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SPECIALIZATION AMONG THE NORTHERN OJIBWA
A PARADIGMATIC PROCESS

by

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

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INTRODUCTION

This thesis is concerned with the Northern Ojibwa as a whole, in which the Bloodvein River will serve as a representative community. The Bloodvein community, then, will not be treated as geographically confined by the territory known as "the reserve", with its accompanying traplines. Nor will it exclude non-native individuals, who are either resident or those non-resident individuals who have become a part of the community's social alignments.

Northern Ojibwa communities with which the author is well acquainted through numerous personal visits, a few of them extended, are Bloodvein River, Pauingassi, Little Grand Rapids, Hole River and Island Lake, all of which are located east of Lake Winnipeg.

Also under consideration, mainly for purposes of comparison, are the Berens River, Round Lake and Pekangikum communities which have been described by A. I. Hallowell (1942), E. S. Rogers (1962) and R. W. Dunning (1959a) respectively.

The supposed danger for anthropology to become unacademic as a result of applying its categories to existing problems will be ignored here. To run the risk of diluting the discipline seems certainly to be no greater than to live with the reputation that anthropologists are interested mainly in embalming the pristine past. Using insights for purposes of easing human tensions in the difficult processes of cultural change is here regarded as a valid function of anthropologists.

The presupposition that value free investigations exist, is in the first place questionable. Consequently there is no attempt here to mask the biases of this investigation. It is assumed that my own bias is one that is justified in the light of the acknowledged concern for the Indian people whose current struggle is so severe that it threatens their continued existence as a people.

The observations are recorded from a stance of emotional and vocational bias in favor of providing a helpful appraisal of the current cultural throes in which the Indian people find themselves.

The findings of this research appear to point in the direction of a somewhat theoretical, yet empirically verifiable thesis, that continuing specialization for Northern Ojibwa communities represents a threat to their solidarity. It may well be a question whether potential developments of specialization forecast such a socially disruptive force that the community, sensing its impact, will waive the benefits of specialization in favor of retaining traditional solidarity. Thus, without competition from the Indian community, the non-Indians assume their specialized roles without serious reactions from the native members in the community.

Where there is specialization among the Indians, there is intensive interest and involvement in selected aspects of activities to the exclusion of other activities. Assuming, however, that cultivation of the entire range of activities is necessary to make the sustenance of that group viable, it then seems clear that some structure must exist in order to co-ordinate, that is, to link all activities together to prevent disruptive fragmentation.[2]

The present Northern Ojibwa community appears to be faced with the inevitable need of developing both the structures of specialization and a competitive set of solidarity structures in order to exist.

The specialist's activity, functionally indispensible as it is, seldom contributes to the construction and/or retention of the old social network that keeps the community intact. And that is so because the specialist of necessity focuses on a narrow scope of interest and activity. In contrast, the solidarity is retained by those individuals whose interest and concern in one form or another embraces all aspects with the community.

Throughout my formal studies I could not escape the fact that there are mounting problems of adjustments and resulting conflict which are pressing for attention. Rather than ignoring or rejecting them, it is in adaptive response to an acute set of prevailing problems that this study is directed. Should anthropological studies aid students of human behaviour to become more knowledgeable in forecasting future development, then that acumen is regarded as a success. It is hoped that this study will contribute to an increased sensitivity and openness required for greater refinement in ethno-historical studies.

The observer in an Indian reserve situation is put under special stress because visiting or resident "whites" have a long standing reputation of being dominators. "Whites" present in the community are typically prestigious individuals, that is, they are at the top of an authority hierarchy.[3] This tradition itself seriously hampers the "neutrality" of the observer. Always he is forced by the community to make decisions or at least offer opinions, a hazard for any observer.

Despite my own congenial relationship to the Bloodvein River people, I remain aware that the information received from the people must be tested against the possibility of being given to me to satisfy me as a "white" inquirer rather than to accurately describe events and ideas as they are understood by the Northern Ojibwa. The following chapters, then, are a preliminary attempt to understand a single facet of acculturation processes--the development of specialization.

