ANTHROPOLOGICA

N.S. Vol. XXIV, No. 1, 1982

LE CENTRE CANADIEN
DE RECHERCHES
EN ANTHROPOLOGIE
UNIVERSITÉ SAINT-PAUL

THE CANADIAN RESEARCH
CENTRE
FOR ANTHROPOLOGY
SAINT PAUL UNIVERSITY

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ISSN 0003-5459

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

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

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

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

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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.

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Anthropologica is published with the assistance of the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada.
Anthropologica est publié avec le concours financier du Conseil de recherches en sciences humaines du Canada.

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The Gitksan Traditional Concept of Land Ownership

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RÉSUMÉ

Cet article porte sur le système traditionnel d'occupation foncière chez les Indiens Gitksan. Plutôt que de concentrer sur certains droits précis où sur les principes d'allocation du sol, nous examinerons les rapports qui prévalent entre culture, nature, et le surnaturel. Une telle perspective cosmologique passe par plusieurs formes d'expression symbolique (mythique, artistique, rituelle) qui permettent aux Gitksan de définir leur rapport à la terre.

Anthropological research on the Northwest Coast has taken two distinct directions in the past decade. The first is to applied questions, due largely to the importance of Native land claims. The other is in response to changes in the discipline, particularly to the increased interest in symbolic systems. These seemingly disparate orientations do, however, overlap with respect to one problem area; a factor which may have important implications for both types of research.

The fact that most Northwest Coast societies did not sign treaties has raised questions concerning extinguishment of their aboriginal titles to land (Canada 1981: 1-12). The possibility of using litigation and negotiation to settle such claims, and to prevent further incursions in the form of development projects, has encouraged Native organizations to sponsor research. One of the central problems examined is land tenure, focusing generally on land use and occupancy.

In contrast, investigation of Northwest Coast symbolism has been academic in nature. Oddly, it is in the area of cosmology

where one finds an intersection with applied research. The work of Goldman (1975: 42-44) and Walens (1981: 70-76), for example, deals with Kwakiutl land tenure indirectly; as a manifestation of relations to spirits and animals. Although not fully developed as a field of symbolic research, explorations of this kind could provide an important adjunct to land use and occupancy studies.[1]

This paper will attempt a systematic description of the traditional Gitksan conception of land relations. The Gitksan inhabit the upper Skeena Valley of British Columbia, and are considered as a cultural sub-division of the Tsimshian. The purpose of the discussion is to determine: (1) their view of land ownership, (2) the principles from which it derives, and (3) the relevancy of this view for contemporary land claims.

Given the lack of detailed ethnographic information on the subject, the task will be approached as a modelling activity. The intent is to bring together and interpret a range of data in order to approximate a Native model.[2] The following will present the elements of that model and the relationships among them. The conclusions will briefly consider its implications for litigation.

I. TERRITORIES

Gitksan land holdings are generally known as territories. To understand how they were viewed traditionally, it will be necessary to begin from a vantage point outside of the culture. Given the importance of salmon for subsistence and trade, along with their characteristics of high densities and spatial-temporal predictability, it can be argued that they were the basis of territoriality (Dyson-Hudson and Smith 1978).

Permanent fishing sites, and frequently fixed technologies such as weirs and traps, were adaptations to this resource; ones that permitted permanent settlement patterns. Fishing sites were distributed along the migratory paths of salmon, with junctions of rivers

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[1] The Gove case from Australia supports this conclusion. In part, the judge's decision was based on the religious nature of an aboriginal concept of ownership (Hodgson 1971).

[2] Given cultural similarities with Nishga and Coast Tsimshian, data from these sources is used in the analysis. My special thanks to Scott Clark for his criticisms from the field, and to Jacques Chevalier for his contributions.

and spawning streams being key locations. A spawning stream can be seen as the territorial locus. Not only did it provide control and access to a portion of salmon runs, it has natural features for delimiting boundaries – the river at its mouth, a valley, and a mountain source. As Mc Neary suggests (1876: 113-114) it cross-cuts three resource zones: riverine, mid-slope, and alpine. A territory so defined facilitated a year-round cycle of activities which included fishing, trapping, hunting, berry picking, logging, and mining.[3]

Using a number of sources (Barbeau and Beynon 1915-1956; Cove 1979; Halpin 1973), it is estimated that the average Gitksan territory was in the order of two hundred square miles. As Ridington's analysis indicates (1969) this is well within the limits of manageable size for a permanently settled group.

II. HOUSES

In considering territories as the property of some social unit, there are two sources of ambiguity. The first is conceptual and deals with the imposition common-law definitions of property. As Cromcombe states (1974: 8-9), ownership refers to rights in property, not property itself. These rights are probably never exclusive to any one social unit, but rather are distributed among a number of parties. The critical question is to determine if something analagous to a proprietory right exists, who has that right, and what it implies. Following the judgment in the Gove case (Hodgson, 1971: 12), a proprietory right minimally means, "the right to use or enjoy, the right to exclude others, and the right to alienate". For purposes of this paper, that bundle of rights will be referred to as title.

The second area of ambiguity is ethnographic in that a number of social units have been discussed in the literature as having title to territories. Adams (1973: 21-37) provides the most comprehensive presentation of those units in his reconstruction of a typical pre-contact Gitksan village. He describes it as consisting of two major resident groups, called Sides, each made up of members from one of the four totemic divisions or clans, *(pdek)* – Wolf, Eagle, Frog, and

[3] This is not to argue that all territories were single holdings around spawning streams, or that every territory had the same mix of resources and activities.

Fireweed. These are further broken down into local sub-clans *(wilnad'ahl)* which share common myths about place of origin.[4] They, in turn, are made up of corporate units known as Houses *(wilp)*. The ethnographic record tends to support that Houses were the principle territorial unit. However, there is also mention of *wilnad'ahl* (Adams 1973: 23) and Sides (Duff 1959: 37) as having titles.

Three possibilities present themselves. The first is there was variation among the Gitksan villages as to which unit had title. The second is that the ethnographic record is wrong in certain places. The third is that all three units did have rights of different kinds. Title may have been vested in Houses, with non-House members of the same more general collectives having more specific rights of access and use. Alternately, one of the larger units may have had title, with member sub-units having the specific rights. Finally, different types of title may have been involved at different levels similar to the distinction between sovereighty and fee simple. For present purposes, it will be assumed that only Houses had proprietory rights.

Wilp has two meanings which will be important later. As previously mentioned, it refers to a corporate unit; whose membership was defined by the matrilineal rule of descent. It was this meaning which designated the entity having title to territories. *Wilp* also denotes the traditional dwelling in which certain House members resided along with non-House members. Typically, the household consisted of adult male members of the House and their wives and offspring, who were from different Houses due to rules of exogamous marriage and avunculocal residence.

Non-House members of the household were generally granted restricted rights of access and use to House territory. These rights would be terminated upon divorce or death of the spouse or father, although they might also be extended. One type of restriction that was imposed on non-House members was that resources taken from House territories could not be used for activities such as feasting by their Houses (Garfield 1951: 17).

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[4] The term *wilnad'ahl* appears to refer to a number of different kinds of collective; localized sub-clan seing one. Similarly, Sides is an analytic concept with no counterpart in Gitksan terminology.

III. ANCESTORS AND SUPERNATURAL POWERS

A House was deemed to have title to a territory because it had merged its essence with a piece of land (Cove 1979). That essence was its stock of supernatural powers acquired by ancestors of the House from spirits *(naxnox)* who had taken on physical forms to live in the same domain as humans.

These supernatural beings and their powers, also known as *naxnox*, were associated with specific locations which participated in that being-power *(spanaxnox)*. A human entering that space and meeting such a being in its physical form could acquire powers from it. They might be presented, as a gift in return for services, or out of pity. They could also be taken by force or deception, and oral tradition indicates that the encounter itself might be sufficient for acquisition of powers (Barbeau and Beynon 1915-1956). The recipient of powers was thought to be transformed by them, becoming a "real person" *(semooget)*. Real here implies that the person has transcended the ordinary human condition and existed in a cosmic sense, able to act with other real and supernatural beings. In a sense, those powers did not belong to the recipient; rather than individual embodied them, providing an alternate form of physical existence in the world.

In becoming more than human, one was not divorced from human origins and involvements. One's House was seen as a major source of physical and spiritual being, as was one's father's people *(wilksiwtxw)*. The Gitksan believed in reincarnation. It was thought that a person took on the soul of a matrilineal grandparent (Adams 1973: 30), and hence that one's continued existence was insured by the House. With respect to acquired powers, the recipient would embody them in different incarnations. Since, in theory, there was a generational skip in which the soul of the deceased lived in the realm of the dead; a designated House member would be required to hold those powers and give them existence during that period.

Acquired powers therefore became part of a House and were given life by it. Since they have a physical association with a particular locale, *spanaxnox*, that place also became part of the House – its territory. However, just as supernatural beings could move and invest their powers in other locations, so might a House. It too

could put its powers into new areas, making them a manifestation of its being (Duff 1959: 23-24, 27). The theme of immobility with respect to Houses is common (Adams 1973: 6), which tends to suggest that territories were unchanging. It can be argued, however, that this theme was partially symbolic; referring to human permanancy in contrast to resources like salmon than were migratory. Oral tradition mentions migration as an element of every House's history (Barbeau and Beynon 1915-1956). Over long periods of time, a House might have to abandon its territories, claim new ones, or be without them at certain points.

Resources on a House territory were not seen as "things" merely there for its members use. Rather, a House had a special and exclusive relationship not only to its lands but to everything in or on them. A territory was a House's sacred space which it shared with other beings fundamentally no different in kind from humans; all having similar underlying form, consciousness, and varying degrees of power. Relations to them were not seen as unilateral and exploitative, but rather reciprocal and moral.

To illustrate, salmon will be used as an example (Cove 1979). They too belong to specific Houses which recognized human ones. Salmon Houses sent their members to their human counterpart's territories, and thereby provide them with food. In return salmon received new bodies from human House territories, which would then be taken on by the souls of other salmon for a generation. In one party violated that relationship, the other could withdraw from it. Salmon could decide to go to another human House territory, or use their powers against a House that had acted inappropriately.

The acquisition of supernatural powers, therefore, was not merely a means of getting territory. Its possession meant recognition by other beings, and gave the capacity to interact with them for mutual benefit. Without powers, a House could not exist nor could it participate in the maintenance of a universal system of relations. Since each House's powers were unique, its presence was vital for both the human and cosmic order.

IV. CRESTS

The term crest covers a number of Gitksan concepts. The first is *pdek* which refers to the four general totemic categories previously

mentioned. The second is *ayuuks* which means specific House crests. Crests of this kind generally stand for the powers acquired from a supernatural being, representing the physical form taken by it as encountered the ancestor-recipient.

Each crest was deemed to be the unique and exclusive property of a specific House. The main exception was if a House fissioned into two separate units. Both Houses retained those crests which were common to their history, and added others through later supernatural encounters. A House could also grant another the privelege of displaying a crest in a significant service or as compensation (Barbeau 1929: 44). In such instances, the crest privelege generally did not carry with it power or territorial associations.

The linkage between a crest and House was expressed in different ways. Every crest was named, and the name of the principle House crest was also the name of the House dwelling. Crests had other concrete manifestations as well, the most common being on totem poles and dancing blankets. Beynon (1915-1956) calls these *dzepk*, which means both to own and to make. These expressions not only assert a property relation, but allude to the necessity for a being-power to have physical form to exist in the human world which a House can provide.

On dancing blankets, worn only on major ceremonial occassions, crests publically stated a House's stock of powers and the fact that they were given life by its members. *Ayuuk* has a second meaning, to put on, again referring to the *naxnox* assuming a particular external appearance. Humans similarly put on that outer form, thereby equating themselves with the supernatural donors of power. Depicted on totem poles, there is another complete statement of acquired powers and their origins. This representation provided a connection between a House and its territory. Placing a totem pole in the ground was, in part, a means of putting a House's powers into it, acting as a "deed" to a territory (Duff 1959: 12). A House without territory would not erect totem poles, since the component of its being did not exist.

The various meanings of the term crest symbolized a set of relationships. The primary one was among a House, supernatural beings-powers, and territory. It also expressed membership in larger collectives that included other Houses, both human and non-human. Affinities were felt with species whose forms had been assumed

by supernatural beings from whom powers had been received, since House members stood in the same relationship to those spirits. Houses sharing the same sources of power, as manifested by assumed species-forms, had a common identity. It could be argued that the social organization of the Gitksan, in terms of units and relations, were ultimately based on their concept of supernatural powers.

V. NAMES

The Gitksan had a number of different types of personal names, some of which were associated with acquired powers and territories. The most common personal names are what Sapir (1915: 26) calls cross-phratric in that they state the crest (*pdek*) of one's father. As previously mentioned, father's people were important in a number of ways. Not only did they contribute to an individual's physical and spiritual being, and provide access to territories, they supported one in acquiring various kinds of powers throughout one's lifetime. In addition, they were responsible for carving totem poles for the deceased's House (Barbeau 1929: 11); thereby providing that physical form for a House's powers and the capacity to transfer those powers to the land. This class of name therefore denoted another set of affinities between Houses through which powers and rights were expressed.

Another type of personal name is *naxnox*, which as the term suggests refers to powers. Although distinct from crest-powers, there were commonalities. In the few cases mentioned in oral tradition where persons from different Houses met the same supernatural being, a problem occurred. Both could not claim the same relationship or powers. One resolution was to assign a crest to one party and a *naxnox* name to the other (Barbeau and Beynon, 1915-1956). In these cases, the same material expression might be given to those two relations, though only one would be deemed as *dzepk* and have territorial associations.

A third class is generally known as chiefly names.[5] Since chieftainship is the political extension of "real" status, it may be

[5] *Naxnox* names were sometimes also real-names.

better to call them real-names. Whereas crests stand for the form taken by a supernatural being encountered, real-names denote the ancestor who acquired powers through it. These names frequently were given to acknowledge that encounter and the subsequent transformation to real status. That original name-crest linkage was maintained by crest perogatives being assigned to those names (Halpin 1973: 107).

Real-names, like crests, were the property of Houses. They had their own existence and power, and were given life by their encumbents. At the death of an encumbent, a worthy individual in the House would be selected to take on that name. Although a sister's son or younger brother were preferred successors; personal worthiness was an over-riding consideration. Adoption from outside a House did occur, though to hold the name for a generation. In taking on such a name, the person was transformed into a real-person and could use the powers of the name and associated crest.

Each House had one name which had the greatest powers. That name not only designated the person with the highest authority in the House, its high chief, but also was the name given to the House itself. Like members of a House, the components of territories such as fishing sites, berrying picking and hunting grounds were named. Typically, the name given to the House and its principle chief was also used to denote its primary hunting ground. To a lesser extent, therefore, real-names expressed the merging of a House and its territory.

VI. MYTHS AND SONGS

Crests and real-names can be thought of as symbolic assertions of powers and titles to territories. The actual origins of them, where and how they were received, were preserved and legitimized in oral tradition. Each House had its own myths or histories (*adaawk*) which recorded those events. They too were seen as property, and although known by non-House members, could only be narrated by those of the House. Frequently, songs were an integral part of such myths, completing them and often providing evidence for specific House claims (Duff 1959: 17, 26).

As records of encounters by which powers were acquired, myths and songs also legitimized rights to names and crests. A

House's title to territory was similarly presented, either as a direct consequence of receiving powers or of putting those powers into the land. The incidents stated in myths could also act as precedents for laws governing the relations among beings of different kinds. What we would consider as resource management practices were concrete expressions of rules learned through these encounters. Finally, myths were used to record conflict resolutions over competing claims to crests, names, and territories. Given that myths were the property of individual Houses, and lack sequential integration as a corpus, that function could be problematic over time; particularly given House migrations.

VII. FEASTS

Properly speaking, title is not a proprietory right, but evidence that such a right exists. In the Gitksan case, it can be argued that title was vested in House myths, songs, crests, and real-names. The institution in which evidence of this kind was formally presented was the potlatch, or feast.

A House wishing to make a claim did so by acting as a host, either alone or with other Houses from its village. The guests consisted of members from other Houses falling into two broad categories. The first were those most effected by the claim due to social or physical proximity; and the other were neutral witnesses (Adams 1973: 51-56). In essence, their recognition of a House's claim represented a total one; since they represented universal collectivities which included non-human members.

The invitation itself had significance. It showed that the hosts were a corporate entity with resources and a dwelling at their disposal. Both presenting and accepting an invitation indicated membership in a moral community in which those claims had importance.

Title to territory tended to be a secondary claim, an aspect of a more general one to powers. This could be either for newly acquired ones, or to re-affirm existing powers. The feast provided a public forum for validation of those powers, their origins, and associated rights such as title to lands.

The most common feasts relevant to such statements were due to the death of a real-person. Through its myths, songs, crests

and names a House defined its powers and their sources. In terms of their being given life for another generation, a successor was selected and presented to the community. He/she was shown to be a member of the House, chosen by it, worthy of the name, and hence the proper person to embody it.[6]

The giving of gifts to guests had multiple meaning. It was both an endorsement of the successor, and a demonstration of his/her worthiness as expressed by generosity. It represented the importance of those powers not only for the House, but for everyone; who through those gifts were fed and made wealthy. It further recognized the powers of other Houses and their relative standings through differential payments to guests. Finally, compensations were made for services rendered to the deceased and the House, both in life and in death.

The series of feasts surrounding the death of a real-person involved more than a transfer of names. One requirement was the raising of a totem pole, which was not only a memorial to the deceased, but stated in another way a House's powers and territory. In addition, the continuity of rights to that territory by outsiders was either terminated or extended. This applied particularly to the spouse and offspring of the deceased.

Other types of transfers could also be validated through feasts. If portions of a House territory were given over to another to fulfill an obligation or as compensation for injury (Garfield 1951: 14), at some future time it would be stated at a feast and publically recognized. A House which had migrated would use a feast to legitimize placing its powers into a new territory. The critical issue here would be the absence of claims to those lands by other Houses.[7]

A final issue in which feasts were important was conflict resolution. If two Houses claimed the same crest or territory, each could resort to a feast to present its case. If both did, then the decision as to which claim was valid would be made by those

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[6] An additional type of feast would be used to remove shame attached to a real-name (Cove 1981). Although shame to a name would effect the encumbent's authority, and the overall status of the House, it was not included in the discussion since it bears no direct relevance to land titles.

[7] If a House abandonned its territories, another could claim them.

Houses invited as guests. Their decision would be based on the evidence provided, the worthiness of the claimants, and more general knowledge of the situation. Similarly, non-acceptance of an invitation would be a public statement of non-recognition of a claim. Given that conflicts of these kinds ultimately involved powers, they would be deemed as disruptive of the cosmic order; and considerable public pressure would be used to bring about a peaceful settlement. In general, feasts assisted in asserting and maintaining that order; part of which consisted of territorial relations.

VIII. SUMMARY AND IMPLICATIONS

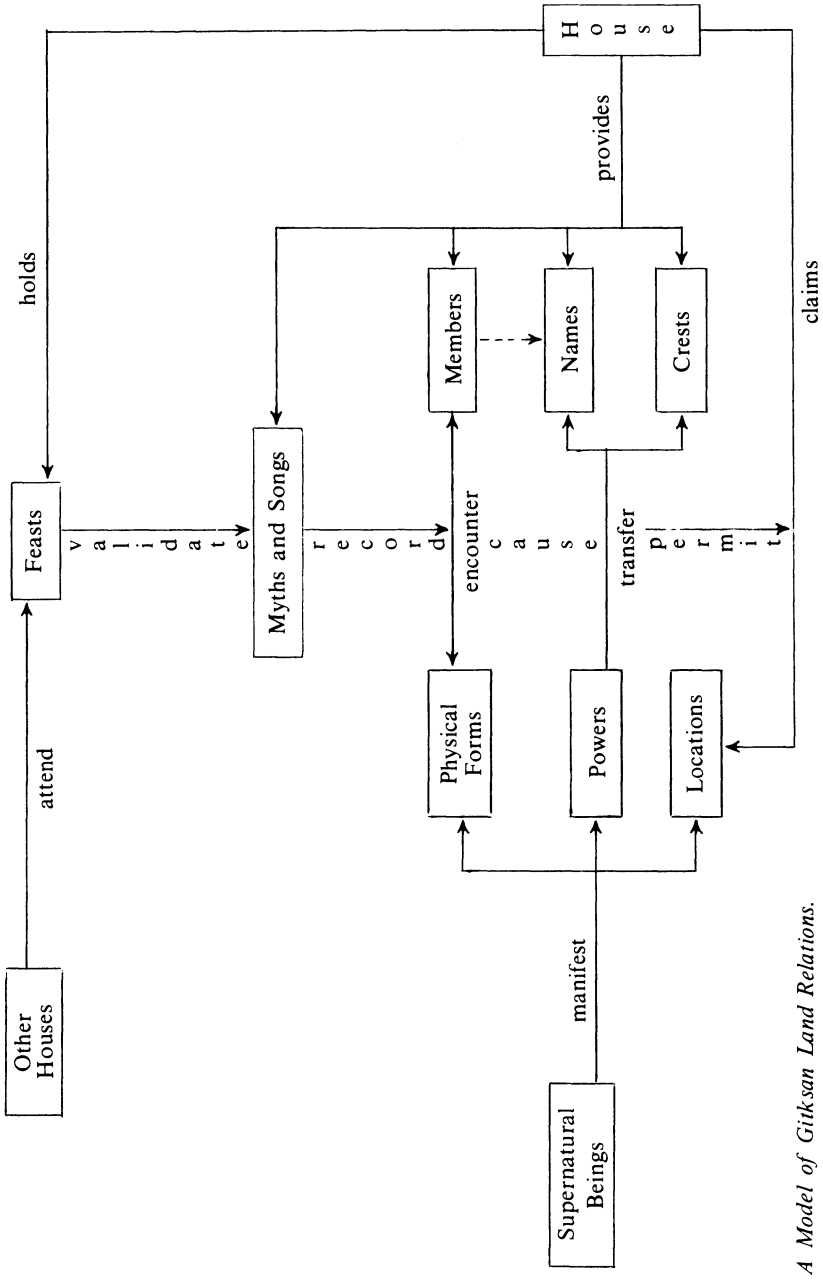
Traditional Gitksan relations to their lands has been presented as part of a more comprehensive system. Their concept of proprietory rights can be seen as an extension of a cosmology which defined the acquisition of supernatural powers as central to human, if not cosmic, existence. Through a range of symbolic modes, ownership of territories was expressed as an element of that totality (see Figure 1).

