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FEATURE ARTICLES

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La revue *Anthropologica* publie, en français et en anglais, des articles et comptes rendus produits par des chercheurs canadiens et étrangers oeuvrant dans les divers domaines de l'étude académique de l'anthropologie culturelle et sociale. Chaque manuscrit est soumis pour évaluation à deux lecteurs anonymes.

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Erratum

In the article by Colin Scott entitled ''Hunting Territories, Hunting Bosses, and Communal Production among Coastal James Bay Cree'' published in Volume XXVIII, Nos. 1-2 (1986), please note the following correction: on page 165 (lines 14-16 at the end of the second paragraph) *''uuchimaau* (he distracts) and *uuchihaau* (he drives him from it)''* should read as *''uuchimaau* and *uuchihaau* (he distracts, he drives him from it).''*

INTRODUCTION: LEADERSHIP IN NORTH AMERICAN NATIVE GROUPS AND ORGANIZATIONS

Lise C. Hansen
Ontario Native Affairs Directorate

Patricia Sawchuk
Nishnawbe-Aski Nation, Toronto, Canada

The papers in this issue were first read in a session titled "Leadership in North American Native Groups and Organizations," organized by Lise C. Hansen and Patricia Sawchuk, at the 12th Annual Congress of the Canadian Ethnology Society (now the Canadian Anthropology Society), held in Toronto in May 1985. They have been revised for inclusion here.

A variety of topics are discussed: concepts of leadership; definitions of native leaders — traditional and contemporary; the authority and power of leaders, as well as their roles, both within their own groups and between the groups they represent and other groups; and the effectiveness of leadership in historical and contemporary contexts. Common to all the papers is the analysis of the response of the various communities to changes in their relations with non-natives and the role of leaders and patterns of leadership within this broader social/political/economic context.

W.P. (Peter) Carstens focuses on the Okanagan Indians of British Columbia to illustrate several problems related to the use of the term leadership, and the need to analyze leadership within its social context. He deals with the problem of leadership in both time and space, documenting the interaction of external forces and internal norms and expectations placed on leaders during three periods of time. Carstens suggests that special attention be paid to the dynamics and caprice of both leaders and their followers, as well as their supporters, to present an analysis of leadership that goes beyond the assumption that leaders are tied to stable groups with clearly defined memberships.

Alexander M. (Sandy) Ervin documents the emergence and development of a Pan-Native political movement in Alaska, from grass-roots leadership to successful lobbying activities, that resulted in the Alaska Native

Claims Settlement Act. As occurred elsewhere in North America, the recognition of the economic potential of Alaska's resources prompted rapid development and the need to resolve issues of native land ownership. However, in this instance, Ervin argues that the native leadership was comparatively successful in negotiating an agreement that, in its time, represented a significant solution to native political, economic and cultural autonomy.

Lise C. Hansen provides an ethnohistorical analysis of leadership in the context of a particular event in the history of native-European relations. Using the written record as the primary source of information, she endeavours to reconstruct patterns of leadership among the Ojibwa on the north shore of Lake Superior in the mid-19th century. The emergence of "outside" leaders and their spheres of influence contemporaneously with "inside" leaders provides a theoretical backdrop to her discussion of the European perceptions of Ojibwa leadership in the context of the fur trade and the treaty negotiations. The representativeness of the individuals credited with having the authority to negotiate the treaty on behalf of the Ojibwa is central to her analysis.

Shuichi Nagata's analysis of the Hopi Indians of Arizona provides support for the notion that the traditional leadership will withdraw from an active role when the group of which they are a part becomes encapsulated by the dominant society, and the leadership function is then assumed by individuals who embody the values and interests of the group, as well as those of the dominant society. Also noting comparisons with Indian associations and reserve communities in Canada, he examines how effectively the leadership manages the boundary and preserves cultural identity. His paper includes speculation as to the extent and nature of change that a modern form of leadership might seek in order to overcome the bureaucratization of local level organizations, and to achieve its stated objectives of retention of native culture and identity.

We thank Professors Carstens, Ervin and Nagata for their participation in the session on Native Leadership at the 12th Annual Congress of the ESCE and especially for revision of their work for inclusion in this issue. We also thank the other participants for their contributions to the session. The late Professor Richard F. Salisbury had graciously agreed to prepare the introduction to this issue. His passing precluded the completion of that task. His death leaves us with a void in Canadian Anthropology.

On a personal note, Lise Hansen's colleagues at the Ontario Native Affairs Directorate provided encouragement and support that is greatly appreciated.

Les articles contenus dans ce volume ont été présentés pour la première fois à une session intitulée *Leadership in North American Native Groups and*

Organizations, et organisée par Lise C. Hansen et Patricia Sawchuk au 12ᵉ Congrès de la Société Canadienne d'Ethnologie (maintenant la Société Canadienne d'Anthropologie) à Toronto en mai 1985. Ils ont été revisés pour cette publication.

Divers sujets sont étudiés: les concepts de leadership, les leaders autochtones — traditionnels et contemporains — leur autorité et leur pouvoir ainsi que leur rôle au sein de leur propre groupe et, aussi, entre les groupes qu'ils représentent et d'autres groupes; et l'étude de l'efficacité du leadership d'un point de vue historique aussi bien que contemporain. Les articles ont en commun l'analyse de la réaction de plusieurs communautés aux changements dans leurs relations avec la population non-autochtone et, plus spécifiquement, le rôle qu'assument les leaders dans ce contexte plus élargi — social, politique et économique.

En étudiant les Indiens Okanagans de la Colombie Britannique, W.P. (Peter) Carstens illustre les divers problèmes liés à l'emploi du terme leadership, et le besoin d'analyser ce même leadership dans son contexte social. La complexité de leadership est observée d'un point de vue temporel et spatial. L'auteur documente les actions réciproques de forces externes et de normes internes ainsi que les attentes de leaders lors de trois périodes différentes. Il suggère que, pour présenter une analyse de leadership qui transcend les présomptions que les leaders sont liés à des groupes stables ayant des adhésions définies, il est essentiel d'observer la dynamique et les caprices des leaders, de leurs partisans et leurs supporteurs.

Alexander M. (Sandy) Ervin documente l'émergence et le développement d'un mouvement politique pan-autochtone en Alaska, provenant d'un leadership de base et allant jusqu'aux succès d'activités de lobbying », qui a mené à l'*Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act*. Comme ailleurs en Amérique du Nord, la reconnaissance du potentiel économique des ressources en Alaska a incitée un développement rapide et soulignée l'urgence de résoudre la question des revendications territoriales des autochtones. Pourtant, il soutient que dans ce cas le leadership autochtone a, par comparaison, eu du succès dans les negociations d'une convention qui, dans son temps, a representée une solution significative à l'autonomie politique, économique et culturelle des autochtones.

Lise C. Hansen présente une analyse ethnohistorique de leadership dans le contexte d'une événement particulier dans l'histoire des relations autochtones-européennes. En utilisant des documents écrits comme source primaire d'information, elle tâche de reconstruire des modèles de leadership parmi les Objibwa de la côte nord du Lac Supérieur au milieu de 19ᵉ siècle. L'émergence de leaders de l'exterieur » et leur sphère d'influence au même temps que de leaders de l'intérieur », représente la toile de fond pour sa discussion sur les perceptions européennes de leadership chez les Ojibwa dans le

contexte de la pelleterie et les négociations de traités. La valeur représentative des individus accrédités avec l'autorité de négocier le traité pour les Objibwa forme le noyau de son analyse.

L'analyse des Indiens Hopi par Shuichi Nagata soutient la notion que le leadership traditionnel se retire d'un rôle actif lorsque le groupe dont il fait partie devient encapsulé par la société dominante, et que les fonctions de leadership sont assumées par des individus qui incarnent les valeurs et intérêts du groupe et de la société dominante. Après avoir noté les activités de diverses associations indiennes et de communautés canadiennes vivant sur des réserves, il examine avec quelle efficacité le leadership gère les limites et préserve l'identité culturelle. Son article spécule à quel point — et comment — cette forme moderne de leadership pourra se démunir de la bureaucratisation aux niveaux d'organisations locales pour ensuite atteindre ses objectifs déclarés de retenir la culture et l'identité autochtone.

Nous remercions les professeurs Carstens, Ervin et Nagata d'avoir participé à la session du leadership autochtone au 12e Congrès Annuel de la CESCE et, surtout, pour la révision de leurs travaux pour l'inclusion dans ce volume. Nous remercions aussi les autres participants pour leurs contributions à la session. Feu le professeur Richard F. Salisbury avait gracieusement accepté de préparer l'introduction à ce volume. Sa mort a préclu l'achèvement de cette tâche et laisse un vide énorme dans l'anthropologie canadienne.

Lise Hansen voudrait aussi exprimer sa gratitude pour l'encouragement et le soutien donnés par les collègues à la Direction générale des affaires autochtones de l'Ontario.

LEADERS, FOLLOWERS, AND SUPPORTERS: THE OKANAGAN EXPERIENCE[1]

Peter Carstens
University of Toronto

Abstract: This article discusses some of the conceptual problems and issues of leadership as this idea is commonly used by social anthropologists in their work among native peoples in Canada. The main argument of the article is illustrated by research among the Okanagan Indians of British Columbia. Although the formulation presented here has no grand theoretical pretensions, an attempt is made to deal with the problem of leadership in both time and space (i.e., diasynchronically). Particular attention is paid to external forces which impinge on the position of local leaders, and on the ideology and actions of followers and supporters of local leaders.

Résumé: Cet article examine quelques-uns des problèmes conceptuels et des questions liés à la façon de concevoir l'idée de chef telle qu'elle est généralement employée par les spécialistes de l'anthropologie sociale dans leurs études des peuples autochtones au Canada. L'article illustre ses propos des recherches faites chez les indiens Okanagan de la Colombie Britannique. Bien que la présentation faite ci-dessous n'ait pas de grande prétension théorique, elle a néanmoins essayé de traiter le problème du chef à la fois dans l'espace et dans le temps (c'est-à-dire « diasynchroniquement »). L'article a également accordé une attention particulière aux forces extérieures qui empiètent sur les pouvoirs des chefs régionaux ainsi que sur l'idéologie et les actions de leurs disciples et partisans.

Most social anthropologists trained in the tradition that takes the ideas of social structure and social organization seriously are bound to have a view of society which is rooted in concepts such as groups, classes, categories, segments, factions and other forms of institutionalized or semi-institutionalized configurations. Closely associated with this perspective of a geometry of the social world (Simmel 1950:21, 152; Spykman 1925) is the assumption that many of these components, notably social groups (both primary and secondary), are made up of leaders and followers. But even those anthropologists who attempt to avoid paradigms based on "groupology" (Boissevain 1968) can never really avoid dealing with the questions of decision-making, leader-

ship, power, and authority, and all the actors involved in these issues.

The term "leadership" is both confusing and complex. While there is a considerable literature in sociology and social psychology dealing with the subject, anthropologists have tended to ignore this work because so few of the concepts and ideas seem to fit their kind of data. The field of anthropology focuses on a wide variety of social and historical contexts, and we are concerned with both past and present, with relations between different societies and communities, with ethnic and cultural relations, with social differentiation, and with rapid social change. Although the same could also be said for sociology, the range of socioeconomic and cultural variation dealt with is much greater in contemporary social anthropology. Anthropology no longer confines itself to the village, band, or tribe, and the field has few boundaries nowadays as we try to juggle the intricate variables which grow out of the synthesis between synchronic relationships, diachronic relationships, and macro-functionalism, i.e., world systems theory (see Wolf 1982). In other words it might be argued that modern social anthropology attempts to use the diasynchronic method to understand the problems at hand.

The concept of "leadership" is used for many different situations as though it can be evenly applied. Thus in studies of Canadian native peoples we might talk of the chiefs in precontact times as being the leaders of the members of their particular tribes. In contemporary times we speak of chiefs and councillors (and sometimes band managers) as leaders. We also refer to the leadership of tribal councils and brotherhoods; and when Canadian native peoples debate at Provincial and Federal levels we see the membership of these assemblies as being made up of the leaders of various associations. But clearly the latter category of leaders are involved in loose-knit relations with their constituencies in a socio-political situation very different from that found in bands at the local level. For a useful example of the free use of the term leadership in wider contexts see the detailed work of Menno Boldt (e.g., 1980, 1981).

Research among the Okanagan people of British Columbia provides some examples to illustrate several problems relating to the use of the term leadership, and the need to analyze leadership within its social context. Three kinds of examples are discussed here: first, traditional Okanagan leadership in pre-fur trade times; second, an example of a fur trade chief; and third, some observations concerning the social positions of contemporary chiefs, and councillors in the context of a contemporary reserve. In writing this paper I have avoided ethnographic comparisons with other Canadian Indian groups because I wish to focus on one small community only and avoid the issues relating to macro analysis.

Traditional Okanagan Leadership

The Okanagan constitute one segment of the interior Salish-speaking people of British Columbia and the states of Washington, Idaho and Montana. Thus, nowadays they live under Canadian and American jurisdiction. They were once a hunting, fishing, and gathering peoples who occupied the territory to the east and west of Lake Okanagan, and southwards to the junction of the Okanagan and Columbia Rivers (Duff 1964; Hill-Tout 1978; Ray 1939; Ross 1956; Teit 1914, 1930).

As a foraging people they leaned towards a band organizational structure. Okanagan bands were loosely structured and consisted of networks of related families that made their headquarters in a particular territory under the leadership of an established headman (*Ilmexum*). A headman was thus not a chief in the sense that chieftainship usually implies leadership over larger numbers of people and the existence of formal councils.

Bands varied in size, and there does not seem to have been any obligation to show permanent allegiance to any one headman, which illustrates the loosely knit nature of Okanagan bands both politically and residentially. Thus a family might spend the winter with one band and summer with another, and these headmen had no real authority or hold over the members of their bands, giving people the freedom to come and go as they pleased. But whether band members remained with one group or another seemed to depend on how their *Ilmexum* played his cards and used his personal influence.

Perhaps the best account of the actual duties, expectations and obligations of these band headmen is given by James Teit. Teit who calls them "band chiefs" writes:

> Chiefs of bands were looked upon as fathers of the people, and gave advice on all internal matters of the band. They exhorted the people to good conduct, and announced news personally or through criers. To some extent they regulated the seasonal pursuits of the people. They looked after the maturing of the berries, personally or by deputy, in their respective districts. They kept time by notching sticks and occasionally made records of notable events. They were often referred to, in case of dispute, regarding dates, the name of the month, etc. They gave decisions and admonitions in petty disputes and quarrels, and sometimes, when asked to arbitrate, they settled feuds between families. They had little power to enforce any decrees. This was done by public opinion. Some of them had messengers or helpers, who acted generally in a persuasive way as peace officers . . . [all chiefs were expected to] help the poor, show a good example, and give small feasts or presents to the people from time to time (1930:262-63).

These band headmen (or chiefs) were not the only dignitaries in the band, and they were assisted (or hindered) in fulfilling their obligations by a number of others responsible for different activities: war chiefs, hunting

chiefs, shaman chiefs and at least two kinds of dance chiefs.[2] Thus the band headman (*Ilmexum*) should always be seen in relation to these other leaders, because Okanagan political organization revolved around this nexus of dignitaries and all of them were involved directly or indirectly with power, leadership, decision-making, and the regulation of conduct in the broad sense.

Whereas the band headman was the most visible and influential of all, chiefs of various kinds achieved their roles by acquiring prestige and personal esteem from those whom they led: through prowess in war; by accumulating wealth and distributing it in feasts; through giving presents or entertainment to strangers; and through their wisdom and council, especially if combined with good oratory.

What this meant in practice was that the Okanagan authority system involved an elaborate division of labour and division of power. Moreover, this scheme highlights the way in which individuals were prevented by their own system from increasing their power and influence beyond limits acceptable to their followers and rivals.

A successful Okanagan political headman (*Ilmexum*) was a person who, through his ability to manipulate social relationships, was able to maintain his office without falling foul of his rivals and lieutenants. In short, chieftainship could be a very precarious business, and must have been riddled with all kinds of jealousies and rivalries as individual political chiefs battled to maintain their popularity ratings. Political headmanship among traditional Okanagan therefore involved a sort of on-going contest between dignitaries, but the main objective of the game from the point of view of the political headman was to draw as many followers as possible into his camp by every legitimate means open to him.

In anthropology the impression is generally given that all hunter-gatherer peoples are conservative and slow-changing. I cannot say this about the Okanagan whose society was characterised by its flexibility and dynamic instability — characteristics that were inherent in the authority structure. The aim of all leaders was to lead into action a stream of wills which were often at variance with one another and generally unpredictable (cf. Miller 1985).

Great Chief Nkwala and the Hudson's Bay Company

The advent of the fur trade as well as the arrival of missionaries in Okanagan territory produced many changes in traditional Okanagan authority structure, an authority structure which had also been transformed by other factors. Some of these factors were intrinsic to Okanagan society, whereas others, such as the acquisition of the horse, were related to contact with neighbouring peoples.

The land-based fur trade in the interior of British Columbia was in full swing during the 1820s (Fisher 1977) and it was during this period that a new

kind of political leader emerged among the Okanagan — the Double Chief. I use the term Double Chief for want of a better concept to show that economic and political leadership now took on a new dimension, serving two kinds of societies at the same time — traditional Okanagan on the one hand, and the capitalist based Hudson's Bay Company on the other (Hudson's Bay Company Archives. See various Reports, Journals and Correspondence 1820-60; Cole 1979).

During the early part of the 19th century several Okanagan headmen seemed to have acquired distinction over others, partly as result of inter-ethnic warfare, and partly through their involvement in the fur trade. One of these headmen named Hwistesmexquen had his headquarters at the head of Lake Okanagan near the present city of Vernon. He was an astute politician, possessed a large herd of horses, and his wealth enabled him to support seventeen wives. Some wives were Okanagan, others came from neighbour-ing people including the Shuswap in whose territory the Hudson's Bay Com-pany had established a main post, namely, Fort Kamloops. Hwistesmexquen ingratiated himself with the Chief Factor of Fort Kamloops and became an important figure in the area. He appears to have been baptized Nicholas (Nicola), a name which soon symbolized his fur trade connection. But he also retained his Okanagan roots and his fur trade name was transformed by his people into Nkwala, and today he is devoutly remembered by a few Okanagan as the most prominent political figure of his time. Indeed in con-temporary ethnohistory Nkwala is characterized as the ''Head Chief of all the Okanagan people'' (see also Teit 1930; Balf n.d. and 1985; Brent n.d.).

Without elaborating, let me merely state that Nkwala derived his reputa-tion from two spheres: the personal esteem with which he was regarded by his own and neighboring bands, and his association with the Hudson's Bay Company. This duality enabled him to build two bases of hegemony, each of which he used to strengthen the other. As a prominent Okanagan, and through his foreign wives, he had access to potential surpluses of furs and fish in the sense that he was able to encourage their delivery to the Fort. As a friend and ally of the fur traders, Nkwala was in an ideal position to act as broker and mediator between the Company and the Okanagan and other native peoples, but his position was more complex and more powerful than a mere trading captain because of his political significance in the region.

Nkwala provides us with an example of a new kind of leader. He enjoyed far more influence, authority, and power than any Okanagan head-man before him because of the new socioeconomic role he played by virtue of being a valued favorite of the Hudson's Bay Company. He was a Double Chief with support from both social spheres in which he operated. He was crafty and a master at manipulating his position as broker, maximizing his profits on both sides. It would be inaccurate though to characterize him as a

mere stooge of the Hudson's Bay Company because he controlled the officials at Fort Kamloops as much as they controlled him (cf. Homans 1951:188-189). Moreover, his power over the Okanagan people increased because of the leverage he had over the fur traders and the access he had to trade goods and other commodities. From the point of view of the Okanagan the new order of chief that Nkwala represented was marked by several characteristics. Perhaps the most significant of these was the fact that Nkwala became the first headman-chief whose followers defined themselves through the allegiance that they owed to him. In other words it was during his era that the Okanagan ceased to be a band type society with informal leadership. Nkwala's leadership marked the transition from what Bertrand de Jouvenel (1957:21) termed a *dux*, "the man who leads into action a stream of wills" to a sort of *rex*, "the man who regularizes and rules." Okanagan government began to develop at this time, and an embryonic court system grew up. Bands ceased to be important, and there is a suggestion that the members of traditional bands and villages transformed themselves into factions as authority moved from the local level to a more centralized position, though the nature of structural change was more elaborate than this.

Nkwala was a special kind of charismatic leader who routinized his charisma quite modestly, and he continued throughout his life as chief to play the game of mediating between a rapidly changing culture and the hegemony of fur trade capitalism.

Chiefs and Councillors: Leadership Indian Act Style[3]

The enforcement of the Indian Act in 1876 created new patterns of authority in the Okanagan Valley, as it did in other parts of Canada. And as the Act was modified over the years so were the reactions of the people who fell under its jurisdiction. One of the most important changes was the demise of the Indian agents (or superintendents) in the late 1960s and early 1970s, and the creation of band managers to replace them. But there have been many changes in the administration of native people, and the whole history of leadership under the Indian Act is complex and beyond the scope of this paper (see Ponting and Gibbins 1980; Weaver 1981; Canada, 1984). Here I am concerned quite briefly with some general aspects of Okanagan chiefs and councillors at the present time in the context of one local band.

Provision is made under the Indian Act for the election of chiefs and councillors for two year periods. In the Okanagan Reserve near Vernon, British Columbia, chiefs are elected separately from councillors, a practice which has come to reflect the different perceptions and expectations the people have of their chiefs *vis-à-vis* councillors. In very broad terms chiefs are expected to express the wishes of all band members from the point of view of their traditional "Indianness," however that may be defined (cf. Tanner 1983). But

in point of fact they do not. Councillors are viewed as more practical people who should get things done at the local level in terms of the Indian Act. Chiefs must have charisma to be elected, but any chief who tries to routinize his charisma is immediately accused of violating his responsibility to do what the people expect of him.

The dichotomy between chiefs and councillors is clearly exemplified in nomination patterns over the years, each category being represented by a separate cohort. For example, successful councillors who are elected year after year seldom enter the competition for chief. There are two factors involved. First, there is the question of choice on the part of the candidates themselves. Second, but more important, candidates who are firmly entrenched in the councillor cohort are seldom nominated by their followers for the position of chief. Prior to election time, candidates for chief tend to be preselected, while candidates for councillors are nominated in a somewhat random fashion, and many nominations attract very few votes on election day. Thus in terms of electoral sentiments, chiefs may be said to represent the collective unconsciousnesses of segments of the band membership, the winner in any one election representing the largest cleavage in the community. Councillors, on the other hand, represent factions or clusters of factions as these factions are aligned at any one time.

It is difficult to present the relationship between chiefs and their electorate in concrete terms. Had I been able to administer opinion polls over a long period, it is possible that some concise formula to explain the general principles would have emerged. But in all probability the clue would have been concealed in the confusion that is generated by voting for an ideal, and voting for an ideal believed to be embodied in an individual person.