CHAPTER I

THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVE

The Paradigmatic Process

While human groups are probably more easily studied as if in a static state, that is, in terms of what they were prior to obvious acculturation, it seems more essential to this observer to study their culture in terms of what they have become and are becoming. The emphasis, then, will be on the process of cultural change.

In order to facilitate an analysis of cultural change among the Northern Ojibwa, I propose to employ a methodology used in the realm of physical sciences by Thomas S. Kuhn (1962). Kuhn has demonstrated that normal science functions via an unchanging paradigm which governs the work of its investigators until the paradigm itself undergoes a revolution. The explicit theories, rules and assumptions underlying the paradigm are demonstrated to rest with a specific relevant community which is regarded by Kuhn as the "assenting body". In the case of the physical sciences he is pointing to the community of scientists.

My proposal to employ Kuhn's paradigm as a model for culture change was undergirded by the recent paper of Anthony Wallace (1972), who suggests the paradigmatic process as a model for analysis of acculturation processes. He proposes (1972:469) that the notion of a paradigm is not only useful for scholarship, but is in fact operative within human groups per se. In the case of religion Wallace proposes

that it is the prophets of a revitalization movement who begin to lay down a new paradigm. Wallace points to the work of Alfred Kroeber who emphasized the importance of configurations among human cultures.

Further encouragement for the use of the paradigm model came from a proposal by Rushton Colbourn who suggests that the Kuhnian paradigm be employed for purposes of studies in comparative history (Colbourn 1969:175-178).

Besides the similarity of the paradigm to the notion of configuration employed by Kroeber and made more explicit by Ruth Benedict's Patterns of Culture (1934), its useage is also apparent as a concept by subsequent anthropologists, though in different terminology. Ralph Beals is in effect commenting on the relevance of an "assenting body". Beals asserted, although without demonstration, that "the only kinds of introduced changes that become effectively incorporated into a culture, are those that have the support of the people themselves" (1967:229). In his conclusion of the religious acculturation studies among the Yaqui, Edward Spicer, who seems otherwise committed to the notion of cultural fusion or synchretism, comments:

> "However, a complete explanation of the nature of the fusion would depend on further analysis of the situation in terms of the configuration of the Yaqui religious system...as compared with the configuration of the Catholic system" (Spicer 1958:440).

Spicer's idea of religious configuration may well approximate a religious paradigm, even though the restriction of the paradigm to religion bears further examination.

Irwin Press, following Nadel's "constancies of behaviour" concept (Nadel 1957:21), coins his own term "role configuration" (Press 1969:213) to illustrate the paradigmatic process of cultural change.

According to Press, the paradigmatic change is dependent upon innovative action of "culture brokers" who straddle two cultures, the culture in which the culture broker was socialized, the other in which he becomes active. But to be a broker, he must receive at least minimal assent to become innovative, a factor that Talcott Parsons has termed a "mandate" (Parsons 1961:230). If he does not gain this permission to innovate he will be regarded as an intruder (Press 1969:205).

Eleanor Leacock, in providing a theoretical framework for her analysis of band organization, suggests that, "from an evolutionary point of view, social development does not simply involve a series of accumulative changes. Instead, there is the point at which a real transformation is effected, and something qualitatively different has developed" (Leacock 1969:3).

The point that requires emphasis is that cultural change does not appear to come about with the introduction of isolated components, but occurs, if it does, by the replacement of a class of components--a paradigm.

Kuhn has not restricted the useage or the operativeness of the paradigm to an academic community. He himself makes reference to the presence of paradigms within language (Kuhn 1962:23) and language indeed is a form of human behaviour. There is evidence, then, that the notion of a paradigm is typical of behaviour generally, even for the non-scientific community.