It can be argued that a large portion of that general system still exists for the Gitksan. Although the traditional conceptualization has been eroded by acculturation; they still retain many of the more concrete features. Myths, names, crests, songs, feasts and Houses are integral components of contemporary culture; as are traditional patterns of resource exploitation on House territories. Gitksan involvement in the land claims movement can be seen as an attempt to re-establish in a more complete way their relations to those territories.

Litigation is one vehicle for achieving this objective. If it were used to establish aboriginal title, their claim would have considerable ethnographic support. The data indicates that their traditional concept of proprietory rights is consistent with common-law. Confirmation of specific boundaries and owners could be provided through mythology, songs, names, and crests.

Ethnographically, much more can be done. Further research is required on the wider range of rights relevant to land relations. As well, the body of traditional law governing those relations needs explication. Finally, the actual judicial processes of the feast with respect to violations of these laws should be recorded.

FIGURE 1



A Model of Gitksan Land Relations.

Given cultural similarities on the Northwest Coast, the Gitksan example is probably not unique. Anthropologists involved in researching traditional land tenure systems of this kind should, however, be aware of the limitations of their work. Even if it supports aboriginal title, it is likely that questions of extinguishment by subsequent legislation will be ultimately more important (Sanders 1973: 16-18). If used as a basis for injunction, recognition of a right may not be sufficient to stop intrusions on Native lands; as shown in the Baker Lake decision (Denhez 1980: 57-68).

In conclusion, anthropologists interested claims research of the type discussed might consider the advantages of combining cosmology with land use and occupancy. Similarly, cosmologists may wish to apply their knowledge to more practical issues.

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Anthropologica, XXIV (1982), p. 19-25

Interest Groups, Alienation, and Humanity: A Reply to René Gadacz

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RÉSUMÉ

L'auteur indique certaines erreurs factuelles qu'a faites Gadacz (1981) et réfute l'assertation que la méthode de distanciation déshumanise ceux qui sont le sujet de l'étude.

In an article published in *Anthropologica*, René Gadacz (1981) has offered a critique of the methods and assumptions outlined in two programmatic statements that appear in the Introduction to my book *The Children of Aataentsic* (Trigger 1976) and a paper titled "Brecht and Ethnohistory" (Trigger 1975).[1] Inasmuch as Gadacz greatly misrepresents major aspects of my position and claims that an analytical technique I employed effectively dehumanizes the seventeenth century Huron, I believe that a response is in order, particularly so that those not familiar with my work on the Huron will not be misled.

Gadacz (1981: 184-185) alleges that, like Wilcomb E. Washburn, I advocate that ethnohistorical studies should be concerned only with the interrelationships between Indian and White cultures, not with the inner dynamics of the groups themselves. This is a curious claim to make about a book that is subtitled "A History of the Huron People to 1660" and which states at the outset that its aim

[1] The two texts that Gadacz cites are indeed closely related. "Brecht and Ethnohistory" was originally written as part of the Introduction to *The Children of Aataentsic*, but was published separately when I became convinced that its methodological concerns were too specialized to be included in a substantive historical study.

was "to write a history of the Huron, not of New France or of French-Indian relations in the seventeenth century" (Trigger 1976: xxi). Moreover, throughout the book it is evident that analyses begin and end with the Huron and that other groups are considered only insofar as they are relevant for understanding what happened to the Huron.

The source of confusion is Gadacz's misconstruing of the term "interest group" to mean "ethnic group" (in this case referring specifically to the French and the Huron). Readers would have been alerted to this error had four critical words not been replaced by dots in the quotation from my work reproduced on page 182 of his paper. The concept of interest group, which was crucial for my analysis of Huron history, was borrowed from the work of various historians and sociologists. It was defined by me as follows:

> Interest groups are not the abstract social categories established for purposes of comparative research by sociologists and ethnologists; instead, they are groupings that emerge as a result of common interests in real historical situations. Some of them were cliques that had a recognized corporate existence in their own time, others are constructs of the historian. To be a valid interest group, however, its members must have had implicitly shared common goals and supported one another in common action. (Trigger 1976: 23)

I also pointed out that:

> In Canada, Indians and Europeans rarely constituted two homogeneous interest groups, or even lined up as two opposing teams. Groups of European fur traders, government officials, and diverse orders of the clergy often competed with each other more than with the Indians. Likewise, many Indian tribes were noted for their factionalism and internal disagreements even in periods of strength. Not infrequently, common interests gave rise to alliances that cut across ethnic lines and united various Indians and Europeans in opposition to their own people. (Trigger 1976: 24)

Earlier studies were criticized for being:

> Generally concerned with how whole tribes responded to European contact. These studies dealt mainly with features that entire peoples had in common; what happened to individuals or to specific groups within a tribe was of interest only in relationship to the more general process of adaptation. (Trigger 1976: 22)

I made it clear that I had adopted this approach because I wished to avoid writing a history in which explanation is largely premised upon the idiosyncratic behaviour of individuals. I did this partly because I wished to write social history and partly because

comprehensive biographical data about individual Hurons were very limited for the seventeenth century. Yet, by comparing what is recorded about how individuals of ascertainable status and family affiliations behaved in specific circumstances, it was possible to study the history of tribes in terms of the behaviour of various interest groups. For example, by the 1640s, the Huron tribal divisions were cross-cut by Christian, pro-French traditionalist, and anti-French traditionalist factions, which became the dominant interest groups in the final years of the confederacy. When I stated that I was not primarily concerned with "the inner dynamics of the groups themselves" (Gadacz 1981: 183), I was rejecting a preoccupation with the personalities and idiosyncratic behaviour of individual members of interest groups, not, as Gadacz suggests, with the ethnographic characteristics of ethnic groups.

The charge that I ignored ethnographic knowledge is as baseless as the claim that I ignored the inner dynamics of ethnic groups (Gadacz 1981: 184-185). In *The Children of Aataentsic* I specifically argued that "an historian's experience and personal judgement are not enough to permit him unaided to come to terms with the ideas and values that were part of the Indians' way of life prior to the coming of the Europeans" (Trigger 1976: 6) and that "without the knowledge of tribal life that only anthropology can provide, ethnohistory is impossible" (Trigger 1976: 17). In particular, I noted that the ethnographic study of how cultures function as total systems provides an important framework within which the more piecemeal historical data about Indian cultures can be fitted together (Trigger 1976: 15). I also discussed at length the problems involved in using recent ethnographic information to understand better the historical records of Indian behaviour and culture in the seventeenth century (Trigger 1976: 13-17). In his review of my book, James Axtell (1978: 137) noted that "Trigger's study does not simply stand Euro-American stereotypes and fictions on their heads, but forcefully and consistently interprets all European and Indian actions, thoughts, and motives from the perspective of Huron culture".

I am not prepared to accept Gadacz's (1981: 184) position that motives "are synonymous with the actions they purport to describe" and "go no further than to reiterate what has already occurred". No reasonable historian claims infallibility or comprehensiveness in discerning the motives that influenced the behaviour of individuals

or groups. This is especially so when dealing with members of cultural traditions that are considerably different from one's own. Yet it is clear that there are many things that an individual or group may wish to do but does not do as a result of calculations of self-interest. That actions and policies are very often the outcome of conflicting motives is repeatedly exemplified in my analysis of behaviour throughout my book. It is clearly wrong to deny values, emotions, and reason significant roles in shaping human actions. The investigation of motives is essential if the historian is to relate actions to cultural traditions as well as to the emotions and analytical abilities of individual human beings.

Gadacz (1981: 185) asserts that my use of Bertolt Brecht's *Verfremdungseffekt* (VE) represents an unsuccessful attempt to achieve value-free scientific neutrality at the expense of dehumanizing the Huron and reducing them, as objects of study, to an inferior position. He sees this as synonymous with an ethnocentric conception of rationality. Throughout his paper Gadacz restricts himself to commenting on statements of methods and assumptions without reference to how they are applied. He does not cite examples of how my use of this technique dehumanizes or invalidates my interpretations of the Huron or their history. Nor does he observe that the concepts of VE and interest group are closely related. The interest group is the equivalent of Brecht's character. In my work I stated that I used the VE as a device for achieving parity in my analysis of Native and White behaviour, despite the disparate quality and quantity of the data available about the two peoples, and for avoiding passing ethnocentric value judgements on the behaviour of individuals or groups (Trigger 1975: 55). I did not claim it to be a means for achieving dispassionate scientific objectivity or to avoid value judgements. In my opinion it is not so much a question of whether or not an ethnohistorian ought to make value judgements as when and how they are made. What Brecht did not wish was that his audience should identify with any particular character or group in his plays and, on the basis of sentimental or emotional considerations, pass a superficial or uncritical moral judgement on them. Instead, the audience was to be encouraged to regard each character as the representative of a particular viewpoint or interest group and to analyse their interactions with critical detachment. Then, at the end of the play, the audience could pass a more substantial judgement on the

situation in which all these people were caught up. Like Brecht, my ultimate aim was to encourage the reader to understand a total situation rather than the problems or reactions of individuals or groups considered in isolation. While I sought to encourage a dispassionate understanding of individuals or groups as agents of an historical process, this does not mean that I did not morally evaluate the total situation of Indian-White contact that I was studying or expect and even encourage my readers to do the same. Indeed, the final paragraph of *The Children of Aataentsic* constituted a direct invitation to do so.[2]

Brecht's VE was also related to a materialistic view of history and human behaviour which maintains that "the mode of production in material life determines the general character of the social, political, and intellectual processes of life" (Marx and Engels 1962, I: 362-363). Like Brecht, I believe that a materialistic perspective provides the most satisfactory basis for understanding human affairs, and such a perspective structured my analysis of Huron history and of early contact between Indians and Europeans. While recently revising my work for an up-dated, French language edition of *The Children of Aataentsic* (Trigger n.d.), I did not find that subsequent research has called into question interpretations based on this method. For example, as a result of a brilliant cross-cultural reconstruction of the symbolic meanings that the native peoples of eastern North America assigned to native copper, marine shell, and quartz crystals, George Hamell (1981) has provided valuable insights into how European goods were initially perceived and valued by native Americans and why most of them flowed into mortuary contexts. Yet the speed with which the technological advantages of certain European goods came to be appreciated and the obvious emphasis soon given to obtaining them in situations of scarcity strongly reinforce a materialistic analysis. This suggests that, while attention must be paid to the idiosyncracies of cultural traditions, a materialistic orientation is a valuable tool for understanding the nature of individual cultures, as well as how they

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[2] These passages are extracted from a written (but unpublished) comment on a paper by James Axtell titled "A Moral History of Indian-White Relations Revisited" presented at the 75th Annual Meeting of the Organization of American Historians in Philadelphia, April 1, 1982. His paper is scheduled to be published in *The History Teacher*.

change and interact with one another. Such an approach mediates between an extreme cultural relativism, that can degenerate into being a license for romantic exoticism and extreme historical particularism, and unilinear evolutionism, which may end up pseudoscientifically justifying bigotry and oppression. Historical materialism can provide a mechanism for trying to understand whole societies and the relationships between them which influence people's behaviour and lead them, in self-interest, to commit brutal and inhuman acts. Such knowledge can be used as part of a larger struggle to eliminate the kind of oppression that has afflicted native peoples since earliest European contact, by building a society in which the exploitation of one group by another is made increasingly difficult and ultimately becomes impossible. As part of such an approach, moralizing ceases to be a commentary that is detached from the concrete practice of everyday living. Instead it becomes an integral part of the search for knowledge on which effective social action can be based.

Finally, Gadacz (1981: 188), in championing "historical ethnology", appears to claim a privileged position for ethnography. Ethnological knowledge is vital for ethnohistory, but so is historical and historiographic knowledge. Much remains unknown about the seventeenth century Huron. We can hope to learn more about them from ethnographic research, however much the Iroquoians of today are different from their ancestors of 300 years ago. Yet much too can be learned from comparative ethnology (as Hamell demonstrates), from archaeological research, and from the intensive study of seventeenth and eighteenth century Huron linguistic material. Ethnohistory can better understand the past by diversifying its sources of information and improving the skills with which these sources are exploited, individually and in combination.

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Anthropologica, XXIV (1982), p. 27-42

The 1978-79 Akpan Ekwong Anti-Witchcraft Crusade in Nigeria

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RÉSUMÉ

La dernière croisade contre la sorcellerie au Nigeria a eu lieu en 1978-79. Elle a été conduite par Akpan Ekwong, et elle a reçu un fort appui populaire. Des confessions obtenues au cours de cette croisade ont révélé que les sorciers font vœu de garder le secret, qu'ils ont des noms secrets pour leurs réunions nocturnes, qu'il y a deux types de sorcellerie – noire et blanche, et que les sorciers sont initiés en avalant une certaine substance. Cette croisade, comme d'autres, a été entreprise parce qu'on blamait la sorcellerie d'être la cause de difficultés auxquelles les Ibidio faisaient face.

Anti-witchcraft crusades are not strange to Africa. In 1934 there occurred in Nyasaland what had come to be known as the Mcape anti-witchcraft movement, led by Kamwende. Assisted by young men, the Bamucapi (medicine-vendors), the movement swept over Nyasaland, the Rhodesias, and into the Congo colony (Parrinder, 1963; Richards, 1935; and Marwick, 1950). The Bamucapi would go to a village and all the inhabitants would be assembled, given a sermon, and then lined up for a witchfinding exercise. In the process the alleged witches were detected with the aid of small mirrors, and were called upon to yield up their 'horns' or harmful medicines. If they refused to give them up, the crusaders were said to disclose with unfailing perspicacity where these medicines were hidden. Once the witches were detected, the crusaders or Bamucapi proceeded to cure them by giving each one a sip of *mcape* medicine. It was claimed that this medicine would cause any witch who returned to his evil practices to die.

In 1947 there occurred yet another anti-witchcraft crusade in Nyasaland. It was initiated by Bwanali and extended by his disciple,

Mpulumutsi, hence the name the Bwanali-Mpulumutsi anti-witchcraft movement (Marwick, 1950: 101). Like that of 1934, the 1947 movement started in Nyasaland and spread into adjoining territories. This movement also aimed at the annihilation of witchcraft by the systematic destruction or reform of witches and by the protection of their potential victims. This time after witches had been detected the two leaders - Bwanali and Mpulumutsi - made incisions in the witches' skin on various parts of their body and then rubed medicine into the incisions. Other medicines were also given to the detected witches as well as nonwitches. Like in the 1934 movement, the medicine was believed would lead to death in those who resumed their witch practices. As for the witches who escaped detection, it was believed that in due course a mysterious drum would be beaten which would inexorably attract witches to their death. Of great interest was that all those who had been treated with the medicine had to observe certain rules and taboos. So if the desired results were not obtained it was because the taboos were violated.

In West Africa there occurred a movement of witch-hunters after the Second World War. This movement originated in Ghana, across Togo and Dahomey, and into Nigeria. Known as Nana Torgo, or Anatinga, these men spread excitement into many areas, enriched themselves and their initiates, and yet were supported by a large body of public opinion, even among the educated, as doing good work in checking the destructive deeds of witches. Their activities were held in check, publicly at least, by prohibitive legislation in 1951 (Parrinder, 1963: 130).

Among the Ibibio witch-hunting was a very common practice in pre-colonial and even colonial Nigeria. Each time a prominent person died or some misfortune struck, witchcraft was suspected as the cause. Certain members of the family of the deceased or the person suffering the misfortune would be sent to consult a prognostist or a diviner (*abia idion*) to determine the cause of death and to also name the witch involved. These diviners (*mbia idion*, pl.) claimed to possess the supernatural power to determine the cause of death and to also name the witch involved, if any. Particularly in pre-colonial and early colonial Nigeria any person named to be the witch responsible for the death or misfortune of some other person was summarily dealt with by the traditional bodies in charge

of that department. Among the Efik Nsibidi would do the job while Ekpo would take care of it in other Ibibio areas.

Alternatively, people in the family or village suspected to be the cause of misfortune or death would be asked to swear to an oath (*mbiam*) which was believed to have the power to detect the guilty and innocent. The guilty would be killed by *mbiam.* Or all the suspects would be given an *esere* bean (Physostigma venemosum) to chew on the mistaken belief that all the innocent ones would not be killed by the poisonous bean. Few rarely survived. Although *esere* beans are no more given to suspected witches, suspects are made to swear on *mbiam* and occasionally there are newspaper reports of how suspected witches have been murdered by relatives of the deceased.

The purpose of this essay is to describe the events of the 1978-79 anti-witchcraft crusade among the Ibibio of Nigeria. The data for this study were collected during the crusade, led by Edem Edet Akpan (alias Akpan Ekwong). Six assistants were used and two of them were assigned to each crusade meeting. The two took separate notes which were compared after the meeting for the purpose of checking the accuracy of their records. Records of what went on in the meetings in which the crusader and / or his lieutenants detected witches were kept, particularly the confessions of the witches. Apart from these records, the researcher was able to talk to local people about the events of the crusade. During the crusade most of the conversations in the villages affected, bars and markets were about the crusade. Often, the researcher would buy some palm wine in a bar or market stall where people would gather to drink and talk about the anti-witchcraft crusade.

THE ANTI-WITCHCRAFT CRUSADE OF 1978-79

This crusade took place in Ibibio. The Ibibio who live in the south-eastern part of Nigeria number more than two million according to the 1963 census. They are divided into six sub-cultural groups: Eastern Ibibio or Ibibio Proper; Western Ibibio or Annang; Northern Ibibio or Enyong; Southern Ibibio or Eket; Delta Ibibio or Andoni-Ibeno; and Riverine Ibibio or Efik. The Ibibio are predominantly Christians with few Moslems and fewer pagans, that is, those who still espouse the traditional religion. But it is

important to note that both Christians and Moslems still retain many pre-Christian and pre-Moslem practices. Of all unorthodox beliefs witchcraft is of the utmost concern to the Ibibio.

Most Ibibio believe that certain persons are witches (*ifɔt*) who impoverish, harm, or kill their fellow beings through some supernatural means. That the Ibibio are overly preoccupied with this belief and its various implications is shown by the regularity with which they attribute death and misfortune to witchcraft, and their related tendency to take precautions against possible attacks by witches, for example, by having their bodies and dwellings magically protected.

From conversations with the Ibibio of all walks of life one gathers that they are not only obsessed with witchcraft but that such beliefs are central to their cosmological ideas. They tend to attribute to witchcraft almost every social evil, political and social backwardness; even personal failures are regularly explained with the idiom and logic of witchcraft. Barren women, people whose children die at birth or in succession, women with irregular menstruation, most accident victims, traders who suffer losses, office workers who fail to get promotion, a political candidate who fails to get elected, a student who fails examinations all suspect witchcraft as the cause. Even the successful ones also fear being bewitched.

