 255, 257). In adopting such an "objective" orientation, it is as if it is our background we want to escape from. Such an orientation seems to leave little room for the critical application of anthropological theory and neither presupposes nor utilizes historical ethnography. Understanding motives involves ethnographic reconstruction first; only then are we prepared to go beyond, to "explain" group behavior or group inter- and intra-action. Historical ethnology is the testing-ground for anthropological theory, and an historical ethnography cannot be conducted any more objectively than when an ethnographer conducts his research as a participant-observer. Bias is intrinsic to both modes of research.

REFERENCES

AGAR, M.
1980 "Hermeneutics in Anthropology", *Ethos* 8(3): 253-272.

BAUMAN, Z.
1978 *Hermeneutics and Social Science.* Hutchinson: London.

CARMACK, R. M.
1972 "Ethnohistory: A Review of its Development, Definitions, Methods, and Aims", *Annual Review of Anthropology* (1972): 227-246.

DE LAGUNA, F.
1960 *The Story of a Tlingit Community.* Bureau of American Ethnology: Washington.

GADACZ, R. R.
1979 "Acculturation as Paradigm in Historical Ethnology: The Montagnais Example", *Ethnohistory* 26 (3): 265-275.

GIDDENS, A.
1977 *Studies in Social and Political Theory.* Basic Books: New York.

HUDSON, C.
1973 "The Historical Approach in Anthropology", in *Handbook of Social and Cultural Anthropology*, edited by J. J. Honigmann. Rand McNally: Chicago, pps. 111-141.

RADCLIFFE-BROWN, A. R.
1952 *Structure and Function in Primitive Society.* Free Press: New York.

STURTEVANT, W. C.
1966 "Anthropology, History, and Ethnohistory", *Ethnohistory* 13 (1): 1-51.

SCHOLTE, B.
1978 "On the Ethnocentricity of Scientistic Logic", *Dialectical Anthropology* 3: 177-189.

TRIGGER, B. G.
1975 "Brecht and Ethnohistory", *Ethnohistory* 22(1): 51-56.

1976 *The Children of Aataentsic.* Volumes I and II. McGill-Queen's Printer: Montreal.

WASHBURN, W.
1961 "Ethnohistory: History in the Round", *Ethnohistory* 8(1): 31-48.

WATSON-FRANKE, M. and L. WATSON
1975 "Understanding in Anthropology: A Philosophical Reminder", *Current Anthropology* 16(2): 247-262.

WINCH, P.
1958 *The Idea of a Social Science.* Routledge and Kegan Paul: London.

Recensions – Book Reviews

Homo Erectus: Papers in Honor of Davidson Black, edited by Becky A. SIGMON and Jerome S. CYBULSKI. University of Toronto Press, Toronto. 271 pages, map, bibliography, index.

This book is a belated *festschrift* to Davidson Black, the Canadian medical doctor who in 1927 identified and named *Sinanthropus pekinensis* on the basis of fossil remains found in China at the site of Chokoutien. This so-called "Peking Man" is now considered a form of *Homo erectus*, a grade or stage of human evolution intermediate between more ancient Australopithecines and more recent *Homo sapiens*. Remains of *Homo erectus* are found widely throughout the Old World and are generally believed to date between about 1.4 and 0.4 million years ago.

The remarkable story of the discovery of Peking Man is well known, although Black's role in it has not been so clearly acknowledged. This is in part because Black died in 1934 only a few years after the first discoveries at Chokoutien and before the finds were accepted by the scientific community of the Western world. This volume thus pays tribute to this "forgotten Canadian" through papers that acknowledge his contributions, place him in historical perspective, and consider the current state of knowledge regarding *Homo erectus*.

The majority of the papers in the volume were first presented at a symposium held in 1976 at Cedar Glen, Ontario. Papers by Shapiro and von Koenigswald recall Black as man and scholar, while Cybulski and Gallina provide an inventory of Black's published work in order to round out the historical and biographical aspects of the volume.

Along with acknowledging Black's work, the volume also attempts to refocus anthropological attention on *Homo erectus*. To some extent, *Homo erectus* has been "upstaged" by finds of more ancient hominids. However, new discoveries of *Homo erectus* remains require reassessment of currently held views. Of particular importance are questions regarding the relationships of *Homo erectus* populations to both more ancient and more recent ones.

A paper by W. W. Howells provides a good starting point for such a reassessment. Despite the title of the volume, Howells does not consider the taxon *Homo erectus* to be carved in stone. Instead, he provides a critique of *Homo erectus*, as both a taxon and a concept, and he warns that *Homo erectus* must not become a wastebasket category that prevents attention to the diversity of the known finds.

The following papers in the volume consider regional developments. Jacob considers the Southeast Asian remains and provides as well an inventory of finds made

there since the original discoveries by du Bois in 1890. Jacob emphasizes the diversity of these remains, naming three species, two of which are put forward as over-lapping in time.

European finds are considered in four papers. Clark Howell addresses general questions regarding the evolutionary sequence in Europe, while Thoma focuses on remains from Eastern Europe, particularly those from the Hungarian site of Vértesszöllös. M. de Lumley also discusses Europe, presenting a case for regional morphological continuity of the hominid populations. Mania and Vlček consider remains from the German site of Bilzingsleben.

Four authors consider African materials. Jaeger reviews Northwest African finds, while Rightmire offers a preliminary report of two fossils from Olduvai Gorge in East Africa (OH 9 and OH 12). Walker considers possible interpretations for East Turkana remains, and Protsch provides an up-dated discussion of Tanzanian finds from Eyasi and Garusi that were discovered in the 1930's.