Specifically it will be contended here that shared paradigms exist with members of any human group. To the package of the paradigm belong not only random features, but a class of components, which are highly ordered. To extract or replace one of those components threatens

the cohesion of the class. It tends to fracture the paradigm. Any innovations or the threat of innovation induces a crisis. It will be contended further, that significant cultural changes occur not via the innovation of individual components, but whenever the behavioural paradigm is revolutionized. Paradigmatic revolution will occur only at the point where there is a cultural deadlock between traditional and encroaching cultures. The psychologically oriented notions of cultural cohesiveness propounded by Kroeber, Benedict, Linton and Wallace require a further inquiry to demonstrate whether or not the components of the paradigm do in fact have empirical referents.

The conceptual framework adhered to will hold constant the notion of the ethnos in the sense that Frederick Barth holds the ethnic group as constant (Barth 1969). I will try to demonstrate the operativeness of ethnicity of the Ojibwa people through the drastic clash of modernization. That humans behave with reference to a given body(s) of people to which they adhere in one form or the other, will be regarded as a fixed principle. Specifically, then, the innovation of specialization within such a limited body is dependent on the assent of the relevant community which is immediately influenced by the innovation. In this case that relevant body is represented by the Northern Ojibwa.

Specialization

The term specialization will not be treated as though it were a universally applicable criterion. Rather it will be employed relatively. Specialization will mean specialization with reference to the occupational, territorial, temporal and behavioural differentiation that is apparent in the social organization of the encompassing society.

References to minimal specializations observed among the Northern Ojibwa will therefore not accommodate such culturally relevant specializations as their intimate knowledge and detailed differentiation of floral and faunal types.[4]

An argument may even be advanced for the aboriginal hunting and gathering economy as a highly specialized form of subsistence--specialized to the maximum, given the level of technology. With the introduction of European technology, ideology and, not to forget, persons who did the innovating, the very basis of native Northern Ojibwa specialization was fractured, and a new type of specialization based on a new kind of economy was innovated.

Specialization will be examined in terms of the authority system and occupational roles. Less attention will be given to territorial specialization. Some incomplete references will be made to specializations in time, technology, ideology and behavioural form to demonstrate the composite nature of the behavioural paradigm.

The innovator of culture change, usually a representative of a dominant culture, is the "marginal man" or "culture broker". R. W. Dunning, following Park (1928), Stonequist (1937) and Green (1947), has employed this concept of the marginal man in his analysis of the Northern Ojibwa (1959b). The culture broker operates between two cultures having, so to say, membership in both. As such he has a double orientation. Among the Northern Ojibwa he is on the one hand parochially-ethnically oriented; on the other, nationally oriented.

From the point of view of the cultural group experiencing the innovation, the culture broker is an outsider who has gained an entre in their midst. Despite his prestigious status, the culture broker is

a "straddling individual", who "circumvents traditional behavioural expectations and achieves mobility or dual identity in the face of structural rigidity" (Press 1969:207). Always the culture broker's behaviour is fluctuating between marginality and deviancy. Living in two "worlds", as he does, he cannot ever lose his commitment to either one. He has two assenting bodies to affirm his actions. If his orientation becomes weighted overwhelmingly in one direction, he is rejected by the other. Highly specialized brokers among the Northern Ojibwa, who failed to discover means of gaining local assent for their specialized roles, became "top heavy" models for potential Northern Ojibwa behaviour, thereby creating a type of cultural deadlock. The meeting of the dominant and the subordinate cultures represented by the culture broker was frequently, if not always, the basis of such deadlock.

But the modern, sedentary, much enlarged and increasingly specialized reserve community is no longer an autonomous human group. Its political, economic and ideological structures are increasingly becoming interlocked with those of the encompassing industrialized society. Emile Durkheim's (1932, 1947:260) more general "law" of cultural evolution, stating that, "the division of labour varies in direct ratio with the volume and density of societies", appears to be validated by the current acculturation processes of the Northern Ojibwa. His category, "division of labour", however, requires a more generalized interpretation. For purposes of this study, Marion Levy's broader concept "role differentiation" (Levy 1952:299ff) is more applicable, and references to specialization shall denote that wider concept.