The Ibibio see witches as posing a serious threat to the entire community; that witchcraft is an anti-social act that defies collective conscience; that witches are humans with some mysterious or supernatural power with which they can and do harm fellow human beings. They view witchcraft as the psychic act through which supernatural techniques influence events. Thus they conceive of witchcraft as unequivocally evil, as destroying life, primarily through mysterious wasting diseases, and eating the soul of their victims thereby causing the death of the victim. Witches are active at night and cannot be seen or discovered by the uninitiated. They have familiars, flying around at night and the common familiars are owls, fire insects, cats, dogs, rats and frogs. As Nadel (1952: 18-19) has noted, "Everything connected with witchcraft takes place in a fantasy realm which is, almost *ex hypothesi*, intangible and beyond empirical verification. This is shown most clearly in the tenet that it is only the 'shadow souls' of witches which roam about and attack victims, while their bodies remain asleep at home, thus

deceiving any ordinary attempts at proving or disproving, these mystic activities." Having been so overly concerned with the evils of witchcraft, the 1978-79 witch eradication crusade was not much of a surprise.

On November 23, 1978, the *Nigerian Chronicle (Chronicle)* reported that an anti-witchcraft crusade led by Akpan Ekwong had started in Uyo, a business centre of the State. A few days later the Commissioner of Police announced: "I have ordered the police in this State (Cross River) to shoot at sight any person or persons found in the act of lynching or torturing in any way or form any persons accused of being witches and wizards." This shoot at sight order did not stop the crusade. In each village young men organized themselves into an organization they named Nka Ukpotio, that is an organization of fearless, determined and dedicated young men. They seized control of their villages from the chiefs and elders and declared them suspected witches who had to be cleared by the leader of the crusade or his lieutenants. All members of Nka Ukpotio received the support of Akpan Ekwong and were innoculated with anti-witchcraft medicine. This would prevent the elders from bewitching them.

The leader of the crusade would advise each village of the date that he or his lieutenants would visit the village. Everybody would be instructed not to leave the village and all those who had left were ordered to return home forthwith. On the appointed day everybody would assemble at Ata Essien (public square) or market place where the crusader would go round detecting witches. Once detected the person would have his or her legs and hands tightly tied together and would remain so until he or she had confessed. Apart from tying the hands and legs red pepper, referred to as "powder" by the Nka Ukpotio, was rubed all over the body of the suspects. Black ants were also poured over them, along with constant flogging. The witches were interrogated by Nka Ukpotio; they had to tell how long they had been practising the art, how many people they had killed and why they killed them, what office they held in the witch association, end so on.

There were those who voluntarily agreed to being witches by simply presenting themselves to Nka Ukpotio long before the day fixed by the crusader; there were those who readily confessed to being witches once they were detected; still there were those

who confessed after days of torture; and finally, there were those who stuck to their innocence that they were not witches. In this process many people were tortured to death, others maimed for life and at least one person committed suicide, because he could not stand the disgrace of being called a witch. In the following sub-section I proceed to describe some of the highlights of the confessions made at the witch crusade meetings.

Some Confessions at the Witch Crusade Meetings

The Ibibio define witchcraft as some mystical or supernatural power that causes harm, including death. This power is purely psychic. Those involved in the art of witchcraft practice a form of incorporeal vampirism by removing the soul of their victim and transforming it into a goat, a sheep, a cow or any other animal of their choice, and then mysteriously kill, cook and eat it thus causing in the victim a slow, wasting discase. This belief was confirmed by the confessions during the anti-witchcraft crusade. According to the confessed witches, once the animal into which the soul of their victim has been transferred is slaughtered, cooked and eaten in a mysterious manner by the witches, the victim dies instantly. Unlike sorcerers witches do not perform rites and do not use bad medicine. But I hasten to add that among the Ibibio a witch may as well be a sorcerer (*ifot*). The witches confessed that witchcraft is essentially a psychic act that bridges the distance between the person of the witch and the person of his or her victim. Thus even if a son dies in far away Europe or North America Ibibio parents will accuse witchcraft as the cause of death.

From the confessions it was clear that each witch believed that they had witchcraft substance in their body that allows their soul to engage on errands to harm their fellow beings. This is quite similar to the belief of the Azande people (Evans-Pritchard, 1937). Since the substance is organic, its existence can be determined through a postmortem examination. But according to the confessions, even though organic, non-initiates will not see if they cut open the stomach of the witch; a person with some supernatural power will have to neutralize it to make it visible to the ordinary eye. While the Ibibio witches believe they have witchcraft substance wherein lies their mysterious powers, they do not, like their Azande coun-

terparts, believe to have inherited it. According to the confessors during the crusade, every witch must get the substance from an established witch and the person physically swallows the substance. The confessors said that the substance is a special concoction embodying things like red, white and black thread, needles and other ingredients which the witch-to-be swallows. There are local variations in the substance. Once a person takes the substance his or her eyes are "opened", so to speak. He can move about mysteriously and has the ability to perform those things that witches are believed to do.

With the help of this substance the witches said they can change themselves into animals and birds like dogs, cats (particularly black ones), and owls and also give off a glowing light like fireflies. They also said that they leave their physical bodies during sleep to attend their meetings. They can even change into rats and eat up the crops, and can spread diseases among people. Witches claimed to do almost any evil.

The confessed witches went on to say that they are organized in a form of hierarchy – some witches are more powerful than others. One's power depends on the ability of the individual to locate an established witch that can give him or her the most potent type of witchcraft. Once somebody has become a witch he or she can then know those who have the most powerful type and can acquire it in addition to the one he or she already had. Thus starting off as a novice, a witch aspires to a higher position over the years. The highest rank consists of the most powerful witches who, in addition to their power, must have been in practice for quite a considerable number of years, and must have bewitched very many people. It is from this rank that comes the president of the chapter (each village constitutes a chapter, with the clan chapter as the highest body). The second rank consists of witches who have established themselves in the art and who will in due course move into the topmost rank. The third rank consists of new witches, beginners who have just been initiated. Finally comes the fourth rank consisting of witches who may or not know that they are witches; they were given improperly concocted witchcraft substance either with or without their knowledge. Since the substance was not properly constituted their eyes are not opened as in the cases of other witches. This type of witchcraft is called Ikpewib.

They bewitch people quite all right and also attend witch meetings but they are not exactly aware of what they do.

Apart from the witch president who is the ultimate head of the chapter, they have other officers such as clerks who write down names of people to be killed and those who have bewitched them; messengers who summon people to their meetings and run such errands as may be determined by the president; preachers who are really preachers in the physical world; police officers who act as oderlies and also arrest and bring to the meeting souls of stubborn victims. The police are also responsible for the torture of those victims that they do not want to kill immediately.

Another very significant confession was the revelation that witches take oath of secrecy. Once an initiate attends the first meeting he or she is made to swear on an oath never to reveal anything about the witches and witchcraft to noninitaites. Furthermore, at their meetings they do not answer their real names, instead they take on new names. For example, people confessed to answering such names as Ofim (air, suggesting the incomprehensibility of the person's power); Asabo (python, a dreaded snake because of its poison and power); Itiat (stone, suggesting invincibility). These names are among their top secrets. Thus because of the secrecy oath, the president of each chapter had to use certain sacrificial materials like goat, sheep, and so on to neutralize the oath before the witches could make their confessions.

The confessed witches identified two kinds of witchcraft – Black (Obubit) and White (Afia). The purpose of Black witchcraft is to commit evil. Those who possess it are the ones who engage in destructive and diabolical acts, such as bewitching and killing their victims. They can bewitch their victims' money even crops, cause accidents, make women barren, and so on. Witches are the very embodiment of evil.

On the other hand, those who possess the White type are harmless. They are witches to be sure, but they do not kill or harm people. They claim to be more powerful than those who possess Black witchcraft. They attend witch meetings but do not practice the ceremonial cannibalism that their Black counterparts are known for. White witches take to witchcraft simply because they want to protect themselves and loved ones against being

bewitched by Black witches. Since they attend witch meetings they will know when any of their loved ones is to be bewitched and they will stop the move.

One interesting revelation during the crusade was that witches often try their victims as in law courts. The witch who has bewitched the victim plays the role of a prosecutor stating why the victim should be killed. Generally, Black witches go along with the prosecutor while White witches often act as defence lawyers, outlining why the victim should not be killed. During the crusade White witches claimed that they sometimes successfully prevent the killing of a bewitched person. One very crucial thing about White witches is that they remain harmless so long as they do not eat a bewitched victim. Once they do this they automatically turn to Black ones. They (White witches) said during the crusade that they carry their own meat to their meetings so that when Black witches will be eating their victims they (White witches) will be eating their own meat.

People become witches through several ways, as revealed during the crusade. People decide to become witches because of their natural inclination to do evil. They are envious or jealous or may have had some conflict with their relatives or some other persons within the family or community and they want to hurt them or other enemies. Enemies can be co-wives, brothers or sisters, a former husband of a man's wife, somebody with whom a man became involved in a land case, somebody who took away a girlfriend, and so on. In fact the enemy can be just any person, including one's mother or father and vice versa.

A person can turn a witch (Black or White) because he suspects the other person who is in a state of enmity with him is about to bewitch him, or that the person is a witch and that the only way he can prevent being bewitched is to become a witch himself.

One can become a Black witch accidentally. It is accidental because what the person wanted was the White type but instead he got the Black type. People claim to purchase White witchcraft because they seek protection against Black witches. Such protection is not only for themselves but also for members of their families and other loved ones. Since they attend witch meetings their very

presence prevents the Black witches from bewitching them and members of their families. Should any of their loved ones or friends become bewitched, they will fight to see that they are de-bewitched.

There is a third way of becoming a witch that can still be considered accidental. In this case the witch did not seek to become one; instead he approached a traditional doctor who may also be a witch to assist him to ward off witch attacks or give him some medicine that will prevent his being attacked. One might end up finding himself or herself in a meeting with witches where he or she partakes in the symbolic cannibalism. Once this happens the initiate must also must bewitch people so that others may share in the meat.

The fourth way is through gift. A father, a mother, an uncle or even a friend can out of love give the witchcraft substance to a son, a daughter, a niece or nephew or friend. In such a case the giver feels he or she is doing the recipient a great favour: he or she wants him or her to be powerful so that no other person can bewitch or harm the recipient. The person who receives this gift may be unaware of it at the time but with certainty he or she will one day find himself or herself in a meeting with other witches and begins to act as they do. On the other hand, an individual may receive the substance out of hatred. In this case the proper concoctions are not given to him or her; the compounds are not complete so that his or her eyes are not properly opened, as they put it. He or she becomes a very clumsy witch, lacks the poroper power, does not eat at the table with other witches and behaves very much like a seavenger. Such witches are referred to as Ikpewib.

Witches admitted that this kind of witchcraft is a form of punishment by the person (witch) who gave the person the substance. Established witches said that the dresses of such scavenger-like witches are used in wiping their hands after eating during their meetings. Further, such witches are very dangerous, according to the other witches. This is so because the powerful ones command them to bring their children and other relatives to be killed and eaten. At times they are not really aware that they are witches except that they dream about their witch activities. In fact during the crusade, the established witches recommended to the communities and Nka Ukpotio not to punish or fine such witches because they were not responsible for their actions. In other words, their

enemies (witches) forced them into becoming what is tantamount to blind witches.

Although these people cannot be said to be witches, it is important to note that witches commandeer drummers, dancers, singers, and other such people to entertain them at their assemblies. Through some supernatural means such people are brought out to entertain witches at their assemblies. The people themselves are not conscious of their role except that they dream about their activities. But in actual fact these people are not witches since they have not swallowed the substance. It is interesting to point out that as soon as the witches made this confession drummers, dancers and singers among the spectators "confirmed" that they had been engaging in long drawn dreams of how they were entertaining people they did not know.

Each confessed witch was required to tell the audience the objects or artifacts in his or her possession that were efficacious in the practice of witchcraft. They were required to surrender these things. Among the objects surrendered were mini-canoes, which they claimed to use in travelling to various places for their meetings and for haunting down those they mark out for extinction; dirty old lanterns, which they claimed to have the mysterious power of operating invisibly so that only they (the witches) see the way; brooms, which they use not only for sweeping their meeting places but also for attracting money from those whose money they want to bewitch; staffs, which are a symbol of authority, generally given to the highest member, president, in each village chapter; a piece of stone *(itiat ison esit)*, which they claimed to render witches hartless once they touch their chest with it; padlocks, which they claimed to have the mysterious power of locking women's womb to render them barren.

Once the witches had surrendered these objects they were asked to pay certain fines for practising witchcraft. Each witch had to give a goat, drinks, and a certain amount of money. Once they did this they were required to swear to an oath that they would not return to the practice of witchcraft. This was quite similar to what took place in the Mcape and Bwanali-Mpulumutsi Movements in that all sought the complete eradication of witchcraft by systematic destruction or reform of witches and by the protection of their potential victims. Apart from getting the people to take

the oath, Akpan Ekwong gave preventive medicines to those who felt they had been bewitched before as well as those who felt they were likely targets. It was believed that the oath, *mbiam*, would kill anybody who even tried to become a witch. So all the confessed witches who died shortly after the crusade were believed to have been killed by the oath because they had tried to return to their witchcraft practice. But despite all that Akpan Ekwong had done to eradicate witchcraft and witches, people were still complaining about them. Because of the confidence they had in Akpan Ekwong people rationalized that witches had successfully neutralized the oath as well as the preventive medicines given to them by Akpan Ekwong and that was why witches were able to operate again. They once again began to dream about the revisit of the crusader.

One other important point about the confessed witches is that they have been banned from occupying positions of importance in their villages. In other words, Nka Ukpotio appointed young men to temporarily fill the positions of all the elders they had suspected of being witches. But where the crusader did not identify an elder to be a witch he was allowed to take back his post. Thus witchcraft is an antisocial behaviour and all those who engage in it must be negatively sanctioned.

Other Important Developments

It was significant that the crusade started at Uyo, a rapidly growing business center of Cross River State and then spread to the semi-urban areas around Uyo and from there to the villages. From Uyo it spread to Oron, another area with rapid development and urbanization. The crusade was a sort of community or mass movement which sought to expose and extirepate all witches in the area. At Uyo Akpan Ekwong identified as a with one Mr. E. E. Inyang, alias Inyangette, a transport magnate. (Inyangette subsequently contested and won election to the Cross River State Assembly and is currently a member of the State House). It was alleged that Inyangette had some witchcraft concoctions at the Uyo round about and that everybody passing through there had to lose some money which ended up in the pocket of Inyangette. Angry and frustrated traders and taxi drivers wasted no time in agrecing that they had been losing money each time they passed through there. They stormed the house of Inyangette at Uyo but the man was

away. They released part of their tension by causing extensive damage to his house. News got to Inyangette who took refuge at the police station in Calabar.

It is significant to note that Inyangette is not a native of Uyo and had been very successfully competing against other transporters who are indigenes of the area. Inyangette reacted by saying that his competitors had engineered his being identified as a witch. The timing of this incident was important. The transport business in previous months had not been going well and now it was holiday season, a highly lucrative period for transporters as schools were closing. So identifying Inyangette as a witch at this time very seriously affected his business. People reacted to the accusation of Inyangette as a witch by spontaneously boycotting his buses. The boycott was very effective, a just punishment for a businessman who used unfair methods to get rich.

For traders in Uyo and the environs, they had been facing all sorts of tensions and frustrations. Because of the very high rate of inflation, the state government, in addition to the federal government measures had introduced stringent economie measures in an effort to contain the alarming rate of inflation. The result was great scarcity of money in the hands of people who normally patronise the traders. As usual, in almost any harsh economic measure it is the low income people who suffer the most; in this instance the traders who depended on the buyers (the low income people) were equally affected. Since all government contracts were frozen, this meant high unemployment rate for those who depended on such jobs. So to these groups of people the witchcraft eradication crusade could not have come at a more appropriate time; they were able to vent their frustrations and tensions on the supposed witches.

For the young taxi and mini bus drivers, Inyangette was a serious threat to their source of livelihood. Inyangette had made the taxi and mini bus drivers unhappy by making their business very had. These drivers ply the Uyo-Oron, Uyo-Calabar, Uyo-Aba, Uyo-Port Harcourt, and Uyo-Lagos roads, and these are the roads plied by Inyangette buses, among others. Worse still, Inyangette buses charges less fare than the taxi and mini bus drivers. Most people prefer to travel on the big buses for safety reasons. Further, the suzuki mini buses which carry six passengers had been banned at Uyo in 1978 because the police said they were not safe to be used as taxi.

Since these buses competed with Inyangette's buses, their owners as well as drivers had no difficulty suspecting Inyangette as the one who master-minded the banning of the suziki buses. Although others own buses that ply the same routes as the taxis and mini buses, the fact that the mini buses (suzuki) were banned shortly after Inyangette had taken in a new set of buses led to his being the key suspect. And other tranporters may have given false information to the drivers that Inyangette was responsible for their problems. This point was alleged by two taxi drivers I talked to. Inyangette was suspected to have bribed the police to declare the suzuki buses unsafe. These activities more than 'confirmed' that Inyangette was a witch; he was accumulating money through nefarious means. They reasoned that in 1970 Inyangette was a poor man but by 1978 he was a millionaire. "He must be a witch" was the general conclusion. The explanation by Inyangette that he borrowed a lot of money from banks to boost his business meant nothing to the irate young men who can now blame their poverty and other problems on some external object. This simply confirms the general notion that witchcraft accusation follows the pattern of tension and conflict in society. Thus, someone who believes that he is the victim of witchcraft will generally suspect as the witch someone else who is in a state of enmity with him, or who is a rival or a possible rival. Inyangette, appeared to have scored a point when he told the *Nigerian Chronicle* (November 23, 1978), that his competitors in the transport business had invented the "imaginary witchcraft story" in order to get him out of the lucrative transport business.

As the crusade advanced, the whole thing was converted into a money making affair and a campaign of smear and calumny. This is not to say that this writer believed what Akpan Ekwong and his lieutenants did by way of identifying or detecting witches. Frustrated young men in Ibibio went to wealthy and rich people – particularly those they suspected to have made their money through nefarious means, e.g. ex-government officials known to have embezzled money before voluntarily retiring to take to private business – and demanded money from them. They asked these people to choose between having opprobrium heaped upon them by publicly identifying them as witches and giving them the money demanded. Many, for fear of being stigmatized, acquiesced and gave them the money but those who refused to succumb to their intrigues and blackmail were among the first to be identified as witches. These were among those who

were most cruelly treated by certain groups of Nka Ukpotio. So while at the initial stage it was Akpan Edwong and his accredited lieutenants who went about identifying or detecting witches, collecting and destroying their artifacts, and administering oath, it was not long before "false" prophets moved to various places exacting money from people in the name of the crusader and venting their frustrations on whoever did not yield to their blackmail. Of importance is the fact that Akpan Ekwong was arrested and charged for murder, torturing people and disturbing the peace. It was after his arrest and detention that the false prophets arose. Equally important is the fact that more than twenty lawyers volunteered to defend Akpan Ekwong free of charge. This overwhelmingly testified to the support the crusader enjoyed, even among the highly educated. He was subsequently tried and was discharged and acquitted.

CONCLUSION

Like other witch eradication movements, the Akpan Ekwong version aimed at eliminating witches and witchcraft. Obviously Akpan Ekwong benefited financially from the exercise and there were two sources of his funds: one was the anti-witchcraft medicines he sold to people. The second source was money and other things like goats, drinks, and yams that the villages in which he identified witches gave him. This writer interviewed two of Akpan Ekwong's closest deputies one of which was his uncle. It was obvious that the crusader himself did not know of most of the money given to him or collected on his behalf. Akpan Ekwong looked quite dedicated and the following he commanded testified to the popularity of his mission. It was so popular that despite the shoot at sight order by the Commissioner of Police, the crusade meetings continued to hold. Where the police attempted to enforce the order they met with stiff resistance and consequently gave up. Generally, the police despatched to prevent the holding of crusade meetings became spectators. The uproar in the State that followed the Commissioner of Police order was more than enough to convince even the most doubting Thomas that the crusade enjoyed the support of most people in the area. Anybody who spoke against it was quickly branded a witch. On November 29, 1978, the Uyo township chiefs as well as those from the semi urban areas visited the *Nigerian Chronicle* office in Calabar to publicize their support for the crusade.

If we accept the pronouncements of Akpan Ekwong after his release (discharge and acquittance) that he was well taken care off by the police while in detention because the police themselves believed in the righteousness of his cause, then even the police supported the crusade. Akpan Ekwong claimed that he made anti-witchcraft charms for people – including the police – while he was in police custody. All this confirms two things, namely, that the crusade was very popular, and secondly that belief in witchcraft is not declining.

Finally, it is true that witchcraft accusation provides both individuals and communities with a scapegoat. It enables people to believe that their failures are due not to any fault of theirs, but to the machinations of others. But as the Ibibio found out, the problem with this approach of coping with crisis or tension is that relief is never more than temporary. It comes only from belief that the source of stress has been really identified and dealt with. But because witches are, and never were, the actual cause of trouble, hunting them down and punishing them cannot do any lasting good. Despite the temporary cathartic comfort it may bring, witch hunting has no effect on the real causes of frustration and social stress. But it is impossible to get the Ibibio to appreciate this fact.