Finally, although there are no papers about more recent finds from the People's Republic of China, Mann offers new interpretations of the Chokoutien remains that are based on studies of casts, the originals having been lost during the Second World War. Mann also provides an inventory of these casts and their locations.

In general, these regionally focussed papers emphasize biological issues and pay more limited attention to cultural data. One would like to see more attention paid to possible selective pressures that might have brought about diversity - even possible speciation - among these Middle Pleistocene culture bearing hominids. There is, furthermore, little agreement among the various authors regarding nomenclature or over-all evolutionary relationships among the regional populations or with earlier and later forms, although a number of hypotheses are offered. However, as volume co-editor Sigmon notes in her useful introduction to the book, these various perspectives point to the dynamic nature of "populations of hominines spreading throughout the Old World, adapting, and evolving" (p. 11). They also drive home Howells' point that the diversity of *Homo erectus* remains must be carefully considered.

A final paper by volume co-editor Cybulski provides an extremely helpful overview of remains, including a chronological chart, thus presenting a synthesis that was not possible in the more regionally focussed papers.

Valda BLUNDELL
Carleton University

Kenelm BURRIDGE, *Someone, No One. An Essay on Individuality.* Princeton, New Jersey, Princeton University Press. 1979. xi-270 p.

In 1940, Ogborn and Nimkoff devoted several chapters of their sociology textbook to socialization, "the process whereby the individual is converted into the person." In this process, the assertion to autonomy and self-willedness are pitted against the traditional moralities of a given social order. Anthropologists and sociologists tend to focus on that which to them reveals normalcy and the normative: the person. If becoming a person, in the sociological sense, would be the only avenue open to human beings, we would all become the automated creatures of our

cultures, writes Burridge. Human beings do not always show forth the person, they are not always content with things as they are. Human beings sometimes show forth the individual who posits an alternative set of moral discriminations to the existing set of moralities. The transcendance of given moral discriminations is the generative font of culture. Without some form of alienation from a given order, the creation of new moralities would be impossible. In *Someone, No One* Burridge focuses not on the person, but on the movement between person and individual, on the shift from conformity to innovation. *Someone, No One* is a masterful exploration and discussion of individuality, the movement between person and individual.

Allport advanced the notion that there exists within each human being an energy, which capable of adapting to culture, may also modify it. Burridge finds in this notion the concept around which to organize his description and analysis of the dynamics between person and individual. This energy, the integrating self, moves not always to conformity, to the reproduction in word and deed of the norms of a given traditional order. If the self integrates the given categories of a socio-cultural order into an identity (someone), it is also poised to change these categories through the assertion to autonomy. The self then becomes a non-identity (no-one) attempting to become a new kind of someone.

Burridge notes again and again that the notions of the individual, individuality, metanoia, moral action, free will, lie at the core of our Western civilization. The author makes the case that individuality in fact marks off Western cultures from other cultures in space and time. European or Western society has generalized individuality, making it a desideratum for each member of community. Generalized and institutionalized individuality means that all are called to live the movement between person and individual. Although most are persons most of the time, moving into the individual for a while and returning again to the person, individuality expresses a cultural prescription permeating our civilization. This prescription implies continuing change and restructuring in communities and in their members. Because of generalized individuality, Burridge argues, Westerners experience alienation, anomie and charismatic movements in degree and contexts greater than non-Westerners.

The transcendance of given moralities is the generative font of our beings. Without some form of alienation from a given set of moralities, the creation of a "new heaven and a new earth" would be impossible. To generate and implement a new moral order, no one becomes a new someone. "The question whether one must first change oneself before changing the world or first change the world so that one must be transformed and free can only arise out of and seems to be resolved in the individual as here determined" (p. 115).

Authors have laid generalized individuality at the feet of capitalism, urbanization, industrialization and / or a burgeoning egalitarism. It is Burridge's thesis that generalized individuality is firmly rooted in the first century in the christian experience of the Pentecost. Although the Greeks and the Romans provided the intellectual tradition and the conditions in which actual experience and appreciation of otherness could develop, it is the impact of Christianity that has definitively sealed in the Western world the imbuilt and continuing endeavour to transcend the given prescriptions and categories of a social order and to extend one's love across cultural and political boundaries.

The duality of Church and State provided the necessary framework for ensuring and conserving generalized institutionalized individuality. Political coercion led to conformities countered in the Church's critique. Thus individual and person corresponded with Church and State. This social ambience was to become the bedrock of generalized individuality. "European and Western democratic forms, we may remind ourselves", writes Burridge, "are not derived from Athens, which depended on forms of slavery, but from the modes developed by the Church and its religious orders" (p. 108).

Generalized individuality, Burridge holds, started with Christianity and has spread with it. Peter's change of heart, Paul's reversal on the road to Damascus, the Pentecostal experience, are the events providing exemplars of metanoia. Metanoia and free will sum up the ideas that order and moralize the assertion to autonomy, central to western cultures. In Christianity metanoia represents the institutionalizing of the putative capacity in each human being to change his or her mind about the nature of the world and the truth of things. Metanoia and the ideas associated with it play a vital role in the development of the human race, for they have fostered, over and over again, moral variation and innovation. These, Burridge insists, "are as essential to human survival as genetic variation. And the instrument of this variation and innovation is some kind of individuality" (p. 140).