The suggestion then is that among the Okanagan the chief can no longer be said to lead into action a stream of wills, but rather that a stream of wills determines who the chief will be. In de Jouvenel's sense a chief under the Indian Act is not a *rex*, not merely because he does not regularize and rule, but because he is always at the mercy of an electorate and has no control over the electorate in the absence of formal political parties. It is true that in the Weberian sense his authority is legitimated by a formal election, but he stands apart from the councillors, many of whom may not even regard him as their leader in committee. Under the Indian Act the chief is a person who represents public opinion at one period of time but can never articulate that opinion since the Act does not confer upon him any real executive or bureaucratic powers. Moreover, as representative of public opinion the modern Okanagan chief stands in opposition to the band manager who is the paid bureaucrat (or responsible officer) of the band. It might well be asked then why anyone ever bothers to run for chief, given the chief's political impotence and the ambivalence with which he is regarded. The answer is complex and cannot be dealt

with in any detail here. But there are two crucial factors which I shall mention. First, as I have indicated, candidates for the office of chief are preselected by the clusters of interest groups who support them. Consequently they have little "free choice" in the matter. Second, chieftainship sometimes affords an individual the opportunity to increase his personal esteem in the community by forging informal (sometimes formal) ties with the wider society. In short the social perquisites of office, such as they are, come to chiefs from outside the community, and candidates for chieftainship know this very well.

In contrast to chiefs, band managers are not only secretaries to council, but they also occupy strategic positions from which they can manipulate the wishes and actions of the band council by compulsively following the letter of the law. Band managers do not have the power or authority of the former Indian agents, but in most bands they are better able to administer the Indian Act because of their ties to both Ottawa and their respective communities. They may at times incur the wrath of band members, but they are trusted because they are expected to know the rules of an Act which is now internalized as part of Okanagan tradition. Band managership is a purely bureaucratic vocation.

Let us return to the position of chief. In theory he stands at the apex of the band, a position that is impossible to maintain. Not only must he face criticism for his inevitable and constant failure to create a little utopia in the white man's space, but he must also be sensitive to the ever-changing self-perceptions of band-members. They are constantly involved in a process of re-evaluating their positions within the context of their factional categories, within their family networks, and in coming to terms with their attitudes towards local government, pan-Indianism, the Department of Indian Affairs, land claims, the Canadian Constitution etc. Thus, if a chief fails to be re-elected to office, the answer lies not in his personal inadequacies, but rather because of the sociological and ideological positions which he occupies in the community. The office of chief is predictably hazardous, and no chief can ever avoid the stigma of having his actions discredited by band members on the grounds that he is a "government chief."

Contemporary political leaders such as chiefs and councillors, in spite of their very different roles, are all involved in a general game of strategy within the context of the Indian Act. Every successful and astute political leader, even if his period of office is short-lived, tries, once elected, to conduct his affairs according to three general principles, although the full implication of these principles may not be consciously perceived:

Principle 1. Promote the Indian Act but do so in such a manner that your supporters and followers will gain the impression that you have no love for the white man.

Principle 2. Never rely on any group, faction, opinion, or persuasion in your community for support, even if you think you know who your supporters are. This is the "T.S. Eliot principle." [4]

Principle 3. Manipulate the local status hierarchy in the community for your own ends. This is the traditional Okanagan headman principle.

The reason so many aspirant and potential local leaders fail seems always to relate to at least one of these three principles. The councillor who condemns the Indian Act out of hand may be suspected of plotting to sell land to whites. The chief who sides openly with one faction is often accused of failing in his duty to promote band harmony and welfare. The councillor who does not know how to boost his social position by acquiring personal esteem and by out-maneuvering his rivals renders himself impotent in the next round. Women were unsuccessful in their attempts to be elected to council for more than thirty years until one woman candidate learned the importance of Principle 3, and was immediately elected to office. In the following election two women were elected. It is significant to note in this context that all three of the women elected to office were outsiders in the sense that they married into the band from other communities (cf. Carstens 1966).

General Discussion

Many years ago, I attempted to classify types of leadership in a small reserve in the Cape Province of South Africa in terms of the kinds of authority and/or influence held by people in positions of superordination (Carstens 1966). Part of the problem with that analysis was that it provided some interesting labels for a typology of leadership, but not much else. If that work has any value, it lies in the demonstration that outsiders or aliens often find themselves appointed as "leaders" to certain bureaucratic or official positions in those kinds of communities. But the argument goes little further than that.

I have suggested in this paper that we need to see leaders in much fuller and specific contexts: their sociological contexts, their ideological contexts, and in the contexts of their followers and supporters. This does not mean that "groupology" has to be abandoned in the study of leadership and decision-making. Rather it implies that leaders are not necessarily tied to stable groups with clearly defined memberships, and that special attention has to be paid to the dynamics and caprice of both leaders and their followers and supporters.

The ethnographic data presented in this paper, although limited, are intended to show that as the world of the Okanagan has become more extensive and more complex so the nature of leadership has reflected the wider involvement of people generally.[5] This is a truism, but it does signal the need for closer examination of the context of leadership. For example, it is erroneous to assume that band chiefs in 1985 reflected the aspirations of every member of their respective bands. Chief and band members together do not

constitute a tidy social organizational scheme consisting of a leader and fol-
lowers.

We saw also how the position of headman (*Ilmexum*) of a traditional
Okanagan band could only be understood in terms of his interaction and
competition with other potential leaders, and the relation in which he stood to
his followers and "hangers on." The flexibility and dynamic instability of
traditional Okanagan society were also reflected in its leadership patterns.

During the fur trade a new kind of leader emerged. I have described him
as a Double Chief on the grounds that his authority and spheres of influence
were derived from two sources — his traditional authority and the economic
and political power that he derived from the Hudson's Bay Company. Chief
Nkwala's strength lay in this duality and his ability to act as broker between
two traditions and two economic systems. This role of broker fostered his
charismatic authority and facilitated his ability to transcend the factions that
grew up in place of bands and villages as traditional leadership waned. In the
final analysis, however, Nkwala's position also illustrates the hegemonic
influence of the fur trade over the Okanagan people in general.

The complexity of leaders, followers, and supporters was examined with
reference to chiefs and councillors as they have emerged since the creation
and enforcement of the Indian Act. The Indian Act revolutionized leadership
patterns among the Okanagan and other native peoples. By defining the
parameters of reserve government and its relation to the wider society, the
authority of leaders such as Nkwala was destroyed, and the new leaders had
to work out different strategies for manipulating the power available to them.
It was suggested that among the Okanagan, at least, successful political lead-
ers seemed nowadays to follow three principles or techniques to maintain
their positions.

Thus, in the modern period, chiefs and councillors perform very differ-
ent roles, not only within the context of the Indian Act, but also, it should be
added, in terms of the perceptions people have of the past and of the wider
society. There is some suggestion that in these contexts, a leader can no
longer count on a following and must maintain leadership through supporters
who share common values at a particular period in time.

There is room for extensive comparative research in the whole area of
leadership among Canadian native peoples. Much of it will have to be quite
theoretical, but the results could be of some practical value to native people
themselves for a variety of reasons. It is necessary for us to clarify the frames
of reference in which leaders operate, to understand their motives, and to
comprehend the techniques used by the ruling class to maintain the status
quo. Band government is based on a system devised by Canadian bureau-
crats, and native peoples' leadership patterns on every reserve are a function
of that system (cf. Carstens 1971). Even when local leaders succeed in ma-

nipulating the system to their own advantage their actions always take place in the context of their reserve and the status contingent on that position.

Notes

1. The archival research and field work on which this paper is based were made possible by grants from the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada and the University of Toronto. I am indebted to both of these institutions for their support. A full analysis of Okanagan society will appear in a later publication, and will include a detailed elaboration of the main ideas expressed here (Carstens forthcoming).

    I wish to thank my colleague, Shuichi Nagata, for comments on an earlier draft of this paper. I am especially grateful to the late Jimmy Antoine for making sure that I understood the difference between an Okanagan headman and a "Government" chief. Various other members of the Okanagan Band (and especially the band council) also contributed to the formulation of these ideas, and I am most grateful to them for their hospitality during my periods of field work.

2. For the purposes of this analysis I have followed the work of James Teit very closely (particularly Teit 1930), but I have also relied on the oral tradition derived from present day Okanagan historians. I have also reformulated some of these ideas and must therefore take responsibility for much of the interpretation of the data.

3. For some additional studies in other parts of Canada see Dunning (1964), Smith (1973), Lithman (1978, 1982), McFeat (1983), Tanner (1983) and Sieciechowicz (1985).

4. In his *Notes Towards a Definition of Culture,* T.S. Eliot wrote, ". . . an indefinite number of conflicts and jealousies . . . should be profitable to society. Indeed the more the better: so that everyone should be an ally of everyone else in some respects, and an opponent in several others, and no one conflict, envy or fear will dominate" (Eliot 1962:59).

5. A detailed elaboration of the themes presented here is dealt with in *The Queen's People* (Carstens forthcoming).

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STYLES AND STRATEGIES OF LEADERSHIP DURING THE ALASKAN NATIVE LAND CLAIMS MOVEMENT: 1959-71[1]

Alexander M. Ervin
University of Saskatchewan

Abstract: Following statehood, Alaskan native peoples were involved in a political struggle to define and maintain land rights in the face of massive developmental schemes and actual projects. At the beginning of Alaska statehood, local, rural, grass-roots native movements emerged. These were later replaced by a unified, highly disciplined, and sophisticated lobbying effort by a small core of élite natives operating through the Alaska Federation of Natives. This movement was remarkable because of the skills of its leaders in identifying and managing important political, economic, and normative pressure points, and in establishing useful networks of political alliance in the complex American political culture of interest group activities. Although now controversial, the resulting federal legislation in the form of the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act of 1971 was the most innovative approach to native land claims for its time.

Résumé: La formation de l'Alaska en État amena les peuples autochtones à s'impliquer dans l'arène politique afin d'identifier et de conserver leurs droits territoriaux face à la menace de plans massifs de développement et de projets concrets. Des mouvements populaires naquirent au début. Ils furent plus tard remplacés par un effort de lobbying hautement discipliné et perfectionné, dirigé par un petit noyau d'élites opérant dans « l'Alaska Federation of Natives ». Ce mouvement est remarquable par le savoir-faire employé par ses chefs de file dans l'identification et le contrôle de centres névralgiques de natures politique, économique et normative ainsi que dans la création de réseaux utiles d'alliances politiques au sein d'une culture politique américaine très complexe axée sur l'activité des groupes d'intérêt. Le « Native Claims Settlement Act » de 1971, législation fédérale, en fut le résultat: et bien qu'il fut plutôt controversée, il représentait pour l'époque l'approche la plus innovatrice qui fût développée relativement aux revendications territoriales autochtones.

Background

The 1960s saw the advent of what Nancy Lurie (1968) termed the American Indian "Renascence." This rebirth was, in part, stimulated by the threats of oppressive government policy, such as the Termination Acts, which would have damaged American Indian community life by forcing reservations to dissolve and assimilate into the American mainstream. Passivity, passive resistance or accommodation, previous methods of dealing with government policies by Indian leaders, were no longer appropriate. A new leadership emerged to more actively assert Indian demands for economic development and cultural and political autonomy. That leadership was better educated and more experienced in dealing with American society through military service, travel and urban migration than previous generations had been. Many of these new leaders also had an identity of Pan-Indianness, wherein they sensed a common predicament of cultural crisis, in spite of separate tribal origins, and felt that they should unite politically. That alliance was formalized in the revitalization of the National Congress of American Indians (N.C.A.I.), as a formal political interest group to lobby for political and cultural autonomy.

At the same time, it should be pointed out that American Indian society was very pluralistic in its renascence, especially when one considers the tribal diversity upon which it was based. The assertive, but essentially moderate lobbying stance of the N.C.A.I., was disdained as being too accommodative by such radical groups as the American Indian Movement. Moreover, the renascence was not just political. Many Indians participated in it through such activities as revived or intensified pow-wows, sun-dances, spirit dances, through alternative education systems, through the revival of traditional medicines and through highly innovative developments in music and the graphic arts.

These developments were occurring in the "Lower 48" states, notably the western areas of the continental United States of America. A parallel, but essentially separate set of occurrences happened in the largely ignored new state of Alaska. Alaska had been reluctantly purchased by the United States in 1867, and although it had strategic defense and some minor commercial value, it was largely viewed as a burden on the federal treasury and experienced a long period of territorial colonialism before it was accepted into the union as a state. But with the coming of statehood, its tremendous economic potential in timber, fishing, minerals, and most notably oil and gas, was soon recognized. The state government and local entrepreneurial and outside corporate interests promoted the exploitation of that potential as soon as possible. But before that could be done, the issues of land ownership in the former territory had to be resolved.

The native people of Alaska were vitally threatened by these developments. If their rights were not established, they ultimately could suffer

greater disintegration than Indians in the "Lower 48" because very few had reservations. On the other hand, because of the advantage of historical hindsight, and because there had been very little previous legislation, there was the potential for a more satisfactory solution to native issues of political, economic and cultural autonomy in Alaska.

This essay will describe the development of a pan-native political movement in Alaska, centered around the issue of land claims. The movement was very rapid and intensive during the 1960s and achieved many of its goals through the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act of 1971 (ANCSA). The remainder of the paper will describe the motivating forces toward political organization, the process of organization and federation among diverse groupings, and more importantly, the styles, strategies and attributes of native leadership. The political outcome of the movement will also be analyzed through a discussion of the land claims legislation. This movement has been described in a number of other papers (cf. Burch, Jr. 1979; Ervin 1973, 1976, 1980, 1981; Lantis 1973) and in several books (cf. Arnold 1976; Berry 1975), but this particular article pays more attention to the strategies and styles of leadership.

Motivations For Political Organization

Before statehood in 1959, Alaskan natives were left largely undisturbed in their subsistence activities, at least as compared to Indians in the "Lower 48." There were very few clear-cut cases of native ownership of land, an ironic case being the Canadian immigrant group of Tsimshians who had successfully negotiated for the Metlakatla reservation on Annette Island at the turn of the century. However, most other Alaskans lacked land title, since about 98 percent of the land was under federal jurisdiction, some of it specifically allocated for defense facilities and wildlife preserves. Alaskan natives were widely separated, isolated and ethnically very diverse, probably more diverse than in any other American region, with the possible exception of the American Southwest. There are five broad ethnic or cultural area groupings within Alaska: the Inupiat of the north slope coastal region; the Yupik of the western coastal and riverine region; the Aleut of the Aleutian Islands and Alaska Peninsula, the Déné of the Interior region and the Northwest Coastal Indians (Tlingit, Haida and Tsimshian) of the Alaskan panhandle.

In spite of this diversity, there were a number of common experiences that would contribute to a pan-nativism in the 1960s. Some of these were: the often devastating experiences of boom-bust economies, such as the fur trade and gold rushes; the experience of epidemic diseases; the attempts to direct acculturation through Euro-American religious and educational institutions; the disruption of native subsistence economies through the introduction

of Western technology and the depletion of some wildlife species; the cyclical migration to cities, such as Fairbanks and Anchorage; the conflicts of economic interest with white migrants over issues such as fishing rights; and the introduction of external governmental agencies such as the Bureau of Indian Affairs, whose officals frequently came to manage much of the social and economic affairs of native villagers.

The most important common denominator was a mutual participation in what Abrahamson (1968) called the "dual-economy." Alaska can be divided into three socio-economic regions. The panhandle or southeastern region has a Euro-American majority, but with a significant native minority, and is oriented towards timbering and commercial salmon fishing. "Railbelt Alaska," focused on the cities of Anchorage and Fairbanks, has a very large Euro-American population, but with significant native communities and has been oriented towards the mineral, defense and service industries. Westward Alaska consists of an overwhelming majority of native people living in isolated villages in the northern and western areas far from developed commercial and transportation services. Living costs are very high and per capita incomes are very low.

In this region, and in the more isolated communities of the other two regions, native people have had to clearly and undisputedly rely on the local land and its resources for survival (cf. Abrahamson 1968; Buckley 1957; Federal Field Committee 1968; Klein 1966). Subsistence derived food made up as much as 90 percent of the diet in some places. Subsistence provided one dimension of the dual economy, but native people also participated in a seasonally regulated wage economy through cyclical migration to canneries and construction sites, and participation in fire fighting, and in some cases, commercial fishing. This was done because of a growing desire for consumer goods, but mainly to maintain the small-scale technological base for the subsistence economy.

Around the time of statehood, a series of external threats and proposals for economic development transformed native Alaskan isolation and resulted in political interest group formation and a land claims movement. These threats included: a proposal to flood 9,000,000 acres in the upper region of the Yukon River and a plan to detonate a nuclear underground blast equivalent to 2,400,000 tons of T.N.T. near the village of Point Hope. Also, shortly after statehood, the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service, now with reduced responsibilities, began to arrest natives throughout the state for hunting ducks out of season, creating a grass-roots outrage.

Most serious of all, the state government was beginning to select 103,000,000 acres which were to be transformed from the federal domain. Earliest among the selections were the rich oil-bearing lands of the Prudhoe Bay region of the North Slope. In 1963, the state attempted to select an area

near the Déné village of Minto for a proposed tourist hunting area. Included in the selection were part of the village itself, its burial site and surrounding duck-breeding areas. With the assistance of attorneys and a recently formed Déné association, the villagers gained an injunction from a federal court. Several years later, the federal Secretary of the Interior imposed a general freeze on further state selections based on sections of the Organic Act of 1884 and the Alaskan Statehood Act of 1958, which both stipulated that native subsistence was not to be disturbed and that some future legislation would have to provide native title to some land. This land freeze was to provide pivotal legal leverage towards an ultimate settlement of the issue.

Interest Group Formation and Alliance

During this crisis period in the late 1960s, native Alaskan political interest groups rapidly formed. Previous to 1962, there had been only one such grouping, the Alaska Native Brotherhood (A.N.B.), which had been formed among the Tlingit and Haida of the panhandle region during the early part of the century as an attempt to deal with acculturation pressures and the erosion of fishing rights. This group had been fairly successful in defending aboriginal rights, promoting traditions and in electing a few natives to the territorial legislature (cf. Drucker 1958). The A.N.B. had attempted, unsuccessfully, to expand into other regions during the territorial period, and during the 1960s tried to become the principal native organization. Its proselytizing moves were resisted, primarily for cultural reasons. Other natives, such as Inuit and Déné did not conform well to the relatively authoritarian and formalistic approaches of the Tlingit and Haida leaders. However, Tlingit and Haida people played prominent roles in the ultimate establishment of the Alaska Federation of Natives, because of their organizational abilities and because they had previous experience in land litigation through the Tongass National Forest case which had been before the U.S. Indian Land Claims Commission.

By 1967, there were 15 new regional, village and city organizations representing Aleut, Inupiat, Yupik and Déné people (see Table 1). Among the more prominent were the Cook Inlet Native Association, the Arctic Slope Native Association, the Tanana Chiefs and the previously formed Alaska Native Brotherhood. Some groupings, such as the Tanana Chiefs (Déné) and the Village Council President's Association (Yupik), could be perceived as representing all of their regions' residents; whereas others such as the Cook Inlet Native Association (Anchorage) and the Fairbanks Native Association represented paid memberships of relatively affluent urban natives with largely middle-class occupations. Most of these organizations had their own lawyers and the regional and village associations filed separate land protests and settlement proposals with the federal Bureau of Land Management. Another very important development was the establishment of a statewide,

Table 1
Regional Associations of the Alaska Federation of Natives, 1969

Association	Ethnic Group	Region	Formed
Alaska Native Brotherhood	Tlingit & Haida, mainly	Southeastern Alaska, mainly	1912
Alaska Peninsula Assoc.	Aleut	Alaska Peninsula	1967
Aleut League	Aleut	Aleutian Islands & Pribiloff Islands	1967
Arctic Native Brotherhood	Eskimo	Nome & the Seward Peninsula	1966 (Reactivated)
Arctic Slope Native Assoc.	Eskimo	North Slope	1966, replaces "Inupiut Paitot"
Bristol Bay Native Assoc.	Eskimo, Aleut	Bristol Bay	1967
Cook Inlet Native Assoc.	Mixed	Anchorage Region	1967
Copper River Indian Assoc.	Ahtna Indian (Déné)	Copper River Area	
Chugach Native Assoc.	Mixed	Prince William Sound	1966
Fairbanks Native Assoc.	Mixed	Fairbanks	1961
Kenaitz Indian Assoc.	Kenai (Déné)	Kenai Peninsula	
Kodiak Area Native Assoc.	Eskimo and Aleut	Kodiak Island, mainly	
Kuskokwim Valley Native Assoc.	Eskimo	Bethel Region	1966
Native Village of Tyonek	Moquawkie Indian (Déné)	Tyonek Reservation	
Northwest Alaska Native Assoc.	Eskimo	Kotzebue to Point Hope	1966
Tanana Chiefs' Conference	Déné	Interior Alaska, Yukon & Tanana Valleys	1962
Village Council Presidents' Assoc.	Eskimo	Lower Yukon & Kuskokwim Valleys	1962

but independent native newspaper in 1962, the *Tundra Times,* located in Fair-banks (now in Anchorage), which was very important in maintaining com-munication among natives.

By 1966, various congressmen and officials of the Department of the Interior were proposing land settlements that were grossly unjust from the native point of view. To meet this challenge and to provide a united approach, native leaders, primarily from Anchorage, proposed the federation of existing organizations. Conventions were held in 1966 and 1967, and, in spite of some acrimonious debates arising from regional or ethnic rivalries, the Alaska Federation of Natives (A.F.N.) was formed with the goal of seeking a land claims settlement from Congress. The A.F.N. established its headquar-ters in Anchorage, and soon thereafter acquired the legal services of Ramsey Clark and Arthur Goldberg, who had served in prominent positions in the Kennedy Administration, although their hiring was bitterly opposed by the regional lawyers who, in turn, were dismissed. By 1969, after further debate, the A.F.N. had established its land claims position: a cash settlement of $500,000,000 for native lands already taken or about to be taken, clear title to 40,000,000 acres (to be divided on village and regional bases), and 2 percent, in perpetuity, of all state and federal mineral royalties, as a continuing com-pensation.

The Leadership, its Attributes and Strategies

Except for some early activities, such as community protests over the state's land selections and the unpopular enforcement of game laws in the early 1960s, the land claims drive was not a grass-roots movement and probably involved less than 500 out of a potential 50,000 native people. In fact, the leadership came more significantly from an urban élite than it did from the villages of westward Alaska, and the land claims activities were largely con-ducted in the urban centres of Anchorage, Juneau, and Washington, D.C.

Leadership can be divided into three levels. A core élite of six partici-pants who held executive or board positions with the A.F.N. provided the most persistent momentum in the formulation of policy and in the design and implementation of lobbying strategies. Emil Notti, an electrical engineer, and Don Wright, a former union official and construction contractor, both resi-dents of Anchorage and of Déné ancestry, served terms as presidents of the A.F.N. Flore Lekanof, an Aleut, and John Borbridge, Jr., a Tlingit, were both high school teachers with master's degrees who served prominently on the board of the A.F.N. Eben Hopson, an Inuk from Barrow, was a former state senator and captain in the National Guard who served on the board. Finally, Willie Hensley, a young Inuk state senator from Kotzebue was a very promi-nent member of the élite. Hensley was a full-time politician who had received his high school and university education in the "Lower 48." With the excep-

tion of Hopson, all of them were in their thirties or forties, and resided in urban centres. Most were of mixed native ancestry and four had university educations.