Anthropologica, XXIV (1982), p. 43-76

Symbolism and Inter-Ethnic Relations Among Hunter-Gatherers: Chipewyan Conflict Lore

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RÉSUMÉ

La façon dont la rivalité et la compétition inter-ethniques sont codées symboliquement dans le folklore oral implique l'utilisation de relations complexes entre le comportement social contemporain et les processus historiques; ceci est manifesté par les contes de conflits des indiens Tchitpewayan, chasseurs du subarctique canadien.

The Island

Once a Cree man and a Chipewyan man were travelling by canoe on a very large lake. They came to an island where they stopped and walked around, but when the Chipewyan was not looking the Cree returned to the canoe and paddled away leaving the other man alone on the island. The Chipewyan

* My debt to the Chipewyan people of Patuanak is great, and I extend special thanks to Albert Black, Joseph Black, Norbert George, Frank McIntyre and Noel McIntyre for sharing their rich oral tradition. The folklore material in this study was obtained in field research supported by the National Institute of General Medical Sciences (GMO1164), the National Museums of Canada (UE10-23-75, UE10-23-77), the Research Foundation of the State University of New York at Albany (20-CO10-A), and the University Awards Committee of the State University of New York (020-7387-A). A National Endowment for the Humanities grant (RO-00157-80-0320) supported archival research, and I extend my gratitude to the Hudson's Bay Company for permitting me to examine and quote from their original documents in the Provincial Archives of Manitoba and from microfilm collections in the Public Archives of Canada, Ottawa. Also, I am grateful for a Fulbright-Hays Award for teaching at the University of Helsinki, Finland where I had beneficial contacts in the Institutes of Ethnology and Folklore and where an early version of this paper was presented. Hetty Jo Brumbach and Gary Gossen deserve special recognition for thorough reviews and helpful suggestions, but I take full responsibility for the interpretations herein.

man found that many geese were landing there as that was the fall of the year. He made snares from the fibers of plants and was able to catch a large number of the geese. Then he dug a large hole in the ground and lined it with goose feathers. He also cached a great quantity of dried goose meat in that hole. He crawled into the hole and in that manner was able to pass the entire winter in warmth and with food.

In the spring the Cree man once again paddled to the island, but the Chipewyan man saw him approaching and hid from sight. As the Cree walked along the shore he said aloud: "I wonder where his bones are?" The Chipewyan man knew that the Cree was expecting to find him dead. So when the Cree had walked some distance from his canoe the Chipewyan quickly ran from his hiding place. The Cree man heard the sound of paddling. He ran to the beach and saw the Chipewyan man travelling away in the canoe leaving him stranded on the island now.

Chipewyan trapper
Northern Saskatchewan, Canada 1971

INTRODUCTION

The above narrative, "The Island," is one example of a genre of contemporary oral literature among the Chipewyan Indians of central subarctic Canada. Fundamental to the structure of these tales is the presence of an adverse social environment, represented by traditional Cree enemies, and a way of surmounting the adversity. As such, the narratives serve as symbolic lessons in problem-solving. The appropriateness of these symbolic messages, given the nature of Chipewyan historical and cultural experience, will be explored in this paper and used as a basis for addressing broader issues regarding inter-societal conflict.

The social anthropological literature on marriage, trade and political alliance contains ample documentation of the varied manner in which cooperative interactions between societies or ethnic groups reinforce cultural differences. Barth's (1969: 15-16) notion of the *complementarity* of cultural differences among interacting groups is an attempt to model such systems of interdependence. Of course, there is a reverse side to this processual coin. Economic competition, warfare and other hostile relations can also reinforce, if not magnify, social and cultural differences between societies in conflict (Le Vine and Campbell 1972: 29-42). It is the relationship of such *negative* forms of interaction to out-group imagery and social distance that forms the general concern of this paper. More

specifically, it seeks to specify the manner in which rivalry and competition are symbolically coded in oral folklore. Are tales of inter-group hostility reflective commentaries upon historical events? Are they subtle indicators of ongoing attitudes and behavior? Do they function to justify and perpetuate cultural differences? Such questions form an analytical framework for assessing Chipewyan folklore. The preliminary answer at this stage of investigation will be affirmative. The oral literature does appear to function in all of the contexts suggested above but in a complex manner which can only be clarified by further research of a multi-disciplinary nature.

As Berndt (1966: 252) has noted, many North American ethnologists have approached myth analysis from the perspective of how accurately and in what dimensions oral literature reflects other aspects of a people's life, a scholarly tradition that extends back to Boas' (1914) pioneering work. The structural approach to myth, as exemplified by the writings of Lévi-Strauss (1963) and Leach (1969), seeks explanations of the basic paradoxes of social existence in symbolic codes. Despite the extensive debate raging over it's logical and methodological merits and weaknesses, the structuralist paradigm has generated stimulating analyses of North American folklore materials. For example, Carroll's (1981: 310) recent re-evaluation of Trickster characters rejects Lévi-Strauss' *specific* interpretation of the empirical-symbolic associations involved in Trickster mythology but upholds the *general* structural hypothesis that "the function of myth is to provide a conceptual model that openly expresses some dilemma, while at the same time provides a basis for evading that dilemma." It will be argued that the problem-solving qualities of Chipewyan lore are compatible with this general hypothesis, although it should be noted that structural analysts have tended to emphasize inter-personal or intra-societal relationships as sources of tension and opposition. The structure of Chipewyan conflict lore is explicitly inter-societal.

Jacobs' (1959) classic stylistic study of Clackamas Chinook oral literature does examine anxieties concerning financial connections, in-law relationships and alien shamans in an inter-village context, but the folktales are interpreted largely as commentaries upon troublesome inter-personal relations and aspects of personality. Again, the frame of reference is not pointedly inter-societal or inter-ethnic.

As a final comment upon precedent, it is worth noting that Firth's (1961: 5) functionalist analysis of Tikopian oral tradition emphasizes its role as a mirror of existing sociopolitical arrangements but minimizes its potential as a document of past behavior:

> No one will deny that traditional tales may embody a reflection of some incidents that occurred in the past, or that they may show elements of curiosity and explanation, dramatic interest and imaginative impulse. But for the social anthropologist the primary standpoint of evaluation must be that of concentration upon empirical data – the tales as communicated and the local explanation of them and their observed context in the social life of the people.

The functional-contextual perspective as summarized above is a valuable one, and the recitation of Chipewyan conflict tales may hold significance for the manner in which Chipewyan and Cree interact in ongoing situations. Whether or not oral literature provides meaningful insights upon historical events is a complex issue. Where independent sources of information exist, as in the case of ethnohistorical documentation and archaeological evidence, it behooves the anthropologist to connect these frameworks with possible references to past behavior in oral lore. Where such connections can be established, of course, it may be possible to assess the "accuracy" of lore from the standpoint of Western history. However, accuracy in this sense is a less intriguing issue than the extent to which oral lore provides a key to understanding historical processes that generated ongoing social conditions. This is an empirical matter which must be evaluated for each social system, and some preliminary findings in the Chipewyan material will be discussed. Clearly, there is little reason for assuming that oral literature, by its very nature, is ahistorical or "quasi-history."

CHIPEWYAN CONFLICT LORE: THE CASE MATERIAL

The oral literature to be considered here was collected as a by-product of ethnographic research on contemporary economic behavior in the Chipewyan Indian community of Patuanak, Saskatchewan in the years between 1971 and 1977 (Jarvenpa 1976, 1977, 1979, 1980). These Athapaskan-speaking people occupy the Upper Churchill River drainage, an important historical contact zone emerging with the growth of the European and EuroCanadian market economy in the late eighteenth century. Early fur company posts were situated near the divide separating the Mackenzie

watershed from those waters draining east into Hudson Bay, and thus began a process of accelerating contacts and competition between Chipewyan and Algonkian-speaking Cree populations gravitating toward the same resources. An extended discussion of the historical situation will be presented later. The essential point here is that loosely articulated bands of subarctic hunter-gatherers from two different cultural-linguistic traditions (Chipewyan and Cree) became involved with each other in new ways as their involvement with Europeans and the fur trade economy intensified. As depicted in Figure I, Patuanak is located in the very southern range of what has been "Chipewyan territory" for approximately the past two centuries. Immediately to the south are communities with predominantly Cree or Metis Cree composition, such as Ile a la Crosse, Pinehouse Lake and Canoe Lake.

The Patuanak folktales were unsolicited. That is, they were given as spontaneous narrations, most often by middle-aged and elderly males in the context of evening entertainment in trapping, hunting and fishing camps. Audiences were generally small, consisting of the two or three men composing the work partnership in addition to myself. The middle-aged narrators typically spoke in the local form of English. In those cases where tales were recited in Chipewyan by elderly men, English translations were provided by younger companions.

Thus far, the oral literature inventory from Patuanak includes 21 separate tales or story-plots, and nine of these (over 40 percent) offer as their central themes serious conflicts and hostility between Chipewyan and Cree. It is this body of lore that will be the subject of analysis in ensuing discussion, and the complete texts for these nine conflict tales are contained in the Appendix. Negative interactions between Chipewyan and Cree appear in virtually all of the earlier published sources on Chipewyan folklore as well.[1]

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[1] Although ethnographic research in northern Athapaskan Indian communities was rather limited until recent years, a substantial collection of oral literature from Chipewyan sources has been compiled. In readily accessible published work there is Emile Petitot's (1886) material, largely gathered in the Great Slave Lake and Lake Athabasca vicinities in the 1860s and 1870s. From the early twentieth century there are collections by Goddard (1912) and Curtis (1928) at Cold Lake, Alberta; Lowie (1912) at Fort Chipewyan, Alberta; Lofthouse (1913), location unspecified;

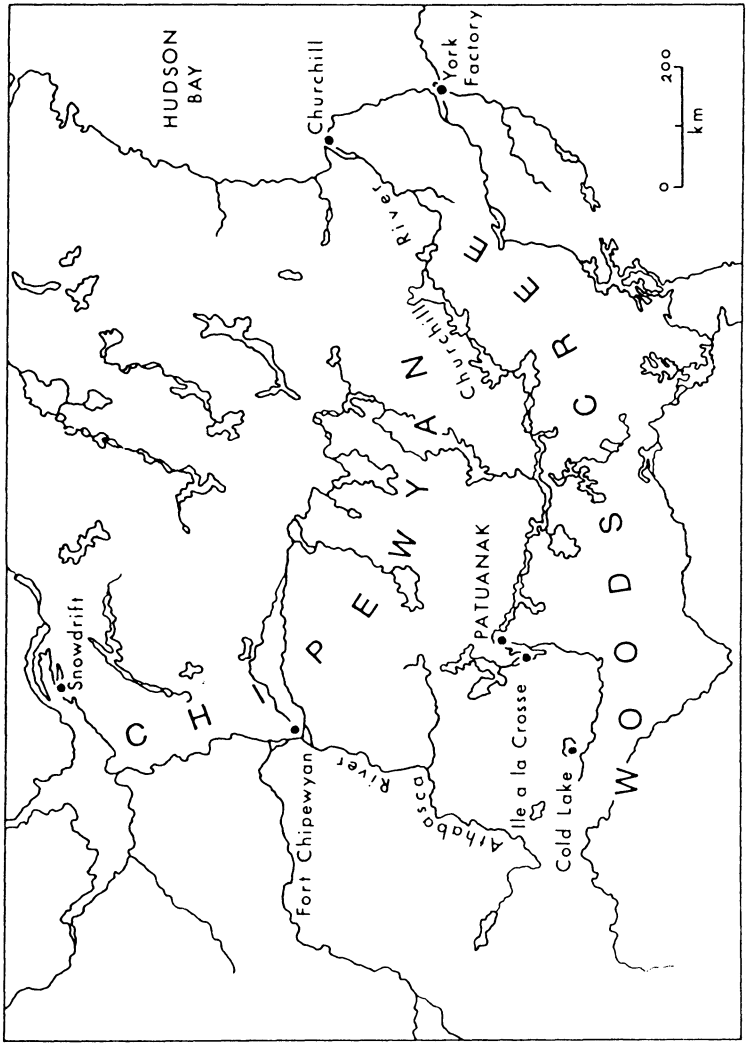

FIGURE 1 - *Recent territorial distribution of Chipewyan and Cree groups in north-central Canada.*

Such themes appear in collections obtained in the Great Slave Lake and Lake Athabasca vicinities (Petitot 1886), at Cold Lake, Alberta (Goddard 1912, Curtis 1928), at Fort Chipewyan, Alberta (Lowie 1912), and at Churchill, Manitoba (Birket-Smith 1930).

However, the prevalence of this kind of folktale is most pronounced among the Patuanak Chipewyan. Considered either in terms of absolute numbers of "conflict tales," or in terms of the proportion of such tales with respect to the entire known folktale inventory of a locality, this is the case. It is tempting to posit some sort of relationship between spatial proximity of groups (Chipewyan and Cree), levels of inter-group hostility and, in turn, the symbolic expression of hostility in folklore. Even though Chipewyan communities in close association with Cree communities appear to have more conflict lore than those that have had less direct or prolonged contact with Cree, an hypothesis of this kind is simplistic and unsatisfactory. Such an explanation, for example, would not account for the relatively low incidence of conflict lore at places like Fort Churchill (Birket-Smith 1930) where Chipewyan and Cree were engaged in competitive struggles for trading privileges in the early eighteenth century. Of course, there is an obvious methodological problem in that the motives for and means of collecting folktale materials were not uniform in the different settings and time periods, and, therefore, none of the inventories can be considered a "complete" record or a randomly sampled record, if the latter is even possible. Table 1 is not an attempt to reify conflict lore frequencies but rather a way of indicating the relative abundance and distribution of this form of oral literature.

ADVERSITY AND ADVERSITY ESCAPED

To facilitate the analysis of thematic structures in the Patuanak conflict lore, I have adapted the framework developed by Dundes

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and Birket-Smith (1930) at Churchill, Manitoba. More recently Cohen and VanStone (1964) produced an innovative analysis of dependency and self-sufficiency themes in Chipewyan folktales using some of the early twentieth century material noted above but also employing Chipewyan children's lore gathered by VanStone at Snowdrift on Great Slave Lake. Also of relevance is a recent Indian education publication by Reynolds (1979) which features folktales primarily from Chipewyan in northern Saskatchewan.

(1964, 1965) for examining the morphology of North American Indian folktales in general. Dundes identifies widely occurring functions or *motifemes* which are occupied by the specific content of *motifs* or alternative *allomotifs*.[2] Motifemes typically are strung together in sequences, as in the case of the common structural sequence: Lack (L) and Lack Liquidated (LL). The goal in this study is not to employ motifeme sequences for pure morphological or syntagmatic analysis since this would be removed from problems of symbolism and social-historical meaning. The emphasis on Dundes' framework will be its usefulness as a tool in distilling the organization of important themes and messages. For example, one of the most salient features of much of North American Indian folktales, including the Chipewyan lore, is a movement from disequilibrium to equilibrium. Dundes' (1965: 208) L-LL sequence represents "how abundance was lost or how lack was liquidated." By the same token, much of the Chipewyan conflict lore is a movement from instability to stability in social relations. It is possible to view warfare and hostility as a "lack" of social harmony, although this is a modification of Dundes' original conception of disequilibrium as an absence of tangible materials (eg. food) or an excess of tangible substances (eg. flood water). For this reason the motifeme *Adversity* (Adv) will be introduced to signify instability in the context of an ever-present hostile social environment, the environment of threatening Cree neighbors.

As will be illustrated below, a common and logical sequence is Adv-AE. That is, harmony is restored by escaping from adversity. In this sense, AE signifies Attempted Escape in the manner specified by Dundes, but in the Chipewyan conflict lore it has the closely allied meaning of *Adversity Escaped* or *Adversity Eliminated.* One other modification is in order. Some of the Chipewyan narrators include substantial prologues in their tales. These are informational backdrops, assertions or statements that provide a reference point for the rest of the tale. While these are not part of the drama or "action" sequence of the narrative, they will be identified simply as *Postulates* (Post), and corollaries or modifications of such

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[2] Dundes gained inspiration for his framework from Propp's (1928) structural study of Russian folktales and from Pike's (1954-1960) theoretical contributions in structural linguistics.

basic statements will be *Qualifications* (Qual). Several other common motifeme sequences recognized by Dundes are the following:

Task (T)
Task Accomplished (TA)

Interdiction (Int)
Violation (Viol)
Consequence (Conseq)
Attempted Escape (AE)

Lack (L)
Deceit (Dct)
Deception (Dcpn)
Lack Liquidated (LL)

TABLE 1

Absolute and relative frequency of Chipewyan Cree conflict lore in Chipewyan communities

Community or Vicinity	Number of Conflict Tales	Total Folktale Inventory	Percentage of Conflict Lore in the Inventory
Patuanak (Jarvenpa 1970s)	9	21	42.8%
Cold Lake (Curtis 1928)	2	6	33.3
Fort Chipewyan (Lowie 1912)	6	18	33.3
Cold Lake (Goddard 1912)	3	13	23.1
Churchill (Birket-Smith 1930)	4	19	21.1
Great Slave Lake[a] (Petitot 1886)	2	12	16.6
Combined Localities	26	89	29.2%

[a] Although Petitot provides 21 folktales from five different localities, only those from Great Slave Lake (the largest collection: 12 tales) are used for comparative purposes here.

The above do not exhaust the range of existing or possible motifemes and sequences, and shorter sequences frequently are combined to form more complex structures. The following list contains the nine tales of Chipewyan / Cree confrontation arranged in structural sequences, and the reader can compare these with the content of the original texts in the Appendix:

1. *Labidsas Under Water*

   Adv Cree medicine woman turns Labidsas' food to sand, making him ill.

   AE Labidsas overcomes the Cree woman's magic by immersing himself in a lake.

2. *Eredk'ali and the Cree*

   Post Eredk'ali is a Chipewyan culture hero, a relative of local people, and a warrior against the Cree.

   Adv Cree enemies pursue Eredk'ali.

   AE Eredk'ali escapes the Cree by running rapidly between two hills without touching the ground.

3. *Segalaze and the Cree*

   Post Segalaze is a Chipewyan culture hero with quick legs and strength who subdues Cree enemies.

   Adv The Chipewyan encounter a group of threatening Cree.

   AE With his spear and his quickness Segalaze kills all the Cree and saves his people.

   Adv The Chipewyan encounter dangerous grizzly bears.

   AE Segalaze again saves his people by confusing the bears with his speed and then killing them.

4. *The Island*

   Dct A Cree man lures a Chipewyan man to an island on a friendly pretext.

   Dcpn Chipewyan man follows and is abandoned.

T Chipewyan man makes preparations to live on the island.

TA Chipewyan man survives the winter alone.

AE Chipewyan man escapes the island by placing the Cree man in the same predicament.

5. *Labidsas and the Old Cree Woman*

Adv Cree medicine woman harrasses Chipewyan men for gifts of food by threatening sorcery.

T Labidsas sets out to conquer the Cree magician.

Int Cree woman threatens Labidsas with harm if her requests are denied.

Viol Labidsas deliberately rejects the woman's demands.

Conseq Labidsas is besieged by magically produced storms, wolves and a fish hook imbedded in his body.

AE Labidsas uses his power and his animal helper to escape the calamities.

TA Labidsas kills the Cree woman with the magic fish hook.

6. *Dog's Hind Leg*

Post The Cree have an advantage over the Chipewyan in access to European goods and guns in the early fur trade.

T Chipewyan attempt to contact first white fur traders.

Adv Southward-moving Chipewyan are thwarted by gun-wielding Cree who capture Chipewyan woman Dineldare, "slave woman".

Dct Cree try to convince white trader that Chipewyan are savage beasts who should be killed off.

AE Dineldare's beauty impresses trader who gives her freedom.

TA Dineldare returns to her people and brings the fur trade to the Chipewyan.

7. *The Magic Glass*

T Chipewyan trapper travels to large fur post to trade his furs.

TA The trapper sells his furs and receives a gift from the post manager, a magnifying glass.

T Two Chipewyan magicians and the trapper join forces in a raid against the Cree for horses.

Adv Chipewyan men are detected by Cree magicians and captured.

Int Cree chief threatens to kill Chipewyan men unless they surpass him in magic.

Viol Chipewyan men fail in performing magic.

Conseq Cree prepare the Chipewyan men for death.

AE Chipewyan trapper scares the Cree into submission with his magnifying glass.

TA Chipewyan men return safely to their home territory with booty of Cree horses.