Burridge goes on to explore how far different kinds of social orders (hunting-gathering, subsistence-cultivation, complex economies, pastoral nomadism, peasant cultivation, city and town) produce situations which allow, encourage, or inhibit the moments of individuality. Death, dream, visionary experiences, trance, possession, orgiastic dance, the use of money in exchange, are all events compelling those who have lived through them, to dismiss censors, to forget structures and to invoke communitas. These events and occasions, regularly encountered, tend to bring about a critique and rethinking of principles of governance.

In cross-cultural perspective Burridge finds that non-Western cultures do prescribe individuality or its semblance, but then it is always reserved to selected and identifiable positions within the social order. Outside the Western ambience we find restricted individuality, not generalized individuality. The shaman of the hunters and gatherers, the Leopard-skin chief of the Nuer, the Melanesian Manager and/or sorcerer of New Guinea, the Australian Man of High Degree, the Hindu Sanyasi, are all instances of non-Western individuality or of its semblance. The shaman in an arctic community, and the sanyasi in India can initiate and present new ideas because they are insulated from the larger society and the moralities that inform it. Their experience of ordering their lives in terms of non-conformist ideas, is not propagated to their fellow-citizens. The Leopard-skin chief presides over situations that can be briefly defined by the oppositions life/death, animal/moral, moral/non moral, moral/spiritual. The Leopard-skin chief thus regularly encounters fellow-citizens in events which, regularly encountered, tend to bring about a questioning of principles of governance. In Nuer society, the Leopard-skin chief is called to mediate between fellow human beings who in situations of moral and/or legal breech are in need of being reintegrated into the community. "Whatever his discoveries about the self, and however he himself realizes the self, he is restricted in communicating his discoveries and realizations" (p. 124). In his capacity of mediator the Leopard-skin chief is barred

from going beyond current moralities in order to initiate new moralities. He is bound to his office. Hence individuality is contained, the social order, perhaps renewed, is not changed.

In prescribing individuality or its parts to selected positions, the needs of change and moral innovation are controlled, the traditional structure is maintained, sometimes renewed, but not changed. In contradistinction, Western cultures direct each member of community to integrate the assertion to autonomy with the participatory values and the given moralities so as to produce moral innovation. The implication of this generalized individuality is continual restructuring and change.

The most obvious exponent of individuality is the Christian missionary. It is no surprise that with missionary activity alienation from traditional moralities spreads, anomie correspondingly so, and charismatic activities multiply. For the most part, millenarianisms, pietistic movements, and reformative movements occurred in ambiences either determined by Christian missionaries or in which Christian missionaries have been active. Why this is so, is that statistically at least, charismatic authority yielding new moralities characterize the European and Western ambience. What once the single missionary tried to do has become differentiated into a host of professional specialisms - teacher, technical instructor, doctor, anthropologist, etc., - "each of which, carrying the instruction to learn, instruct, inform and improve, is derived from and informed with the missionary purpose" (p. 237). Correspondingly, bringing the material gifts of western civilization to other peoples in other cultures "without also communicating the moments of individuality betrays a blind faith in the former to renew and transform: ...without some kind of (albeit secularized) mutual metanoia, the impulse to engage in a process of developing awareness is lacking" (p. 238).

Someone, No one bridges a vast expanse of human experience, from the core of our life histories, our socialization and transformations, through historical and cross-cultural discussions of the development of individuality, to the contemporary scene of Christian mission, national and international development. Whereas most studies of individuality begin with psychodynamics, Burridge is concerned with the socio-cultural processes and contexts that foster or hinder, promote or inhibit the movement from person to individual. Although much have been written about the individual and individuality, the author is successful in taking anew the core issues surrounding socialization and moral innovation and to leave on them a distinctive mark in the light of new interpretations. The result is a masterful essay focused on the primary questions that have characterized socio and/or cultural anthropology from its inception on: What is man?, What are his conditions of life?, How should he live?

Someone, No one is rewarding reading to all anthropologists who having engaged in fieldwork seek to place this experience and their findings in the broader context of the human experience everywhere: that of becoming someone, that of becoming no one to become a new someone. The moral philosopher and theologian, the missionary alike, will also find in these pages stimulating insights into their unique positions in the quest for individuality, metanoia and moral innonvation.

Jean-Guy GOULET
Canadian Research Center for Anthropology.

Marjorie HALPIN and Michael M. AMES, eds. *Manlike Monsters on Trial. Early Records and Modern Evidence.* Vancouver and London: University of British Columbia Press. 1980, xvi-336.

"Sasquatch", a word derived from Coast Salish, was introduced to non-Indians across Canada and the United States during the 1920's to refer to a huge, hairy, human-looking creature reported to live in the Coast Mountains of British Columbia. In 1958 the village of Harrison Hot Springs decided to stage a "Sasquatch hunt" as its centennial project for British Columbia centennial. John Green, now author of numerous books and articles concerning Sasquatch phenomena, then began to collect reports of sightings and meetings, old and new, and to investigate material evidence, such as footprints. A surge of interest in Sasquatch followed. In May of 1978, a conference on "Sasquatch and Similar Phenomena" was convened by the Museum of Anthropology at the University of British Columbia. Journalists, physical scientists, anthropologists and sociologists, historians, folklorists and a psychoanalyst joined to explore the bases and significance of the ubiquity of humanoid monsters through time and space, from the Wild Man of Europe to the little people of Newfoundland, from the Yeti of the Himalayas to the Almasti of Russia, from the Sasquatch of Canada to the Bigfoot of the United States. The papers of twenty-three participants are here edited by Marjorie M. Halpin and Michael M. Ames.