There was a second echelon of leadership that is harder to define and shifted in membership over the five most intensive years of land claims activities. It consisted of from two to three hundred people. It included people who served in less prominent roles as A.F.N. board members, representing their regional associations, people who were on the executive and boards of regional associations or served as politicians in the state legislature or as advisors and employees of various state and federal social service, economic and health task forces to combat rural poverty. Like the core élite or first level there were some members of the second level who lived in Alaskan cities, but more of them came from rural native Alaska. However, few of them were full-time trappers, hunters or fishermen; most tended to have steady employment or to run their own businesses such as small stores or bush pilot services. This level of leadership was most prominent in middle-sized villages or towns such as Bethel, Barrow, Nome Kotzebue and Sitka. Broadly speaking, this category would include the several hundred people who attended A.F.N. annual conventions.

With this level, a number of people stood out at various times as vigorous spokesmen for their regions. These included State Senator Ray Christiansen and State Legislator Moses Pauken, both from the Yukon-Kuskokwim region, Joseph Upicksoun and Charley Edwardsen, Jr. of the Arctic Slope Native Association and Alfred Ketzler, John Sackett and Ralph Perdue from the Interior Déné region. From time to time they made important contributions, such as the pivotal role played by Alfred Ketzler when he led the protests against the Ramparts Dam proposal and state selection of native lands in the interior, leading to the land freeze of 1966 which benefited all of the native groups.

Another spokesman was Charlie Edwardsen, Jr. who served as a catalyst in 1966 for the establishment of regional associations (Berry 1975:44). Edwardsen, Jr. was also notable for his more militant approach to the issue, which served as a reminder of the potential for discontent, with, for instance, his threat of blowing up the proposed Alaska pipeline (ibid.:153).

The third level of leadership was that found in small villages of from 100 to 500 people. Broadly speaking, it consisted of village council presidents, village council executives and more traditional leaders. These leaders were more frequently hunters, trappers and fishermen, although a few were small scale entrepreneurs. They tended to be more closely linked in proximity and attitudes to the rural four-fifths majority of Alaskan natives. According to some people in the first two levels, village leadership was often disappointing to them. They complained that it was difficult to maintain the land

claims movement because these leaders were ill-informed on proper steps toward litigation and establishing land protests, as well as about techniques of local government. There were a few notable exceptions to this supposed lack of activity and political acumen. For example, Richard Frank of Minto and Andrew Isaac of Tanacross, local grass-roots leaders in the Interior, led the initial fights against state selections of their village lands that contributed to the gaining of the land freeze.

There was a potential for more progressive village leaders to emerge and move comfortably from the village to the other levels of leadership. These were people with high school education, who had some external military and work experience, but who lived in villages and participated in the dual economy. During my fieldwork, I became well-acquainted with one such person. I first met him when he was visiting Fairbanks, where he was attempting to establish contacts with supermarkets for his village's salmon, which had previously been used only for subsistence. He was also there to get a Skidoo franchise and apply for a loan to start a small fur garment industry in his village. He was a Yupik from a village near the Bering Sea, in his late twenties, who had received his high school education at a regional Catholic high school, had served in the U.S. Army in California, and had done some traveling. I later visited him and found his economic interests to be quite diversified. He trapped and fished, managed a small confectionery, operated a Skidoo franchise, and was planning the fur garment industry. He served as treasurer on the village council and seemed to be popular among his co-villagers. In spite of his entrepreneurial aptitudes, he lived a lifestyle that was barely distinguishable from the rest of the villagers; he was fluent in Yupik and knowledgeable about traditional beliefs and customs. In the city, he was very effective in dealing with Euro-Americans. Although at one time he had considered moving to Anchorage, he decided to remain in his village. He was later elected to the state legislature representing his district in the Lower Yukon.

Another aspect of native leadership needs special mention, and that is the pivotal role played by the *Tundra Times*. This newspaper was established in Fairbanks in 1962, initially through an endowment from a wealthy New England philanthropist. Two goals of the newspaper were very evident: to support native pride and to shape political awareness. Many articles reported native achievement in areas of education, athletics and the arts. As well, there were essays reviewing native culture, traditions and beliefs along with village and regional news. Notably it criticized federal and state policy which was detrimental to native interests. For example, it exposed a policy of forced relocation and the denial of self-government among Aleut employees in the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service's fur-sealing operations in the Pribilof Islands (*Tundra Times*, November 23, 1964), resulting in a change in policy. It fre-

quently provided editorials stressing the importance of native political involvement, frequently criticized the positions of state and federal politicians, and interviewed politicians before elections, although it never endorsed particular candidates. Fundamentally, the *Tundra Times* played a most significant role in portraying the development of the land claims issue and keeping its readership informed. The *Tundra Times* was largely supportive of the A.F.N.'s land claims policy, but it remained independent, and from time to time criticized certain stands of the federation.

It would be very difficult to imagine a successful land claims movement without the *Tundra Times,* given the vast distances in Alaska and the difficulties in establishing a communications network among the isolated leadership. The late Howard Rock, an Inuk artist from Point Hope, who had previously resided in Seattle and Fairbanks, was the editor of the newspaper during the land claims struggle. Mr. Rock had no previous journalistic experience, but in a very short time he was able to elevate the weekly to a very high level of professionalism. In a sense, Howard Rock's contribution, although separate, would rank him as parallel to the first level of leadership, that of the core élite.

Returning to the first two levels of leadership, there is an interesting dimension in the formation of pan-nativism among individuals who had been drawn from diverse and sometimes antagonistic ethnic groupings. Previously, there had been only a few high schools in rural Alaska. Most natives seeking secondary education had to attend Bureau of Indian Affairs residential schools in the panhandle region, or in Washington or Oklahoma, or a few private religious schools. Many of the leaders from the first two leadership tiers met each other at such schools. The camaraderie of the school situation, sometimes reinforced by their allegedly authoritarian structures, fostered a sense of Alaskan nativeness. Through talking about their home villages, they came to discover that the problems of health, poverty, subsistence, cultural erosion and dealings with Euro-Americans were very similar. The interaction also broke down barriers of ethnic and racial hostility. One Inuk from Barrow admitted to having been prejudiced against Indians until his education at the Wrangell Institute, where he met many Indians who made him realize that they were getting a "raw deal," even in contrast to the Inuit.

During the 1960s, the federal government had established a broad policy of a "War on Poverty." Programs were established in Alaska to promote small co-operative business, educational upgrading, employment training, rural electrification and health improvement. Native people who had been trained at the residential high schools were frequently called upon to be local administrators or consultants to these programs. Their previous sense of Alaskan nativeness and their networks were reinforced through the frequent policy meetings of these programs. This same momentum was reinforced and

carried over into the land claims movement.

The most significant attribute of the first two levels of native leadership was their capacity to use sophisticated techniques of political lobbying. In contrast to Canada, the American political culture and institutional frame- work have always stressed the importance of citizen interest groups for the design of legislation (cf. Ervin 1981). Although there are abuses and dangers involved in lobbying, there are more opportunities for minority groups to cir- cumvent rigid bureaucracies and opposing special interest groups, or at least reduce some of the negative consequences of legislation. Such activities require an astute knowledge of whom to influence, whom to form alliances with, and what legal, political and normative tactics to use.

The first broad tactic utilized by the A.F.N. and its regional associations was the use of the courts. Injunctions were sought and won in federal courts against state land selections. The untested legal precedents of the Organic Act of 1884 and the Statehood Act of 1958 were reinforced by these actions, and, as was mentioned, the Secretary of the Interior imposed the pivotally impor- tant land freeze in 1966. At the same time, most of the regional associations and some villages filed land protests with the federal Bureau of Land Man- agement, that, in effect, claimed all of Alaska by aboriginal right. Shortly after its formation, the A.F.N. proposed that the litigation of such protests be handled by the U.S. Court of Claims, a process that would have been tortuous to all parties involved (based on the previous experience of a 30-year claim by Tlingits and Haidas presented before the U.S. Indian Claims Commis- sion). However, the mere threat of such a process jolted state officials and other political and economic interests to seek a political resolution since, otherwise, the booming economic development of Alaska would have been brought to a halt.

Another pressure tactic was to remind non-native politicians of the swing-vote potential of Alaskan natives. According to Rogers (1971), Alaskan natives numbered 51,528 out of a total population of 302,173 in 1970, or one-sixth of the population. Furthermore, Rogers (ibid.) contended that the large transient population did not tend to vote very much and estimated that the actual voting potential was around 29 percent. However, he neglected to consider that the Alaskan native population was very young and that approximately 60 percent of them could not vote, so that the potential really might have been between 20 and 25 percent. Yet, at the same time, the youthful native population clearly represented a future potential, and native leaders were opposed to birth control programs, which were viewed as politi- cally oppressive.

Harrison (1970) demonstrated that the number of voting natives had increased significantly, a 69 percent increase between 1955 and 1968. Although several native leaders had run in electoral primaries for statewide

office (U.S. senator and congressman, state governor, or lieutenant governor), none had been successful. More success was evidenced in elections to the state senate and legislature, the senate containing 20 seats and the legislature containing 40 seats. The urban centres, with Euro-American majorities dominated, with Anchorage, for instance, electing seven senators and fourteen legislators. However, by 1970, there were two native senators and five native legislators, representing all of the native-dominated districts except for one, whereas during the 1950s and early 1960s there were only two or three natives in the legislature or senate.

More significantly, natives were beginning to show their swing-vote potential in elections for statewide office. The majority of natives tended to vote Democrat, but the 1966 election resulted in the election of a Republican governor and a congressman by narrow margins, aided very significantly by Republican shifts among Aleut and Déné voters. One of the results of this demonstration and reminder of political potential was that neither the Alaskan congressional delegation of two senators and one congressman, nor statewide officials such as the governor, could ignore or completely oppose native positions. The Republican candidate for governor, Walter Hickel, was the first to campaign in the rural native villages, and the Democratic incumbent congressman in 1966 lost his seat because he made the mistake of completely opposing the notion of a land claims settlement. Instead, such politicians had to work towards compromises leading to a political solution, especially because of the already imposed land freeze. Also, the native leadership did not completely identify with or seek the aid of one party. In the case of the six members of the core participating élite, four were Democrats and two were Republicans. This bipartisan approach was also useful in dealing with key members of the U.S. Congress, representing both parties.

Yet another lobbying approach was normative, through the use of public opinion forums. During the 1960s, growing numbers of Americans were becoming more sympathetic to minority group aspirations. Although not the primary focus of land claims lobbying, speeches were made to groups such as churches and chambers of commerce. Press releases, pamphlets, and television appearances stressed the poverty of Alaskan natives, the disruptive effects of oil exploration and the ultimate justice of a land claims settlement. On the whole, these presentations were confident, articulate and well researched, but essentially moderate. Spokesmen would frequently preface their speeches with statements of their loyalty to the American system (sometimes citing their military service), then appeal to reputed American values of land ownership, self-determinacy and fair play and point out that they were using legal precedents in their quest for a just settlement. Here is an example of such an approach in a speech to the Alaska Chamber of Commerce:

Your support for the Native Land claims should be forthcoming because we came before the Congress by right and because it is not only the claims issue that is upon trial but the willingness of the institutions which will be called upon to do justice will also be tried. For not to do justice would cost all of us, eventually. We must maintain our good faith and trust in one another. Justice for all will securely bind us together just as surely as injustice and indifference would disrupt our relations. This occasion should mark the meaningful beginning of a dialogue between the business community and the Alaskan Natives. We are all Alaskans. We share the same aspirations, goals and ambitions — a better Alaska. We invite you to join us in our struggle for justice. Let us resolve to avoid the temptation to·try to assign total responsibility to the Federal Government. Justice is our joint problem and the Alaska Native Land Rights is a unique opportunity to meaningfully work together. (Borbridge, Jr. 1969)

Interestingly, and at first blush paradoxically, they made more use of these public relations appeals in the "Lower 48" states than in Alaska itself. The rationale was that Alaska's lone congressman and two U.S. senators would make very little difference in the ultimate congressional votes on land claims settlement bills and they wanted to encourage write-in campaigns, especially from the Pacific Northwest and the Eastern Seaboard, to influence key congressmen.

One of the most powerful tactics was to ally the A.F.N. with a network of individuals and interest groups that tended to support each other in "liberal" causes, many of which were head-quartered in the "Lower 48" states. These included such groups as the American Association of Indian Affairs, the National Congress of American Indians, the United Auto Workers, the United Presbyterian Church, the National Council of Churches, the Ford Foundation and individuals such as Senators Edward Kennedy and William Proxmire. These groups provided a variety of services such as key introductions, endorsements, financial aid, Washington D.C. office space and sometimes direct influence on Congress. One of the most helpful was the New York-based American Association of Indian Affairs. This Euro-American support group, assisted financially in the early formation of some of the regional native associations, provided many introductions and arranged for the hiring of the two prestigious lawyers, Clark and Goldberg, to advise on the lobbying procedure.

Given the way such networks of political alliance operate, it is quite likely that natives might be requested to reciprocate at later times by voting for or endorsing certain political candidates, or by coming to the aid of certain unions, say through actions like boycotts. This network of liberal alliance was very powerful in the 1960s and was engaged in activities with poor Blacks in the south, with Hispanics, migrant workers, poor whites in Appalachia and with urban union workers. Its power was based on the ability

to muster the return of favours from groups and individuals that it had previously supported. There was a danger in such an alliance that "authentic" native positions might be watered down through the apparent need for compromises, especially as influenced by the brokerage roles of their allies.

Another lobbying technique was the direct influencing of key members of the U.S. Congress, most especially the members of the Senate and House Committees on Interior and Insular Affairs who were responsible for drafting legislation on land claims, as well as relevant members of the executive branch such as the Secretary of the Interior. Members of the core leadership élite, their lawyers and sometimes the complete board of the A.F.N. "walked the halls of Congress," talking with congressmen and senators in their offices and presenting testimonies before the Senate and House Committees on Insular Affairs. Those committees also flew to Alaska and held meetings in Anchorage, Juneau, Fairbanks and some of the larger settlements in native Alaska, such as Barrow. At those latter meetings, testimony was provided by members of the second level of leadership and some, but not many, village leaders and villagers.

Of course, testimony was also presented by groups and individuals in opposition. Special interest groups such as the Alaska Loggers' Association and the Alaska Sportsmen's Council opposed native ownership of land, contending that natives would prevent mineral exploration, logging and sports hunting and fishing. Opposition was found in other quarters. Two major newspapers, the *Anchorage Daily Times* and the *Fairbanks Daily News-Miner,* almost weekly presented editorials opposing land settlements, claiming that natives were not entitled to any special rights to the land in comparison with other Alaskan citizens, and that native ownership of lands would halt the economic development of Alaska. Judging from letters to the editor, and many conversations that I had with non-natives, the opposition was considerable. The A.F.N. might have considered placing more effort into educating the general Alaskan public, but its efforts were already extended in lobbying activities and attempting to educate the native population. Also, the state government itself provided very direct opposition from time to time, especially the administration in 1969, that objected to proposals that it contribute 2 percent of its mineral revenues, in perpetuity, and that natives be given forty million acres.

The most significant leverage towards a settlement was the result of a strange alliance of convenience between the A.F.N. and the interests of oil companies operating on the North Slope. The background to this alliance is well described by Mary Berry (1975) in her discussion of the politics associated with the Alaska Pipeline.

During Walter Hickel's congressional confirmation hearings as President Nixon's potential Secretary of the Interior, the A.F.N. skillfully forced

him to extend the land freeze and to agree not to modify that freeze for roads or pipelines without congressional hearing (Berry 1975:61). The oil companies (Atlantic Ritchfield, Humble Oil and British Petroleum among others), who had formed a consortium to build the Trans-Alaska Pipeline System (T.A.P.S.), ran into great difficulty in gaining approval for construction because of extreme opposition from conservation groups and because the land claims created a major impediment (ibid.:122).

In the Summer of 1970 the president of the newly reorganized consortium, the Alyeska Pipeline Service Company, publicly endorsed the necessity for a just settlement of native land claims, before the pipeline from Prudhoe Bay to Valdez could be built. Alyeska lobbyists joined forces with the A.F.N. and a little later the Seafarers' International Union (who felt a stake in the proposed tanker route south from Valdez) did likewise. All three groups coordinated lobbying before the crucial House of Representatives vote on land claims in 1971 (Berry 1975:168, 169, 188). Later, the A.F.N. officially endorsed the Alaska Pipeline, although it did not actively lobby to facilitate it (ibid.:260). Berry suggests:

> Without the presence of the huge Prudhoe Bay oilfield and the industry's anxiety over the Trans Alaska Pipeline, the native claims would never have been settled as they were. The claims were settled promptly and generously because they stood in the way of white man's progress. The need for Prudhoe Bay oil, real or imagined, made the claims a national issue rather than an Alaskan one, and because of this, the natives got better treatment from Congress than they could have expected had their case rested solely on its merits. Had Congress treated the land claims as a purely parochial matter, the Congressmen would have listened primarily to members of the Alaska Congressional delegation, and through them, to the multiplicity of special interests they represented among which the natives were only one voice and a small one at that. (ibid.:247)

The Outcome

A legislative settlement was achieved in 1971, with the passage of the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act. A cash settlement of $462,500,000 was to be paid over 11 years; native corporations were to receive 2 percent of annual state and federal mineral revenues until $500 million had been collected; and villages and native corporations were to receive title to 40 million acres, with sub-surface rights to 18 million acres. Twelve regional corporations were formed, in which each enrolled resident was to be given 100 shares. Village corporations, affiliated to regional corporations, were to be formed and to receive at least 50 percent of cash grants and sub-surface revenues, although money could be withheld until the village provided suitable plans for projects. More details on the act can be found in French's (1972) paper and Arnold (1976) and Burch, Jr. (1984) provide overviews of its operations.

It is not my intention, and for the moment it is outside my competence, to evaluate the actual effects of the legislation which are currently very controversial and under review. Some of the recent criticisms (cf. Berger 1985) suggest that native Alaskans do not have an adequate land base to maintain the dual economy; that their material conditions have not been significantly improved; that future generations might be disenfranchised as natives; that assets and land might be sold on the free market; and that essential federal services might be terminated in the near future through a misguided notion that natives have been properly compensated and have been provided with enough assets to maintain their own services.

However, given the social and political conditions of the 1960s and early 1970s, the Alaskan native leadership accomplished many things. It rapidly fostered a kind of pan-nativism in a state with extreme ethnic diversities and cultural life-styles. It was able to influence a land claims settlement that was very close to its own position. If it had not maintained such a concerted effort, some sort of settlement would have been imposed on native Alaskans. Some of the early non-native proposals were far less than the ultimate settlement. These included: no compensation at all, 160 acre per capita allotments, cash settlements based in 1867 land values, and oil and gas revenues from off-shore drilling. All of these were quite ridiculous and inadequate for the Alaskan context. The resulting legislation was for its time the most expansive in terms of land and money, and it also provided innovative, mixed formulae of land, cash and continuing revenues, as well as the concept of native regional and village corporations.

Broad difficulties and inequities of this land claims solution can largely be traced to the power of opposing interests in the larger society. However, it should be pointed out that there was probably an inevitable weakness in the structure of the native leadership. The leaders were mainly relatively acculturated, middle class, urban residents, whose attachment to village experience was largely marginal, as sometimes was their actual native ancestry. In the beginning, the land claims movement was more rural and grass-roots in nature, but it shortly became directed almost by necessity, by a small, educated, urban and talented élite, but one that did not have the means to maintain and direct constant communication with its grass-roots, and might have been unconsciously co-opted by its participation in wider non-native alliances and by the necessity of compromising in the context of certain social and political realities.

The Alaska native land claims movement has provided some stimulus and a set of lessons for other contexts of aboriginal rights, most notably in Canada. The basic set of lessons is that it is quite appropriate for indigenous peoples to demand more land, and to hold out for more time so that a careful assessment of native people's needs can be made. The Alaska native political

movement also had influence on more international efforts such as the activities of the Inuit Circumpolar Conference with, for instance, Eben Hopson and Charlie Edwardsen, Jr. among the founding leaders (Peterson 1984).

Note

1. A version of this paper was delivered at the Twelfth Annual Congress of the Canadian Ethnology Society, May 9-12, 1985 at the University of Toronto in Toronto, Canada. Field research was conducted in Alaska during 1967-68 and 1969-70 for a total of 13 months while the author was a graduate student at the University of Illinois.

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CHIEFS AND PRINCIPAL MEN: A QUESTION OF LEADERSHIP IN TREATY NEGOTIATIONS [1]

Lise C. Hansen

Office of Indian Resource Policy
Ontario Ministry of Natural Resources

Abstract: During the 19th century, treaties were negotiated with Indian people in Canada to extinguish their interests in vast areas of land prior to settlement by non-natives. Government representatives assumed that chiefs and principal men who signed these treaties represented all bands living in treaty areas, and that signers had the authority to negotiate on behalf of their bands. However, ethnohistorical analysis suggests that this assumption was not necessarily valid, and that the concept of leadership in the context of treaty negotiations needs to be re-examined. Circumstances surrounding the Robinson Superior Treaty of 1850 are used to explore this issue.

Résumé: Au cours du XIXe siècle, les traités étaient négociés avec les amérindiens du Canada dans le but d'éliminer leurs intérêts dans de vastes territoires avant les règlements avec les non-autochtones. Les représentants du gouvernement assumaient que les chefs et les principaux per~onnages qui avaient signé ces traités représentaient toutes les bandes habitant la région concernée et assumaient aussi que les signataires avaient l'autorité de négocier pour leurs bandes. Quoiqu'il en soit, l'analyse ethnohistorique suggère que cette présupposition n'était pas nécessairement justifiée et que le concept de leadership dans le contexte des négociations d'un traité demande à être réexaminé. C'est en tout cas ce que laisse entendre les circonstances entourant le « Robinson Superior Treaty » de 1850.

Introduction

The treaties that were signed during the 19th century by the native people living in what is now Canada were negotiated by a named representative, or representatives, of the British Crown and certain individuals who are referred to in the treaty documents as "principal men," "principal chiefs, warriors and people" or "chiefs and principal men" of a particular group. The wording of these treaties, the circumstances surrounding their negotiation and, in general, the subsequent relationships between government and the respective Indian groups indicate that the government representatives dealt with the chiefs and

principal men who participated in the treaty negotiations as if they repre-
sented all the Indian people living in the treaty areas and had the authority to
negotiate on their behalf in much the same way that the government repre-
sentatives negotiated on behalf of the British Crown. However, the following
ethnohistorical analysis of treaty negotiations suggests that those assumptions
were based on an incomplete understanding of the sociopolitical organization
of Indian groups at the time of these negotiations.

Anthropological research has shown that leadership in band societies is
not formalized and, in fact, different kinds of leaders are afforded recognition
by group consensus as circumstances warrant. Traditional roles are affected
by prolonged contact with European society, either resulting in changes in
existing leadership roles or acting as a catalyst for the appearance of new
roles that are contemporaneous to, but distinct from, the traditional ones. Lee
refers to this phenomenon as the contradiction between ''inside'' leaders and
''outside'' leaders (1982:50).

''Inside'' and ''outside'' leaders are discernible among Ojibwa bands
living on the north shore of Lake Superior in the mid-19th century. The tradi-
tional forms of leadership — hunting group leader and band chief — were still
present and the fur trade had provided an opportunity for a new leadership
role to appear, that of trading post band chief. He was, as his title suggests,
attached to a trading post and was credited by the trader with having consid-
erable authority over the members of the trading post band (Rogers 1965). As
an ''outside'' leader, the trading post band chief was noted for his ability to
deal with non-natives and was highly regarded by them, but the status thus
afforded him was not necessarily recognized by all the members of the trad-
ing post band, nor did his authority extend to activities outside the trading
post.