Increasing specialization of roles among the Northern Ojibwa

will be treated in three categories:

1. Minimal specialization represents the kind of specialization wherein the primary economic activity is linked with the immediate environment, that is, fishing and trapping. Persons holding minimally specialized roles are "core" members of the Northern Ojibwa, are selected and their roles sustained by the native assenting body.
2. Semi-specialized roles are those created within secondary economic structures. Holders of these roles do not directly convert natural resources into consumption commodities. The store clerk, firetower attendant, carpenter, janitor and chief are examples of individuals holding semi-specialized roles. These are introduced by whites and made possible by a) the sedentary condition and by b) the presence of "surplus" local personnel. The criterion for selecting the personnel is in part non-native and the sustenance of these roles requires the assent of native as well as non-native bodies.
3. Maximum specialization of roles are held almost exclusively by outsiders. These are usually "whites". Doctors, teachers, clergy, nurses, and superintendents are prominent examples. They are sustained economically and ideologically by an outside assenting body. Personnel is selected on non-familistic criteria (Levy 1952:279). Their function and presence requires only minimal assent from the local community.

CHAPTER II

BLOODVEIN RIVER: A COMMUNITY OF THE NORTHERN OJIBWA

Topography

Among the many streams and rivers that empty into Lake Winnipeg, is the miskowisiipi, "blood river", now Bloodvein River. From its source near the Ontario border, the red-coloured Bloodvein makes its way westward through rocky terrain of the Laurentian Shield. Along its course of approximately two hundred miles, about seventy-five rapids require portaging for canoe travellers. Located at the mouth of the Bloodvein River is the Northern Ojibwa community known by legal description as Bloodvein Band--09, Agency 571, Clandeboye; Fisher River District.

The Northern Ojibwa are distinguishable from three other closely related Ojibwa groupings. The Plains Ojibwa, or Bungi (Skinner 1911, 1914, Howard 1965) reside west of the Laurentian Shield, that is, in the open territories where bison hunting became the chief source of livelihood. Settlements of the Plains Ojibwa are found in southwestern Manitoba, then scatter westward through Saskatchewan. One very isolated community is located as far west as Fort St. John, British Columbia. The southwest Chippewa, whose northerly boundary is contiguous with the Northern Ojibwa approximately at the Rainy River, have been described by Hickerson (1962). The eastern Ojibwa have been so designated by Leonard Bloomfield (1959), who wrote the grammar for that region with the aid of

an informant from Walpole Island, Ontario.

The general area presently inhabited by the Northern Ojibwa lies east of Lake Winnipeg. The community in Manitoba lying farthest to the west is Poplar River, and to the north is Island Lake (Hallowell 1938, Wolfart 1971). Areas beyond the northern boundaries are inhabited by the Cree. The southern boundary is formed by the Rainy River.[5] R. W. Dunning extends the eastern boundary all the way to the Ottawa River (1959a).

Cultural descriptions that undergird arguments for the distinctions of groups from each other are based on organizational and settlement variations, natural environmental boundaries and minimal dialectic differences (Wiebe 1969). There are no environmental boundaries within the region inhabited by the Northern Ojibwa.

The physiographic features of the Northern Ojibwa region are typically that of the southwestern border of the Laurentian Shield. The terrain shows numerous outcroppings of glacially rounded granite, the pattern of the glacial movement consistently showing a northwest to southeast action. The inland area to the east is interlaced with numerous small lakes and streams which form part of the Bloodvein River system. Much of the area is low muskeg.