8. *Raven-Head (DatsaΘi)*

Post DatsaΘi is helpful in Chipewyan battles against the Cree.

Qual DatsaΘi can also assist the Cree against the Chipewyan and is, therefore, unpredictable.

9. *Chipewyan/Cree Peace Pact*

Adv Chipewyan and Cree people are continually fighting each other.

T Chipewyan man and Cree man simultaneously search for eagle feathers.

TA The two men encounter eagles and each other at the same location.

AE The two men make a peace agreement, and the Chipewyan and Cree people become friends.

PROBLEM-SOLVING THEMES

Considering the conflict lore as a whole, there are very few situations in these tales where the Cree are not portrayed in derogatory terms. Frequently they are presented as openly hostile aggressors in warfare (tales 2, 3, 6) or as perpetrators of supernatural attacks through the agency of sorcery (tales 1, 5). In more subtle confrontations, as illustrated by the canoe travelers in *The Island* (tale 4), the Chipewyan are imperiled by Cree ploy and deception. A normative statement emerges from these narratives which emphasizes overt antagonism, deceit and untrustworthiness as primary qualities of Cree character. It is also apparent that most of the adverse situations affecting the Chipewyan are initiated by Cree action upon them. In many instances (tales 1, 2, 3, 5) *Adversity* is the initial condition. The Cree are plotting or aggressing against the Chipewyan who must overcome the adversity. Only in a few situations is this aggressor/victim relationship reversed. In *Dog's Hind Leg* and *The Magic Glass*, for example, the Chipewyan are endangered as a result of their inroads and activity against the Cree.

The fact that the Chipewyan present themselves as the victims of Cree aggression is interesting in itself, and if one is inclined to follow the psychological interpretations of Cohen and VanStone (1964) such patterns may reflect deeply-rooted strivings of dependency and passivity. At the same time, however, the Chipewyan portray themselves as ultimate victors. In every case where the Cree become a threat or an obstacle to some goal, invariably the Chipewyan overcome the impediment. The paths to overcoming adversity are numerous and varied. Physical strength and speed of super-human proportions are employed by the great Chipewyan culture heroes *Segalaze* and *Eredk'ali* (tales 2, 3). Supernatural power is the salvation of the *inkonzedene* or shaman, *Labidsas* (tales 1, 5). *Dineldare*, the slave woman, triumphs through endurance and physical beauty (tale 6). In yet other cases, a combination of endurance, cunning and deceit succeeds (tales 4, 7). In essence, the conflict tales are simple proverbs or lessons in problem-solving. The predominant message is:

> The social environment of Cree neighbors is hostile and dangerous; But we can adapt to these circumstances with strength, intelligence and supernatural power.

To the extent that lore can be viewed as coded recipes for coping with difficulty, it is apparent that the Chipewyan material also reflects a strong value of self-sufficiency.

Two of the tales stand apart from the pattern described above. *Raven-head (DatsaΘi)* is anomalous in two ways. First, it provides no resolution or solution to conflict. Secondly, it proceeds no farther than a simple statement of conditions, that *Raven-Head* helps both Chipewyan and Cree against each other. Despite the fact that an action motifeme sequence is not developed, an ambivalent attitude toward the culture hero-trickster character is displayed. The basis for the ambivalence is seen more readily in the longer tales collected by Goddard (1912: 54-55), Lowie (1912: 175-178) and Reynolds (1979: 60-66) in which *Raven-Head* magically calls forth Cree to kill the Chipewyan with whom he lives. Perhaps the fundamental significance of all the *Raven-Head* tales is that they represent an area of social relations that cannot be controlled or predicted. Shifting loyalties are painful, and they are often unpredictable. *Raven-Head* personifies such uncertainty.

The final tale, *Chipewyan / Cree Peace Pact*, is also an anomaly. It is conspicuous in this collection as the only tale where a cooperative theme prevails. In an accidental encounter the Chipewyan and Cree agree to end their traditional enmity and build a friendship. This form of problem-solving appears in none of the other Chipewyan folktale collections. In tales where some cooperative behaviour occurs, such as the Chipewyan / Cree intermarriage in *Ebedaholtihe* (Goddard 1912: 55-56), it is overshadowed by antagonistic interactions. *Chipewyan / Cree Peace Pact*, then, offers another avenue toward coping with other societies. The question of why this theme is so poorly developed will be returned to later.

REFERENCES TO EUROCANADIAN OBJECTS, EVENTS AND PROCESSES

It is interesting that as the Chipewyan conflict narratives increase in length and in "motifemic depth" there is a tendency to incorporate references to EuroCanadian objects, events and behavior. Table 2 illustrates this relationship. For example, the shorter narratives (tales 1, 2) are structured in terms of a simple Adv-AE sequence and include no mention of the European world.

Tales of moderate length (tales 3, 4) repeat cycles of Adv-AE, or add Dct-Dcpn and T-TA sequences, and do not refer to European behavior except for incidental analogies to native culture heroes.

TABLE 2

Narrative Length, Motifeme Structure and European References in Chipewyan Conflict Lore

Folktale (listed in Appendix)	Number of Words in Narrative	Number of Motifemes in Narrative	Number of European Events, Objects or Processes[a]
1.	107	2	0
2.	193	3	0
3.	304	5	0[b]
4.	243	5	0
5.	593	7	5[c]
6.	518	6	4[d]
7.	772	9	8[e]
8.	59	2	0
9.	261	4	0

[a] This refers to the number of kinds or classes of European or EuroCanadian items and behavior.

[b] The references to Superman, Flash and Cassius Clay are almost afterthoughts, and it becomes an arbitrary matter whether they should be counted here. Clearly, they are not intrinsic to the story-plot. It should be noted that younger literate Chipewyan often preface folktales concerning the renowned culture heroes by drawing analogies with comic book culture heroes. This is an interesting phenomenon in itself.

[c] References include the barge, inter-village supply freighting, flour, lard, and a pan. A variant of this tale gives the Cree woman's residence as Stanley Mission, a settlement organized as a result of the late eighteenth century fur trade.

[d] References include fur trading, white fur traders, the Fort Churchill post on Hudson Bay, and guns.

[e] References include fur trading, the Hudson Bay post (presumably Fort Churchill), a local trading outpost, a fur post manager, a magnifying glass, England, cloth and horses.

The longest tales (tales 5, 6, 7), such as *The Magic Glass*, have the most complex motifeme sequences and contain many references to EuroCanadian technology and economic life that are intrinsic to the drama of the narratives.

In *Labidsas and the Old Cree Woman* the context of Chipewyan/Cree conflict is that of inter-community freighting of goods by barge.[3] This form of economic activity, and food products such as flour and lard, are a result of the Indians' historical involvement in the fur trade. In *Dog's Hind Leg* and *The Magic Glass*, references to Europeans and the fur trade economy increase and become more integral to the stories' structure. The motivation of the Chipewyan to become involved in the embryonic fur trade is the basis for the former tale, and the "slave woman" *Dineldare's* difficulties refer to an early eighteenth century context when Cree maintained exclusive access to York Factory, a post contested by English and French traders.[4] In The Magic Glass a specific historical context is not indicated, but the reference to a parent Hudson's Bay Company post (perhaps Fort Churchill) is clear. The additional reference in this tale to "local post" indicates a later stage in history, generally post-1800, when a system of interior central posts and daughter outposts emerged. However, involvement in fur trading becomes secondary to a Chipewyan

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[3] The use of the expression "barge", rather than "York boat" or "scow", is noteworthy because the barge is essentially a twentieth century conveyance in the Upper Churchill drainage.

[4] As noted by Gillespie (1975: 357), there were a number of Chipewyan "slave women" held captive by the Cree both during the period of French control of York Factory, between 1694 and 1714, and after the Hudson's Bay Company's recapture of the fort in 1714. No doubt, it was one of these Chipewyan women who became the celebrated "slave woman" in 1715 by contacting over 400 of her people and bringing "160 Men the Cleverest" to a peace conference with the Cree and the English traders. Curtis (1928: 8-9) collected a narrative about the Chipewyan captive woman *Thanadelthur* ("marten shake") which closely resembles the tale *Dog's Hind Leg*. Inexplicably, he treats this story as a "native account" of history and does not include it as part of a body of "mythology," even though many of the tales lumped in the latter category also emphasize Chipewyan/Cree conflict. It seems likely that Curtis implicitly follows Boas' (1914: 454-57) distinction between "mythical" and "historical" forms of lore. Because *Thanadelthur* has a highly specific historical context he, therefore, segregates it from the rest of the oral literature. On the other hand, Birket-Smith (1930: 99-100) collected a variant of this tale, but he treats it as part of a broad spectrum of oral tradition or "legends."

plot against Cree for horses. Northern Plains Indian groups in the Saskatchewan area, including the Plains Cree, received horses relatively late, in the period dating approximately 1740 to 1790 (Mandelbaum 1940: 195, Ray 1974: 156-162). As will be discussed later, the proximity of Chipewyan to horse-bearing Cree populations on the southern fringe of the boreal forest was itself a product of growing involvement with Europeans.

Thus, while all of the conflict tales involve problems in coping with hostile Cree neighbors, those with identifiable EuroCanadian elements or settings exhibit prolonged and complex structuring before achieving resolution or equilibrium. If there is any merit in arguing that conflict resolution and decision-making became more complicated in the new economic and political environment created by Europeans, it is plausible that such intricacies would be registered symbolically in oral folklore. However, without a larger collection of lore than is presently available this assumption remains speculative.

THE BEHAVIORAL BASIS OF CONFLICT LORE

The major assertion of this study is that Chipewyan conflict lore symbolically codifies actual inter-group competition that has been prevalent historically, but that it also codifies other kinds of inter-ethnic relations which have not been overtly competitive. To appreciate this behavioral basis, it is necessary to briefly examine what is known about Chipewyan / Cree relations in general and in the Upper Churchill drainage specifically.

The ethnohistorical research of Gillespie (1975) and Smith (1975) identifies the late eighteenth century rivalry between Montreal-based trading companies and the English Hudson's Bay Company as responsible for drawing some Chipewyan groups southward into the full boreal forest. It was here, particularly along the Athabasca and Churchill River systems, that the Chipewyan came into contact with Cree populations at least some of whom had been moving westward with the expanding fur trade. However, nearly a century before this, and hundreds of miles to the east, intense trade rivalries between Chipewyan and Cree had been developing as English and French traders competed for the embryonic fur industry along the west shore of Hudson Bay. By 1720 the Cree and the Assiniboine were

already entrenched as the major Indian middlemen, controlling the fur trade out of York Factory "through the use of force (Ray 1974: 59)." During that early period, it is likely that the traditional adaptation of Chipewyan to the hunting of migratory barren-ground caribou along the forest-tundra transition prevented their enthusiastic conversion to fur trapping (Gillespie 1975: 364-368, Smith 1975: 412). On the other hand, attempts by some Chipewyan to establish trading contacts and trapping grounds southeastward toward Hudson Bay in the early 1700s were accompanied by intensive warfare with Cree who had a military advantage in firearms. Apparently, the Chipewyan suffered extensive population losses.[5] This disruptive conflict set the context for the Hudson's Bay Company's peace-making mission of 1715. Captain James Knight of York Factory sent out William Stewart in the company of a Chipewyan "slave woman" to negotiate a peace between local bands of Chipewyan and Cree (Kenny 1932: 53-56). As noted previously (see note 4), the account of the "slave woman" *Dineldare* in the tale *Dog's Hind Leg* almost becomes a literal chronicle of this early period of abrasive competition. It seems fitting that the Chipewyan expression "dog's hind leg" is a euphemism for the gun.

In the late 1700s the Chipewyan began expanding their range south and southwestward into the Upper Churchill drainage. By the 1790s Ile a la Crosse had become the major point of trade in this area, eliminating the need for local Indian groups to make the long trading journey eastward to Fort Churchill. It is generally accepted that this later period of Chipewyan territorial expansion involved less overt hostility between Chipewyan and Cree (Gillespie 1975: 368-374). Cree losses to the smallpox epidemic of 1780-81 may have facilitated a Chipewyan southward movement, but the disease presumably debilitated both populations.[6] At some point in the early

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[5] James Knight at York Factory reported that as many as 6 000 Indian men had been killed in fighting along the Cree-Chipewyan border during that period. He also noted that most of the casualties were suffered by the Chipewyan and speculated that their losses would have been reduced had the Chipewyan received firearms earlier (Ray 1974: 19).

[6] In 1822-23, officials of the Hudson's Bay Company for the Ile a la Crosse District observed that 476 "Northern Indians" (Chipewyan) reported regularly to the main post at Ile a la Crosse while 231 Cree Indians normally traded at the other district posts at Cold Lake and Lac La Ronge (PAC HBC B.89/e/1, fo. 1-6). In an 1838 census the HBC reported that the English River District had 489 Chipewyan associated with the Ile a la Crosse post, 289 Cree at the Green

nineteenth century the upper reaches of the Churchill River itself began crystallizing as an approximate boundary or contact zone between the two indigenous cultures, with the southernmost bands of Chipewyan to the north and groups of Western Woods Cree immediately to the south. *Thilanottine* ("men of the end of the head," or "those who dwell at the head of the lakes") (Petitot 1883: 651, Smith 1975: 413) became a general regional badge of identification for the southern Chipewyan. Those Chipewyan who specifically became associated with the Ile a la Crosse trading sphere, including the immediate ancestors of the Patuanak Chipewyan, became known as *kesyehot'ine* or "poplar house people".

It is clear that the expansion of the fur trade was rapidly re-arranging Indian societies spatially and economically. An important key to interpreting the conflict lore is the fact that the Chipewyan movement into the Upper Churchill drainage was *not* an easy transition economically or socially. From the earliest years of the nineteenth century the Cree in this area were able to assume a position of socio-economic dominance over the Chipewyan, and this system of stratification expressed itself primarily in the manner in which the two groups articulated with the mercantile economy.

Initial competition for fur resources actually saw Chipewyan encroachment upon beaver hunting locales habitually used by Cree, often at the behest of the fur traders (Gillespie 1975: 383). However, the Cree were able to force reparations of rum and other items from encroaching Chipewyan trappers (Mackenzie 1802: lxxviii) when hostilities could be avoided. There is no evidence of reciprocal payments when Cree made forays north of the Churchill River. Rather, the Chipewyan made every effort to avoid bush contacts with northward-traveling Cree, and they were practicing elaborate

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Lake post and 365 Indians (presumably these were mostly Cree) trading at Lac La Ronge (HBC PAM B.239/z/10, fo. 60). Of course, early population figures for any locality must be interpreted in the light of regional population movements and historical trends. Through the nineteenth century the mixed-blood or Metis population grew rapidly, contributing to an increasingly visible rudimentary working class at the major fur posts (Brown 1976). The Metis Cree at Ile a la Crosse and its outposts increased considerably in numbers during this period. However, the Chipewyan in the nineteenth century were basically summer residents in the Upper Churchill drainage. After trading, they dispersed far north and northeastward for winter trapping and hunting, and this was the case for many families as late as the 1940s (Jarvenpa 1978; Jarvenpa, Brumbach and Buell 1980).

forms of surveillance into the early years of this century. Elderly Patuanak residents, who refer to the experiences of their parents and grandparents, comment on the necessity for quick camp relocations:

> The Chipewyan people would just go to the backside of an island, and the Cree wouldn't even see them. Just go back south.

The same Chipewyan are also familiar with a network of "lookout" sites on top of prominent ridges and hills where, alledgedly, their ancestors monitored the movements of encroaching Cree. These surveillance points stretch northward from the Churchill River more than 120 miles to the vicinity of Cree Lake. Occasionally, the Chipewyan fear of *ena* (Cree or "enemy") disrupted normal trading operations, as indicated by the observations of the Hudson's Bay Company post manager at Ile a la Crosse in 1839 (PAC HBC B.89/a/19):

> I am sorry to remark that I did not find the affairs of the post in such good order as I had expected – very little hay made for the cattle and scarcely any provisions collected. The Chipewyans did not hunt for provisions as usual being afraid of bad Indians or Enemies, as they generally are, everything they see or hear, are bad Indians and (they) are alarmed.

Patterned avoidance behavior is an expression of Chipewyan deference toward the economically dominant Cree, and it characterizes the semi-permeable boundary between them. Chipewyan movements into predominantly Cree areas demanded considerable caution and expense, while Cree penetrations into Chipewyan locales received little resistance. The references to "observers" in the tale *Dog's Hind Leg*, and to Cree "hunting" in *Segalaze and the Cree*, reflect this tradition of surveillance and avoidance.

Social stratification in the trade system also was expressed in the rapid growth of a Metis Cree working class and in the prominence of the Cree language in mixed ethnic settings. A growing Metis population in the Upper Churchill drainage in the mid and late nineteenth century was largely a product of unions between local Cree women and French-Canadian male fur trade personnel. Some of these Metis Cree became field agents and outpost managers for the Hudson's Bay Company and for the short-lived Revillon Freres company during the early twentieth century. In many instances these Cree-speaking men were given assignments to manage the trade among wintering groups of Chipewyan, and frequently their marriage to local Chipewyan women facilitated such operations. Arrangements

of this kind were common as recently as the 1930s and 1940s (Jarvenpa, Brumbach and Buell 1980: 90-114). Moreover, it is interesting that more than one of these historical figures has an unsavory reputation among local Chipewyan today. Some of the Metis Cree traders are remembered as deceitful and stingy charlatans or as frightful, autocratic bullies.

It is likely that as the Metis Cree became integrated into the lower managerial ranks of the fur industry, that the Cree language was becoming a lingua franca between Indian groups. Communication between older Chipewyan and Cree residents in the Upper Churchill settlements continues to be conducted in the common medium of Cree. It is suggested, then, that asymmetrical marriage patterns and language use form another dimension of economic and social dominance in the fur trade, and that the Chipewyan had few alternatives other than learning Cree speech to maintain a position in the expanding trade. While these specific relationships are not directly or overtly expressed in the conflict lore, the formidability of the Cree is a strong and prevailing theme in most of the tales.

With the continuing economic development of the subarctic frontier in this century, interactions between Chipewyan and Cree have increased, and a range of cooperative behaviors, including intermarriage, have emerged. The tale *Chipewyan/Cree Peace Pact* symbolizes the development of positive relations, but as has been noted, this lone tale appears almost as a footnote to the heavy emphasis on negative relations. More intriguing is the area of magico-medicinal behavior. The Chipewyan and Cree of the Upper Churchill region have evolved a system of interdependencies that rests upon the *complementarity* of cultural differences, to use Barth's (1969: 18-19) concept. Presently, the Cree have recognized superiority in curing and divination. The Chipewyan, typically the middle-aged and elderly, find themselves in need of these services which they cannot perform, and they seek out and pay for the medicinal and supernatural treatment of illness by Cree medicine men and women. Thus, Cree-Chipewyan/patron-client relationships constitute a form of social organization that articulates a service with a need and at the same time perpetuates a societal or ethnic boundary. While the Chipewyan openly express their respect for Cree prowess in magical and medicinal knowledge, this recognition also becomes a point of vulnerability because there is fear of the negative applica-

tions of "medicine" in sorcery. The southern Chipewyan believe that powerful Cree can initiate or facilitate misfortune, illness or death by "working medicine against" someone (Jarvenpa 1978: 29-33). This places the Chipewyan in the uncomfortable position of having to seek protection from the same class of specialists that has the ability to create misfortune.

Magico-medicinal relations, then, are far from symbiotic or mutualistic. As the overt uses of *inkonze* (supernatural knowledge and power) and the *inkonzedene* (Chipewyan "shadow people," "magicians," or shamans) have diminished among the southern Chipewyan, their dependency upon Cree magico-medicinal specialists has increased. It is likely that some of the conflict lore functions as a counterpoint to or a negation of this dependency. In two of the tales the powerful Chipewyan magician Labidsas defeats a Cree medicine woman of fearsome reputation. It is interesting, however, that the Chipewyan magicians in *The Magic Glass* ultimately prove ineffective against Cree opponents and are saved by a fur trapper. The latter tale serves as a commentary, perhaps, on the historical decline of Chipewyan magico-religious practices.[7]

It is worth noting here that one form of adversive medicine which generates considerable anxiety for the Chipewyan is the Cree kidnapping and seduction of Chipewyan women through "love magic" or "love medicine." This has been the case historically for the southern Chipewyan, and even in the contemporary period distressing incidents involving missing women have been interpreted as products of Cree malevolent magic.