The events surrounding one 19th-century treaty, the Robinson Superior
Treaty of 1850, indicate that trading post band chiefs were heavily repre-
sented among the ''chiefs and principal men'' who participated in the treaty
negotiations. While this suggests that they were selected to represent the
Indians precisely because they were ''outside'' leaders, the related issues —
by whom they were selected, what the extent of their authority was, and
which groups they represented — remain to be dealt with.

To address these issues, information concerning leadership among the
Lake Superior Ojibwa during the early to mid-19th century has been
extracted from the observations and records left by fur traders, explorers and
government representatives. These sources are frequently ethnocentric but
they provide a means, when combined with general anthropological theory
concerning band societies, whereby anthropologists and ethnohistorians can
attempt to reconstruct the nature of leadership among these people. In addi-
tion, I have relied upon the research done by Rogers (1965, 1978, 1983),

Rogers and Black (1976), Rogers and Taylor (1981), Dunning (1974), Bishop (1974), and Ritzenthaler (1978). Although these authors did not deal specifically with the Lake Superior Ojibwa, I believe that their observations are applicable when the general features of leadership that they identified are supplemented here with the ethnographic information contained in the writings of Hudson's Bay Company (HBC) employees in the Lake Superior District. The traders' observations are drawn from the period ten to thirty years prior to the treaty in 1850, since the journals from the Lake Superior posts — Fort William, Pic, Michipicoten, Nipigon and Long Lake — for the period immediately prior and subsequent to the treaty have been misplaced or contain very little ethnographic material.

Socioeconomic Conditions in the Mid-19th Century

The Lake Superior Ojibwa were hunters, fishermen and gatherers organized on the principles of band society. A band was composed of hunting groups (usually extended families) that were scattered throughout the band's territory for most of the year. These hunting groups joined together, usually only during the spring and fall months, when resources were sufficient to support a larger number of people in one location, such as a productive fishery. These gatherings, which often occurred at or near a trading post, were occasions for visiting, ceremonial events and arranging marriages, because the hunting groups that formed a band were widely scattered and did not have regular contact with each other throughout most of the year.

    When the Robinson Superior Treaty was negotiated, the Lake Superior Ojibwa were in what Rogers and Black (1976) refer to as the fish and hare period, although they may have been dependent upon small game for many years prior to the mid-19th century. Alexander Henry spent the winter of 1767 at Michipicoten and noted, perhaps with some exaggeration, that:

> such is the inhospitality of the country over which they [the Indian people] wander that only a single family can live together in the winter season, and this sometimes seeks subsistence in vain on an area of five hundred square miles. They can stay in one place only till they have destroyed all its hares, and when these fail they have no resource but in the leaves and shoots of trees, or in defect of these in cannibalism. (Quaife 1931:206)

The large game animals — moose and caribou — had all but disappeared, and fish and small game animals, particularly rabbits, were relied on for subsistence to a much greater extent than had been the case when large game animals were abundant. The effects of this change in subsistence strategy are richly documented in the Hudson's Bay Company's post journals and traders' correspondence. The traders were concerned about the Indians' welfare, not only for humanitarian reasons, but also because the scarcity of game

animals affected the economics of the fur trade.

Chief Factor John Haldane stated in his 1824 report for the Fort William District that:

> formerly there were Moose & Deer — at this time not one is to be seen being literally extinct. Caribou was also at a former period, and not a great many years since, very numerous. Few now are seen — the scarcity of these Animals is greatly felt by the Indians. In Winter their sole dependence for Subsistence is on Rabbits [illegible] & Partridges of various kinds. In the Summer and Fall, the Indians are furnished with Nets & in the Fall they are supplied with a good Stock of Ammunition and notwithstanding these supplies they are often necessitated to have recourse to the establishment where we give them fish, potatoes & indian corn. Humanity and interest compel us to be kind to them, & they are generally grateful to us. (Hudson's Bay Company Archives B.231/e/1)

Conditions were so precarious in January and February (the coldest months) that, according to Chief Trader Roderick McKenzie's 1828-1829 report for Fort William, "two thirds of the poor Indians must abandon their lands and resort to this establishment [Fort William] for subsistence" (Hudson's Bay Company Archives b.231/e/6).

Chief Trader Donald McIntosh described the socioeconomic conditions of the Pic and Long Lake Indians in his 1828 Pic District Report. He wrote that:

> they are divided into Bands [i.e., hunting groups] of one or two families at most during the winter, they cannot form into large Bands [i.e., bands proper] because it would be impossible to find subsistence. Altho their lands abounds in Rabbits on which they depend for food during the winter season, yet they require a large extent of ground to support a small number of people, as they destroy these animals in one spot they have to remove to another spot, in consequence of which they go over a vast extent of ground in one season. Those who have families are occupied chiefly during that season in snarring those animals [rabbits] in order to supply themselves & family with food, hence it is only Fall and Spring that they can attend to the hunting of those animals with whose skins they pay their debts. (Hudson's Bay Company Archives B.162/e/1)

In 1834, Thomas McMurray, who was in charge of Pic Post, stated that the Pic and Long Lake Indians "are hard pushed sometimes to procure a livelihood [because] their hunting grounds are so circumscribed, and utterly destitute of Large Animals" with the exception of bears. Consequently, they depended on rabbits in the winter and were often forced to leave "a good Martin country to go where Rabbit are plenty," since the two species prefer different habitats. This was, according to McMurray, often "the cause of a failure in their [fur] hunts, as best part of their Time is taken up to procure a Subsistence" (Hudson's Bay Company Archives B.162/e/4).

The Indians who frequented the Nipigon post may have fared somewhat better than those in the adjacent areas. Although there were "reindeer [caribou]" in the area to the west of Lake Nipigon, they were so few in number that they contributed little to the Indians' subsistence. However, fish was abundant and generally available throughout the year unlike other areas such as Long Lake, where the fishery was not productive during the winter. Rabbit was also a mainstay during the winter, as at other posts. The Nipigon Post Journals contain very few references to "starving Indians"[2] in comparison to other Lake Superior post journals. In January, 1838, when an Indian came to the Nipigon post to "beg" some fish, claiming that he and his family were starving, the trader noted in his journal that this was "almost unheard of in this quarter" (Hudson's Bay Company Archives B.149/e/2, B.149/a/20).

Defined hunting territories were well developed at this time although incidents of trespass in pursuit of beaver pelts were recorded by the traders. In 1829, George Keith, Chief Factor at Michipicoten, noted that "altho family territorial divisions seem to be long established and cherished they are very prone to poach upon anothers hunting grounds and the Beaver . . . often falls a prey to such depredation which sometimes occasions dangerous feuds between families" (Hudson's Bay Company Archives B.129/e/6). Ten years later in 1839, Keith recorded in his journal that one of the Michipicoten Indians arrived with his fall hunt and complained about a Pic Indian who "poached upon his hunting grounds and killed some Beaver" (Hudson's Bay Company Archives B.129/a/20). Government commissioners Vial and Anderson, relying on the information provided by Hudson's Bay Company traders, reported in 1849 that by "long established custom," the north shore of Lake Superior was divided "among several bands [trading post bands] each independent of the others, having its own chief or chiefs and possessing an exclusive right to and control over its own hunting grounds — the limits of these grounds especially the frontages on the Lake are generally well known and acknowledged by neighboring bands" (Public Archives of Canada RG10, Volume 266:163116-55).

In 1828, Donald McIntosh made the following observations about the condition of the beaver population in the vicinity of Pic Post and the Lake Superior District in general:

> It is evident from the small proportion of Beaver that the District produces that these animals are nearly destroyed and from the circumstance of having encouraged the natives . . . to hunt the country on the frontiers as much as possible, it is not likely that they will increase; for near the Borders of the Lake [Superior] and for a considerable distance inland, there is not a Beaver to be seen. (Hudson's Bay Company Archives B.162/e/1)

Beaver returns remained low for the Lake Superior District, throughout the

mid-19th century. Since beaver was the most valuable fur, the economics of
the fur trade precipitated these numerous incidents of trespassing to hunt bea-
ver.

Although there were a small number of people, mainly older men and
widowed women, who remained at or in the immediate vicinity of a post year
round, for most of the year the Indians did not appear at the posts in large
numbers or in any grouping remotely resembling a band. Instead, individual
hunters, frequently accompanied by one or more sons or sons-in-law, occa-
sionally by a wife (wives) and dependents, made periodic visits to the posts
during the year to trade their furs or to pick up supplies on credit. The num-
ber of times that these representatives of individual hunting groups appeared
at a post was a function of the distance they had to travel to and from their
hunting grounds or fishing stations. It was usually only during the spring or
fall when hunting groups, referred to as so-and-so's "band" or "family,"
collected at the posts in any numbers, having come from their winter hunting
grounds or fall fishing stations to trade their furs or to provision themselves
for the winter. However, it was not uncommon for these groups to come to
the post in January and February, the coldest months of the year, when their
hunting returns were poor and "beg" food from the trader to alleviate their
"starving" condition. Spring and fall gatherings at the trading post brought
together the hunting groups of the several bands that frequented the area and
formed the collectivity known as a trading post band. These gatherings would
have been social occasions for feasting, visiting and arranging marriages, and
would have served to enhance the cohesiveness of the trading post band.
Those who stayed at the post year-round or who appeared on a fairly regular
basis were often employed planting or harvesting potato gardens, cutting hay
to feed the post's livestock during the winter, fishing and hunting to provision
the post, manufacturing snowshoes, canoes, and boats, and freighting the
mail and supplies to other posts (Hudson's Bay Company Archives
B.129/a/1-22, B.117/a/1-12, B.162/a/1-11, B149/a/1-23).

The Nature of Leadership

The seasonal aggregation and dispersion of a band and the periodic meeting
of a trading post band provided opportunities for a new leadership role to
develop while the traditional roles were still operative. The trading post chief
was, because of his association with the trading post, more visible to the
traders than the traditional leaders — hunting group headman and band
chief — whose influence was felt away from the post. The trading post chief's
sphere of influence was probably restricted to the activities of the post and it
seems unlikely that his authority would have been recognized away from the

post, when the trading post band split up into hunting groups, by a group much larger than his own hunting group.

Within a hunting group, the senior male member was most often recognized as headman of the group. His leadership was based on his age, knowledge and skills as a hunter, perhaps also on his reputation as a shaman, and he fulfilled his role as leader through his ingenuity, personality and his enjoyment of the group's approval. On those occasions when the band's hunting groups collected, its members recognized the leadership of a single individual headman, a chief whose role as leader was weaker than that of a hunting group headman and who was recognized only until the band dispersed once again. A chief's authority was based on his age, his oratorical skills and his ability to act as an arbitrator among band members and, following contact, between them and Europeans. Since the Lake Superior Ojibwa spent most of the year scattered in hunting groups, headmen would have had more influence over their daily activities than did chiefs.

During the period of competition between the Hudson's Bay Company and the Northwest Company, both companies gave deferential treatment to certain individuals to gain their allegiance and the furs hunted by their groups. These individuals appear to have functioned, or at least were referred to, as "trading chiefs." They were non-traditional leaders, products of the relationship between Indian and trader. Their authority was limited and probably only recognized by their own group.

Duncan Cameron, a Northwest Company trader in the area north of Lake Nipigon and at Osnaburgh at the end of the 18th century, observed that trading chiefs were "proud of being reckoned great men, but still they have little or no influence over the others, for, after making the father a chief, you are sometimes obliged to do the same with his son in order to secure his hunt, for the former has not power enough over him to secure it for you." He noted further that "the chiefs ... are the greatest rogues among them, for if an Indian is a good hunter, and has the usual large stock of impudence which they generally have, with a little cunning, you must make a chief of him to secure his hunt, otherwise your opponents will debauch him from you, and you are sure to lose him" (Mason 1960:278).

After the amalgamation of the Northwest Company with the Hudson's Bay Company in 1821, Hudson's Bay Company policy was to discontinue deferential treatment of headmen. Each hunter was to be dealt with individually according to his efforts and productivity as a trapper. However, the effects of the old practice persisted for many years. The title of trading chief was still used by the trader and, in some instances, the trading chief still received deferential treatment, as was the case with Shonshon and Louison at Pic Post who were still receiving their "chief's clothing" in the 1930s. In the 1820s and 1830s, two other individuals, L'Illinois and Mishemuckqua, were

still referred to as trading chiefs in the Lake Superior District. Along with Shonshon and Louison, they were represented by the Hudson's Bay Company traders at Fort William, Nipigon, and Pic Posts as individuals (i.e., chiefs) with whom negotiations would have to be conducted for the surrender of their respective territories. This suggests that, with time, trading chiefs were elevated to the position of trading post band chiefs.

The Hudson's Bay Company trader George Keith, who was appointed to a number of different posts in the Lake Superior District during the early to mid-19th century, claimed in the 1830s that "Chieftainship has in a manner totally disappeared" and that there were no chiefs "properly speaking" among the Lake Superior Ojibwa, although there were individuals who enjoyed some "ascendancy" because of family connections, superior intellect, daring and reckless disposition, or because of their expertise and success as a hunter. Keith noted that such individuals "do however arrogate a superiority and during occasional meetings make themselves respected and obeyed." They were able to "usurp and enforce temporary respect and authority; but this subjection, to any extent, at least does not hold good much longer than interest or personal safety prescribe" (Hudson's Bay Company Archives B.129/b/4, B.129/e/6,7,9). These individuals were probably the traditional leaders: hunting group headmen and band chiefs. Keith's observation that there were no chiefs "properly speaking" suggests that the process whereby traditional leaders were to be replaced by trading post band chiefs as *persons of authority* was in operation in the 1830s, but was not yet fully developed. Although traders tended to single out prominent persons as chiefs, trading post bands were not political entities with a single chief with political authority over all of the hunting groups associated with the post. Only after trading post bands became treaty bands were single individuals or chiefs recognized as having political authority over an entire band. It is likely that leadership did not become formalized until the later part of the 19th century, when band elections were institutionalized under the Indian Act.

On the one hand, an ideal candidate for a trading chief appeared to be someone who was both a skilled hunter and a spokesperson. Trading chiefs may have been hunting group headmen in their own right. They would produce successful fur hunts and would be in a position to persuade others to bring in their furs. Traders rewarded good fur hunters by giving them extras such as clothing, liquor, and tobacco. Although hunters were bound by cultural conventions to distribute these gifts among their groups, the gifts could be used to enhance their positions among their followers. A trading chief may have been appointed by a trader because he appeared to be cooperative or receptive to the presence of the trader, or because he could deal with the trader on terms that the trader understood. Extras given to trading chiefs elevated their status regardless of whether or not they were recognized as

leaders. However, it is unlikely that their influence would have extended much beyond either their hunting groups or the bands with whom they were associated. Frequently, a trading post might have more than one trading chief, a fact that reflects the limited sphere of influence of these trading chiefs.

Which individuals were identified as chiefs of the Lake Superior Ojibwa? L'Illinois, also known as John Ininway, was a "principal Hunter" at Fort William during the 1820s and 1830s, and was about 70 years old when the treaty was negotiated. Although the Hudson's Bay Company recognized L'Illinois as the "principal chief" at Fort William, the Jesuit priest described him as a "Fur Trading Chieftain" who did not have "the main authority" to act on behalf of the Indian people, although they "were willing to consider [him] as Chief" (Hudson's Bay Company Archives B.231/e/6; Public Archives of Canada, RG10, Volume 266:163156-59; Fremiot 1973:593-594). L'Illinois status as an elder no doubt afforded him considerable respect. After his death in 1868, he was succeeded as the Hudson's Bay Company chief by his son Maugadina. Apparently, L'Illinois had his own group of followers, as did Peau de Chat, the other chief at Fort William (Public Archives of Canada RG10, Volume 2115, f.21900). The split between these two groups appears to have been based on the distinction between "inside" and "outside" leaders, and on religious differences between Catholics and Methodists.

Joseph Peau de Chat was about 40 years old when the treaty was negotiated, and he died the following year. He was described as being "big and handsome, with a vibrant and sonorous voice." According to the Jesuit missionary, Peau de Chat was chosen by the Indian people as chief because of "his eloquent spirit [and] his vehement impetuosity" (Fremiot 1973:593-594). According to John Baptiste Penassie, the first band chief of Fort William elected under the *Indian Act* in 1880, Peau de Chat "was the only chief appointed by the government for some time before that [i.e., before Penassie's election]" (Public Archives of Canada RG10, Volume 2115, f.21900).

When Peau de Chat attempted to declare himself spokesman for all Lake Superior Ojibwa, the Hudson's Bay Company traders at Fort William and at Nipigon claimed that the Indian people frequenting the posts in the Lake Superior District did not recognize his authority to act on their behalf. In 1848, Peau de Chat told the Nipigon Indians that the government had made him chief over the entire Lake Superior area from the Pigeon River to Michipicoten. Nevertheless, the Nipigon Indians did not acknowledge this claim because, according to James Anderson, the Hudson's Bay Company trader at Lake Nipigon, Peau de Chat "was too well known to the Indians to be believed." Although Peau de Chat prided himself on his abilities as a public speaker and wanted to be "the Great Man," the traders warned the government's representatives against accepting his pretensions, describing

him as a cunning rogue with a dreadful tongue who was also under the influence of the Jesuit missionary (Public Archives of Canada RG10, Volume 266:163156-59). The traders' animosity towards Peau de Chat and their denial of his claims to be a spokesman for all Lake Superior Ojibwa may have been prompted by his association with the Jesuit missionary. After his death in 1851, Peau de Chat was succeeded by Jacob Wassaba or Waiassabe, who was appointed by the Fort William Indians (Public Archives of Canada RG10, Volume2115, f.21900).

At the Nipigon post, the trader recognized Mishemuckqua as chief as early as the mid-1830s, and he was still identified as such when the treaty was negotiated. His totem was reported to be the eagle, and his mother was said to be a "halfbreed" (Hudson's Bay Company Archives B.149/a/19; Public Archives of Canada RG10, Volume 266:163156-59). Another Nipigon Indian named Manitoushainse, whose totem was the kingfisher (Public Archives of Canada RG10, Volume 9501), signed the treaty as a principal man. He was a relative of Peau de Chat, and, according to the Nipigon trader, Peau de Chat wanted to oust Mishemuckqua and replace him with Manitoushainse (Public Archives of Canada RG10, Volume 266:163156-59). This suggests that, as at Fort William, there may have been rivalry between the two kinds of leaders.

Little is known about the Pic chiefs, Shonshon and Louison. Even less is known about the Long Lake chief, Tabasash, other than that he had three wives and four adult sons in 1850, and may have hunted south of the height of land which represents the natural boundary between the Lake Superior and Arctic watersheds. He died in 1853 or 1854 (Public Archives of Canada RG10, Volume 9497; Hudson's Bay Company Archives B.129/d/7). As early as the late 1820s, Louison was "considered the Chief" by the trader at the Pic Post, and was given "chief's clothing" in recognition of his position (Hudson's Bay Company Archives B.162/a/1). Shonshon was also referred to as a chief in the post journals, was given "a set of chief's clothing" by the trader, and was identified as a chief on the treaty annuity pay lists (Hudson's Bay Company Archives B.162/a/8,11; Public Archives of Canada RG10, Volume 9497). Both Louison and Shonshon were considered to be good hunters because they usually paid their winter debts each spring, and may also have been hunting group headmen (or possibly band chiefs) in their own right. It was Hudson's Bay Company policy to give clothing to hunters who paid their winter debts in the spring (Hudson's Bay Company Archives B.129/a/20), and Shonshon and Louison's positions were further enhanced by these gifts of "chief's clothing." Both Louison and Shonshon died in 1858 or 1859.

The Michipicoten chiefs, Michel Totominai and Chiginans, were brothers, Totominai being the elder. Their totem was the pike (Archives of Ontario MU1125). They, along with Peau de Chat, L'Illinois, Mishemuckqua

and the Pic and Long Lake chiefs, were identified as the individuals who would have to be consulted concerning the surrender of their lands.

Events Leading up to the Treaty

During the 1840s, a mining boom in northern Michigan generated a corresponding interest in copper deposits on the north shores of Lakes Superior and Huron, particularly in the vicinity of Sault Ste. Marie, and on the north shore of Lake Huron and the northeast shore of Lake Superior. The Ojibwa had not ceded their hunting grounds to the Crown and objected to the exploration and mining activities. In 1847, the Ojibwa claiming the territory in which the most intensive mining activity was occurring petitioned Lord Elgin, Governor General of British North America, to appoint someone to meet them in council and negotiate a treaty. Shinguakonce from Garden River and Nebenagoching from Sault Ste. Marie were among the principal activists in this initial effort to negotiate a treaty (Public Archives of Canada RG10, Volume 123:6190-98).

The following year (1848), a larger than usual number of Ojibwa from the shores of Lake Superior and Lake Huron gathered in August at Manitowaning on Manitoulin Island in Lake Huron for the annual present distribution by the Indian Department in anticipation of negotiating a treaty as a result of the 1847 petition. Among them were "nearly all" of the Ojibwa who regularly traded at Fort William, including the "young chief" Peau de Chat and the "old chief" L'Illinois. They had been urged to go to Manitowaning by Peau de Chat who told them that they would receive a large sum of money for their lands as well as the usual presents (Public Archives of Canada RG10, Volume 572; Hudson's Bay Company Archives D.5/22, fo.314-15).

While they were at Manitowaning, the Ojibwa from Lake Superior and Lake Huron met in council with Thomas G. Anderson, an Indian Superintendent from the Province of Canada West, who had been appointed by the Governor General "to investigate the claims of the Indian people and to consider the best method of compensating the Indians for any loss it [Anderson's investigation] may prove they have experienced." Shinguakonce, speaking on behalf of the Garden River Indians, told Anderson that the activities of the miners were destroying their hunting grounds, while Peau de Chat said that he was concerned about the conflicts that the different demands of the fur trader and the missionary were creating for the Ojibwa. Peau de Chat indicated that he was willing to sell his land and its minerals in order to enable the miners and traders to do as they pleased and so that the Ojibwa could live as they pleased on land that was reserved for them. Anderson subsequently recommended that the Government should extinguish the Ojibwa's claims by negotiating a treaty that would provide them with a perpetual annuity and

reserves "for them to cultivate hereafter" (Public Archives of Canada RG10, Volume 534:255-58).

However, the Government did not act on Anderson's recommendation until after a delegation of Ojibwa from the Sault Ste. Marie area, including Shinguakonce and Nebenagoching, went to Montreal in June 1849 and threatened to take the necessary steps to remove the miners from their lands if their claim was not settled (Illustrated London News 1849). Once again, in anticipation of negotiating a treaty but unaware of the delay, a group of Ojibwa from Fort William, as well as Nipigon and Pic Posts, had left for Sault Ste. Marie in June, where they apparently expected to meet a representative of the Government and to accompany him to Michipicoten to attend a council. However, rumors of a cholera epidemic frightened them into returning to their territories early in August 1849 before the delegation had returned from Montreal to await the arrival of "the gentlemen appointed to treat with the Indians for their Mineral Lands" (Hudson's Bay Company Archives D.5/25, fo.543-44; D.5/26, fo.76-77).