A meagre layer of gray clay soil supports the vegetation between the rock outcroppings. The forest environment consists of black and white spruce, balsam, some jack pine, poplar, birch, some oak and a variety of shrubs. The summer landscape is rich with a variety of berries. The scattered patches of soil are extremely difficult to work but where drainage occurs, and if the soil is worked, it will produce some vegetables.[6] Hunted animals include moose, deer, rabbit, beaver, bear,

muskrat and fox. Moose provides the largest and most desirable meat source. Canada geese and mallards are the favourite birds. Sturgeon, catfish, pickerel, northern pike, saugers, whitefish, tulibees and suckers belong to the fish taken from the river with gill nets.

Transportation and Communication

The Bloodvein River is navigable by canoe and small outboard motor. As such it provides access to the inland community of Little Grand Rapids and as far east as Red Lake, Ontario. Only on very rare occasions, however, have these trips been made in recent times. Via Lake Winnipeg, the Bloodvein people have access to settlements surrounding the lake. Two Northern Ojibwa communities, Hole River, forty miles south, and Berens River, fifty miles north, are occasionally visited by families travelling in outboard-driven yawls. There are three small Metis communities: Rabbit Point, a fish-processing center, seven miles to the north; Matheson Island, twelve miles west and across the hazardous Lake Winnipeg "Narrows"; and Pine Dock, twenty miles to the south.

Access to the outside world is relatively limited, however. The isolation is sustained due to the absence of roads to connect the community with the nearest highways and other settlements. Crossing the twelve-mile span across the Narrows (also called the Channel) by boat is hazardous because of the prominent northwest winds and sudden summer squalls. Travel across the Channel during the winter season is similarly hazardous because of the frequent ice and blizzard conditions. West of the Narrows is the government dock known as "the end of the road". That point is connected by a grit highway with Riverton, the

nearest town sixty-five miles south.

Outboard motors are usually not larger than thirty-three horsepower. Power toboggans are in popular use for fishing, trapping and transportation in general. Both innovations have greatly enhanced transportation possibilities. Unscheduled airplane service provides emergency trips to Pine Falls and Winnipeg. Supplies for both stores are also flown in. One store is supplied by Selkirk Air Service based in Selkirk, the other by Silver Pines Air Service based at Pine Falls, Manitoba. The community has one two-way radio which is hooked up with the Manitoba Telephone System. It is located in the chief's house. Other private two-way radios with specified frequencies are located on the forestry tower, the nursing station and in the residence of the Mennonite minister.

Climate

The climatic descriptions for the nearby community of Berens River were made by Hallowell as follows:

"The average annual temperatures range between seventy-six degrees and a minimum of twenty-one degrees below zero for an annual mean of thirty-one degrees" (Hallowell 1955:21). No comprehensive temperatures have been recorded at Bloodvein River, but Hallowell's figures do not reflect sufficient extremity in temperature ranges. Summer temperatures are known to have ranged above ninety degrees and winter temperatures have dropped as low as fifty degrees below zero. The Bloodvein River and Lake Winnipeg are frozen over for six months of the year; that is, between the middle of November and the middle of May. There is some variation in the time when "freeze-up" and "break-up" occur.

According to Hallowell, the average snowfall for Berens River is 47.4 inches per year (Hallowell 1955:121).

History of the Band

Since the Lake Winnipeg area was among the last regions of Canada to be explored, very little is known about Indian peoples immediately east of Lake Winnipeg prior to 1750. Data about preOjibwa habitation is at best fragmentary. At least two rock paintings within ten miles of the mouth of the Bloodvein River indicate the inhabitations of boreal moose hunters as early as 1000 A.D. (Steinbring and Elias 1968). Unclassified surface finds of projectile points, other stone tools, and pottery gathered on the eastern shoreline of Lake Winnipeg just north of Bloodvein River suggest a possible 3000 B.P. habitation. Older members of Bloodvein River and the inland community of Little Grand Rapids talk about the powanak, "Sioux" who are said to have been in the area to the southeast mewisha, "a long time ago". The presence of Sioux in the southeastern area of Manitoba is noted by Skinner (1911).