The theme of woman capture or seduction is not very well developed in the Patuanak oral lore, however. It is true that *Dineldare* becomes a captive of Cree enemies in the tale *Dog's Hind Leg*, but there is no obvious indication of magical manipulation or of sexual interest. The earlier collections of Birket-Smith (1930: 95), Lowie (1912: 193) and Petitot (1886: 398) contain variants of a tale in which two Chipewyan sisters are abducted by the Cree and ultimately are rescued by the stealth and magical power of their

[7] For a full discussion of the magico-religious beliefs of the Fort Resolution Chipewyan, see Smith (1973).

brother. These "stolen sisters" narratives more directly reflect a concern with aggression against women.[8]

CONCLUSIONS

At this point it is appropriate to return to several issues raised at the beginning of this paper. First, are tales of inter-group hostility reflective commentaries upon historical events? Generally speaking this is true. Chipewyan conflict lore may not be dispassionate documentary history, but neither is it the product of random cognitive processes. Rather, it bears a systematic relationship to actual behavior, including the manner in which Chipewyan and Cree populations have competed for food, marketable furs and territory, among other things. It is plausible that the intensity of inter-group conflicts in the Upper Churchill region accounts for the relative preponderance of conflict lore in southern Chipewyan communities.

Secondly, are conflict tales subtle indicators of ongoing attitudes and behavior? Again, an affirmative answer is in order because the folklore is attuned to persisting and emerging relationships between Chipewyan and Cree. While the overt hostilities of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries have largely subsided, they have been replaced by "cooperative" interactions, such as magico-medicinal relations, that generate feelings of ambivalence and supernatural vulnerability for the Chipewyan. It is likely that conflict lore featuring sorcery / counter-sorcery themes, for example, is a statement of threatening conditions in both past and present circumstances.

Finally, does conflict lore function to justify and perpetuate cultural differences? To the extent that such lore continues to occupy a prominent position in Chipewyan oral tradition, it symbolically draws a cultural boundary between Chipewyan and Cree.

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[8] The earlier folklore collections, deriving from more northerly locations, also portray abduction and marriage of Chipewyan women to Eskimo captors (Birket-Smith 1930: 96, Curtis 1928: 127, Goddard 1912: 52, Petitot 1886: 412). However, this behavior is invariably a preface to the central theme of discovery of copper metal. Goddard (1916) also collected extensive folktale material among the Beaver Indians, neighboring Athapaskan-speakers in northern Alberta. Many of the Beaver tales involve hostile conflicts with Cree, including the abduction of Beaver women.

The impact of this symbolism on attitudes, or the formation of negative attitudes toward the out-group, is far-reaching because the imagery is often intensely antagonistic. Repeated exposure to such imagery is a form of ethnocentric conditioning. Moreover, negative imagery appears regularly in a variety of structured contexts outside the domain of oral literature, particularly in elaborate jokes or ruses where unfamiliar Chipewyan individuals are introduced as *ena* or Cree with the idea of creating tension and discomfort among the Chipewyan recipients of the joke. Ostensibly, such joking behavior is a form of entertainment, at least for the perpetrators. Here, however, people are being entertained by their fears and uncertainties. These negative attitudes are brought into sharp focus by a contrived social situation. Like the conflict lore, the Cree stranger ruse serves as a symbolic reminder of real life social relations that are harmful or unpleasant, and the allusion to an innate and ever-present Chipewyan/Cree enmity reinforces the cultural boundary between them.

A departing thought relates to the matter of accuracy. That is, oral folklore may reflect historical and ongoing behavior *without accurately* representing such behavior. Obviously, the conflict lore is a biased account of behavior, a tangible projection of goals and desires, expressed through the symbols of Chipewyan culture. This is readily seen by referring to the previous discussion of conflict tales as lessons in problem-solving. To function in this manner the conflict lore invariably portrays the Chipewyan as victorious in their confrontations with the Cree. Yet, this is not historically true. Rather, the Cree have maintained a position of socio-economic dominance over the Chipewyan.

The question regarding accuracy is not a trivial one. Without adequate independent knowledge of the nature of Chipewyan/Cree relations in past and present circumstances, it is difficult to recognize connections between symbolic statements and actual social behavior. Toward this end my colleagues and I are involved in ethno-archaeological and ethnohistorical research on changing material and social relationships between Chipewyan, Cree, Metis and EuroCanadian groups in central Canada (Brumbach, Jarvenpa and Buell 1982). As this work progresses, it is hoped that folklore materials from Cree communities will permit a discussion of inter-ethnic imagery that is less one-sided than this one.

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APPENDIX

1. *Labidsas Under Water*

That *Labidsas* had strong medicine. One time he went under water for three days. The people saw him go under water, and he didn't come up for three days. Cree Indians were always trying to get after him, but he always knows what is coming up against him. He was powerful. A Cree medicine woman was against him. Every time he tried to eat something it turned to sand. He knew she was doing it, so he went under water. The sand was making him sick, so to cure himself he goes under the lake for three days, and that way he beat the Cree woman.

2. *Eredk'ali and the Cree*

Eredk'ali was a man who lived for 300 years. For the first 100 years he was a wolf before he became a man. J. B. Solomon once met him, and many of the Chipewyan people around here are related to him. That *Eredk'ali* was real experienced, you know. He did so much it took a long time to tell how he began and his life story. It would take two days to tell. He would start telling it, and people would fall asleep after awhile because it was so long. But it was interesting, still interesting, but so long that people start falling asleep. He was famous because he fought the Cree. As a man, the Cree were after him all the time, but *Eredk'ali* was too fast, too smart. One time the Cree were after him, you know, and he ran right across a valley between two hills. He didn't even touch the ground. That's how fast he was, super-like. That's how he got his name. That's what *Eredk'ali* means, "to go across," like those hills, but in the air. *Eredk'ali* means "to go across, flying," or "to go flying across."

3. *Segalaze and the Cree*

Segalaze was a Chipewyan man with fast legs who could run across a lake in the winter so fast he would look like a blur, like the *Flash* in those comics, you know. He was just a little guy, and he used to wear a fur thing around his neck, like *Superman*

I guess, a cape made of fur. There are some old people who saw him, so we know it was this way, you know. Well, a long time ago he would travel with the people. Sometimes they would be out hunting for Cree Indians, not really hunting, but just looking around to see where they were. And when they traveled, *Segalaze* always stayed behind in back of the group. He never walked in front. One time they ran into some Cree Indians. When they got close, *Segalaze* ran out in front. He had a little spear, and he just went around and in and out between all those Cree so fast. The old people say he looked like 20 different people he was so fast. And he killed all those Cree like that.

Another time the people were walking up a big hill. When they got to the top there were two grizzly bears there. The people were scared, but *Segalaze* was in back again. He loosened up his cape, and he ran ahead to those grizzly bears and ran around them real fast. Pretty soon all you could see was just dust. He must have had some kind of medicine for that because there was no dirt there. And when the dust cleared away those bears were dead.

I'll bet if Segalaze were alive now he could beat Cassius Clay, anybody. He would be a champion, huh? In any sport: boxing, hockey, football, soccer, anything. He would be the champion.

4. *The Island*

(see Introduction to this article for text)

5. *Labidsas and the Old Cree Woman*

There were some Chipewyan men around here that used to go up and down the river (Churchill River) on a barge bringing supplies to the villages. Every time they stopped at a certain village an old Cree woman, who was a powerful medicine woman and magician, would walk down to the barge and hold out a pan to the men. Usually they would put something in the pan, like flour or lard, because they were afraid the old woman might work magic against them. But there was a Chipewyan man named *Labidsas* from another village. He was the most powerful Chipewyan medicine man and curer. When he heard about the Cree woman and her threats he told the men on the barge that he wanted to go with them on their next trip and that he would beat the woman in magic.

The next time the barge stopped at the Cree village the old woman walked down to the river and held out her pan. But this time *Labidsas* was there, and he beat her away with a stick saying: "I will give you nothing." The Cree woman was very angry, and she told *Labidsas* and the men: "Three bad things will happen to you before you reach your home." Soon the men were traveling across a big lake (an expansion of the river), and *Labidsas* could feel that something bad was about to happen. He knew what the danger would be. Suddenly a big wind came and large waves that were going to break the barge, but *Labidsas* stopped this with his power.

Before reaching their home village the men stopped to make an overnight camp. *Labidsas* shared a tent with two other men. That night again he could feel that something bad was about to happen, and again he knew what the danger would be. He told the other men that he would sleep by himself about 15 yards from their tent. This he did, and as soon as he lay down two wolves approached him. But already he knew they were coming. Before the wolves could harm him *Labidsas* killed them right on the spot with his magic.

The next day as the men approached their village another large wind blew up. But this time *Labidsas* could not figure out what was coming. Suddenly a fish hook entered his penis, and he was filled with great pain. He asked the people to set up his little tent. He went into the tent where he had hanging the skins of all his animal helpers. Here he could talk with all these animals and ask for their help. *Labidsas* called out to the weasel and the marten, but they could not remove the fish hook. In turn, he called out to each kind of animal, but none could help. *Labidsas* knew that he would die if he did not get help, but he had talked with all the animal helpers. Then he remembered the wolverine. He had forgotten him. He summoned the wolverine who was able to remove the fish hook. Then *Labidsas* sent the hook back to the old Cree woman. She was sitting on the ground fixing her fishing nets with her legs crossed in front of her. The hook traveled through the earth, and it came up beneath the woman and entered her vagina. *Labidsas* made this object of two fish hooks tied together so that removing one hook only pushed the other one deeper. The old Cree woman screamed out in pain: "aiyayei!," and fell backwards on the ground where she died right away.

6. *Dog's Hind Leg*

Long before white men came into the country the Chipewyan people were caught in between the Cree to the south and the Slaveys and Dogribs to the northwest. Then the white fur traders came here from the south. They traded mainly with the Cree, but sometimes the Chipewyan traveled south to capture some of the trade because the only real fur post in the area was at Churchill on Hudson Bay. The Hudson's Bay Company traders brought the first guns into the country, but these went to the Cree first. The Chipewyan had no knowledge of guns at that time. They had not seen a white man.

On one of their trips south the Chipewyan were attacked by Cree using guns. The Cree killed everyone except a small Chipewyan girl. The Cree took her as a slave, and she became known as *Dineldare*, "slave woman." She remained a slave of the Cree but grew to be a beautiful woman. The Cree were greedy. They wanted the whole fur trade for themselves. So one day they traveled to "the wall that opens and closes," the big fort at Churchill. They asked the white trader there to given them some guns so that they could kill off all the Chipewyan people to the north. They told the trader that the Chipewyan were savage beasts who were ruining the fur trade. *Dineldare* was left outside the fort. She never saw the white man's house before, so she walked to the gate to look inside. The trader saw her standing there, and because she was so beautiful, he asked the Cree who she was. They told thim that she was only a Chipewyan slave. The trader was very surprised. This was the first Chipewyan he had seen, and he told the Cree that if this woman was an example of the Chipewyan people he would not give them guns to kill the Chipewyan.

The trader set *Dineldare* free. This was winter time, and she had to walk far to the north and west to find her own people. In those days the Chipewyan people had "observers." These were special men trained to run long distances between camps to bring news. They would sit on high ridges where they could watch the main trails across the lakes. If they saw people approaching, they would run to the camps to tell everybody. Well, the "observers" saw *Dineldare* coming, but they had to be careful. They didn't know who she was. So they crawled beneath the snow close to the trail where she walked, and they saw it was a beautiful woman.

Dineldare showed her people how to get to the big fort on Hudson Bay, and this was how the fur trade spread north to the Chipewyan. They also got guns at that time. But the first time the Chipewyan saw guns among their Cree enemies they didn't know what they were. To their eyes the shape of the gun stock was like a dog's hind leg, and that's what they thought they were. That's why they called a gun "dog's hind leg."

7. *The Magic Glass*

Once there was a trapper around here. He worked real hard and caught a lot of fur. But in the spring, when he was about to sell his fur, someone told him that he should go to the store on Hudson Bay instead of the local post. So the man traveled hard for a long time until he came to the ocean at Hudson Bay. Here he sold his fur to the manager of the store. The manager was glad to have fur from a trapper from so far away and gave him a good price. When the trapper was about to return to his own country upriver, the manager went up to him and said: "I am so glad that you came from so far away to sell your fur here, and I have a present for you." The manager gave him something he had never seen before. It was a magnifying glass. The manager told the trapper that the gift came from across the sea, from England, and he showed him how it could make fire by holding it against the sunlight. The trapper put the glass in the chest pocket of his shirt and sewed it shut so that he would not lose the special gift. Then he traveled back to his home area.

When he was approaching his home country the trapper came upon two of his own Chipewyan people. These two men were magicians or *inkonzedene*. These were the people who could talk to each other from a long way. They would get inside their little tents and talk to each other, and they could tell what was happening up ahead. Just like today we have telephones to talk to each other, in the old days they had magicians. These magicians asked the trapper to go with them to steal horses from some Cree who were camped to the south. They traveled together, and after some time the magicians set up their tents. In this way they could tell that some Cree Indians were camped close ahead and that they had many horses. But the Cree had their own magicians who knew that the three Chipewyan men were approaching, and for this reason the

Cree could surround them. The three men were taken as prisoners, and they were going to be killed the next day at a special feast. But first the chief of the Cree came into the tent where the men were held and told them he would let them go if they could beat him in magic.

The first thing the chief did was smoke a pipe, and as he puffed, blood dripped from the bottom of the pipe bowl. The chief passed it to one of the Chipewyan magicians. He smoked it and also made blood drip from its bottom. Next, the Cree chief removed his feet from his legs and then walked about the tent before causing his feet to rejoin his legs. But the other Chipewyan magician was able to remove his feet in the same way. The third thing the Cree chief did was spread a white cloth before him. Then he pulled his eyes out of his head and placed them on the cloth, and then he put his eyes back in his head again. One of the Chipewyan magicians tried hard to do this but could not. The other magician also failed, and the trapper could not remove his eyes. So it was certain that the three men would be killed by the Cree the next day. The two magicians asked the trapper if he could think of anything to save them, but he could not.

The next day the three Chipewyan men were brought before the Cree chief and his people to be killed. Suddenly the trapper remembered the magnifying glass sewn into his shirt pocket. He removed it, and then held it up to the sun and caught enough light to make fire in the chief's pipe. The chief and the other Cree were surprised and scared because they had never seen a magnifying glass. Then the chief offered the three men their freedom and half of his herd of 84 horses if he could have the glass. But the trapper replied: "This glass is a gift from the sun. It gives me the power to burn down the whole country around here and you people as well. Unless you let us go now and give us half of your horses, I will kill you all by fire." So the Cree set the Chipewyan men free, and they traveled back to their own country safely with the horses.

8. *Raven-Head (DatsaΘi)*

DatsaΘi was a man who used to help the Chipewyan fight the Cree Indians in the old days, you know. He was real good that way. But that was one day. On another day he might help

the Cree against the Chipewyan. That's the way he was, you know. You could never be sure which way he would be.

9. *Chipewyan / Cree Peace Pact*

Long time ago the Chipewyan people were still fighting the Indians, you know, the Cree Indians. And one time the Chipewyan people found a tall tree with eagles in it, young eagles. The Chipewyan found it first. But almost at the same time, just a little bit later, some of the Cree Indians found the same tree with the young eagles. But they didn't know about each other, the Chipewyan and the Cree didn't see each other. And they both wanted those eagles, you know, because they have good feathers for arrows. So they went away from that place and came back a while later when those eagles were older, just getting ready to fly. The feathers are just right then.

So one Cree Indian sneaks up through the bush slowly at night, and he found this kind of flat rock area, like a cave, and he stayed there. He will wait until morning to get the eagle. But at the same time a Chipewyan Indian was coming the other way, sneaking up to that tree. And he crawled right up to where the Cree man was sleeping. That's how they got to know each other, you know. They just slept together right there that night. Next day they decided to make peace, a peace pact. So they called all the Cree people and Chipewyan people together for a peace conference like, you know, and they decided for no more war, no more fighting after that time. That's how the Chipewyan and the Cree people came to be friends.

Anthropologica, XXIV (1982), p. 77-102

...To the Other Side of the Sky: Catholicism at Kahnawake, 1667-1700

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RÉSUMÉ

Cet article décrit le développement du catholicisme chez les Mohawk de Kahnawake, le plus vieux centre permanent de résidence des aborigènes au Canada, situé à dix milles au sud-ouest de Montréal. L'auteur soutient que la conversion au catholicisme chez les Mohawk a été une tentative consciente d'articuler, exprimer et réinterpréter les traditions religieuses et politiques comprises dans le récit épique de création *Tharonhiawakon* et dans la Grande Loi de la Paix. La pratique du catholicisme à Kahnawake est revue dans la perspective des ces traditions.

The Mohawk village of Kahnawake is best known as the home of the "Blessed" Kateri Tekakwitha, the "Lily of the Mohawks". Kateri is the first Native American to be made a candidate for canonization by the Roman Catholic Church. She was beatified on June 22, 1980 by Pope John Paul II in St. Peter's Basilica. Kateri's life is well documented, as is the religious milieu of the Kahnawake village during her lifetime. The Jesuit historian, Claude Chauchetiere, described Kahnawake's "conversion" to Catholicism in his *Annual Narrative of the Mission of Sault St. Louis*[1] (JR 63: 101-245; Blanchard 1981). A contemporary

[1] Kahnawake [The Place by the Rapids] was called "Sault St. Louis" by the French. The Kahnawake Mohawk in turn were called "Indians of the Saut" by both the French and the English. The Iroquois name for this northern Mohawk village was Kahnawake, a designation that appears as Caughnawaga, Cognawaga, Cagnawaga, etc. in the literature. There are well over seventy forms of the spelling

of Chauchetiere's, Pierre Cholenec, also wrote letters after Kateri's death discussing her influence on the Jesuit mission at Kahnawake (Cholenec 1676a, b). Later historians such as Charlevoix (1744), Burtin (1891, 1884), Devine (1922) and Bechard (1976) have also written extensively on this subject. The long interest of the Catholic Church in Kateri Tekakwitha has insured that a good deal of information about her life and times has been recorded and survived. Any individual nominated for canonization by the Church has his/her life submitted to a close scrutiny by the Sacred Congregation of Rites, which compiles a complete dossier on the candidate. Kateri's dossier, or *Positio*, documents her life and the miracles that have been attributed to her intercession since her death (Holland 1940).

The great interest in Kateri and in early Kahnawake on the part of the Church has been a boon to research as well as a serious disadvantage. Not surprisingly, all of the major writers on Kahnawake's founding years have been Roman Catholic priests, and most of these have been missionaries at Kahnawake, actively involved in promoting Kateri's "cause" within the Church. In order to understand Kateri's life, the practice of Catholicism amongst the seventeenth century Iroquois [at Kahnawake and in the other settlements as well], and the birth of the "Praying Indian" villages[2]

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of the village's name that appears in historical documents and in the literature. A partial listing appears in Volume One of the *Handbook of the North American Indians* (Hodges 1907). The Kahnawake settlement was located on the south shore of the St. Lawrence River, ten miles west of Montreal. The village moved five times, advancing progressively west, but always remaining in the same general vicinity. These migrations are described in the *Jesuit Relations* and summarized in Devine (1922). For an excellent summary of Mohawk history, discussing the relationship of the northern and southern Mohawk groups see Fenton and Tooker (1978).

[2] A discussion of the "Praying Villages", reserve settlements of Christian natives, located near European towns or forts, is offered in James Axtell's essay "The Invasion Within" (1981). While Axtell certainly covers most of the bases, he makes a serious mistake of treating the natives of the northeast as a homogeneous cultural group. Axtell does distinguish the French Jesuit methods of conversion from the English Puritan and Anglican, but in an effort to treat both as a single response to barbarism, fails to detect subtle, yet decisive differences. Finally, it should be pointed out that the English "Praying Indian" towns were in fact regarded as cesspools for storing the remnants of societies now lost to war, disease and migration. The natives of the English Praying Towns were never a force to be reckoned with; they were rather, internment camps for the vanquished. The French Praying towns [like Kahnawake], however, were not populated with the vanquished.

in North America, a broader, cultural context to conversion must first be developed. Such a task requires detailing the events surrounding the establishment of Kahnawake, and employing interpretive skills to view these events, as the Iroquois lived them. Specifically, the Kahnawake Mohawk's "conversion" to Catholicism must be examined in light of: 1. traditional Iroquois world-view, 2. Iroquois religion, and 3. the historical context of early Iroquois contact with the French.

I. IROQUOIS WORLD VIEW

The most salient aspect of Iroquois world view of concern here is that dealing with the perception the Iroquois had of this world, the "Sky World", and passage between these two. As Daniel Brinton has pointed out, the Iroquois had no concept of *creatio ex nihilo* (1868). Rather, they posited the existence of a "Sky World" and believed the earth to be a duplication of that world. This process of duplication was initiated when Aientsik, the earth mother, fell from the sky, was rescued by a flock of geese and laid to rest upon the carapace of the Great Turtle.