A question raised at the conference is that of evidence: is their proof of the physical reality of the manlike-monster? Authors examine plaster casts of over-size footprints, the Patterson film of a fleeing ape-like creature in Northern California in 1967, the tape recording of purpoted Bigfoot speech by Alan Berry and others in the High Sierras of Northern California in 1972, specimens of feces and of hair suspected to be of sasquatch origin, but no one finds compelling evidence for the physical reality of the manlike-monster. As Michael M. Ames admits in the Epilogue "the few scientific analysis of 'physical evidence' presented were considerably more sophisticated than the data on which they were based" (p. 303). This is certainly the case for R. Lynn Kirlin and Lasse Hertel's paper "Estimates of Pitch and Vocal Tract Length from Recorded Vocalizations of Purported Bigfoot." One is amazed at the sophistication of present technics available to measure speech and noises and to extract from these measurements estimates of pitch and vocal tract length on the basis of which to determine the human or non-human likeness of the vocalization. One would expect as much sophistication in the authors' reasoning. When they write, "If Bigfoot is actually proven to exist, the vocalizations on these tapes may well be of great anthropological value, being a unique observation of Bigfoot in his natural environment", Kirlin and Hertel are begging the issue. They themselves write that "the possibilities for prerecording are many" and that there is no way to establish they were given an actual recording of a non-human, ape-like "monster". It follows that if by other means, Bigfoot was actually proven to exist, we would not yet be in a position to admit the vocalization Kirlin and Hertel analyzed as an actual recording of Bigfoot speech.

In Vaughn M. Bryant and Burleigh Trevor-Deutsch's analyses of hair and feces suspected to be of sasquatch origin we learn much about coprolite research (the analysis of prehistoric fecal specimens) and the methods of coprolite reconstitution, but we learn very little about the Sasquatch. In the abstract to Byrant and Deutsch's

paper the editors write: "The authors have examined five specimens of preserved feces and three speciments of animal hair suspected to be of Sasquatch or Bigfoot origin. They find that two of the fecal and two of the hair specimens are definitely attributable to known animals, but the remaining samples are not" (p. 291). One is led to think that the remaining samples are not attributed to known animals, hence may be attributed to the unknown animal that is Sasquatch. In fact, the authors cannot attribute any of the five specimen of feces to a specific specie of animal. Some specimen may be attributed to a cow or some other large animal (but not man, moose or bear), another sample may be attributed to an owl, but it is not certain owl is at the origin of this sample, and the other specimen are yet of undetermined source. As to the analysis of hair sample the authors state that neither they nor other scientists "can definitely attribute a sample hair specimen to being of Sasquatch origin" (p. 296).

A number of essays are cast in the mode of functional explanations. These essays, rich in descriptive material, suffer from the limitations of functionalist explanations: hypothetical functional relationships between myths and beliefs on the one hand and human needs on the other hand are postulated, but they are not tested, nor established. R. D. Folgeson's analysis of myths from the Eastern Woodlands (especially from the Cherokees) concludes that these myths and the monstrous beings they portray concern universal human problems: "They involve rationalizing the inevitable existence of evil in this world, particularly in the form of fear, suffering, disease, and death" (p. 140). The myths are presented as part of a Native American theodicy adapted to a finite and transitory world. In a similar vein, C. H. Carpenter's "The Cultural Role of Monsters in Canada" holds the view that tales of monsters in Canadian society "permit the existence of evil in a culture which has denied violence, aggression, and rebellion. These negative characteristics are invested in supernatural beings" (p. 106). The author notes that as French settlers were less prone to having a garrison mentality than were the English, the French view of wilderness and of monsters therein was not so whole-heartedly negative. O. P. Dickason discusses how the tradition of the Renaissance figure of the Wild Man, along with earlier European analogues, influenced early explorers' perception of New World natives, and how consideration of the natives as "savages" rather than as civilized peoples helped justify colonial attitudes to aboriginal property, religious and legal rights. Similarly, Marjolie M. Halpin's remarkable paper on "The Tsimshian Monkey Mask and Sasquatch" concludes with saying that "Tsmishian beliefs about *ba'vis* can be interpreted as expressing aspects of themselves that they normally deny but cannot eradicate" (p. 226). The above authors argue that monster-like figures are part of a culture as the expression of the ethnic unconscious, an expression of the collectively repressed tendencies and wishes viewed as evil and destructive. These authors argue on the socio-cultural plane as psychoanalyst W. A. Mully does on the level of the experience of individuals. In the mental life of psychoanalytic patients, monsters represent an objectivation of that part of a person's self which is felt to be repulsive.

Other authors prefer a more phenomenological, culture-bound description of "real" human-like monsters. R. J. Preston's and R. Riddington's contributions on the Algonkian Witigo and the Athapaskan Dunne-za Wechuge respectively, argue for an intra-cultural interpretation of the phenomena individuals in these societies believe in, fear and experience. Both authors marshall data they have expounded in previous

publications. They underline the limited value of "western based" ideas to understand Alonkian or Dunne-za based myths and concepts.

Michael Taft, John Green and Wayne Suttles deal principally with problems of belief, perception and reportage. J. S. Kassovic describes how the growth in manufacture of ceramic devils and monster figures to satisfy tourist trade disturb the local villagers of Ocumicho, Mexico, who fear that this increase in production of the ceramic figurines might increase the influence of evil forces in the community. N. H.H. Graburn explores the Inuit classification of manlike and non-human like creatures. Since 1948 the Inuit have produced art for sale, in the form of soapstone carvings, lithographic prints and other media. Some of these art forms represent mythical monsters and creatures. In an informative review of the development of recent Inuit art Graburn argues that the gradual change in the Inuit communication system from oral to literate has affected their art-style. The open-ended suggestive descriptions of creatures by elders in story-telling have given way to closed pictorial representation of the same creatures by a younger generation. Pictorial representations of mythological beings have fixed, and limited, the younger Inuit's conception of these creatures.