At about the same time that the Lake Superior Ojibwa were leaving Sault Ste. Marie, the Government appointed Indian Superintendent Anderson and Alexander Vidal, Deputy Provincial Surveyor, to meet with the Ojibwa and ascertain the basis for their claims to, and their expectations concerning the surrender of, their lands. Anderson and Vidal accordingly attempted to meet with as many Ojibwa as possible during September and early October by "calling at all the places to which the Indians usually resort," but the majority had already left the shores of Lakes Superior and Huron for their winter hunting grounds. Consequently, the commissioners were able to hold councils with the Lake Superior Ojibwa only at Fort William and Michipicoten, although they had also intended to hold councils with the Ojibwa at Nipigon and Pic posts. During their journey from Fort William to Michipicoten, they spoke briefly with a few Nipigon Indians who were fishing off the islands in Nipigon Bay and a group of unidentified Indians, accompanied by men from Pic Post, who were fishing at Pays Plat. As a result, they relied on the Hudson's Bay Company trader at Pic Post for information concerning the Indians who frequented that area. There were no Indian people at the post at that time to verify or expand on what he said. In addition, while at Pic Post, Anderson wrote to the Hudson's Bay Company trader at Nipigon Post and asked him to provide information concerning the Lake Nipigon Indians because the commissioners had been unable to contact them. The trader's reply came too late to be included in their final report (Public Archives of Canada RG10, Volume 266:163116-55).

At Fort William, Vidal and Anderson held a two-day council with a group of about twenty-five "Chiefs and Indians," including Peau de Chat and L'Illinois. The resident Jesuit priest, Father N. Fremiot, was also in

attendance. On the first day, Peau de Chat told the commissioners that he and the other (unidentified) chiefs intended to go to Montreal to see the Governor General because Vidal and Anderson did not have the authority to negotiate a treaty. However, by the end of the second day, Peau de Chat seemed disposed to surrender his land and demanded $30 each year in payment for every man, woman and child (ibid., Fremiot 1973:593-598).

When Vidal and Anderson asked the assembly to name the leader of the assembled chiefs, they indicated Peau de Chat. Even though Anderson had met with Peau de Chat the previous summer, Anderson replied that the Governor General had neither been aware of, nor had approved, their choice of Peau de Chat as leader. Nonetheless, both Peau de Chat and L'Illinois, who was recognized by the Hudson's Bay Company as chief, were allowed to speak on behalf of the Fort William Indians (Public Archives of Canada RG10, Volume 266:163116-55).

During their council at Michipicoten, those who were in attendance — the chief, presumably Totominai, and three others — told Vidal and Anderson that they would agree to any arrangement that was made between the commissioners and Shinguakonse, chief of the Garden River Band. They demanded $100.00 a year for every man, woman and child in payment for their land. Anderson told them that he expected to return the following spring with a treaty and asked them to have ''8 or 10 Indians'' from the several posts on Lake Superior at Michipicoten to sign the treaty (ibid., Hudson's Bay Company Archives D.5/26, fo.271, fo.289). The commissioners then proceeded on their journey to Sault Ste. Marie and Lake Huron.

Vidal and Anderson prepared a report for the government (Public Archives of Canada RG10, Volume 266:163116-55) in which they identified the bands, their chiefs, their territories and the ''Reservations which the Indians wish[ed] to make.'' According to this report, there were five bands on the north shore of Lake Superior. These were identified as the Fort William, Nipigon, Pic, Long Lake, and Michipicoten Bands. The Long Lake Indians who hunted south of the height of land were associated through extensive marriage ties with the Pic Indians (Hudson's Bay Company Archives B.162/e/1). Because of their size and the extent of the territory reportedly claimed by each, these bands were no aboriginal bands, but rather trading post bands whose membership consisted of the remains of several aboriginal bands and associated hunting groups that occupied territories in the vicinity of each of the five Lake Superior trading posts.

The populations of each of these trading post bands remained relatively stable during the early to mid-19th century. The total population for the Lake Superior District in 1828-1830 was estimated by Hudson's Bay Company traders to be 700-800 people, divided into 154 families. According to the information given to Vidal and Anderson in 1849, the Lake Superior District

population had increased to between 900 and 1,000 people (Hudson's Bay Company Archives B.129/e/5-6; Public Archives of Canada RG10, Volume 266:163116-55). The number of people associated with each post suggests that from three to six aboriginal bands frequented each area (Hudson's Bay Company Archives B.129/e/1,5-6; B.231/e/1,6-7; B.149/e/1-2,4; B.162/e/1; B117/e/5; Public Archives of Canada RG10, Volume 9497:26-38).

During the 30 years prior to 1850, the Fort William trading post band numbered about 200 people. From 1820 to 1849, approximately 200 to 300 people were associated with the Nipigon Post. At Michipicoten, the trading post band numbered about 100 to 150 people prior to 1850. The Pic and Long Lake Indians, who hunted south of the height of land, were usually enumerated as a group and averaged about 200 to 250 people during the thirty years prior to 1850. The Pic trading post band was twice the size of the group from Long Lake which hunted south of the height of land.

In their report, Vidal and Anderson described the reserves that were to be set apart for the Fort William and Michipicoten Bands, but did not identify reserves for the other three bands of Lake Superior Ojibwa. This reflects the fact that they were able to hold councils with only the Fort William and Michipicoten Indians. They noted that Peau de Chat wanted the Nipigon and Pic Indians to reside on the Fort William Reserve, but added that those bands would probably prefer reserves ''at their respective haunts.''

Peau de Chat and L'Illinois were identified as the chiefs of the Fort William Indians, Mishemuckqua was named as the chief of the Nipigon Indians, Totominai and his brother Chiginans were identified as the chiefs of the Michipicoten Indians, and Shonshon and Louison were said to be the chiefs of the Pic Indians. The Long Lake chief was unknown to Vidal and Anderson at the time that they prepared their report, but a June 1850 census of the Indian population at Long Lake indicated that the Hudson's Bay Company considered Tabasash (Tabaishash) to be the chief, and that 80 of the 216 Long Lake Indians, possibly including Tabasash, hunted south of the height of land, and thus had an interest in the area that was to be surrendered by the treaty (Public Archives of Canada RG10, V9497).

For the most part, these chiefs were identified on the basis of information provided by the Hudson's Bay Company traders and, according to Vidal and Anderson, they were ''vested . . . with a species of authority and control over its [a trading post band's] individual members and its property.'' However, they also noted that the authority and control of the chiefs was ''neither well-defined nor regulated'' but was ''generally submitted to when circumstances require its exercise.'' The chiefs would have to be consulted with, either collectively or individually, for the surrender of their lands, and Vidal and Anderson cautioned against accepting the claims of any individual to be the spokesman for all the Indian people. They noted that occasionally an indi-

vidual chief would, because of his ''superior information, intelligence or cunning,'' either assume or obtain the authority to act on behalf of the other Indian people. In Vidal's and Anderson's opinion, Peau de Chat was one such chief, but his ''selfishness'' and ''utter disregard to the interests of the others'' made it evident to them as well as to the Hudson's Bay Company traders that the terms he was attempting to negotiate ''would not have satisfied those whose sentiments [he] professed to express'' (Public Archives of Canada RG10, Volume 266:163116-55).

Although his information was too late to be included in their report, the Nipigon Post trader had cautioned Vidal and Anderson against accepting Peau de Chat's claim to be the spokesman for all the Lake Superior Ojibwa (Public Archives of Canada RG10, Volume 266:163156-59). The following year, the Fort William trader cautioned Robinson, the government's treaty negotiator, to take note of what the chief of each post had to say concerning the surrender of their respective territories (Public Archives of Canada RG10, Volume 266:163167-71).

Negotiating the Treaty

The Sault Ste. Marie Ojibwa had threatened to take steps to remove the miners from their lands if their claim was not settled. They had fully expected Vidal and Anderson to negotiate a treaty with them. When this did not transpire, they formed a party of approximately 100, including ''Half breeds,'' Indians and three non-Indians, and seized the Québec Mining Company's operations at Mica Bay on Lake Superior in November, 1849. The Indian leaders were arrested and taken to Toronto (Public Archives of Canada RG10, Volume 612:393-421, 700-02).

William Benjamin Robinson (1797-1873), Minister of Provincial Parliament for Simcoe and Commissioner of Public Works, interceded on behalf of the arrested Indians and secured their release. He told the Superintendent of Indian Affairs that the Sault Ste. Marie Ojibwa, at least, were anxious to have their claim dealt with and was subsequently appointed to negotiate a treaty with the Ojibwa of Lake Superior and Lake Huron (Public Archives of Canada RG10, Volume 180, fo.4113, Volume 513:219-20).

Robinson accordingly made a trip to Sault Ste. Marie in the spring of 1850 to inform the Ojibwa about his appointment and to make arrangements with them for a meeting to negotiate a treaty. He met with the six leaders or chiefs from the north shore of Lake Huron and they agreed to meet again in August at Garden River (Archives of Ontario, Robinson Papers; Morris 1979:17-21). Robinson wrote to the Hudson's Bay Company traders at Fort William and Michipicoten asking them to convey the arrangements for the meeting to the Lake Superior Ojibwa. When he learned of the arrangements, Peau de Chat was displeased that the Sault Ste. Marie chiefs had not con-

sulted with the others. However, he and the other "influential Indians" at
Fort William agreed to go after Chief Factor MacKenzie told them that it
would be foolish to refuse since they had been lobbying for a settlement of
their claim for a number of years. Some of the Michipicoten Indians had indi-
cated to George Simpson, Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company, that they,
too, were disinclined to go. However, they consented after the Hudson's Bay
Company trader, John Swanston, agreed to accompany them (Public
Archives of Canada RG10, Volume 266:163167-71; Hudson's Bay Company
Archives B.231/a/20, D.5/28 fo.465-66, fo.597-98).

Robinson returned to Sault Ste. Marie in August 1850. Shortly thereaf-
ter, a delegation of about 15 of the "principal Indians" from Fort William
arrived together with an unspecified number of "deputies" from Nipigon, six
to eight "hunters" from Michipicoten, and the Hudson's Bay Company
trader, John Swanston. The available documentation does not indicate
whether any representatives of the Pic or Long Lake Indians accompanied
this delegation. After learning that Peau de Chat was ill and unable to travel
the extra distance, Robinson changed the location of the meeting from Gar-
den River to Sault Ste. Marie (Hudson's Bay Company Archives B.231/a/20,
D.5/28 fo.465-66, fo.597-98; Archives of Ontario, Robinson Papers).

Formal negotiations for the surrender of the Ojibwa's territory began on
September 5, 1850. On September 6, 1850, the Lake Superior delegation held
a council among themselves to discuss the terms offered by Robinson and
told him that they had agreed to sign a treaty ceding their territory. On Sep-
tember 7, 1850, the Robinson Superior Treaty was signed by four "Chiefs"
and five "principal men." To ensure that there was no misunderstanding, two
interpreters "carefully read over and translated" the treaty for the Lake
Superior Ojibwa.

Robinson kept a detailed diary of the negotiations (Archives of Ontario,
Robinson Papers). He referred to "Peau de Chat and his chiefs and principal
men" throughout his diary, indicating that he regarded Peau de Chat as the
spokesman for the Lake Superior Ojibwa, despite the efforts of Hudson's
Bay Company traders to discredit Peau de Chat. The only other Lake Supe-
rior Ojibwa identified by name in Robinson's diary is Totominai, the Michip-
icoten chief. Yet, the treaty was signed by two other chiefs named L'Illinois
from Fort William and Mishemuckqua from Nipigon, and by five "principal
men": Shebageshick, Wassaba (who succeeded Peau de Chat as chief in
1851), Ahmutchiwagabow from Fort William, Manitoushainse from Nipi-
gon, and Chiginans from Michipicoten. Note that in 1849, Chiginans had
been identified as a chief by Vidal and Anderson. Louison, Shonshon, and
Tabasash, who had been identified the year before the treaty was negotiated
as the chiefs of the Pic and Long Lake Indians, did not sign, i.e., did not put

their marks on the treaty. There is also no evidence to indicate whether they were present at the negotiations.

The Lake Superior Ojibwa were promised an initial cash payment, a perpetual annuity, hunting and fishing rights, and reserves (Public Archives of Canada RG10, Volume 1844). The initial cash payment was entrusted to the Hudson's Bay Company traders at Michipicoten and Fort William for distribution by Robinson and the Lake Superior delegation. Those considered to be entitled to a share of the initial cash payment received their money from the Hudson's Bay Company traders. However, because they had already obtained their winter supplies and gone inland, the Pic and Long Lake Indians and many of the Nipigon and Fort William Indians did not receive their treaty money until the following spring of 1851 (Archives of Ontario, Robinson Papers; Hudson's Bay Company Archives D.5/29 fo.5-6, fo.353-54, fo.412a-12b; B.134/c/67 fo.133; B.5/28 fo.645; D.4/43 fo.107d-108d; D.4/73; D.4/45).

The treaty also stipulated that the annuity would be distributed each summer at the Hudson's Bay Company posts at Fort William and Michipicoten. The Hudson's Bay Company undertook this responsibility until 1875 or 1876, when an Indian agent was stationed at Port Arthur (now part of Thunder Bay, Ontario), and took over the responsibility for the distribution. The annuity pay lists included the Pic and Long Lake Indians, as well as the Fort William, Nipigon, and Michipicoten Indians (Hudson's Bay Company Archives B.129/d/7; Public Archives of Canada RG10, Volume 9497, Volume 9501). Because the Pic and Long Lake Indians received treaty money and annuities equal to those distributed by Hudson's Bay Company traders to the Fort William, Nipigon, and Michipicoten Bands, it is clear that they were considered to be entitled to receive the financial benefits of the treaty.

Three reserves were identified and set apart from the area ceded by the Lake Superior Ojibwa. Two of these were first described in the Vidal-Anderson report: (a) near the mouth of the Kaministiquia River (Fort William Reserve Number 52) for "Peau de Chat and his tribe"; and (b) on Michipicoten Bay west of the Magpie River (Gros Cap Reserve 349) for "Totominai and Tribe." The third, for "Chief Mishemuckqua and Tribe," was identified during the treaty negotiations and was located at the mouth of the Gull River on Lake Nipigon (Gull River Reserve Number 55).

Thirty years after the treaty was negotiated, the Pic Band petitioned the government of Canada to give them a reserve on the banks of the Pic River. According to this petition, their "numbers were considered" when the treaty was negotiated, but "no reserve was secured to [them] by said Treaty owing to the conduct of [their] Chief who instead of going to Sault Ste. Marie, withdrew to the interior of the land being afraid of falling into a snare" (Public Archives of Canada RG10, Volume 2137, f.27806). Subsequently, several

other groups of Ojibwa were identified by the Department of Indian Affairs as being "reserveless," and reserves were surveyed for them during the 1880s at Long Lake, McIntyre Bay on Lake Nipigon, the mouth of the Nipigon River on Lake Helen, and at Pays Plat and the mouth of the Pic River on Lake Superior (Ontario Ministry of Natural Resources Indian Lands Files #175555, 327072, #185945, #185946, #175898).

Conclusions

The sociopolitical organization of the Lake Superior Ojibwa during the mid-19th century operated on three levels of inclusivity, the hunting group, the band, and the trading post band, and was characterized by the contradiction between "inside" and "outside" leaders. Leadership at the trading post band level was non-traditional and more formalized than at the hunting group and band levels, largely as a result of interaction with traders and their particular form of socioeconomic organization. Formalization of leadership roles continued with increasing involvement of government in the affairs of Indian bands, culminating in the present system of band elections for chief and band councillors.

At the hunting group and band levels, the consensus of the group and the skills and knowledge possessed by an individual and required in a particular situation were paramount for the recognition of that individual's authority to act as a leader. Since a hunting group operated on its own for most of the year, its headman had a greater degree of authority in the day-to-day activities of the group than did the band chief, whose leadership was limited to those occasions when the band assembled, or the trading post band chief.

At the trading post band level of sociopolitical organization, the individual(s) identified as chief had usually acquired the status of trading chief in the early 19th century. While he may have been a hunting group headman in his own right, his position as trading chief was created and enhanced by the Hudson's Bay Company, and was elevated to that of trading post band chief when it became necessary to identify a representative of the Indians associated with each post to negotiate the treaty. A trading post band chief's authority, as an "outside" leader, was limited to the activities at the trading post and other interactions with Europeans. Whether his authority was recognized by the Indians in other circumstances is open to debate.

Those who were identified in 1849 by Vidal and Anderson as the chiefs of the Lake Superior Ojibwa were so named with the assistance of the Hudson's Bay Company. Peau de Chat, L'Illinois, Mishemuckqua, Shonshon, Louison, Tabasash, Totominai and Chiginans, his brother, were said to be the persons with whom negotiations would have to be conducted, either individually or collectively, for the cession of the Lake Superior Ojibwa's territory. These individuals, with the exception of Peau de Chat,

had been referred to as trading chiefs prior to the treaty and were represented to Vidal and Anderson as the chiefs of the trading post bands. However, the limited authority of a trading post band chief was recognized by the traders as they emphasized the need to negotiate with the chiefs of all the Lake Superior posts. Vidal's and Anderson's comments on trading post band chiefs in general suggest that they also recognized that the authority of these individuals was circumscribed and did not extend to other trading post bands.

The available evidence suggests that the recognition afforded trading post band chiefs by the Hudson's. Bay Company traders, as well as the Indians' apparent acceptance of their ability as "outside" leaders to interact with non-natives, ensured their position at the treaty negotiations. Consequently, although the Lake Superior delegation consisted of 25 to 30 individuals, trading post band chiefs were prevalent among the chiefs and principal men who negotiated the treaty. However, they were not the only type of leader present. Peau de Chat, who acted as spokesman for the delegation, was present and signed the treaty, as did at least one other, more traditional, type of leader (Manitoushainse). It is possible that the delegation included other "inside" leaders who did not participate directly in the negotiations or put their marks on the treaty document but were, nonetheless, consulted with by the more vocal "outside" leaders. The contradiction between "inside" and "outside" leaders would have been partially resolved by the presence of both at the treaty negotiations.

While there is no direct evidence to indicate that the chiefs and principal men, with the exception of Peau de Chat, were appointed by any of the trading post bands or that any councils were held among the Indians prior to the departure of the delegation to Sault Ste. Marie, it is unlikely, given the nature of Ojibwa sociopolitical organization, that an event of such obvious import could have taken place without considerable discussion and consultation. Furthermore, the authority of the delegation to negotiate the treaty does not appear to have been questioned by either the Indians or the government's representative.

Robinson conducted the negotiations in counsel with the Lake Superior delegation, who agreed after consulting among themselves, to the terms that were offered. For the most part, these terms were based on the recommendations that were outlined in the Vidal-Anderson report and were the result of the discussions held by Vidal and Anderson with the Indians in 1849. It is clear that many of the chiefs and principal men who negotiated the two Robinson Treaties did so after several years of lobbying government to settle their claims. They did not enter into those negotiations with only a naïve understanding of the immediate implications of the outcome.

An issue related to this discussion of leadership, although there is insufficient evidence to resolve it conclusively, is the apparent absence of the

Pic and Long Lake chiefs at the treaty negotiations. The available evidence
indicates that the Pic Indians and, because of their association with them, the
Long Lake Indians were aware that a treaty was to be negotiated for the sur-
render of their lands. The individuals with whom it was believed negotiations
would have to be conducted were identified and the approximate extent of
their territories was known at least one year prior to the negotiations, and yet
the Pic and Long Lake chiefs did not sign the treaty, nor do they appear to
have been present at the negotiations. They may have been represented by
one of the chiefs and principal men or another member of the delegation.
However, given the nature of Indian leadership and the fact that reserves
were not set apart for them at that time, it is unlikely that any such extension
of authority would have gone unmentioned, since the chiefs and principal
men who were present would not have had unilateral authority to cede
another band's (aboriginal or trading post) territory.

Although the Pic and Long Lake Indians do not appear to have partici-
pated directly in the treaty negotiations at Sault Ste. Marie, provisions were
made for their indirect participation. They received their share of the treaty
money as well as the annuity that was promised by government. The entitle-
ment of the Pic and Long Lake Indians to the financial benefits of the treaty
does not appear to have been questioned by the Indians, or by the Hudson's
Bay Company traders who distributed the annuity and the government that
provided the funds.

One speculative explanation for their apparent absence is a corollary of
the circumstances that prompted the treaty, namely, the conflicts between the
Indian people and miners. Since the area occupied by the Pic and Long Lake
Indians was not subject to extensive mineral exploration or mining activities
at the time, both the Indians and the treaty negotiator may have felt it unnec-
essary to make provisions for reserves or for their direct participation in the
negotiations, and that it was sufficient that provisions were made for their
indirect participation.

Another possible explanation may be tied in with the petition presented
to government in 1880 by the Pic Indians when they requested a reserve. The
petitioners claimed that they had intended to participate in the treaty but were
not represented at the negotiations because their chief, fearing ''a snare,''
withdrew to the interior. Any number of scenarios are suggested by the use of
the term ''snare,'' including witchcraft, imprisonment for a crime, even coer-
cion to agree to the terms of the treaty, but the fact that they were petitioning
for a reserve that was not originally provided for in the treaty suggests that
the petitioners considered themselves to be entitled to one under the treaty.

It is hoped that further research on the issue of leadership and other, as
yet undiscovered, historical documents will increase our understanding of the
events surrounding this treaty and the dynamics of leadership in the context

of those negotiations. One area that needs to be investigated is the oral tradition of the bands in the treaty area. Another is genealogical research to reveal the relationships among the bands and to identify the hunting groups that were associated with each post and subsequently comprised the trading post band.

Notes

1. The views expressed here are those of the author alone, and do not represent the views of the Ontario Ministry of Natural Resources or the Government of Ontario.
2. See Black-Rogers (1986).

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FROM ETHNIC BOURGEOISIE TO ORGANIC INTELLECTUALS: SPECULATIONS ON NORTH AMERICAN NATIVE LEADERSHIP

Shuichi Nagata

University of Toronto

Abstract: A notable feature of native politics in North America in recent decades has been the emergence of Indian associations of varying scales and complexity. These organizations are often led by people whom Rolf Knight has called "ethnic bourgeoisie." This type of leadership is also found at local band and tribal council levels, and appears to have arisen in response to the force of bureaucratic encapsulation. Problematic aspects of this leadership are explored, and the Gramscian notion of "organic intellectuals" is used to speculate on the direction of changes in this leadership to overcome some of its problems.

Résumé: Un élément notable dans les politiques relatives aux autochtones en Amérique du Nord au cours des dernières décades est l'émergence d'associations d'étendues et de complexités variées. Ces organisations sont souvent dirigées par des gens que Rolf Knight dit provenir de la « bourgeoisie ethnique ». Ce type de direction se retrouve aussi aux niveaux des conseils régionaux des bandes et des tribus; il semble être une façon de réagir à l'enfermement bureaucratique. Les aspects problématiques de cette direction sont explorés. En référence à la notion gramscienne d'intellectuel organique, une réflexion à été faite sur l'orientation des changements dans ce leadership afin de surmonter certains de ses problèmes.