Iroquois culture was also regarded as a duplication of the Sky World. For example, when the Iroquois culture hero, Okwiraseh, established the sequence of Iroquois ceremonialism, he did so saying: "So then I leave the four ceremonies or ritual matters which are before you. I have patterned [these] after the ceremony as it is being carried out in the place where the earth meets the sky. And it is actually so [because] the pleasure of those in the upper sky is most important. So then, I patterned from there because I decided and desired that the ceremonies that will be going on here on the earth, on the under side of the sky, shall be the same as those" (Hewitt 1928: 560). The similarities between the upper world "beyond the sky" and the earth are further symbolized

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Kahnawake was vital to the defense of New France. St. Francis [Abenaki] kept the New England frontier in a constant state of unrest until the close of the Seven Years War. What is more important, the French "Praying Indians" knew of their value to the French and the English and maximized their pivotal role between the two and manipulated the French and the English to gain the best advantage over both.

by the two names given to the principal spirit of the Iroquois pantheon. In some instances this "man-being" is refered to as Tharonhiawakon, and in others as Dehaenhiyawakho, meaning "He Holds Up the Sky" and "He Holds Up the Earth", respectively. According to Hewitt, this dual meaning reflects the Iroquois belief that the Sky World and the Earth were similar (Hewitt 1895).

Initially, the task of transforming the earth into the image of the Sky World was assumed by Tharonhiawakon, Aientsik, Okwiraseh, Haduigowa and the other man-beings from the "other side of the sky". On the eve of his last day on earth, however, Okwiraseh passed this responsibility on to man, charging him to continue the process of creation by transforming the earth: "I have planted human beings on the earth for the purpose that they shall beautify the earth by cultivating it, and dwell therein. Now he saw that he the Elder Brother came up over it and caused it be be daylight on the earth here present, and that the daylight was beautiful and the light rays were beautiful and it was agreeably warm" (Hewitt 1928: 511). Okwiraseh also promised to remain in contact with man and through dreams to communicate his wishes to the earth in this way.

The important place of dreams within Iroquois world-view was established by the early writers of the *Jesuit Relations* [JR]; (see also Tooker 1964: 86-91; Wolf 1919: 35-41; and Wallace 1958). In addition to these writers, others such as Lafitau (1974 (I): 231-236), Charlevoix (1961 (II): 156) and La Potherie (1722) have all commented upon the importance of dreams for the Iroquois. Anthony Wallace's analysis of Iroquois dream-beliefs deserves special mention in this context. In his essay "Dreams and Wishes of the Soul: A Type of Psychoanalytic Theory Among the Seventeenth Century Iroquois" (1958) Wallace presented the Iroquois "culture of dreams... as a useful escape valve in Iroquois life. In their daily affairs, Iroquois men were brave, active, self reliant and autonomous; they cringed to no one and begged for nothing. But no man can balance forever on such a pinnacle of masculinity, where asking and being forgiven are unknown. Iroquois men dreampt; and without shame, they received the fruits of their dreams and their souls were satisfied" (1958: 247).

Citing Ragueneau's *Relation* of 1649 as a case in point, Wallace argued that the Iroquois themselves looked upon dreams with this

"Freudian perspective". In his *Relation*, Ragueneau writes that "in addition to the desires which we generally have that are free, or at least voluntary in us [and] which arise from a previous knowledge of some goodness that we imagine to exist in the thing desired, the Huron believe that our souls have other desires, which are, as it were, inborn and concealed. These they say, come from the depths of the sould, not through any knowledge, but by means of a certain blind transporting of the soul to certain objects; these transports might be in the language of philosophy called *Desideria Innata*, to distinguish them from the former, which are called *Desideria Elicita.*

"Now, they believe that our souls make these natural desires known by means of dreams, which are its language. Accordingly when these are accomplished, it is satisfied; but on the contrary if it not be granted what it desires, it becomes angry. Most of the Hurons are very careful to note their dreams, and to provide the soul with what it has pictured to them during sleep" (Kenton 1927 (I): 503-504).

What Ragueneau fails to disclose is the ultimate source of these "dreams and wishes of the soul" in Iroquois world view. Dreams were believed to originate on the "other side of the sky", and most likely with one of the man-beings of the upper world. "Tarenyawagon, said the Wise Ones, informed the soul of what was needed through the medium of the dream" (Wolf 1919: 43). This belief was reported in many of the *Relations*, for example in a dream divination described by de Quens in 1655. According to de Quens, the dreamer awoke and informed his village that he had received a visit from Tharonhiawakon. Speaking for the Sky Holder, the dreamer said: "I am he who holds up the Sky, and the guardian of the earth; I preserve men and give victories to warriors. I have made you masters of the Earth and victors over so many nations: I made you conquer the Hurons, the Tobacco Nation, the Ahondihronnons, Tiraguenrek... In short, I have made you what you are: and if you wish me to continue my protection over you, hear my words and execute my orders" (Kenton (2): 80-81).

Because of their importance and place in Iroquois world-view, dreams were ritualized, their meanings guessed and fulfilled. The Iroquois believed that failure to satisfy a dream would result in sickness to the dreamer (Hewitt 1928: 610; JR 33: 189; JR 17: 163;

JR 10: 169). Dreams were considered in planning a military campaign (JR 10: 183; JR 33: 225; JR 23: 153-155). Dreams could dictate conditions of trade, diplomacy and were given great weight in national and local councils (JR 10: 171). In some cases, dreams would inspire social and cultural movements that ultimately led to a complete restructuring and revitalization of Iroquois society. Most notably, the role that dreams played in the revitalization of Handsome Lake comes to mind here (Parker 1913: 22-24; Wallace 1969).

II. IROQUOIS RELIGION

Iroquois religion must be understood as a mode of communicating and travelling from the earth to the other side of the sky. For the Iroquois, religion was a contract between the *ongwe honwe*, or "real men" of the earth, and the *ongwe shona*, or "first people" of the Sky World. The terms of this contract were simple: 1. men agreed to feel thankful and content for the good works of creation and the beings of the other side of the sky agreed to continue to provide the earth's bounty; and 2. the men of earth agreed to continue the work of creation, and the man beings of the Sky World agreed to continue to provide direction and inspiration to this activity through dreams. Both feeling thankful and dreaming then, were regarded as important religious obligations for the Iroquois.

Iroquois tradition states how, after the earth was formed and the Sky Holder had returned to the other side of the Sky, men forgot their obligation to feel contentment for the earth and they began fighting amongst themselves. At this time, the culture-hero Okwiraseh, appeared and instituted four rituals that were to be performed at different seasonal festivals throughout the year. These four rituals are: The Great Feather Dance, the Skin Covered Drum Dance, the Man's Personal Chant, and the Great Bowl Game. The purpose of these four rituals was also made quite clear by Okwiraseh: "Then you human beings shall too assemble yourselves. The whole body of people must assemble. So then I ordain for you that you shall in the first place, mutually rejoice yourselves; in the next place, that you shall mutually congratulate one another that so many persons again see the new [season]...

So then it will come to pass thus, that all persons will rejoice; they must keep thinking, "I am thankful that I am alive, and in good health, and that I have again seen the performance of the ceremony that he ordained for us... (Hewitt 1928: 560).

In addition to these four rituals, Okwiraseh ordained that at midwinter, the human beings should act out and guess the meanings of their dreams from the previous year (Blau 1963). In the event that a man did not dream, or could not recall his dreams, Iroquois culture prescribed certain rituals for inducing a dream-consciousness. Among these were the sweat lodge, often combined with fasting, chanting, self mutilation, and other means of sensory deprivation.

The Iroquois' use of the ritual sweat lodge is well documented. Lafitau describes their use among the Mohawk, and they are described in the *Jesuit Relations* as well. From the *Relations* we learn that sweating and fasting were regarded as common in the Sky World (JR 10: 155-157) and that after a sweat, a man was charged with great spiritual power. From Le Jeune's *Relation* of 1653 we learn that the Iroquois used sweat lodges to induce dreams, prior to making decisions about upcoming military campaigns (JR 60: 181). The 1637 *Relation* describes the construction of a sweat lodge: "On this day the sorcerer Tonneraouanont, who was beginning to play his pranks in this village, and had undertaken to cure the sick, came towards evening to have a sweat in our cabin, to get knowledge of this disease. They crossed four or five poles in a ring, making a sort of little arbor, which they surround with the bark of a tree. They crowded within this, twelve or thirteen of them, almost upon one another... In the middle there were five or six large, red-hot stones. As soon as they entered they covered themselves, as usual with robes and skins, in order to retain this heat" (JR 13: 203). In James Smith's description of a Kahnawake Mohawk sweat lodge, the participants poured a combination of herbs, tobacco and water over the hot stones (Smith 1978: 110). Smith's account also includes the text of certain prayers uttered in the sweat lodge ritual. The *Jesuit Relations* contain instances of sweat lodge participants addressing their souls (JR 13: 213), or singing about their dreams and war songs (JR 19: 259).

Other means were also used to induce dream-consciousness. The *Relations* mention staring at fire (JR 8: 123) or water (JR 33:

193-195). Some individuals were able to induce dreams by shaking turtle shell rattles for long periods of time (JR 15: 179) or else by singing themselves into a frenzy (JR 33: 195). Finally, one of the most common methods involved extended fasting (JR 13: 237; Lafitau 1974 (I): 219). Fasting was sometimes associated with the vision quest that took place in many Native American societies at the time of puberty (Benedict 1923). Fasting was associated with seclusion (Hewitt 1903: 142) and believed by the Iroquois to increase power. Rituals of fasting and seclusion were described and analyzed by Converse (1908: 107-110), Lafitau (1974 (I): 236, Hewitt (1910: 178), Waugh (1919: 153) Goldenweiser (1913: 470) and Shimony (1961: 215-216).

Although lacking extensive references, we know that on some occasions the Iroquois combined fasting with self mutilation as a means of inducing a vision (JR 12: 69-71). Additionally, the use of fetishes, charms and other potents has been described at Kahnawake by Lafitau and attributed to creating trances: "We see them go visibly into the state of ecstacy which binds all the senses and keeps them suspended. The foreign spirit appears to take possession of them in a palpable and corporeal manner and so to master their organs as to act in them immediatly. It casts them into frenzies of enthusiasm and all the convulsive movements of a sybil... In this state of enthusiasm their spirit seems absorbed in that which possesses them. They are no longer themselves» (1974 (I): 243). Yet another example of shamanism and clairvoyance is contained in O.M. Spencer's journal of captivity, describing a Kahnawake woman's life in the Ohio Valley (Spencer 1968: 116-117).

III. HISTORICAL CONTEXT

In addition to the cultural context presented above, Kahnawake's involvement with Catholicism demands an appreciation of certain historical events that preceded formal establishment of the Kahnawake settlement on the south shore of the St. Lawrence River in 1667. Among these are: (1) early contacts between the Jesuits and the Iroquois, (2) the effects of trade on Iroquois religion, and (3) Mohawk motives for establishing a settlement at Kahnawake.

1. *Early Jesuit-Iroquois contacts.* The Jesuits became involved with proselytization from the very foundation of the colony of

New France.[3] Initially Jesuit efforts were directed towards the Montagnais and other Algonquin peoples living on the north shore of the St. Lawrence River. The Jesuit superior in New France, Le Jeune, soon became discouraged by the Jesuit's lack of success among the Montagnais, a fact that he attributed to the difficulties experienced by the missionaries in leading a nomadic life-style[4] (JR 6: 147). Le Jeune expressed great hope that the Jesuits would be able to re-focus their efforts among the Huron and other sedentary Iroquois nations (JR 6: 61). When this effort was undertaken, the Jesuits did in fact meet with considerable success. However, as the writers of the *Relations* admitted, "conversion" to Catholicism did not eliminate the observance of tradition amongst the Huron. In some instances, individuals received baptism because they were instructed to do so in a dream (JR 15: 73; 17: 137; 23: 171). The Huron regarded the Jesuits as powerful medicine men and "sought baptism almost entirely as an aid to health" (Tooker 1962: 88). Also, the Jesuits were believed to be able to control the weather, to see into the future, and to have abilities attributed to traditional Iroquois shamans (JR 8: 97; 10: 95, 109; 17: 119).

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[3] It is important to point out that the Jesuits employed methods of proselytization distinct from those of their Franciscan and Dominican counterparts in South and Middle America. As Peter Duignan has shown, the Jesuit posture was "to assume a thousand masks, being all things to all men and with holy cunning accepting the limitations imposed by the local situation. Rather than destroy and condemn what they found, they tried to re-shape and re-orient existing practices and beliefs in order to establish a common ground on which to begin conversion" (1958: 726). See also George Healy's essay on "The French Jesuits and the Idea of the Noble Savage" (1958) for a discussion of Jesuit perception of native culture.

[4] In the *Relation* of 1633 the Jesuit, Le Jeune, wrote "I may be mistaken; but if I can draw any conclusions from the things that I see, it seems to me that not much ought to be hoped for from these savages as long as they are wanderers; you will instruct them today, and hunger snatches your hearers away, forcing them to go and seek their food in the rivers and the woods" (JR 6: 147). Four years later the Montagnais [the subject of Le Jeune's 1633 *Relation*, were soundly defeated by the Iroquois. On April 27, 1637 the Montagnais approached Le Jeune and asked for assistance in establishing a permanent settlement near Quebec City. "We have said he, [the Montagnais chief] two powerful enemies who are destroying us, – one is our ignorance of God, which is killing our souls; the other is the Hiroquois, who are slaughtering our bodies" (JR 7: 163). Together, the Jesuits and Montagnais established Sillery, the first of the French Praying Indian towns. Unlike the later Iroquois mission, the Sillery "reserve" was a refuge for the castoffs of war. As soon as the Montagnais made peace with the Iroquois, however, they had no more need for Sillery and they resumed their nomadic lifestyle.

Huron beliefs about the Jesuits were often supported by circumstance and accident. In one incident reported in the *Relations* a medicine man blamed a drought on a Jesuit cross. The people of the village ordered the priest to take down his cross, and the Jesuit refused. He then explained to the people how Catholics prayed for rain, and fortunately for him, it rained. Such incidents reinforced the belief amongst the Huron that the Jesuits were powerful medicine men, an image that the priests were not quick to discourage.

After the defeat of the Huron in the Iroquois-Huron wars in 1648, many Huron converts were adopted into settlements of the Five Nations. These converts were ministered to by French missionaries to the Five Nations such as Isaac Jogues and Pierre Fremin. This wholesale adoption of the Huron by the Iroquois had two important effects on future developments of Iroquois religion: (1) the Five Nations Iroquois came to share many of the Huron attitudes and beliefs about the Jesuits, and (2) the adoption of the Catholic Huron contributed an element of complexity to traditional Iroquois society. Missionaries like Isaac Jogues attempted to use this stature in their conversion efforts. In Jogues' case, the ploy clearly backfired.[5]

2. *Effects of contact on Iroquois religion.* Missionary work and trade were inexorably bound together in New France. As Ragueneau

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[5] Isaac Jogues was captured in 1642 by a band of Mohawk warriors and brought to the village of Ossernenon [west of Albany on the Mohawk River] where he was adopted into the Turtle Clan. Jogues ministered to the needs of the adopted Catholic members of the community and regularly preached the gospel. Also, in typical Jesuit fashion, Jogues encouraged the widely held belief that his mass kit and altar were powerful sorcerer's tools. On one occasion Jogues threatened to use these tools to bring death and disease to the Mohawk if they did not accept his religious teachings.

Jogues managed to escape from the Mohawk and to book passage from Albany to France. He was resolved, however, to return to the Mohawk Valley and resume his mission. Consequently, soon after he arrived in France, Jogues petitioned his Jesuit superiors to allow him to return to North America. This request was granted and in his last written communication he wrote: "I shall go and not return, but I shall be happy if God will accomplish the sacrifice I have begun, and if the blood I have spent in that land, be as the earnest of that which I will give with all my heart from all the veins of my body" (Withrow 1886: 52).

In his absence from the Mohawk Valley, Jogues' prophecy had proven true and the Mohawk had suffered an outbreak of smallpox. Now, when he reappeared in their midst, a warrior struck Jogues dead with a single blow of a war axe.

pointed out, trade was considered "necessary for the maintenance of the faith in all these regions, for the good of the French colonies, and the support of New France" (AN 5, (4): 22). Where the Jesuits and the Intendant disagreed, however, was over the question as to whether or not to sell brandy to the natives. French commercial interests in competition with Dutch and English traders felt it necessary to exchange brandy for furs. Although the Jesuits tried to prevent this practice, and even succeeded in having a Royal Proclamation issued preventing the use of brandy in the fur trade, its use continued to play an important role in the economy of New France.

The Iroquois soon came to regard alcohol as a means of inducing dream-consciousness. In one case reported in the *Jesuit Relations*, a missionary was attempting to ascertain if an Iroquois captive had been baptized. The following exchange took place: "Ask him, said the father, if he is baptised, and what he is called. "What is that", he replies, "to be baptised?" "That", the Indian who was questioning him said, "is to receive the water of great importance which effaces all the spots and stains from our souls". He - who imagined that this water of importance of which they meant to speak was brandy, and that there was none better in the world - exclaimed, "Ah! the Dutch have often given me of that water of importance; I drank so much of it and became so tipsy that it was necessary to bind my feet and hands for fear I should injure some one". Everyone began to laugh at that fine baptism" (JR 29: 153-155).

In an early monograph on the use of brandy in New France, *Histoire de l'Eau de vie en Canada*, François Vachon de Belmont discussed the association made by the Iroquois between the dream quest and drinking. Belmont wrote that the Iroquois believed that through drinking brandy, they would "experience a new sort of elation that promptly and effectively achieved the end of taking them out of themselves" (Belmont 1952: 46). More recently, the anthropologist Edmund Carpenter has written on this subject. According to Carpenter, "the seventeenth century Iroquois used alcohol to stimulate their mystical faculties. The various configurations around dreaming and the vision quest, present in their culture long before liquor was introduced, quickly became associated with it" (Carpenter 1959: 148).

The Jesuits noted when supplies of alcohol were scarce that it was a common practice for the Iroquois to combine small amounts of alcohol into one, large aggregate. "When they have only enough brandy to induce drunkenness for only one, if four are present, three will not even take a taste. But one will be chosen to have the privilege of becoming inebriated. Many say that they cannot become intoxicated on a single glass of brandy, that there is only one degree of drunkenness worth while, the sort which they call *"gannontiouaratonseri"*, complete insobriety. And when they begin to feel the effects of the brandy they rejoice, shouting, "Good, good, my head is reeling". Then, they begin to chant their "gannonhaoury", into which they put all the evil that comes to mind" (JR 61: 159). Belmont made similar observations in his *Histoire* (1952: 52).

3. *Mohawk motives for founding Kahnawake.* The Mohawk had a number of reasons for establishing a village at Kahnawake.[6] The Mohawk desired free trade with all of their native neighbors, the French and the English. This trade was disturbed from 1609 until 1666 during the Iroquois Wars. Although a formal peace was not negotiated between the French and the Five Nations until 1701, by 1666 the Mohawk had already initiated this process. Thus, by 1667 the Mohawk were able to settle close to Montreal and to exploit the valuable St. Lawrence beaver trade. In addition to the obvious economic advantages gained by settling on the St. Lawrence River, the Mohawk had other reasons for establishing this new settlement as well.

It is clear that in the early part of the seventeenth century, the Iroquois came to regard alcohol as a ritually effective sub-

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[6] Jesuit writers have tended to treat the Kahnawake Mohawk as outcasts from the more traditional villages along the Mohawk River. Such a contention ignores three important facts: (1) The Mohawk regarded the lands from the Mohawk River Valley as far north as the St. Lawrence Valley as their own. The Mohawk name for the Island of Montreal is *Kawenote Teiontiakon*, meaning "The Place Where the People Divide", a reference to the frontier character of the St. Lawrence Valley. At the time of contact, the Mohawk had been temporarily evicted from their northern lands by the Montagnais. (2) The Kahnawake site was ideal for defense purposes. The village was protected by the Lachine Rapids, and Lake St. Louis. Finally, (3) the Kahnawake site allowed the Iroquois to completely dominate the fur trade. So successful were the residents of Kahnawake in this last respect that by the mid-eighteenth century two thirds of the furs coming through Canada were channeled through Kahnawake to illegal markets in Albany (see Trelease 1962).

stance for inducing dream-consciousness. Soon, however, the Iroquois learned of the debilitating effects of alcohol. They learned that constant use created a dependency and that traders tended to cheat them of their furs when they drank. The frequent use of alcohol reduced the sacred efficacy of the induced dream-consciousness, a state of being that is appreciated for its novelty. By the decade of the 1660's the Relations contain numerous references to problems in Iroquoia arising from drunkenness. By the time peace was tentatively made with the French in 1666, there were sufficient numbers of Iroquois prepared to establish a new settlement, one that would prohibit the consumption of alcohol.