This is in many ways a fascinating book, rich in information and descriptive material. It does not only debate but also attempts to reconcile the sometimes conflicting attitudes and views of the experts, amateurs and scholars in their quest for understanding what is "real". Those who believe in Sasquatch and who wanted very strongly to have its existence validated and explained by the scientific establishment will find no consolation here. Nonetheless the search for Sasquatch will go on.

This book will be of interest to all the readers of John W. Green's book, *Sasquatch: The Apes among us* (1978). This book is also rewarding reading to folklorists, students of native mythology and art and to all those interested in those issues anthropologists study in terms of "cultural relativity" and sociologists investigate in terms of "social construction of reality".

Jean-Guy GOULET, Ph.D.
Canadian Research Centre for Anthropology

Frederick Hadleigh WEST. *The Archaeology of Beringia*, New York: Columbia University Press. 1981, 268 p.

The Archaeology of Beringia is F. H. West's thorough synthesis of his own and of all recent findings on the inland hunters of Beringia. From 23,000 to 12,000 B.C., in the context of full glaciation and the consequent lowering of sea levels in excess of 100 meters, the "Bering Land Bridge" emerged. Beringia denotes the resulting vast expanse of land extending over 2,000 kilometers from north to south and almost as much in its maximum width. The then emerged land did not primarily constitute a bridge from the Old to the New World. Rather, as F. W. West convincingly argues, the Bering Land Bridge, together with vast expanses of adjacent Siberia, most of Alaska and a portion of northwesternmost Canada then formed one complete biotic province unto itself. The Beringians inhabited this province over two thousand years (10,000 to 8,000 B.C.) before drastic environmental changes forced part of the inland hunters of Beringia to move south into the American continent.

In a first chapter the author describes Northern Siberia and Alaska, the remnants of Beringia, as they exist today. Physiography, hydrography, vegetation, soils, fauna are outlined. Thus a rough baseline is provided against which to compare the nature and extent of the changes that have transpired here. In a second chapter, the author reconstructs the environment of Late Pleistocene Beringia, as it puports to the appearance of man in this province, (25,000 B.C.) until the final and complete inundation of the "Bering Land Bridge" in the Holocene, 8,000 B.C. Relying heavily on pollen studies derived from the vicinity of human activity and supporting these studies by radiometric dating of archaeological remains, F. H. West establishes that to the late Würmian (15 to 14,000 B.C.) arid, cold xeric tundra-with extensive grasslands-succeeded a shrub tundra dominated by dwarf birch. Underlying this significant change is an increase in warmth and moisture which eventually was to bring about the complete breaching of the land bridge joining Siberia and Alaska-Yukon. Late Pleistocene Beringia supported a high number and variety of grazing ungulate forms. There and then a population of Arctic-adapted hunters flourished in what must have appeared to them an earthly paradise.

The third chapter of the book is the most substantial and original contribution of F. H. West to the prehistory of the New World. The author distinguishes two major groupings of archaeological assemblages in which important status was given to manufacture of blades from prepared cores and in which burins are a frequent accompaniment. The first grouping, that of the Arctic Small Tool Tradition, is dominantly coastal in occurrence and dates back to 2,000 B.C. The second grouping, the Denali complex, is predominantly noncoastal-interior-in occurrence and dates of these assemblages cluster in the range 10-11,000 B.P. The Denali Tradition represents the remains of peoples occupying interior ecological niches in which major dependance was upon the taking of large mammals. The Denali complex, the author shows, is not a preceramic American tradition but an Upper Paleo-lithic, Old World Culture. The bearers of this culture, the Beringians, flourished in the area of the Tangle Lakes lowland which they were to occupy for as much as 2,000 years.

It was in 1967 that F. H. West formulated the Denali complex or archaelogical culture based on the discovery in interior Alaska of an important but undatable, core and blade site-Donnelly Ridge. The present study is based on extensive research began by late Professor Ivan Skarland of the University of Alaska in the district of the Tangle Lakes on the south slope of the Alaska Range. Over the past several years F. H. West, his wife and their associates have conducted intensive surveys and test excavations in this region of the Tangle Lakes. Summarizing the results of their recent investigations the author shows how of twenty sites considered member of the Beringian tradition, sixteen are Denali complexe sites.

F. H. West then compares his findings with that of Russian archaeologists in Siberia, western Beringia. On the basis of firsthand comparison with Mochanov who recently (1975, 1977) delineated the Dyuktai culture of Denali and Dyuktai materials, F. H. West concludes that the resemblances between these two complexes are numerous, detailed and specific. The author provides 15 figures with illustrations of Denali and Dyuktai core and blades. Were they found in closer proximity these sites of Denali and Dyuktai would be classified as the same culture or complex. Because of their shared morphological pattern and their time placement, the Dyuktai-Denali assemblages are described as Beringian Upper Palaeolithic.