The Problem

In the recent literature on the native peoples of North America, there seems to be a consensus regarding the heightened level of political activities by way of "Indian organizations" (Hamelin 1976:38; Elias 1976:36; Cardinal 1977:213). A series of case studies on Indian associations is now available (Sawchuk 1978; Ponting and Gibbins 1980; Weaver 1981, 1985). In an expanded chapter on "native organizations" in the new edition of his book, Frideres writes,"the growth of Native organizations and movements is helping Natives to retain their culture and identity and is reinforcing links among Natives all over Canada" (1983:255). This "organizational" development

among native peoples in Canada is also apparent at the levels of reserves and reservations. A recent Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development survey reports a rapid increase in the number of the band staff (1980:86), partly as a result of the decentralization policy of the federal government.

Frideres also notes that the more successful native organizations are "institutional groups" rather than "issue-oriented groups," the former commanding "(more) extensive financial and human resources to bear on a variety of issues" (1983:255). He points out that these organizations "have found that appeals to MP's [Members of Parliament] and MLA's [Members of Legislative Assemblies] are ineffective. . . . Rather, they have learned to focus on the bureaucratic organizations that most affect them, whether at the federal, provincial or municipal level" (ibid.). These remarks indicate that native organizations are formal, bureaucratic organizations that deal mainly with the government bureaucracies at various levels.

Bureaucratization has been proceeding at the local level as well. A predominance of service occupations, mostly connected with the tribal bureaucracy, was observed among the Navajo Indians in the United States (Kunitz and Levy 1981:386). The previously quoted Canadian Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development survey also notes that "Indians are becoming less involved in labour-oriented activities and more involved in 'white collar' work in the commercial and social service sectors" (1980:61). As more native people become displaced from national wage labour markets, and reserve and reservation lands remain underdeveloped, the ties connecting the native peoples to central governments seem to become more binding and comprehensive. Decentralization and the promotion of "self-government" notwithstanding, dependence upon central governments does not appear to have lessened to any appreciable extent.

Two types of observations about the leaders of these organizations may be cited. Of the first type, Dunning remarks that, "Although the elected officials (chiefs and councillors) are responsible to their electorate for the positions, they are in a much more meaningful position of accountability to bureaucratic officials at all levels of DIAND [the Canadian federal Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development]" (1976:115). McFeat states that in the Malecite band, "[the Indians] fashioned models of the outer side of their own ethnic boundaries which those on the outside already know about" (1979:223). McFeat notes that "Such phrases as 'decision-making process,' 'Catch 22,' 'hidden agenda,' 'zero-sum' . . . flow easily" (ibid.) from the mouths of Malecite band members. One also hears of "apple Indians" (Cardinal 1977:34) and "flying chiefs."

Rolf Knight makes a second type of observation about native leaders. He characterizes the emergence of the native élite he calls an "ethnic bour-

geoisie'' as a ''substantial Indian administrative middle-class,'' many of whom are working as ''consultants, conventioneers, administrators, program directors, social articulators and professionals of various sorts'' (1978:20). According to Knight, the ideology of these native élite is:

> some form of ethnic nationalism ... [which] holds that no classes of different interests exist among Indian people ... that conflicts are exclusively inter-ethnic conflicts ... that there is some mysterious racial-cultural spirit ... in the Indians' condition which only other Indians (i.e., themselves) could probably understand or cope with. (ibid.)

This ''spirit'' is sometimes referred to as a ''collective ethic'' (Jorgensen 1978:69), or the belief in ''Mother Earth'' (Trottier 1981).

Joining the above two types of observations produces an image of native élites speaking in two communication codes: the codes of bureaucrats, and those of the Indian ''spirit.'' This image fits Paine's (1976) model of the ''broker,'' who uses E(laborate) codes to engage in a T(ransaction) mode of exchange with the outside, while at the same time using a R(estricted) code for the I(ncorporation) mode of exchange with the inside. Current native leadership appears to embody universal technocratic norms and particular cultural idioms. One wonders who actually speaks with a ''forked tongue.''

Paine's model is applicable to the leadership of any politically ''encapsulated'' system; thus the situation is by no means unique to native organizations. However, bearing in mind Frideres' claim that these organizations help retain native culture and identity, one may question whether the organization leadership — whether an association or band council — accomplishes this objective. More concretely, we may ask how effectively this leadership, qualified by bureaucratic expertise and particularistic cultural knowledge, manages the cultural boundary, and what cultural identity is preserved by this type of leadership. I shall tackle these questions by first looking at the Hopi Indians of Arizona in the United States, and their structure of leadership.

Hopi Indians and the Discontinuity of Leadership

In the United States, the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934 exercised an enduring influence on the lives of American Indians. This act encouraged American Indians to organize their own forms of governance and a framework within which to develop their own cultural and political consciousness. By eliminating various assimilation regulations, the act aimed at the preservation and dynamic functioning of Indian cultural practices. However, the two aims of the act — the promotion of self-government and the protection of traditional cultures — turned out to be not only contradictory, but also disruptive for the Hopi.

The reasons for the difficulties that the Hopi experienced with the Indian

Reorganization Act are complex. First, Hopi society was acephalous. Each of the several Hopi village communities more or less governed themselves by a complicated, hereditary system of politico-religious or "theocratic" leadership. The Indian Reorganization Act changed this by instituting a society-wide form of government and a tribal council, whose chairman was to be elected from among the councillors. By way of compromise, councillors consist of elected delegates and hereditary village chiefs. As it turned out, most Hopi villages with hereditary chieftainships refused to take part in tribal council activities. In the case of First Mesa, the chief of Walpi acted as a certifier of elected councillors.

The constitution of the Hopi Tribal Council was drafted by such anthropologists as Oliver LaFarge. For the first 10 years of its existence, the council was practically moribund. It was revived only in the 1950s, when a land claim case was filed with the help of a tribal lawyer. During this early period, the council was run mostly by the people of First Mesa, particularly the Tewa (a "guest" group of the Hopi), and by the people of New Oraibi and Upper Moenkopi, all villages that have been described as "progressive" and without hereditary chieftainships. Many tribal councillors and chairmen had some experience in working for the federal Bureau of Indian Affairs agency (Kluckhohn's "Agency Indians"), and some had been in contact with Christians, Mormons, and Mennonites (Clemmer 1978:64, 66). After World War II, veterans began to take part in council affairs. These "outside" experiences continue to be important for leadership positions in the council.

In the last decade and a half, Hopi Tribal Council activities have expanded to an unprecedented degree, mainly through the infusion of assorted federal grants, loans, and transfer payments from such sources as the United States federal Department of Commerce, the federal Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, and the federal Department of Housing and Urban Development. The Hopi Tribal Council is currently housed in an imposing structure in the village of New Oraibi. Some villages boast new and comfortable office buildings that contrast strikingly with ordinary Hopi homes. Almost every issue of the privately-published tribal newspaper carries advertisements for such council and agency positions as "community developer," "staff resource person," "adult probation officer," and numerous grades of "secretaries."

During the same decade and a half, the Hopi Tribal Council embarked on the exploitation of reservation resources and "economic development" in the form of site-leasing arrangements. At least two short-lived experiments in locating industries both on and near the reservation were attempted, and these actions certainly helped council finances. Richard Clemmer, who chronicled these developments, characterizes the 1970 act of the United States Congress, empowering the council to create and manage a "Hopi Industrial Park," as

an attempt to turn "the 'Hopi Tribe' into a business corporation" (1978:68-69).

As the life of Hopi Indians increasingly revolved around their tribal council, council leadership began to require corresponding managerial skills and a knowledge of government bureaucracies. Much of the chairman's time is now taken up with the administration of programs that come down to the council, and in negotiations with government bureaucrats, for which the tribe also retains lawyers and consultants. Council chairmen and councillors are elected by constitutionally-defined electorates. Partly due to an increased demand for knowledge of bureaucracies, those who stand for election and eventually become elected tend to have had salaried or appointed experience in agency or council work. As mentioned previously, there is a close connection between elected political positions and appointed administrative roles. In contrast to some Canadian Indian reserves, differentiation between these two spheres of public service is still incipient among the Hopi. Thus, the Hopi tribal bureaucracy provides an important training ground for political leadership in the tribal council.

Under these circumstances, the roles of village chiefs and priests as traditional leaders appears to have been pushed aside, and seldom influence the current conduct of the tribal council. Hopi chiefs are now marginalized in their management of current tribal affairs.

The role of traditional Hopi leadership can be characterized as religious, economic, and political, all fused into one. Of these three dimensions, the political has lost its importance since the implementation of the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934. Until then, chiefs were taken seriously by the people themselves, by the government, and by non-Indian missionaries and traders. As new villages appeared on Third Mesa and the settlement of valley floors proceeded in other mesas, the ability of chiefs to speak for their people diminished. After the Hopi Tribal Council was established, the authority of Hopi chiefs was further eroded by the government's refusal to deal with them.

In the past, the economic leadership of Hopi chiefs derived mostly from their role in Hopi rituals, which were in turn closely interwoven with Hopi subsistence activities. By coordinating agricultural work, these rituals formed an integral part of subsistence technology. Now that cash is the staple instead of corn, Hopi acreage planted in corn has decreased almost annually.

Rituals in Hopi villages are still being performed, albeit in attenuated forms. However, deaths of priests and a lack of successors have caused the number of rituals produced in the "major" villages to decrease. Many ceremonial societies have ceased to function. The end of the famous Hopi snake dance may be near. On the other hand, villages that used to join the "major" villages in religious performances have now instituted their own versions of

Hopi rituals. However, the variety of these rituals is rather limited, and most of the esoteric rituals are not part of their repertoire. At present, continuation of the *kachina* cult, which occurs in most Hopi villages, seems to be of major importance for Hopi religion. The *kachina* cult may now be the common denominator of contemporary Hopi religious practice, and initiation into the cult appears to be a contemporary symbol of Hopi identity. Thus, even in the field of religion, traditional leadership no longer claims an exclusive monopoly. Hopi religion is changing from an all-inclusive cultural commitment to a type of "political religion" (see Apter 1963) that expresses tribal identity. Unlike the early missionary period, when Hopi religion and Christianity were seen as mutually exclusive, many Hopi Christians now participate in *kachina* cult initiations and dances.

Traditional Hopi leadership has somehow missed the opportunity to transform itself to meet the challenge of changed conditions. In the process, it has been marginalized and displaced from the political centre stage of tribal life.

Nevertheless, chiefs and their supporters have not totally withdrawn from the political arena. They continue to pursue rather ill-defined goals, which Clemmer characterizes as a mixture of revitalization and messianic movements (1982:46). These people proclaim themselves to be "traditional" and refuse to recognize the tribal council as the legitimate Hopi government. Their politics are mainly oppositional, and although their actions tend to be negative and to occur outside of the institutionalized area of the council, they occasionally succeed in frustrating council leadership. Their recent agitation to remove a Hopi Bureau of Indian Affairs superintendent succeeded, even if briefly (*Qua' Töqti* June 29, 1984, September 13, 1984). Clemmer describes the traditional chief of the village of Walpi exercising his veto in certifying elected First Mesa delegates to the Hopi Tribal Council (1982:31). The role of traditional Hopi chiefs in the Hopi-Navajo land dispute has also been important. Navajo leaders have adroitly exploited "traditional" Hopi opposition to the Hopi Tribal Council to their own advantage.

In short, the strengthening of instrumentality by the Hopi Tribal Council encouraged the development of leadership based on bureaucratic competence. At the same time, this marginalized traditional leadership by removing it from the day-to-day concerns of the Hopi. For all its rhetoric on the promotion and preservation of Hopi culture, the tribal council is, after all, a major conduit for dispensing approved government benefits. Furthermore, the legitimacy of the tribal council is derived from the effectiveness and efficiency of the distribution of public goods and services. On the other hand, as Clemmer seems to argue, current traditional leaders — chiefs of the villages of Oraibi and Shongopavy — appear to form a protest "movement," or even a sect committed to the "remembered" tradition of the "Life Plan" (*diingavi*).

Thus, there is polarization and discontinuity between modern and traditional leadership, which results in factionalism.

Bureaucracy, Culture and Leadership

As mentioned above, bureaucratization is among the forces that have helped to mold the new leadership quality among the Hopi. This has emanated from the United States federal government since the mid-1960s, when various funds began to be transferred to the Hopi Tribal Council for its own management. These funds are not always outright grants, and are often designated for specific programs. Specialists and trained personnel are needed to manage the programs being funded, and federal government departments call for appropriate accounting of expenditures. This accounting must follow standardized formulae and accepted government procedures. In most cases, congressional legislation is needed to provide such funds. The Hopi seldom take part in this process.

In an analysis of centre-periphery relations, Sydney Tarrow presents three models: (a) diffusion/isolation; (b) dependency/marginality; and (c) bureaucratic integration (1977:32). The last of these models (c) best describes the relationship of the contemporary Hopi Tribal Council to the central government. The dominant link from the tribal council to the centre government is administrative, and the state of Arizona's relation to the Hopi Tribal Council consists mainly of the "distribution of public goods." Insofar as the fiction of self-government is accepted, the importance of community politics is high, though mostly ineffectual in shaping the relationship. This whole complex can be termed "administrative determinism"(Carstens 1971:130).

Bureaucratization is also encouraged by programs of economic development on Indian reservations. These mostly take the form of resource exploitation by external capital. With little Indian participation in the direct production process, the role of Indian tribes in development is mainly that of negotiating and administering leasing and royalty contracts. These activities are governed by the impersonal legal norms of industrial capitalism, in which lawyers and administrators are prominent.

For the past two decades in Canada, native people have been developing regional organizations that include a number of bands within their respective regions. The Déné of the Northwest Territories and the Cree of James Bay are well-known examples. Previous to these attempts to develop regional organizations, pan-Indian movements gave rise to nation-wide organizations in both Canada and the United States. Beyond the national framework, indigenous peoples of the world are now forming a common front through such organizations as the World Council of Indigenous Peoples (WCIP), using the ideology of a Fourth World.

The objectives of these native organizations are as diverse as their scale. Nevertheless, two features are common to all of them: (a) the protection and promotion of special status; and (b) rights over certain territories. Native organizations differ from those of other ethnic minorities in that native or indigenous organizations demand recognition, constitutional or otherwise, for special status and land (Dyck 1985:238). They seek to be Hawthorn's "citizens plus" (1966:13).

As R.W. Dunning pointed out (1964), however, the recognition of Indian legal status does not entail the recognition of the cultural diversity of the native peoples. To impose a universal classificatory scheme upon diversity (e.g., Handelman 1976:229), the administrative apparatus of the state demands some uniformity. Furthermore, Indian identity is defined as a legal concept. This identity does not emerge from the practice of the tribal life, but is imposed by the application of rational-legal criteria such as blood quanta, enfranchisement, and the "double mother" clause (Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development Annual Report 80/81; see note 1). As LaRusic and Bouchard noted:

> the price of the special relationship with the government [by means of special status] is to permit its bureaucracy to define, through a necessary process of reduction and narrowing, . . . that which it seeks to protect. That is the unescapable [*sic*] reverse Midas touch of a bureaucracy. It is not mere whimsy nor cynicism to state the reality: the power to define the "We" can never be relinquished to the "Other." And therein lies the contradiction of a bureaucracy which pretends to speak of reinforcing the cultural identity of its charge. For it can only incorporate them as part of the bureaucratic "We." (1981:61)

Grass-roots organizations, such as band and tribal councils, follow the same bureaucratic path of simplifying, narrowing, reducing, and thereby destroying the people's own concrete and vibrant (if somewhat messy) life experiences. Recently, the Hopi Tribal Council proposed to eliminate intertribal adoption and marriage as a qualification for tribal membership, and to rationalize membership by blood quanta alone (*Qua' Töqti* June 15, 1984).

Contemporary pan-Indianism in the United States supposedly rejects the abstraction of Indian cultural diversity and insists on the recognition of particularistic tribes (Trottier 1981:288). However, this "tribalism," a major political consequence of the Indian Reorganization Act (Taylor 1980), entails a cultural dimension only passively. It emphasizes retention rather than development. The antinomy of bureaucracy and culture may also be present in the structure of the Fourth World, of which Dyck states:

> On one level they [indigenous peoples] must constantly demonstrate fundamental cultural differences between themselves and members of the majority population; on another they must transcend the cultural plane in order to nego-

tiate and assert a complementarity of status between themselves and govern-
ments. (1985:238)

What types of leadership are possible under these conditions? Leadership has
two major functions: (a) mediation; and (b) direction. Mediation tends to be a
prominent aspect of the leadership of encapsulated cultural groups like native
peoples, primarily because the norms governing the groups and their sur-
roundings are different. Thus, some kind of brokerage characterizes the lead-
ers of cultural groups. They may become entrepreneurs or managers of inter-
cultural relations, and as such are vulnerable to the conflict between self-
interest as a leader and the collective interest they represent (see below).
Mediation is a defining feature of the leadership in Knight's "ethnic bour-
geoisie."

On occasion, some ethno-cultural groups have produced leaders charac-
terized by strong direction. Some of these leaders are millenarian movement
leaders and "prophets" with visions of a new future for their peoples. Thus,
ethnic entrepreneurs and messianic "prophets" may represent the two polar
types of minority leadership. Further commentary on these minority leaders
will now follow.

From Ethnic Bourgeoisie to Organic Intellectuals: A Conclusion

Dyck notes that the Fourth World must satisfy two legitimacies: (a) that of
the people it represents; and (b) that of the dominant society with which it
deals (1985:239). Although this is characteristic of the leadership of any
encapsulated group, the relative importance of the two legitimacies
influences the type of leadership that emerges.

In a classic work on social conflict, Kurt Lewin spoke of "leadership
from the periphery" as typical of minority group leaders assimilating to the
majority (1948). This type of leadership tends to be recruited from the
periphery of the group value distribution, where majority values exercise the
strongest influence. Since the group is anxious to conform to majority values,
it chooses as its leader a member who embodies the values and the interests
of the group, as well as the values of the majority. Lewin points out that such
a leader may act against the group's goal of assimilation, for once the goal is
achieved, the leader is no longer needed. Hence, the leader from the periph-
ery will try to discourage the minority's assimilation, if only to hold onto the
leadership position. Knight speaks of "some mysterious racial-cultural
spirit" embodied in the distance that his ethnic bourgeoisie tries to preserve.

This contradictory demand placed on the traditional leadership of the
encapsulated group is centred in the group value field (*Gestalt*). For this rea-
son, it often causes traditional leaders to withdraw from active leadership
when the group gets encapsulated by a dominant group. Oliver noted that tra-

ditional Melanesian "big men" often refused to take up the leadership posi-
tion imposed by the Australian administration, leaving junior men to fill this
role of "hat man" (1955). Feit reports that among the James Bay Cree,
respected men in the community sometimes refused to accept the position of
elected leader (1985:36). The withdrawal of the traditional Hopi leadership
from the council was partly due to the same circumstances.

Because of their preoccupation with the encapsulating agent, group
leaders may also endanger the legitimacy of the people they lead. This is
how LaRusic and Bouchard (1979) interpreted Cree leadership in the James
Bay negotiations in Canada. In their opinion, these negotiations became dom-
inated by consultants and lawyers (cf. also Feit 1985:28-29). Usher also
points to this possibility when he says "the devolution of administrative
responsibility (if not political power) to the reserve level has thrust
significant financial resources into the hands of those with the most educa-
tional and employment experience, and disrupted traditional structures of
power and authority" (1982:9-10).

These two legitimacies may be handled in still another way. That is, two
types of leadership may operate so that a traditional leader acts from back-
stage, as *éminence grise*, giving advice to a new leader. With this support, the
new leader may then indirectly secure the legitimacy of the people. Feit
(1985) describes how band chiefs involved in the James Bay negotiations
acted with the support of "elders." The position of "elders" has been
important in various native organizations, including the National Indian
Brotherhood of Canada (now called the Assembly of First Nations). Kathryn
Molohon (personal communication) reports that Swampy Cree residents of
the village of Attawapiskat maintain a two-chief structure, involving a tradi-
tional chief and an elected, relatively acculturated chief, who acts as a broker
in relations with outsiders.

While the "diarchic" arrangement for leadership may avoid the contra-
diction of leadership from the periphery, it is at best a compromise to meet
the exigencies of encapsulation. It does not bring people out of encapsulation,
and although its leadership is adaptive, it is not "directive." Though conflict
between the two legitimacies of the group being led and the dominant society
is muted, the dominant society's demand to satisfy its own legitimacy falls
unchanged upon the encapsulated group leaders.

How can this contradiction be transcended, so that the group's legiti-
macy, rather than the dominant society's legitimacy, becomes the necessary
and sufficient condition for native leadership? This problem is so complex
that the following discussion is onlytentative.

Previously, I described millenarian and messianic cult leaders as
direction-oriented. They led North American native people (briefly) along the
path to a New Jerusalem. This type of leadership is by no means unique to the

leaders of religious movements, and is seen in secular charismatic politicians as well. Antonio Gramsci's "organic intellectuals" come close to my meaning of direction-oriented leaders.

Although much has been written about Gramsci's theory of "intellectuals," the following is relevant to this discussion. Gramsci derived his theory from a criticism "of the 'cosmopolitan' tradition in Italian culture" (Merrington 1968:163):

> In Italy, he [Gramsci] noted, the term "national" had a restricted sense, not coinciding with that of "popular," since ... the intellectuals are removed from the people, that is from the "nation" and are on the contrary linked to a tradition of caste ... the tradition is "bookish" and abstract ... and the typical intellectual feels more linked to Hannibal Caro or Hippolitus ... than to the peasant of Apulia or Sicily. (ibid.)

To Gramsci, this "constituted the primordial weakness of Italian society, ... [which prevented it from] developing its own internal dynamics" (ibid.). To overcome this weakness, Gramsci devised a theory of intellectuals who are "organically linked to the people themselves" (ibid.) and dedicated "for the expansion of its own class from a subordinate to a directing capacity" (ibid.:165). Gramsci's "intellectuals" emphasize direction rather than mediation. An "organic intellectual" is "actively involved in practical life." (S)he is also a "leader" who is both a specialist and a politician (ibid.).

How can native leaders be "organic" while refusing to be co-opted by the dominant society? I have already discussed such forces as bureaucratization, which extends to "culture" in the form of multiculturalism. Since this "culture" is abstract and bureaucratized, resources supporting it will not have a significant impact upon the material condition of native people. On the contrary, as Usher has so cogently pointed out (1982:10), this vague notion of "culture" may promote complicity between native leaders, non-native politicians, and government bureaucrats; its vagueness and the impossibility of accounting for expenditure on its behalf may encourage pork-barreling.

Meanwhile, the material condition of native people is caught in the clutches of welfare bureaucracy. The ideological nature of this bureaucracy was most starkly expressed in Canada's 1969 White Paper (Weaver 1981). It was criticized as a variant of termination, "melting-pot," or assimilation policy (see note 2).

The web of bureaucratic encapsulation appears to be as comprehensive and seamless as the forces of co-optation. Is the reality of all of this hopeless? In speaking of the "emergent" culture, Raymond Williams observed that "there are always sources of actual human practices which it (the dominant mode) neglects or excludes (from incorporation)" (1980:43). Do these practices exist in the lives of contemporary native people?