Establishing a new settlement in the north also solved another problem stemming from the Five Nation's adoption of so many Catholic Huron. As Fenton and others have pointed out (1951) Iroquois culture allowed for a great deal of ritual diversity from local settlement to local settlement. However, within the local settlement, total participation in religious ceremonies was expected. Such total participation was not possible for those settlements that included Catholics. The Catholics had ceremonies that did not have the support of the non-Catholics; and the Jesuits who ministered to the Catholics discouraged their converts from total participation in the traditional ceremonies. At the new village of Kahnawake, Catholic Mohawk could practice their religion and still remain active in the affairs of the Mohawk Nation and the Iroquois Confederacy. Also, because the village was newly established in 1667 it was possible to prohibit the use of alcohol within its bounds, before a tradition of its use could become established. In this latter concern, both the Mohawk and the Jesuit were in complete agreement.[7]

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[7] When the prohibition against alcohol was relaxed in the mid-eighteenth century, there was an exodus from Kahnawake. Throughout seventeenth, eighteenth, nineteenth and twentieth century Iroquois history, alcohol has symbolized the very worst aspects of European culture. When the Seneca prophet, Handsome Lake preached his visionary gospel of renewal, one of the targets of his attack on white culture was alcohol. Also, it is interesting to note that when members of the Kahnawake settlement left the St. Lawrence Valley to reclaim lands in the Adirondaks, one of the first rules instituted as the new settlement of Ganienkeh was one prohibiting the comsumption of alcohol within the settlement. The irony is that oftentimes when people from Ganienkeh wish to drink, they travel back to Kahnawake. The original village of abstinence has become a center for the consumption of alcohol.

IV. CATHOLICISM AT KAHNAWAKE

The Mohawk residents of Kahnawake were called the "Praying Indians" by the French and English. Amongst their own people the Kahnawake Mohawk were known as *ongwe honwe tehatiisontha*, or "Real Men Who Make the Sign of the Cross". From the very beginning the consumption of alcohol was strictly prohibited at Kahnawake. Claude Chauchetiere reports that the expression "I am off to Kentake" [Kahnawake's first site] came to mean "I am swearing off drinking" for the Iroquois (JR 63: 128). Chauchetiere also writes that a pole was erected outside of the Kahnawake village, symbolizing the pledge to give up drinking alcohol. All new members of the Kahnawake community were required to hang the vice of alcohol on this pole before entering the village.

The enforcement of the prohibition against drinking alcohol was the responsibility of the war chief and the "dogique" at Kahnawake. Both of these positions were filled by the traditional Iroquois council at the village. This council collaborated with the Jesuits in preventing French traders from opening up a tavern in Kahnawake and nearby Kentake. The prohibitions were described in the *Relation* of 1679: "What has placed this mission in the good condition which will be made evident in the course of our account, and what has maintained it in its fervor during the twelve years since it was established has been the fundamental law that has always been observed, by which no drunkenness is suffered therein and no persons are received who are addicted to that vice, unless they are resolved upon correcting it. They are admonished to this effect the moment they offer themselves as residents here; and are publicly notified, on the part of all the elders, that, if they become addicted to this sin, they will be expelled" (JR 61: 239).

Not satisfied with enforcing this prohibition in just their own settlement, emissaries from Kahnawake travelled south to preach against drinking in the Mohawk River villages (JR 62: 69). The effects of these efforts were soon seen at Kahnawake: "The fame of this excellent regulation having gone abroad through all the villages of the Iroquois, the effect has been that in large numbers they leave their own country, in which the excesses which drink causes are horrible; so that in order to free themselves from them,

they come and settle down in this territory, in which, as they say, there is no drinking. It is this which has populated this mission with Iroquois, who are continually flocking to it from all the nations, especially from that of the Mohawk" (JR 61: 239-242). By the year 1679, two thirds of the Mohawk were in residence at Kahnawake, a fact that greatly disturbed the English.

The Jesuit opposition to alcohol was more fundamental than a concern over their converts' welfare, and extended to other, more traditional religious practices of the Iroquois. For the Iroquois, getting outside of the confines of one's body was considered a religious experience. Morality was deeply personal and was defined for the individual Iroquois in the course of a dream, trance, or a vision quest. The community did not participate in having the dream, only in helping the individual dreamer to guess its meaning and make it come true. For the Jesuit, on the other hand, the laws of morality emanated from a single god, and were the same for all men. Jesuit commitment to reason and logic was a commitment to discovering these laws of morality. Even the "Spiritual Exercises" of St. Ignatius Loyola exhibit this proclivity towards the rational.

The Kahnawake Mohawk received no opposition from the Jesuits about honoring the festivals and rituals of thanksgiving (Shea 1855: 303). The eight major festivals were celebrated throughout the year, and in some instances were joined to equivalent Catholic feast days. For example, the Harvest Festival coincided with the Catholic feasts of All Souls and All Saints; Green Corn coincided with Corpus Christi; Midwinter with the Feast of Circumcision, and so on. These festivals are still celebrated in this fashion at Kahnawake today.

The Jesuits did not offer their support to dream divinations and the rituals used to induce dream consciousness. In fact, they were opposed to these practices before Kahnawake was established, but powerless to prevent them (Kenton 1927 (2): 191-192). At Kahnawake they were credited with more rights and able to enforce their wills, within certain restraints. It must be pointed out that while Kahnawake was a community of Catholic Mohawk, it was none-the-less a traditional Iroquois settlement located within the national bounds of the Mohawk territory of Kanienkeh. Decisions that were made in and for the Kahnawake community were made in a traditional Iroquois council, according to the precepts of the Great

Law of Peace. However, because of the close proximity of the settlement to Montreal and the respect accorded to the Jesuits, some compromises were necessary. The Jesuits made these compromises occassionaly (Duignan 1958) and the Mohawk made them as well. Thus, when the decision was made to ban dream divination at Kahnawake, the people carried this mandate out: "Last Autumn, an old man asked to be allowed to live here [at Kahnawake] with his rather numerous family, and this favor was granted him. Shortly afterward he gives a feast; and the inhabitants of the village being present there at, he declares that he is ill, and that he must fulfill a dream in order to be cured. The leader of our Christians rises at once, and says aloud, in the name of the assembly: "No, that shall no be done, for it would be a sin. We will eat what thou hast prepared for us only after having prayed to God". This was done" (JR 58: 85).

The requirement for dreaming, or else inducing a dream-consciousness was integral to Iroquois religion and world view and could not be entirely dispensed with at Kahnawake. The problem faced by the Mohawk was to develop a ritual means for travelling to the "other side of the sky", consistent with their own, traditional beliefs, and compatible with Catholicism. Such a ritual was developed in the form of *hotouongannandi*, translated by Chauchetiere as "public penance" (JR 64: 125).

Chauchetiere described the practice of "public penance" at Kahnawake in a letter to his brother in France: "You will be pleased to hear from me respecting the austerities practiced by certain savage women – Although there may be some indiscretion in their doing so; but it will show you their fervor. More than five years ago, some of them learned, I know not how, of the pious practices followed by the nuns in Montreal who are hospital sisters. They heard of disciplines, of iron girdles, and hair shirts. This religious life began to please them very much and three of them formed an association, in order to commence a sort of convent; but we stopped them, because we did not think that the time had yet come for this. However, even if they were not cloistered, they at least observed Chastity; and one of them died with the reputation of sanctity three years ago this Spring. They, and some others who imitated them would be admired in France, if what they do were known there. The first who began made her first attempt about Christmas in the year 1676, when she divested herself of her

clothing, and exposed herself to the air at the foot of a large cross that stands in our cemetary. She did so at a time when the snow was falling, although she was pregnant and the snow that fell upon her back caused her so much suffering that she nearly died from it, as well as her child, whom the cold chilled in its mother's womb. It was her idea to do this – to do penance for her sins, she said. She has had four companions in her fervor who have since imitated her. Two of them made a hole in the ice, in the depth of winter, and threw themselves into the water, where they remained during the time that it would take to say a rosary, slowly and sedately. One of the two who feared that she would be found out, did not venture to warm herself when she returned to her cabin but lay down on her mat with lumps of ice adhering to her shoulders. There have been several other inventions which men and women have discovered for the purpose of tormenting themselves, and which constitute their usual exercise of penance" (JR 62: 175-177).

Two items require clarification at this point: the source of the Mohawk women's knowledge of the practices of the nuns in Montreal, and traditional Mohawk attitudes towards virginity. Chauchetiere maintains that the women in question never visited Montreal. In fact, such visits were quite common before Chauchetiere arrived in the village in 1678. By the time Chauchetiere was in residence at Kahnawake, the village had moved upriver to the Lachine Rapids, making transport to Montreal by canoe much more difficult. Apparently the custom had been discontinued by that time. Earlier *Relations* allude to Mohawk women visiting Montreal and spending time with the Hospital Sisters at Hotel Dieu and Marguerite Bourgeoys' community, the Congregation of Notre Dame. Kateri Tekakwitha is known to have visited Montreal and the nuns with Father Pierre Cholenec and some other companions in 1676. She was a guest at the Hotel Dieu and witnessed the practice of "culpa" by the sisters. She was not responsible for introducing these practices to Kahnawake however, where by this date they were already in full use.

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[8] The "dogique" was a man chosen in council to lead prayers and instruct catechumens. The early *Jesuit Relations* refer to this individual as the "Captain of Prayers"; in Iroquois terms the dogique probably corresponded to the Pine Tree Chief, or to the "Faith Keepers" of the Handsome Lake epoch.

It was Kateri, however, who first proposed forming an association of virgins at Kahnawake. Traditionally the Iroquois believed that virginity created great power in an individual and communities maintained special residences for women who chose to remain virgins. These "convents" were supported by the community, the women seldom leaving the confines of the longhouse selected for their use. Lafitau writes that this custom was in effect "until the arrival of Europeans who made foolish virgins of them by giving them brandy. At Onondaga they [the virgins] came out of their retreat intoxicated and did a thousand extravagent things in the village; at Agnie [Mohawk country] they did the same thing and, when some of them had too conspicuously dishonored their profession, the elders were so much ashamed of them that they resolved in the council to secularize these irregular girls whose scandalous conduct had dishonored the tribe" (Lafitau 1974 (I): 130). Iroquois virgins were called *Ieouinnon* (*ibid:* 129).

At Kahnawake, in a milieu free of the contaminating influences of alcohol that had destroyed the tradition of ritual virginity among the Iroquois, it was again possible to resurrect this institution. One, early celibate group that was formed at Kahnawake was described by Chauchetiere: "The women, to the number of eight or ten, began the practice; and the wife of the dogique – that is to say, of him who Leads the Singing and Causes the Prayers to be said aloud; and in this capacity she assembled the devout women of whom we have spoken, who call themselves sisters. They tell one another their faults, and deliberate together upon what must be done for the relief of the poor of the village... The sort of monastery that they maintain here has its rules. They have promised God never to put on gala dress [for the savage women have some taste, and take pride in adorning themselves with porcelain beads; with vermillion, which they apply to their cheeks; and with earrings and bracelets]. They assist one another in the fields; They meet together to incite one another to virtue; and one of them has been received as a nun in the Hospital of Montreal.

"There are married people here who have for a long time lived as brother and sister. There are aged women, veterans of the faith, who instruct others as missionaries would do, and God thereby supplies the want of these which we experience" (JR 62: 179-181).

From Chauchetiere's *Relation* of 1689 we learn that "many confraternities are being founded among them... with the object

of mutually assisting one another to live as Christians and to prepare themselves for the most heroic actions" (JR 64: 125). One of these confraternities was called "Kateri's Band" and was composed of women devoted to an imitation of Kateri's spirituality.

Severe mortifications and penances were witnessed by the Jesuits at Kahnawake often giving rise to some concern on their part (JR 63: 217). "Savages, both men and women, covered themselves with blood by disciplinary stripes with iron, with rods, with thorns, with nettles; they fasted rigorously, passing the entire day without eating, – and what the savages eat during half a year is not sufficient to keep a man alive. These fasting women toiled strenuously all day – in summer working in the fields; in winter cutting the wood. These austerities were almost continual. They mingled ashes in their portion of Sagmite; they put glowing coals between their toes, where the fire burned a hole in the flesh; they went bare legged to make a long procession in the snows; they all disfigured themselves by cutting off their hair, in order not to be sought in marriage" (JR 63: 219).

Kateri's austerities were particularly well known: "During her lifetime she made an agreement with a friend to make each other suffer, because she was too weak to do so by herself, owing to her continual illness. She had begged her companion to do her the Charity of severely chastising her with blows from a whip. This they did for a year without anyone knowing it, and for that purpose they withdrew, every Sunday, into a cabin in the middle of the cemetary; and there, taking willow shoots, or thorns, which here are very long; but since they have heard of disciplines, of iron girdles, and of similar instruments of penance, the use of these daily becomes more general" (*ibid*).

The Kahnawake converts learned the language of Catholicism and justified their penances with reference to sin. When the Jesuits assured the natives that they had sufficiently suffered for their sins, the Mohawk then insisted on suffering for sins they were yet to commit, and for the sins of their neighbors. Some women included their children in these mortifications and explained that this was done "for the purpose... of teaching [the child] penance in good season. The mother stood there on account of her past sins; she kept her innocent daughter there on account of sins to come, which this child would perhaps commit when grown up" (JR 63: 219).

In his study of "Altered States of Consciousness" that appeared in *Trance and Possession States* (Prince 1966) Arnold Ludwig isolates five "methods" for producing altered states of consciousness. These are: 1) a reduction of stimulation, 2) an increase in stimulation, 3) increased alertness or mental involvement, 4) the presence of somatopsychological factors, and 5) decreased alertness. In Kahnawake's early years (1667-1700) we see indications of culturally accepted practices that reflected four of the five "methods" listed above. These are: 1) the reduction of stimulation brought on through the isolation and confinement of Iroquois virgins, 2) the greatly increased stimulation produced through the practice of "culpa", including bathing in ice water, beatings, and other rituals of self inflicting pain, 3) increased mental alertness brought about through repetitious prayer, and 4) somatopsychological conditions created by the hypoglycemia that accompanies fasting.

The Jesuits were hesitant to write of these effects at Kahnawake, and tried to discourage the practice of culpa. However, in one unpublished letter by Pierre Cholenec we see an indication of the affect of culpa on one Mohawk woman's consciousness. This letter was written in February of 1680, three months before Kateri Tekakwitha's death. "Of these two young women, who are Mohawks... there is one especially who is small and lame, who is the most fervent, I believe, of all the village, and who, though she is quite infirm and nearly always ill, does surprising things in these matters. And she would beat herself unmercifully, if she were allowed to do so. Something quite important happened to her lately, which Father and I could not marvel enough at.

"While scourging herself as usual with admirable ardor [for she exceeds in this particular over all the other women, with one exception of Margaret] and that in a very dark spot, she found herself surrounded by a great light, as if it were high noon, lasting as long as the first shower of blows, so to speak, of her scourging, for she scourged herself several times. Insofar as I can judge from what she told me, this light lasted two or three misereres" (Cholenec 1680).

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[9] Jacques Cartier recorded the presence of a virginal society at Hochelaga while on his 1534 exploration. He mistakingly referred to the group as a brothel (Cartier 1924: 186).

The Jesuits unwittingly contributed to the creation of a ritual system for allowing Iroquois to travel again, to the other side of the sky. For example, when they preached to the Iroquois about the "Holy Spirit" they used the Iroquois expression "Rotkon" (Hewitt 1928: 608-609). Other forms that appear in the *Jesuit Relations* are *ocki, okhi, oki, onkagui, ogui, oski,* and *otkis.* Variants of this cognate also appear in Lafitau and in Abbe Piquet's Mohawk catechism, as well as a Kahnawake Mohawk translation of the Gospels made by Joseph Onosahenrat. Hewitt notes that *otkon* is "the common Iroquois descriptive epithet and name applied to any object or being which performs its functions and exercises its assumed magic power or *orenda*... The term is often applied to fetishes and to similar things. As a qualifier it is equivalent to the English mysterious, monstrous, devilish, or rather, demoniac; but as a noun, or name, to monster, demon, devil, goblin, witch, or wizard" (Hewitt 1928: 608-609). Otkon is also the base for *hotouongannandi*, the term used by the Iroquois to describe their practice of "public penance". In fact, *hotouongannandi* literally translates as "They are making magic", a reference to the affective impact of culpa on the Mohawk. In effect, by refering to penance is this fashion, the Iroquois acknowledged that the practice helped to elevate them out of the ordinary and experience the reality of the sky world.

Hotouongannandi was by no means the only route to religious ecstacy at Kahnawake. Another popular devotion, already discussed, involved the repeated recitation of the rosary, a devotion similar to the religious chanting practiced traditionally by the Iroquois. Such devotions were known in European convents and monasteries to induce hallucinations and extended trances. Catherine of Sienna for example, was known to have experienced union with Christ while reciting the rosary. Catherine was the patron saint of Kateri's band and a popular focus of devotion in early Kahnawake. Repetitious prayer is also known to have contributed to similar visions for the Carmelites John of the Cross, Theresa of Avila and Theresa Lisieux. Chauchetiere's 1681 letter to his brother describes these practices at Kahnawake: "There is a savage woman who says the rosary fully twenty times a day; and another who says it six times in her day, by dividing it in a very ingenious fashion. They find out all their devotions by themselves, for they call one Rosary, that, "of the five wounds", another "the rosary of the ten virtues of

the Blessed Virgin... another "The Rosary of the twelve beads... All of these are recited while they are going to or returning from their fields. Here is also something touching. While making my rounds in the village at eight or nine o'clock in the evening, I have heard the air resound on all sides with voices issuing from all of the cabins. All were saying their prayers aloud, before retiring to rest; and this is done every night, not a single person failing to do so. Thus have these former maneaters become lambs through the grace of Jesus Christ" (JR 62: 181-183).

The Jesuits obviously regarded the recitation of the rosary an important devotion at Kahnawake. When the missionary Luc Nau wrote to France to ask a benefactor for support he noted that he personally required nothing but that the natives "were in need of everything" (JR 69: 37) and requested Mde. Aulneau to send rosaries to the mission. Nau even specified the kind of beads preferred by the Mohawk: "My only recommendation, with regard to these beads, is that they be of six decades, and that the wire chain they are strung on be stronger" (*ibid*).

Just as the founding members of the Kahnawake village had travelled throughout the other Iroquois cantons preaching abstinence from alcohol, so by the dawn of the eighteenth century, apostles from Kahnawake brought word of *hotouongannandi* to the Iroquois. Soon, the zeal and devotion of Kahnawake was evident in the southern Iroquois villages and became the subject for discussion in the *Relations* (JR 61: 167-237). By the year 1720, most of the proselytization amongst the Iroquois was performed by the Mohawk, freeing the Jesuits for service in the west.

CONCLUSIONS

When in 1979 the Postulator General for Jesuit Causes, Father Jerome Fajella, reviewed Kateri's life, he wrote that "to be properly understood, these penances [of Kateri's] must not be considered without taking into account the Iroquois background against which they were practiced" (Bechard 1979: 21). When such a consideration is made, the extremes of Catholicism at Kahnawake begin to make sense.

For the Iroquois, the universe traditionally consisted of the earth and the place "on the other side of the sky". Iroquois religion

reflected this dualism and the continuity between the earth and the sky world and required that individuals maintain the balance between these two worlds by remaining forever content, and by communicating with the other side through dreams. These dreams would either come naturally, and then be made public, or else they would be induced through some ritual means. At the time of first contact with the European, alcohol was introduced to the Iroquois through the fur trade and it soon became a ritual ingrediant in the vision quest. As the dangers of using alcohol became evident, however, the Iroquois made definite moves towards discouraging its use.

After the settlement of the Peace of 1666, the Mohawk re-established their presence in the St. Lawrence Valley at Kahnawake. This "mission" settlement was a community of Catholic converts from the Mohawk Valley and adopted Catholic Hurons. In an effort to cooperate with the Jesuits, the residents of Kahnawake accepted certain compromises to their traditional ritual structure, although through the institution of *hotouongannandi* and other rituals acceptable to the Jesuits they retained the experience of the vision quest in their culture. The Kahnawake settlement also saw the renewal of another Iroquois tradition: communities of self-professed virgins, secluded from the rest of the settlement for spiritual reasons.

The drama of culture-contact at Kahnawake presents us with a case where both the natives and the Jesuits [representing the European society] evaluated and manipulated the culture of the other to secure the best end for themselves. The Mohawk were not witless followers of the Jesuits. They used the Jesuits to gain advantageous trade concessions from the French and had to give something up in return. What did they give? To the Jesuit's way of thinking, the Mohawk gave up their traditional religion and beliefs. In fact, the Mohawk modified their religious practices and developed a syncretistic system of ritual that yielded the desired affect, yet was compatible with Catholicism.

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