In a fourth and fifth chapter F. H. West discusses the origin and relationships of the Eastern Branch of the Beringian tradition to New World Cultures. Here most of West's suggestions must await substantiation from further archaeological work. The author argues that simple migration was not the principle use to which the "land bridge" was to be put. Rather, small hunting groups undergoing rapid population growth in western, then central Beringia, moved and expanded in Eastern Beringia. Denali-Dyuktai people did not people Beringia accidentally, simply surviving the rigours of the North. They were not awaiting the first opportunity to rejoin their more temperate-minded relations east, or await an amelioration of conditions to pursue their route west and south. The Denali-Dyuktai people flourished in what to Arctic-adapted hunters, appeared to be an earthly paradise. Beringians occupied the Tangle Lake area over 2,000 years, undoubtedly part of a system in which predictable relationships obtained between them, animals and the physical elements of the environment. The equilibrium of this system was destroyed with the gradual submergence of central Beringia and the dissolution of the Beringian plains. The result was the first major emigration of men into eastern Beringia. In the light of the archaeological record "it appears completely plausible to term the peopling of the New World an accident, the result of a catastrophic event that destroyed a system which in the absence of such an impetus, surely had every reason to remain stable" (F. H. West, 1981: 209). It is West's merit to offer a thorough synthesis of all recent findings leading to the reconstruction of the rise and demise of this system.

The Archaeology of Beringia in an invaluable source book heavily illustrated, presenting all available data and sources. This book will stand as a major landmark in the prehistory of the juncture of the Old and New World. Written by a professional archaeologist for a professional audience, F. H. West's work will be of interest to all Americanists and students of the evolution of native American cultures.

Jean-Guy GOULET Ph.D.
Canadian Research Centre for Anthropology

Rémi SAVARD. *Le sol américain: propriété privée ou terre-mère... L'en deça et l'au-delà des conflits territoriaux entre autochtones et blancs au Canada.* Montréal: Éditions de l'Hexagone. 1981: 53 p.

La question des droits aborigènes, les discussions qui entourent les politiques gouvernementales à l'endroit des premiers habitants du pays, la crise qui secoue en profondeur les institutions occidentales, tous ces thèmes sont abordés ici de façon succinte mais renseignée par Rémi Savard. Il publie ici la communication qu'il faisait à la Canadian Cultural Identity Conference, tenue le 4 juin 1980, au collège John Abbot (Montréal), sous les auspices de l'Association of Canada Community Colleges.

En un premier temps l'auteur examine les propos tenus sur la terre par les Européens et les autochtones d'Amérique. L'Européen tient sur la terre des propos d'appropriation, de propriété privée. Depuis des millénaires les autochtones d'Amérique tiennent sur la terre des propos d'affection filiale, de terre-mère. Ces propos la tradition autochtone les associe à la notion de grand-cercle de la vie fondement du respect de la moindre différence entre tous les êtres. Ces divers propos tiennent de deux manières globales d'entrevoir et de pratiquer le voisinage entre gens, avec les peuples

voisins, et enfin, avec les diverses formes de vie. Dans leurs rapports avec les autochtones d'Amérique les Européens imposèrent leur manière globale de voir et reléguèrent les propos des autochtones au compte de l'infantilisme caractéristique des peuples non-évolués. Du même coup l'Occident chercha à imposer aux autochtones «l'égalité» nécessaire à la libre circulation des biens, des capitaux et des individus.

En un deuxième temps, Rémi Savard affirme que les conceptions de la terre comme propriété privée ou terre-mère constituent l'en-deça des pratiques auxquelles ont donné et donnent toujours lieu la rencontre entre Européens et autochtones d'Amérique. L'auteur retrace les grandes étapes des opérations qui conduisirent aux nombreux «surrenders» et traités par lesquels les autochtones propriétaires se défaisaient de leurs droits sur leurs terres en faveur des blancs. Souvent, les autochtones voyaient la signature de ces traités comme des cérémonies d'alliance entre gens s'engageant mutuellement à respecter leur différence et leur spécificité. Les autochtones agrandissaient le grand-cercle des fils de la terre-mère; les Européens excluaient les anciens propriétaires de la terre et de ses fruits. L'auteur montre (citations à l'appui) comment la Convention de la Baie James et du Nord québécois reprenait en substance la pratique ancienne de la normalisation de territoires, pratique qui vise toujours l'anéantissement de toute collectivité autochtone comme telle afin de transférer le sol aux intérêts d'une société occidentale capitaliste et centralisatrice.

En un dernier temps, Rémi Savard reprend la question de l'illustre Livre Blanc déposé en 1969 par Jean Chrétien, alors Ministre responsable des Affaires Indiennes. Ce Livre Blanc représente une des dernières tentatives globales cherchant à imposer à tous «l'égalité» devant l'État. Les dénonciations des organisations autochtones au Canada, les jugements de cour, notamment ceux du juge Morrow et Malouf respectivement des cours supérieures du Territoire du Nord-Ouest et du Québec, obligèrent le Gouvernement à devoir honorer les droits aboriginaux et à reprendre les négociations avec les autochtones en ce qui a trait à leurs droits ancestraux.

Rémi Savard dégage alors ce qu'il voit comme la question de fond posée par les peuples autochtones, soit celle du droit à l'auto-détermination et à l'auto-gestion. L'imaginaire socio-culturel de la terre-mère et du grand cercle d'une part et de la propriété privée et de l'échelle d'autre part, constituent toujours l'en-deça des conflits territoriaux entre autochtones et blancs au Canada. Au-delà des simples négociations visant le transfert de titres de propriété le Canada est placé devant un choix fondamental, ou bien accentuer l'évolution sociale centralisatrice, ou bien recréer une diversité de démocraties locales. La crise qui touche la société occidentale et ses images fondatrices ouvre possiblement à une écoute véritable des propos séculaires que les peuples autochtones tiennent sur la terre et sur la manière d'y vivre entre nous.