I would respond to the second question in the affirmative. I see a curious, yet decisive disjunction between the two forces of bureaucratic encapsulation — "culture" and "welfare." It is as if the dominant Canadian society seems unable to resolve the dialectic of nationality/culture and class/welfare and has decided to use two separate forces to deal with native people. As a result, multiculturalist ideology abstracts "culture" and disregards such things as the commercialization of traditional crafts. At the same time, welfare ideology ignores such things as the importance of home care in medical treatment in native communities. Leaders of encapsulated groups must identify these excluded, emergent, and non-"residual" (as in multiculturalism) practices (see Williams 1980:40-41). These leaders must also seize upon such practices, synthesize them, and bring them out as an authentic "culture" of the people. This task requires leaders who are deeply rooted in the communities they direct and represent. As Gramsci emphasized, this task must be based on the "educative relationship" between leaders and their people. As Fowler (1978) noted of the Wind River Arapaho, people acquire a new self-image and create new sources of legitimacy for their leadership. In other words, the strategy is not so much to hone the skills needed for dealing with the bureaucracy of government in order to *"retain* their [native] culture and identity" (Frideres 1983:255, italics added), as to build a new culture and identity that will impinge on the consciousness of the encapsulating society.

Admittedly, these observations are speculative. The cultures and identities of native people on this continent have never been stationary. Furthermore, there have always been many native people, like Handsome Lake and Joseph Brant, whose definitions of themselves and their people enabled them to meet the challenge of history.

Notes

1. In fact, the scheme is far from being simple and becomes extremely complex in the course of its application — so much so that Harold Cardinal called it "legal hocus-pocus" (1969:20).
2. The antinomy of pluralism and the melting pot has a long history of debate. For a recent example, see the Manners-Collier debate of the 1960s (Walker 1972:124-144). Likewise, the minority policy of socialist states has not escaped this debate. For example, Mao Tse-Tung maintained that the nationalities problem is essentially a problem of class (Dreyer 1976:261). Meanwhile, Stalin noted that nationality characteristics were more persistent among the masses than among the bourgeoisie (ibid.:60), and that the demand for nationality culture becomes a proletarian demand for the dictatorship of the proletariat (ibid.:52). Stalin thus coined the slogan, "national in form, socialist in content" (ibid.:60).

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BOOK REVIEWS/COMPTES RENDUS

Marriage Practices in Lowland South America
Kenneth M. Kensinger, ed.
Illinois Studies in Anthropology, no. 14
Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 1984. x + 296 pp. Maps, tables,
figures, bibliography. $19.95 (paper)

Reviewer: S. Brian Burkhalter
University of South Florida

Perhaps marriage most fascinates those who, like this book's editor, several contrib-
utors and the current reviewer, are unmarried. A major strength of this excellent col-
lection is that it focuses more on practice than on theory, and probably because all of
the authors spent several years in the field, the articles are rich in ethnographic
examples. Although the authors differ widely on theoretical matters, they make little
attempt to address their differences. An exception is Judith R. Shapiro's introduc-
tion, which discusses alliance theory and its critics and attempts a definition of mar-
riage, but cannot bridge obvious gaps.

Ellen B. Basso describes two Kalapalo marriage histories and their respective
strategies, and, in the process, sheds light on how Kalapalo marriages are arranged,
shaped, and maintained. Gertrude E. Dole's careful examination of Kuikuru mar-
riages concludes that the Kuikuru show too much variation in actual choices of
spouses, postmarital residence, and even associated norms for their marriage pattern
to be usefully characterized as sibling exchange. Most remarkable about William H.
Crocker's account of Canela marriage are premarital and extramarital affairs, includ-
ing the expectation that a young wife who had not yet given birth would ''accom-
pany male groups for the purpose of group sex,'' and that young males primarily
confine their sexual encounters to women in their late forties and fifties (pp. 64-65).

Waud H. Kracke finds three important levels in Kagwahiv marriage: (1) a nor-
mative pattern of exogamous moieties; (2) a triadic system of three exogamous
groups that is unacknowledged by informants, but emerges in practice; and (3) a
system of alliances between patrilines. Overlapping demands create sufficient ambi-
guity to allow considerable choice of potential spouses. Similar flexibility appears in
Joanna Overing Kaplan's view of Piaroa marriage (cf. pp. 143-144). Kaplan sees
Piarora cosmology as loading social relationships with danger, creating risks ideally
addressed when brothers-in-law within an endogamous communal household
arrange marriages between their children.

Chapters on the Northwest Amazon by Jean E. Jackson and Arthur P. Soren-
son, Jr. complement each other nicely. Jackson cites Tukanoan norms governing
marriage, including prescriptive marriage, symmetrical exchange, preferred mar-
riage with close genealogical kin, residential exogamy, language, group exogamy,
and alliance, but finds that these do not adequately predict observed patterns in her
sample of 684 unions (pp. 156, 161-162). She wonders whether such rules are hier-
archically ordered, so that following some would mean breaking others. Sorenson
gives an entertaining and insightful description of how young men seek wives in a
society with prescribed linguistic exogamy and preferential cross-cousin marriage.
Here, women may aggressively initiate affairs, as, for example, by ambushing young

men who are heading out alone to bathe (p. 185).

Norman E. Whitten, Jr. and Dorothea S. Whitten show how alliances between Canelos Quichua kin groups can influence the choice of spouse, and how such alliances form part of territorial groupings centred around powerful shamans. They also note the political considerations involved in postmarital residence decisions, all the more important since getting married is a three-year process among the Canelos Quichua (p. 207). Kenneth M. Kensinger carefully depicts Cashinahua marriage as best understood as processual. His emic model takes into account Cashinahua marriage stages and their varying willingness to accept matches which violate one or another of the rules favoring cross-cousin marriage, moiety exogamy, prescribed marriage sections, and village endogamy.

In a moving discussion of disrupted Wachipaeri marriage patterns following a smallpox epidemic, Patricia J. Lyon raises troubling questions concerning a young bachelor's dilemma. By 1955, only 71 Wachipaeri had survived, most of them male (p. 256). Clinging to their cultural traditions despite interference by Baptist and Catholic missionaries and Peruvian settlers, these few men find still fewer eligible Wachipaeri women to marry. If they find wives from other groups or do not marry at all, Wachipaeri culture could well face extinction.

Is this book's theoretical inconsistency a flaw? Perhaps. Yet as in the best marriages and most memorable trysts, there is still much excitement to be found between the covers.

Police Images of a City
Peter McGahan
American University Studies Series Eleven, Anthropology/Sociology, Vol. 4
New York: Peter Lang Publishing, 1984. 217 pp. (paper).

Reviewer: François X. Ribordy
               Laurentian University

Peter McGahan, auteur du livre *Urban Sociology in Canada* (1982), s'est donné comme but dans cette étude, d'examiner, le contenu et le développement de l'image de la ville de St. John's (Terre Neuve) à travers la vision qu'en ont ses propres policiers. Cette sociologie des représentations, est urbaine au point de vue théorique, par sa méthode elle rejoint l'anthropologie, et enfin ouvre la voie à une nouvelle approche criminologique.

Les deux niveaux d'analyse, objectif et subjectif, se moulent dans un ensemble: les facteurs démographiques, sociaux et écologiques sont réinterprétés à travers leur représentation par le corps policier, qui à son tour les adapte à ses activités.

La méthode utilisée est l'interview en profondeur de 37 membres du Royal Newfoundland Constabulary, à l'aide d'un questionnaire ouvert laissant libre cours au répondant, de sorte que la plupart des entrevues dure de 1,30 heure à 2 heures. Tous les enregistrements ont été par la suite dactylographiés et catalogués. En plus de ce recueil des représentations de la ville par les constables, toutes les informations quantitatives sur la structure démographique, écologique et criminologique de la ville ont été recueillies et analysées.

L'analyse des discours démontre l'image qu'ont les constables de chaque dis-

trict de police quant à sa population, criminalité, urbanité, relation de voisinage, niveau industriel et commercial, changement, modernisation, etc. et comment cette image différentielle est directement liée à l'activité policière et à la perception de la criminalité, à tel point qu'il devient difficile de savoir si c'est l'image de la criminalité qui crée l'image du quartier ou vice-versa.

Les « causes » de la criminalité telles que perçues par les policiers de St. John's sont quelque peu simplistes, dans l'ordre décroissant elles sont: l'alcool (cause de tous les maux), les saisons (surtout les nuits chaudes de juillet), la mobilité des criminels (les délits sont commis par des individus venant de l'extérieur), l'hérédité (la criminalité se transmet de génération en génération), la caractéristique des criminels (âge, groupe ethnique, niveau socio-économique, gang).

Pour la police, la criminalité et sa prévention sont fortement liées à l'écologie, à la structure urbaine et à l'architecture: certains types de magasins sont plus vulnérables au vol-à-l'étalage, certains bâtiments scolaires au vandalisme, et certains quartiers à la prostitution. Cette vision du monde permet au policier de mieux réprimer et prévenir la criminalité. Cette image de la criminalité est fortement reliée à la reportabilité descrimes et aux appels reçus par le quartier de communication de la police.

Par le biais de ces *a priori* la police construit son propre environnement urbain et criminel, qui a leur tour influent sur les patrouilles, les perquisitions, les arrestations. Cette vision du monde est elle-même amplifiée par l'expérience et les conseils des supérieurs, si bien que la majorité des répondants considère que l'éducation académique n'a aucune valeur face à l'expérience acquise.

La communication entre policiers, et entre ces derniers et le quartier général, permet un contrôle très sévère de la ville, tout en permettant de développer un sentiment très fort de solidarité et de sécurité entre les membres de la force constabulaire et partant, permet de porter secours très rapidement à un collègue en danger.

La connaissance de l'environnement et le sense de l'observation sont des facteurs très importants de l'activité policière, car ils permettent de recueillir des informations et d'agir promptement en cas de problème. La police doit connaître parfaitement l'environnement dans lequel elle fonctionne et la population qui y habite, la patrouille à pied facilite la relation avec le public et permet de mieux recueillir les informations sur les crimes potentiels qui seront commis dans la ville. Le travail du policier se déroule 24 heures sur 24, et les quarts de travail sont obligatoires, mais leur rotation nuit à l'efficacité de la police, car la dimention temporelle du crime est importante, les vols, les accidents de circulation, la prostitution, etc. diffèrent selon les jours de la semaine et les heures de la journée, si bien que dans certains quarts de travail les policiers patrouillent par couple et pour d'autres individuellement, les équipes stables font un travail nettement meilleur que celles qui changent souvent.

Comme tous les corps de police, celui de St. John's possède des unités spécialisées: circulation, investigation, communication. Une unité en civil, The High Complaint Unit, est chargée du contrôle de la consommation d'alcool par les adolescents, et celui de la surpopulation des clubs. La Criminal Investigation Division est divisée en deux groupes: la section moralité et la section investigation, la première s'occupe du contrôle des drogues, de la pornographie, de la prostitution et des mauvais traitements infligés aux enfants, la seconde, des vols et des décès.

Une des images que la police possède de sa fonction, est d'être au service de la communauté, pourtant cette dernière n'est pas préte à collaborer, que ce soit comme

témoin, ou comme informateur. Pour faciliter cette coopération et sensibiliser la communauté face aux crimes contre la propriété et contre les personnes, et de l'éduquer sur les moyens de décourager les criminels potentiels, la police a institué un programme de prévention de la criminalité et agit en collaboration avec des groupes tels que Neighborhood Watch et Block Parent.

La relation avec la justice criminelle est perçue d'une manière encore plus négative. D'une part, les policiers estiment que les juges ne sont pas assez sévères, que la disparité des sentences qu'ils infligent permet de douter de leur compétence, d'autre part, les policiers se sentent harcelés par les avocats de la défense, ils jugent les marchandages des plaidoyers inadéquats, et ils estiment que beaucoup trop de causes sont rejetées pour des raisons de technicalité.

Leur vision du futur de la ville est très pessimiste, car pour eux l'accroissement de la population, le développement urbain, l'industrialisation et l'exploitation des grands gisements pétroliers d'Ibernia vont provoquer un accroissement quantitatif et qualitatif de la criminalité, le jeu, la prostitution, le trafic de drogue, le vol à main armée, la fraude, la criminalité à col blanc, vont devenir aussi communs que dans les grandes métropoles telles que Montréal et Toronto, et l'arrivée massive d'étrangers attirés par l'appât du gain va encore aggraver la situation. La modernisation va provoquer des changements considérables dans la profession: professionalisation accrue, désorganisation, démoralisation, surtout dues à l'utilisation de plus en plus forte des techniques modernes, de la formation professionnelle plus poussée et des salaires inadéquats pour un travail aussi spécialisé. La modernisation de Terre-Neuve aura pour effet une expansion des villes dans les territoires ruraux, d'où un conflit entre la police urbaine et la Gendarmerie Royale du Canada qui en a juridiction, et partant une adaptation à une nouvelle clientèle. Les policiers de St. John's qui ne sont pas armés, se verront obligés, face à l'accroissement de la criminalité, de porter des armes et d'en faire usage, ce qui améliora en rien les contacts avec la population.

Bien que préliminaire, cette étude démontre l'intérêt de la méthode qualitative dans la recherche criminologique et les résultats contribuent à faire comprendre la dimension symbolique et culturelle d'une communauté urbaine et de voir comment la police, par ses *a priori*, s'invente une criminalité urbaine qu'elle peut contrôler et comment elle craint tout changement, toute modernisation, qui la placera devant une situation de plus en plus conflictuelle.

Ce même genre d'étude devrait se faire dans d'autres villes canadiennes car la criminalité révélée par les statistiques n'est rien d'autres que la représentation qu'a la police de son propre environnement, et des études comparables pourraient faire comprendre les disparités criminelles d'une ville à l'autre.

Coast Salish Gambling Games
Lynn Maranda
Ottawa: National Museum of Man Mercury Series, Canadian Ethnology Service
Paper Number 93, 1984. xi + 141 pp. gratis (paper)

Reviewer: Joan Megan Jones
                University of Washington

At first glance, this publication appears to be a solid, workmanlike compilation of archival and ethnographic sources which bears the mark of its student origin as the author's Master's Thesis at the University of British Columbia in 1972. However, a far more complex interpretive study soon emerges to intrigue the reader.

The first part of this work describes various forms of Coast Salish gambling games and traces their history from reconstructions of precontact play to the one surviving bone game that is played at the present time. Maranda has done a good job of compiling material from archival and ethnographic literature in order to provide a thorough and complete examination of the structure of three types of games, their rules of play, and a description of the variety of gaming pieces based on a brief museum study.

Drawing from observations of play on Indian reserves in southern British Columbia and northwestern Washington state, Maranda presents the rules and structures of the present-day form of the surviving bone game. In addition, the social setting and accompanying activities of singing and drumming are described.

If this were the total extent of Maranda's work, her carefully researched material would be a useful contribution to the ethnohistoric literature on Northwest Coast Indians. However, Maranda has gone on to present an intriguing interpretation of Coast Salish gambling as a form of social expression and a practice which was associated with the concept of spirit power.

Maranda develops a case that relates success in gambling to the possession of lay spirit powers associated with wealth. Although the evidence for this connection as drawn from the literature is somewhat slim, she makes a strong and convincing presentation. Furthermore, gambling was not a private or isolated activity between two people, but a social occasion involving groups of participants who included onlookers, singers, and drummers. Maranda then takes a conjectural leap to suggest a social function for gambling.

The notions of wealth, prestige and power which were so pervasive in Northwest Coast Indian cultures all acquired social meaning and validation through a public ceremony or activity within the community. Although Maranda states that it would be reasonable to presume that the social aspect of gambling functioned as a public validation of the players' spirit powers, there is no direct evidence in the literature affirming this connection.

Thus, according to Maranda's reconstruction, Coast Salish gambling was not just a simple game of chance, but was, instead, a complex of functions which operated on several levels within the social fabric. The most important of these functions were as a means of obtaining wealth goods for potlatching and as a means for validating and demonstrating one's spirit power affiliations.

Maranda's discussion of wealth, power and gambling and their functional interrelationships is a wholly interesting reconstruction. Its major weakness lies in a

relative insufficiency of documentary evidence for the conclusions. For example, she treats the subject of proceeds from gambling only marginally, devoting only a few sentences to that topic. This reviewer was left with unsatisfied curiosity about this aspect of the gambling complex, and wanting more than a cursory treatment.

As a whole, this publication makes a valuable contribution to the existing body of Northwest Coast Indian literature and adds interesting descriptive data, plus an intriguing interpretation of a topic which has not had enough previous study.

The Tribal Living Book: 150 Things to Do and Make from Traditional Cultures
David Levinson and David Sherwood
Boulder, Colorado: Johnson Books, 1984. viii + 222 pp. $12.95 (paper)

Reviewer: H.E. Devereux
            Laurentian University

If a picture is worth a thousand words, then a trial run must be worth a thousand pictures. *Tribal Living* is subtitled: *150 Things to Do and Make from Traditional Cultures*. In this case, "tribal" refers to traditional, non-Western, non-industrialized cultures who gain their living from the land. This volume is written by anthropologists and can be used as an anthropological teaching resource even though it is intended for a much wider readership of any age who might require information about "natural living, alternative life-styles and appropriate technologies" (p. vii).

The categories of activities covered in this book are: dwellings, basic skills and materials (e.g., stone flaking), crafts (e.g., making a clay water jar), the food quest (e.g., food preservation), recreation (e.g., dental pictography) and the aesthetic notions realized in such practices. Each category includes from four to twelve activities.

Instructions for each activity are given in the text. The text provides a short introduction to each subject, including geographical distribution and relationship to a particular culture where relevant. The materials are carefully listed, and most are available naturally in North America. Particular techniques are described, and a time estimate for completing each project is given. The text for each project is accompanied by line drawings.

The appendices for this volume include a world map with the general locations of all 111 tribal cultures which are represented. There is also a substantial bibliography of sources related to each category of activities.

At present, there are a number of books on the market oriented to "natural living." One of the earliest of these is Ernest Thompson Seton's beloved old classic, *Two Little Savages*. Nevertheless, *Tribal Living* is obviously superior to other books of this type in that it is authored by specialists with a professional understanding of human society and culture.

The selection of projects in this book is extremely varied with respect to general topic, place of origin, and dimensions and levels of skills required. The instructions are succinct, and the line drawings are precise as a result of first hand experience. The text is non-technical and could be understood by almost any age group.

Thus, this book offers something for everyone of any age who is interested in the skills it describes.

For teachers of cultural anthropology who wish to expand on the lecture-slide routine, this interesting book offers a springboard to laboratory situations. In the laboratory, students have an opportunity to attain a much higher level of comprehension, and hence the ability to remember anthropological concepts and put them to good use.

The Subarctic Fur Trade: Native Social and Economic Adaptations
Shepard Krech III, ed.
Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1984. xix + 194 pp. $28.95 (cloth)

Reviewer: Joseph Konarek
              Laurentian University

This collection of papers was originally presented as a symposium at the 1981 annual meeting of the American Society for Ethnohistory. It represents a dispassionate and thorough analysis of the influence of the fur trade on the lives of Indians in Canada's Subarctic during the last three centuries. Focusing on native social and economic adaptations, the volume contains articles by seven authors from different academic fields who share an interdisciplinary approach.

Arthur J. Ray's study, "Periodic Shortages, Native Welfare and the Hudson's Bay Company 1670-1930," documents and interprets the impact of the fur trade on the native food base over a huge geographic area for several centuries. After contact, the subarctic Cree, who had been well adapted to an environment of dispersed and inadequate biomass, were enticed to give up their economic independence and spatial freedom for the benefits of an externally controlled commercial economy.

Ray points out that welfare, which was increasingly needed by the native people and provided by the Hudson's Bay Company, preceded the welfare administered by the Canadian federal government after 1945. Thus the *Handbook of North American Indians*, Vol. 6: *Subarctic* (Smithsonian Institution, 1981) is incorrect when it uses the qualifier "welfare" only for post-1945 native communities. However, this reviewer feels that using the term "welfare" for either of the two recent periods in Canadian native history is the result of our own cultural bias. To help us eliminate this bias, the source of the welfare ideology and policy needs to be considered. As an internally-generated cultural element, the welfare concern already permeated subarctic native societies in the precontact period. As Ray states, these societies were structured to promote cooperation and sharing and no economic value was placed on such reciprocal obligations. If such cultures were not welfare-oriented, which ones were? As an imported cultural element which the Hudson's Bay Company used to maintain the productivity levels of native trappers or which the Hudson's Bay Company or other intrusive organizations provided to ease consciences, the term welfare does not deserve the exposure it gets as a signpost for a "native" historical period.

Charles A. Bishop's article "The First Century: Adaptive Changes Among the Western James Bay Cree between the Early Seventeenth and Early Eighteenth Centuries" studies changes in the forces and relations of production in which the west-

ern James Bay Cree were involved. Data from the Fort Albany post are used to shed light on intercultural impacts.

Toby Morantz's article, "Economic and Social Accommodations of the James Bay Inlanders to the Fur Trade," focuses on the eastern James Bay area and relates the evolution of the two socio-economic types of Cree human systems to the area's ecosystems in an interplay with the needs of the Hudson's Bay Company. The "inlanders," who were small, unspecialized hunting groups, remained independent longer than the "homeguard" Indians, who specialized in provisioning Hudson's Bay Company posts.

Carol M. Judd's "Sakie, Esquawenoe and the Foundation of a Dual-Native Tradition at Moose Factory" studies the "homeguard" Indians (the "goose hunters" and the "upland Indians") in their dealings with the Moose Factory post between 1730 and 1760. These Indian groups had their own leaders or "captains" with whom the Hudson's Bay Company developed special political relationships. Occasional involvement of the "uplanders" with French competition earned these Indians a suspicious, more calculated and ritualized response from the English, who handled their own "homeguard" Indians more generously and paternalistically.

In "The Trade of the Slavey and Dogrib at Fort Simpson in the Early Nineteenth Century," Shepard Krech III uses the Fort Simpson trading records from the early 1800s to recreate a picture of the generalist economies of the Slavey and Dogrib in the upper Mackenzie River basin. Among the negative impacts of Hudson's Bay Company dealings with the natives were deaths caused by disease and by conflicts with Chipewyan and Yellowknife bands. Economic dependence developed more slowly in this relatively resource-rich part of the subarctic.

A study by Robert Jarvenpaa and Hetty Jo Brumbach entitled "The Microeconomics of Southern Chipewyan Fur Trade History" examines the impact of Hudson's Bay Company trading posts, Catholic missions, and free traders on the annual nomadic cycles of two Chipewyan bands in northern Saskatchewan. In the late 1800s, as the involvement of these bands with fur production and the Catholic religion intensified, their ecological niches spatially contracted and their economic independence and spatial freedom were adversely affected.

Both the editing and proofreading in this volume are of high quality. However, the maps included with the articles are not standardized in cartographic quality or usefulness. For example, the maps on pages 13 and 15 are referred to in the text as Figures 2 and 3, but are labelled Map 1 and 2, respectively. These are forgivable faults in a good book which deserves careful reading by all who are interested in subarctic human dynamics and Canada's social and economic history.

The Phenomenon of Man Revisited: A Biological Viewpoint on
Teilhard de Chardin
Edward O. Dodson
New York: Columbia University Press, 1984. xix + 257 pp. $32.50 (cloth)

Reviewer: Ashley Montagu
                Princeton, New Jersey

When the English translation of Teilhard de Chardin's *The Phenomenon of Man Revisited* appeared late in 1959, I gave it an enthusiastic review in *The New York Times Book Review.* Harper and Brothers, the publishers, later stated that the book did as well as it did because of this review. However this may be, I feel equally enthusiastic about Dodson's study and critique of Teilhard's views as expounded in this admirable book.