Ce volume de 53 pages ne contient que 32 pages de texte. Trop succint pour apporter une contribution originale aux questions qu'il aborde, cet ouvrage a la qualité de rassembler nombre de textes autochtones et blancs dans une perspective historique et critique. Ce livre intéressera un large public désireux de mieux comprendre comment notre société et notre histoire sont toujours liées au destin des peuples autochtones d'Amérique.

Jean-Guy GOULET
Centre canadien de recherches en anthropologie.

Volumes reçus – Books Received

AXTELL, James (ed), *The Indian Peoples of Eastern America; a Documentaty History of the Sexes.* New York, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1981.

BECK KEHOE, Alice, *North American Indians; a Comprehensive Account.* Englewood Cliffs, Prentice-Hall Inc., 1981.

BJERKE, Svein, *Religion and Misfortune: the Bacwezi Complex and the Other Spirit Cults of the Zinza of Northwestern Tanzania.* Oslo, Bergen, Troms, Universitetsforlaget, 1981.

BROWMAN, David L., (ed), *Early Native Americans: Prehistoric Demography, Economy and Technology.* World Anthropology. The Hague, Paris, New York, Mouton Publishers, 1980.

BUECHLER, Hans C., *The Masked Media: Aymara Fiestas and Social Interaction in the Bolivian Highlands.* Approaches to Semiotics, 59. The Hague, Paris, New York, Mouton Publishers, 1980.

CIOCHON, Russell L. and CHIARELLI, A. Brunetto, (eds), *Evolutionary Biology of the New World Monkeys and Continental Drift.* New York, London, Plenum Press, 1980.

COOK, Bruce L., *Understanding Pictures in Papua, New Guinea.* Elgin, Ill., David C. Cook Foundation, 1981.

CORDWELL, Justine M., and SCHWARZ, Ronald A., (eds), *The Fabrics of Culture; The Anthropology of Clothing and Adornment.* World Anthropology. The Hague, Paris, New York, Mouton Publishers, 1979.

DALTON, George (ed), *Research in Economic Anthropology: an annual compilation of Research.* 3 volumes. Greenwich, Conn., Jai Press Inc., 1978-1980.

DIAMOND, Stanley, (ed), *Theory and Practice: Essays Presented to Gene Weltfish.* Studies in Anthropology, 7. The Hague, Paris, New York, Mouton Publishers, 1980.

DORIAN, Nancy C., *Language Death: the Life Cycle of a Scottish Gaelic Dialect.* Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1981.

DROOGERS, André, *The Dangerous Journey; Symbolic Aspects of Boy's Initiation Among the Wagenia of Kisongani, Zaire.* Foreword by Jan Vansina. The Hague, Paris, New York, Mouton Publishers, 1980.

The Emergence of Man; A Joint Symposium of the Royal Society and the British Academy. Organized by J. Z. Young, F.R.S., E. M. Jope, F.B.A., and K. P. Oakley, F.B.A., held on 12 and 13 March 1980. London, The Royal Society and the British Academy, 1981.

ERNY, Pierre, *Ethnologie de l'éducation.* L'éducateur. Paris, Presses Universitaires de France, 1981.

FALKENBERG, Aslaug and FALKENBERG, Johannes, *The Affinal Relationship System: A New Approach to Kinship and Marriage Among the Australian Aborigines at Port Keats.* Oslo Studies in Social Anthropology, no. 1. Oslo, Bergen, Troms, Universitetsforlaget, 1981.

FEFFER, Melvin, *The Structure of Freudian Thought; the Problem of Immutability and Discontinuity in Developmental Theory.* New York, International Universities Press Inc., 1982.

FOX, Robin, *The Red Lamp of Incest.* New York, E. P. Dutton, 1980.

FREDRICKSON, N. Joye, *La chaîne d'alliance: l'orfèvrerie de traite et de cérémonie chez les Indiens.* Ed. Sandra Gibb. Ottawa, Musées Nationaux du Canada, 1980.

GALATY, John G., ARONSON, Dan, SALZMAN, Philip Carl, and CHOUINARD, Amy, (eds), *The Future of Pastoral Peoples; Proceedings of a Conference Held in Nairobi Kenya, 4-8 august 1980.* Ottawa, International Development Research Centre, 1981.

GASPARINI, Graziano and MARGOLIES, Luise, *Inca Architecture.* Transl. by Patricia J. Lyon. Bloomington and London, Indiana University Press, 1980.

GELLNER, Ernest, (ed), *Soviet and Western Anthropology.* Introd. by Meyer Fortes. New York, Columbia University Press, 1980.

GREEN, Robert Jay and FRAMO, James L., (eds), *Family Therapy: Major Contributions.* New York, International Universities Press Inc., 1981.

GREENSPAN, Stanley, *Psychopathology and Adaptation in Infancy and Early Childhood.* Clinical Infant Reports, no. 1. New York, International Universities Press Inc., 1981.

HANNERZ, Ulf, *Exploring the City; Inquiries Toward an Urban Anthropology.* New York, Columbia University Press, 1980.

HARALAMBOS, Michael and HEALD, Robin, *Sociology: Themes and Perspectives.* University Tutorial Press, 1980.

HARDING, Robert S.O., and TELEKI, Geza, (eds), *Omnivorous Primates: Gathering and Hunting in Human Evolution.* New York, Columbia University Press, 1981.

HEALY, Paul F., *Archaeology of the Rivas Region, Nicaragua.* Waterloo, Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1980.

KHLEIF, Bud B., *Language, Ethnicity, and Education in Wales.* Contributions to the Sociology of Language, 28. The Hague, Paris, New York, Mouton Publishers, 1980.

KNEE JONES, Dorothy, *A Century of Servitude: Pribilof Aleuts Under U.S. Rule.* Lanham, University Press of America Inc., 1980.

KONRAD, Herman W., *A Jesuit Hacienda in Colonial Mexico: Santa Lucia, 1576-1767.* Stanford, Stanford University Press, 1980.

LAMBEK, Michael, *Human Spirits; a Cultural Account of Trance in Mayotte.* Cambridge Studies in Cultural Systems, 6. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1981.

LAYTON, Robert, *The Anthropology of Art.* Elek Archaeology and Anthropology. New York, Columbia University Press, 1981.

LOVELAND, Christine A., and LOVELAND, Franklin O., (eds), *Sex Roles and Social Change.* Urbana, Chicago, London, University of Illinois Press, 1982.

MAHONY, Patrick, *Freud as a Writer.* New York, International Universities Press Inc., 1982.

NEEDHAM, Rodney, *Reconnaissances.* Toronto, Buffalo, London, University of Toronto Press, 1980.

NILES, Susan A., *South American Indian Narrative: Theoretical and Analytical Approaches.* An annotated Bibliography. Garland Folklore Bibliographies, vol. 1. New York, London, Garland Publishing Inc., 1981.

NORTHCOTE PARKINSON, C., and LE COMPTE, Herman, *The Law of Longer Life.* Troy, Alabama, Troy State University Press, 1980.

PLANT ARMSTRONG, Robert, *The Powers of Presence; Consciousness, Myth, and Affecting Presence.* Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1981.

ROIPHE, Herman and GALENSON, Eleanor, *Infantile Origins of Sexual Identity.* New York, International Universities Press Inc., 1981.

ROSALDO, Renato, *Ilongot Headhunting 1883-1974; a Study in Society and History.* Stanford, Cal., Stanford University Press, 1980.

ROYCE, Joseph R., and MOS, Leendert P., (eds), *Humanistic Psychology; Concepts and Criticisms.* Path in Psychology. New York, London, Plenum Press, 1981.

SANKOFF, Gillian, *The Social Life of Language.* Pennsylvania, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1980.

SAVARD, Rémi, *Le sol Américain: propriété privée ou terre-mère... L'en-deçà et l'au-delà des conflits territoriaux entre autochtones et blancs au Canada.* Montréal, L'Hexagone, 1981.

SCHWIDETZKY, Ilse, CHIARELLI, B., NECRASOV, Olga (eds), *Physical Anthropology of European Populations.* World Anthropology. The Hague, Paris, New York, Mouton Publishers, 1980.

SILVERMAN, Sydel (ed), *Totems and Teachers; Perspectives on the History of Anthropology.* New York, Columbia University Press, 1981.

SMITH, James G. E., *Arctic Art: Eskimo Ivory.* New York, Museum of the American Indian, 1980.

SMITH, Nigel J. H., *Man, Fishes, and the Amazon.* New York, Columbia University Press, 1981.

SNOW, Dean R., *The Archaeology of New England.* New York, Academic Press, 1980.

TURNER, David H., *Australian Aboriginal Social Organization.* Canberra, Aust., Humanities Press, 1980.

VECSEY, Christopher and VENABLES, Robert W., (eds), *American Indian Environments; Ecological Issues in Native American History.* Syracuse, Syracuse University Press, 1980.

VOLKAN, Vamik D., *Linking Objects and Linking Phenomena; a Study of the Forms, Symptoms, Metapsychology, and Therapy of Complicated Mourning.* Foreword by Harold F. Searles. New York, International Universities Press Inc., 1981.

IMPRIMERIE NOTRE-DAME INC. 18081

INFORMATION FOR AUTHORS

All manuscripts should be typed on one side of sheet only, on standard 8½ x 11 typing paper, with adequate margins, double-spaced throughout, including quotations, notes, and bibliographic references. The original typescript and two copies should be submitted and should be accompanied by an abstract of not more than 100 words, if possible in French. Authors should keep a copy of their manuscript. All original manuscripts will be destroyed after publication unless the author makes special arrangements.

References to the literature are not cited in footnotes but carried within the text in parentheses with author's last name, the year of publication, and page, e.g. (Gutkind 1966: 249), or if author is mentioned in text, merely by date and page, e.g. (1966: 249). Multiple references are separated by semi-colons, but enclosed in a single pair of parentheses, e.g. (Gutkind 1966: 249; Leslie 1963: 20). Plural references to an author for a given year are distinguished by letters, e.g. (Gluckman 1960a: 55). All references, with full publication information, should be listed alphabetically by author and chronologically for each author on a separate sheet titled "References", e.g.

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.

Note that titles of whole publications such as books and periodicals are underlined, whereas titles of component parts are quoted.

Footnotes used for comments are to be numbered consecutively throughout the paper and typed on a separate sheet. Authors are advised to include footnote material in the text wherever possible.

Tables and Illustrations should be typed or drawn on separate sheets and given headings: marginal notations should indicate their location. Figures should be drawn in black India ink on art paper or set with draftsman's material. Photographs are not accepted.

Reviewers should provide complete information relevant to books reviewed: Full title, author's name, collection, place and date of publication, publisher, pagination, illustrations, and price.

Authors receive galley proofs of articles which are to be read carefully and returned as soon as possible.

RENSEIGNEMENTS AUX AUTEURS

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.

LITHO CANADA