Like Teilhard, Dodson is a Catholic. He is also a biologist, the author of three major texts on evolution and genetics, and an emeritus of the University of Ottawa. Because Dodson independently arrived at many of the same conclusions concerning the nature of the evolutionary process and its relation to the teachings of Christianity, he was much taken with Teilhard's views. In the present, delightfully written book now being reviewed by an unreconstructed, born-again agnostic, Dodson offers a statement of the Teilhardian synthesis which brings it closer to a scientifically acceptable view of the evolutionary facts. He does this not only by correcting Teilhard's errors (of which there were many), but also by putting Teilhard's patrician scorn for what he regarded as ''minor details'' in perspective, including the raw materials of inductive reasoning which Teilhard neglected and attempted to replace by deduction. In this connection, Dodson very properly points out that while there is a place in science for deductive reasoning, this type of reasoning is applicable only after suitable generalizations have been inductively and securely established. Because he reversed this process, Dodson feels that Teilhard erred when he thought of his book as purely scientific. Dodson also underscores the fact that Teilhard was quite misleading in his discussion of invertebrate evolution, and quite wrong in his adherence to Lamarckism and orthogenesis.

In discussing these matters, Dodson illuminatingly states his objections to all of these ideas. He also comments on Teilhard's habit of stating conclusions which, for the most part, are beyond the possibility of experimental testing.

Since the poetic style of Teilhard's original French was lost in the English translation, this leads to ambiguities which often render what Teilhard meant unclear, while those who read poetry as though it were the usual scientific prose are bound to misunderstand Teilhard rather badly. Hence, there are some really rather foolish reviews of the English translation.

Once this is understood, what remains? As Dodson puts it: a superb insight. But insight into what? No less than the steps by which inanimate matter may have given rise to life, how this came about, and how one particular form of life, Homo, evolved from the ''biosphere,'' the complex of life which spread over the earth (the sphere of being lived), to the ''noosphere'' (the sphere of mind, of living one's life one's own way).

In short, Dodson has brought a disciplined mind and deep spiritual understanding to the clarification and support of Teilhard's synthesis, while at the same time

embracing both science and the Christian faith. One need not subscribe to one or the other in order to benefit from reading this book. It is Dodson's splendid achievement to make one think while one learns. This book should enjoy wide appeal among those who care about the spiritual welfare of humanity.

Cenote **of Sacrifice: Maya Treasures from the Sacred Well at Chichen Itza**
Clemency Coggins and Orrin C. Shane III, eds.
Austin: University of Texas Press, 1984. 175 pp. $35.00 (cloth), $24.50 (paper)

Reviewer: Arthur Demarest
            Vanderbilt University

This exhibit catalogue presents photographs and interpretations of Harvard's Peabody Museum collection of artifacts recovered from the Sacred *Cenote*, a natural well that was the central feature of the site of Chichen Itza on the Yucatan peninsula. Offerings cast into the well reflect the importance of the Chichen *cenote* as a shrine of the later Maya civilization (circa A.D. 800-1500). The catalogue covers many of the well's art treasures of jade, gold, ceramic, and bone, as well as rare examples of Maya wood and textile artifacts that were preserved by the mud of the well's depths.

The core of this volume is a catalogue of 300 objects presented in excellent black-and-white and color photographs, with occasional line drawings to clarify features of form or iconography. The careful visual presentation is matched by the quality of the text. A series of introductions by Gordon Willey, Linnea Wren and Clemency Coggins provide a general background on the Maya civilization, the site of Chichen Itza, and the excavations that recovered the Peabody Museum collection. Of particular importance is Wren's discussion (pp. 20-21) of the controversy on the chronology and culture history of Chichen Itza. Given its relevance to the study of the *cenote* offerings, the treatment of these issues is somewhat brief, although it does include most major positions and references to more extensive analyses of the dating question. Serious readers should refer to some of these sources and should keep in mind the chronological problems throughout their reading of this work.

In the catalogue itself, Coggins takes a highly interpretive, yet insightful approach to the collection. The descriptions are organized according to proposed major stages in the evolution of *cenote* ritual practices and offering style. As Coggins does not detail the sources for this chronology, it is not clear to what degree her stages are based upon object style, the minimal *cenote* stratigraphic evidence, or a variant of the disputed ceramic sequences for northern Yucatan. Nonetheless, the proposed stages form coherent clusterings of artifacts and an interesting framework for interpretations of both individual pieces and the overall evolution of *cenote* ritual. The catalogue descriptions themselves often go beyond standard treatment to discuss original perspectives on broader ideological themes, or the cultural and historical significance of the object. Alternative views are also considered.

The final section of the work (pp. 157-165) is a separate essay on the murals of Chichen's Temple of the Jaguars. Coggins contends that the murals form a sequence of scenes which are ordered according to the daily cycle of the sun and Venus — a metaphor for their representations of the historical struggle between the Mexican Venus-worshipping invaders and the local, more solar-oriented Maya. Coggins's

thesis is convincing, both in application to individual murals and as an assessment of their relationship.

Overall, this work is an outstanding study of a unique, contextually related, and extremely important corpus of pre-Columbian art. The excellence of visual presentations, thorough descriptions and insightful new analyses make it of interest to both general readers and specialists. These qualities also raise our expectations for the final volumes on the *cenote* materials that are now in preparation.

Micmac Lexicon
Albert D. DeBlois and Alphonse Metallic
Ottawa, Ontario: National Museum of Man Mercury Series, Canadian Ethnology
Service Paper Number 91, 1984. xvii + 392 pp. gratis (paper)

Reviewer: Lawrence F. Van Horn
National Park Service, Denver Service Center
United States Department of the Interior

This lexicon is intended for teachers, students, writers, ''and any others who may have occasion to utilize the Micmac language'' (p. vi). Micmac is the Algonquian language of the North American Indians with the same name who are located in the Gaspé Penninsula in Québec and in eastern New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island and Nova Scotia in Canada. Following a brief introduction on dialectal variation and orthography, this book is divided into Micmac-English and English-Micmac sections.

Since the written form of Micmac is still developing, one can debate in the classical sense about orthography. DeBlois and Metallic use the grave accent to mark vowel length with the indication that this is a ''far-reaching modification'' (p. vii) of Father Pacifique's seminal work (1939). On the other hand, one could use pedagogic value to double the length of Micmac vowels in a simple and elegant way.

Because DeBlois and Metallic assume familiarity with the Micmac language, they do not provide introductory remarks on grammar. By contrast, relatively recent works on the Micmac language by both Williams (1972) and Fidelholtz (1968) provide a brief grammar. Such information is indeed helpful, and would make the work of DeBlois and Metallic more valuable even if it were regarded as unnecessary by some users.

As a final point, this lexicon is missing certain double entendres that add zest and fun to the Micmac penchant for punning. Nevertheless, we must welcome this worthwhile addition to the literature on the Micmac language and look forward to new editions. Happily, DeBlois and Metallic anticipate that ''the number of entries in future editions will be expanded several fold'' (p. vi).

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           mer Institute of Linguistics (typescript).

The Canadian Sioux
James H. Howard
Raymond J. DeMallie and Douglas R. Parks, eds.
Studies in the Anthropology of North American Indians
Lincoln, Nebraska, and London, England: University of Nebraska Press, 1984. xvi +
207 pp. $15.95 (cloth)

Reviewer: Mary C. Marino
           University of Saskatchewan

This short monograph on the Sioux of Manitoba and Saskatchewan is the fruit of
two months' research in the summer of 1972, aided by contacts which the author
had established earlier and by a limited command of the Sioux language. It covers a
fair range of traditional ethnographic topics, including tribal divisions, traditional
history, warfare, economy, social life, philosophy, religion and ceremonialism, and
concludes with a brief sketch of the Canadian Sioux today. Howard died in 1982
while the manuscript was under review by the series editors. Thus, stylistic editing,
reorganization and some polishing of the English translations were carried out by
the editors. It appears that most of the verbatim material, which is extensively
presented, was collected by Howard in English. If it was not, then a clarifying com-
ment from the editors would have been helpful. Nevertheless, this publication helps
to fill a serious gap in the literature on the Siouan peoples, and is also a fitting con-
clusion to a lifetime of research and publication on Plains/Woodland ethnography
and ethnohistory.

       Although Howard's purpose was to contribute descriptive material to the eth-
nography and ethnohistory of the Sioux since the beginning of their settlement in
Canada in the mid-1860s, his book falls short of the contribution it might have made
in both of these areas. For one thing, there is a lack of sensitivity to the chronologi-
cal framework. Informants' statements and anecdotes are sometimes provided with
dates (it is not always clear whether these are Howard's or the editors'), and are
sometimes presented in a context which casts them in the "ethnographic present."
When describing customs in the indefinite past ("once," "a few years back," etc.)
and when telling anecdotes, informants generally use the narrative present. The
effect of this is to make it quite difficult to tell what was actually surviving in a vital

form in 1972, what existed only in memory, or when customs had fallen into disuse. This difficulty is pervasive in the sections on religion, philosophy and ceremonialism which occupy almost half of the book, and is also apparent in other sections (especially the section on warfare; see Kiyewakan's story of a Sioux raiding party, pp. 55-58) where attention to dates would have made this material much more serviceable to the ethnohistorian. Howard's informants, many of them known to this reviewer, were and are by no means insensitive to exact chronology. One would like to know what questions Howard asked them.

All but three of Howard's informants were over 60. He would have gained a different impression of the survival of the kinship system if he had consulted some younger people. Instead, he concluded that the system had survived without signs of breakdown (p. 85). Although many of the Sioux who were under 30 at the time of Howard's fieldwork, including those who were fluent speakers of the language, did not use or understand the full range of kinship terminology, Howard concluded that the kinship system had survived intact. In fact, English kin terms were and are now commonly employed while speaking Dakota, and insight into the structure of the old kinship system is generally absent among young adults.

This book will probably be most useful to those in search of information about specific culture traits and patterns of the Canadian Sioux. In this regard, the information that Howard presents is detailed and interestingly nuanced. The sections on technology and crafts are particularly recommended.

**The Community Apart: A Case Study of a Canadian Indian
Reserve Community**
Yngve Georg Lithman
Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 1984. vi + 186 pp. $20.00 (cloth), $6.95 (paper)

Reviewer: David H. Stymeist
University of Manitoba

Lithman's monograph on Fort Alexander was originally published in 1978 in the Stockholm Studies in Anthropology and has recently been reissued by the University of Manitoba Press. Unfortunately, only minor, cosmetic changes have been made in the text, the most obvious of these being the adoption of the pseudonym, Maple River, for the southern Manitoba reserve where Lithman worked between 1971 and 1974. Although Lithman's fieldwork is good, much of his book has the raw, unpolished feel of a thesis draft, and many sections are unnecessarily laboured. The introduction is far too long and complex to be easily assimilated, and his chapter on inter-ethnic interaction is marred by the construction of a cumbersome framework that is somewhat awkwardly imposed on observational data. However, these chapters contain descriptions of patterns of geographical mobility and parameters of employment in bush and mill operations that are most informative and valuable.

In Dunning's (1964) terminology, Fort Alexander is a "southern, type B" reserve which is presently characterized by a high rate of unemployment and a considerable reliance on transfer payments. Established early as a significant trading post, Fort Alexander became a reserve in 1871. Under the tutelage of the Indian

Affairs Branch (IAB), its inhabitants quickly and successfully geared their economy
to agriculture. Later, agricultural expansion was curtailed by the IAB for reasons
Lithman does not explore, and farming and livestock raising were abandoned during
World War II and the immediate postwar years. This was followed by a period of
seasonal wage labour, but the progressive mechanization of agriculture and forestry
left most reserve job-seekers unemployed for long periods of time, and the commu-
nity lagged seriously behind the surrounding non-native settlements.

The most recent period of Fort Alexander's history is the local government
period, which began in the late 1960s with the initiation of a number of vocational
programs and a massive influx of federal funds. Gradually, the administration of
these programs and funds came under the control of the Chief and Band Council. It
is in the analysis of local politics in this setting that Lithman's work finds its own
ground. Transfer payments are regarded as a right, ". . . as compensations for the
injustices which have befallen, and befall, all Indians" (p. 161). However, the distri-
bution of these payments is subject to considerations other than those of need. Local
politics is the fluid area of "bunches" who vie defensively with each other for an
equitable distribution of common resources. Although at any particular point in time
the community may appear to be rife with factional disputes, Lithman's discussion
of the 1972 North Shore School controversy illustrates that a coalescence of forces
can occur and that effective bargaining with external agencies can also take place.

Although there are many tantalizing aspects to Lithman's book, it lacks a cer-
tain precision and focus. One might wish that Lithman had reworked much of his
material, that he had more carefully delineated his interest in local-level politics, and
that his book were more easily accessible to the nonspecialist. Nevertheless, this
volume is a unique and valuable documentation of the social structure of a Canadian
Indian reserve, and an important contribution to Canadian native studies.

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Canadian Inuit Literature: The Development of a Tradition
Robin McGrath
Ottawa, Ontario: National Museum of Man Mercury Series, Canadian Ethnology
Service Paper Number 94, 1984. x + 230 pp. gratis (paper)

Reviewer: John Matthiasson
            University of Manitoba

When a volume on Inuit literature written by the Inuit themselves can be published,
the Inuit have truly made the transition from the "Stone Age" to the "Electronic
Age." In setting out to write this monograph, Robin McGrath assumed a large task.
Originally produced as a thesis, the volume surveys nothing less than all of Cana-
dian and Greenlandic Inuit literature from the earliest recording of oral traditions to
the contemporary production of autobiographies, novels, and political treatises. The
library research which went into this volume must have been staggering.

McGrath begins with a review of European contact with the Inuit, and then separates poetry and prose traditions, examining each in terms of oral and later written forms. The conclusion is a thematic analysis of contemporary forms of Inuit writing. Nothing is revealed about McGrath's professional background, and it is difficult to determine from the text if this background is anthropological or literary. Each section is replete with quotations, with analysis running throughout the text. There is considerable discussion of the difficulties of translating Inuktitut materials, as well as appropriate criticism of many past attempts at translation. The appendices include a 46-page bibliography, an illustrated list of Inuit periodicals and examples of different attempts to transcribe Inuktitut, including syllabics.

Inuit traditional poetry has long been recognized as having literary merit, and quotations from song duel verse collected by Rasmussen have been included verbatim in many anthropology texts because of their poetic potency. One might raise the hoary question, often used in discussions of "primitive art," as to whether materials created for utilitarian purposes can also be treated as artistic products. But McGrath regards traditional Inuit oral traditions, such as the duel songs used in legal disputes, as poetry, and the examples used make it difficult to disagree. Indeed, virtually all Inuit oral and/or written products are handled in this work as if they were true literature. Although much of McGrath's analysis is appropriately literary in perspective, other perspectives might also have been used. Inuit literature can be a rich lode of data for the psychological anthropologist interested in Inuit cognition and a variety of other topics, or for a person interested in analyzing native perceptions of rapid cultural change. To some extent, McGrath engages in the latter exercise, and the bibliography in this volume can be used for numerous projects in the future.

The Inuit have been idealized in Canadian society, and there is some of this in McGrath's monograph. One almost gets the feeling that literary talent is a normal attribute of the average Inuit, just as many writers have assumed that Inuit are inherently artistic. It is certainly amazing to see how many Inuit have turned their hands to writing, and how quickly they have accepted and mastered this form of expression. Two decades ago, two young Inuit males visited me in upstate New York. Both were employed in Ottawa on the "new orthography" project, and soon after their visit, one of them published a poem in the magazine *North* describing their trip.

There is another reason for this anecdote: it reveals the extent to which government employment, government grants, and civil servant encouragement of contemporary Inuit writers have shaped the form and content of contemporary Inuit writing. Whether territorial or federal, the impact of governmental agencies on the Inuit has been dramatic and has influenced all aspects of their lives. Without these influences, and without government control of school curricula, contemporary Inuit writing may have taken different courses, and perhaps might have been more conventionally literary. Of course, we shall never know.

By writing this monograph, McGrath has become established as *the* expert on Canadian Inuit literature. Hopefully, this work will generate further interest and explorations by others in such a fascinating new field. This is an excellent benchmark with which to begin. I have only two minor quibbles with the text. The first of these is that the language of the Inuit is sometimes called *Inuktitut*, and at other times *Eskimo*, and although the title of this work uses Inuit, the people themselves are referred to back and forth as Inuit and Eskimo. In both cases, the former would have been preferable. The second point is that in at least two places in this mono-

graph, and most blatantly on page 94, McGrath claims that the Inuit had no political institutions. By contrast, there is considerable recent literature in anthropology which refutes the image of primitive communism and complete egalitarianism for the Inuit. However, since not all experts agree on this question, and since there are references in the monograph to the leadership positions held by shamans, perhaps McGrath should not be too severely faulted.

This is an extremely important publication, and the editors of the National Museum of Man Mercury Series should be commended for publishing it. Because Diamond Jenness preserved some of the finest recorded examples of traditional Inuit oral literature for future generations, it is also fitting that this has been designated as a Diamond Jenness Memorial Volume.

The Boston School Integration Dispute: Social Change and Legal Maneuvers
J. Brian Sheehan
New York: Columbia University Press, 1984. xv + 292 pp. $30.00 (cloth), $12.00 (paper)

Reviewer: Jacquetta Hill
           University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign

This book depicts the workings of the North American class structure through the turmoil of Boston school integration in the 1970s. J. Brian Sheehan is an Australian legal specialist and social anthropologist who argues that Boston's ruling class used public school integration to maintain its control and hegemony when class conflicts threatened to arise out of the transformation of Boston from an industrial and manufacturing centre to a service and financial centre. However, the blue-collar worker elements and the poverty and "pariah" populations of Boston never got together. Instead, they were prevented from achieving class consciousness and were manipulated into divisive ethnic and racial conflict as a new middle-class population expanded into post-World War Two Boston and entered the "new material forces of production" in high-technology service and financial enterprises. Boston's power élite — the Cabots, the Lowells and others who had risen out of a protestant Yankee background — protected their oligarchic investment in urban real estate by manipulating urban renewal to make way for an expanding middle class. They also manipulated the school integration dispute to restructure the education system to train labour for new kinds of businesses resulting from post-World War Two technological changes.

However, shrewd investment in the latest technologies is not sufficient to retain élite class status; this has to be maintained through control of law. Sheehan's special contribution in this book rests on his documentation of how "Boston Brahmins" and a "business élite" retained control of the city through law while relinquishing metropolitan political control to the Irish. The Boston Brahmins moved into the state house and legislature, as well as into federal governmental seats of power. Then, through some remarkable legal arrangements, they oversaw and controlled Boston's legal and financial affairs from afar.

Sheehan's conceptual claims are documented in an extraordinary compilation of information from legal and agency documents, newspaper files, interviews with

some of the principals, attendance at court hearings and selected agency meetings, and participant observation in the Boston neighbourhood where he lived from November 1977 to September 1978. These sources are woven into six topical chapters which are sandwiched between a ten-page introduction — including reviews of the literature, of theory and of methodology — and an eight-page conclusion. Unfortunately, no diagrams, charts or tables of user-friendly graphics, lists or frequencies help pull the reader above the surface of the flow of public events, court orders, meetings, elections, public statements and counter-statements. This is not a comparative study but a case study framed by brief statements of theory.

Has Sheehan succeeded in developing a strong case which warrants the claims of his theory? Although the sheer volume of his chronicle is persuasive, there is little analytical linkage between the theory and the specifics of the account, and the fit is not as self-evident as he seems to assume. It is as if the publisher and the publisher's readers let a very fine manuscript slip through to publication with a missing chapter. Nonetheless, the corpus of the book is so rich and the account so well-balanced that enterprising instructors will find that it offers students a sterling chance to write up their own synthetic analysis and present the "missing" parts. This is a substantial volume, an admirable case study, and well worth having for its strengths.

CONTRIBUTORS/COLLABORATEURS

Peter Carstens

Peter Carstens is a Professor of Anthropology at the University of Toronto in Toronto, Canada. He was educated at the University of Cape Town in South Africa, where he received his Ph.D. and was a Lecturer in Social Anthropology from 1957-1964. After receiving a Koerner Foundation Fellowship from the University of British Columbia, he visited Canada in 1962-1963. In 1965, he emigrated to Canada and became a Canadian citizen. He has conducted field research among the Khoi and Basters (Métis) in South Africa and Namibia, and has worked for many years with Okanagan Indian people in the province of British Columbia, Canada. He is the author of *The Social Structure of a Cape Coloured Reserve,* first published by Oxford University Press in 1966. A number of shorter works have appeared in academic journals and as contributions to books. In 1985, he published the edited works of the first trained woman social anthropologist to carry out fieldwork in Africa, *The Social Organization of the Nama and Other Essays* by Winifred Hoernlé (Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press). He has also co-edited Mrs. Hoernlé's field diaries, and is currently working on a book about Okanagan Indians.

Alexander Ervin

Alexander Ervin is an Associate Professor in the Department of Anthropology and Archaeology at the University of Saskatchewan in Saskatoon, Saskatchewan, Canada. He was educated at the University of Toronto in Canada and the University of Illinois in the United States, where he received his Ph.D. He also did postdoctoral work in the Program in Medical Anthropology at the University of California, San Francisco in the United States. He has conducted research in Alaska in the United States, and in the Northwest Territories and the province of Saskatchewan in Canada on such topics as Indian and Inuit urbanization and politicization, modern farming communities, and refugee resettlement. His current research interests concern applied and medical anthropology.

Lise C. Hansen

Lise C. Hansen is an Indian Land Claims Researcher with the Ontario Ministry of Natural Resources in Toronto, Canada. She was born and reared in Thunder Bay, Ontario, Canada, and received her education at Lakehead University, the University of Manitoba, and the University of Toronto in Canada, where she received her Ph.D. Her research interests include ethnic commu-

nity organization and native reserve community organization and development in the province of Ontario. She is currently researching the ethnohistory of treaty negotiations and Indian land claims in Ontario.

Shuichi Nagata

Shuichi Nagata is a Professor of Anthropology at the University of Toronto in Toronto, Canada. He was born in Tokyo and studied physical anthropology at the University of Tokyo, as well as social anthropology at Tokyo Metropolitan University and the University of Illinois in the United States, where he received his Ph.D. He has carried out fieldwork in Japanese villages, in Moenkopi Pueblo in Hopiland, Arizona in the United States, among peasant fishermen and the Orang Asli of Peninsular Malaysia, and in Oo-ze-we-kwun, Manitoba, Canada. He has also participated in archaeological excavations in Arizona and Illinois in the United States. His publications include *Modern Transformations of Moenkopi Pueblo* (1970).

Patricia K. Sawchuk

Patricia K. Sawchuk is a researcher with the Nishnawbe-Aski Nation in Toronto, Canada. She was born in New York City and received her education at Hunter College of the City University of New York in the United States and at the University of Manitoba and the University of Toronto in Canada. She has conducted research with the Manitoba Indian Brotherhood in the province of Manitoba, and with the Métis Association of Alberta in Edmonton, Alberta, where she was Assistant Director of Land Claims Research for three years.

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1985a; Roy 1895:42-44; see also Smith et al. 1980). If an author is mentioned in the text of an article, it is sufficient to cite the date of publication and page number(s); for example (1966) or (1985:249).

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    1979   Challenging Anthropology: A Critical Introduction to Social and Cultural Anthropology. Toronto, Ontario: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, Limited.

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