Historical data gathered by Hickerson, including earlier records of traders and missionaries, points to a northwest movement of the Ojibwa during the last part of the eighteenth and early part of the nineteenth century. Observations of the Ojibwa are first recorded by the Jesuit, Claude Dablon, at Sault Ste. Marie in 1670 (J.R. 54:133-135). It is generally held that Sault Ste. Marie represents somewhat of a pivotal point from which the various sub-groupings of Ojibwa peoples dispersed. The Northern Ojibwa pushed their way northeast displacing the Cree who surrounded the Hudsons Bay area and regions east of Lake Winnipeg

(Hallowell 1955:114-115). Hallowell documents the arrival of Alexander Henry at the mouth of Winnipeg River. Henry found a Cree village there in 1775 (Hallowell 1955:115).

There are at least several synonyms for the term "Ojibwa". The name "Saulteaux" is the most frequently employed, particularly by A. I. Hallowell, who uses it almost exclusively. The Bloodvein River people do not usually employ the term Ojibwa or Saulteaux in self-reference. Instead they use the term anishinaabek, "the people". Other Northern Ojibwa peoples are known as fellow anishinaabek, but Crees are maskegowak, "muskeg people". Members of the Rabbit Point, Matheson Island and Pine Dock Metis communities are decidedly not anishinaabek either. Recognized as fellow anishinaabek are the bands from Hole River, Little Grand Rapids and Fort Alexander, which also can be classified ethically as Northern Ojibwa.

When treaty No. 3 was signed in 1873, there was no permanent settlement at the mouth of the Bloodvein River. According to the older members of the Bloodvein community, the people were scattered a short distance along the east shores of Lake Winnipeg in the vicinity of East Doghead, a fishing area lying seven miles to the southwest. The former community of East Doghead was regarded as a band during the early 1900's. Frederick Leach, a lay priest of the Roman Catholic church who spent a total of fifty years as a teacher among the Northern Ojibwa, mostly at Bloodvein River, notes in his autobiography that the first chief at Bloodvein River was elected in 1924 or 1925. Leach himself entered that community as its original teacher in 1920 (Leach 1971:16).

George Barker, former chief of the nearby Hole River reserve, originally resided in the Bloodvein area. Barker has written an

information filled autobiography entitled "Life Story of Mr. George Barker" (unpublished). Barker, who was born in 1896 at East Doghead, recalls moving up the Bloodvein River to spend the winter there since the supply of fish and rabbits was good (Barker undated:2). Commenting on the year 1903, Barker points out that "we had no chief on the reserve at that time. There was only one councillor for the whole reserve by the name of John Young" (Barker undated:2). When Leach arrived at Bloodvein River, he was unable to procure public aid from the government to open the new school. The government aid for the construction of the building was unavailable, because, according to the government's rationale, the Indians left for the bush for the winter.

Amateur historian, David Adrian, who spent the summer of 1966 at Bloodvein River, collected the following information of Bloodvein's original inhabitants:

> "Involved in this group of seven according to reports, were only two families. This was firmly asserted in the face of the fact that at least five different names were involved. Three Swift sisters, whose husbands died, Donald Stomach, John Skye, the father of Henry Benson and the father of George Turtle, were they whom fate had spared to build the reservation. The Swift sisters eventually remarried. Donald Stomach changed his name to Green and became the ancestor of most of the Greens on the reservation today. These include the four sons of Joe Norbert, Gabriel Philip and Fred, who is the present chief. John Skye, now John Young, is the ancestor of all the Youngs of Bloodvein. Alex Turtle and his father George, are the descendants of the one survivor of the Turtle family, resident in Bloodvein. The only members of the Benson family in the settlement, are Robert Benson, Florence Orvis, and Mr. and Mrs. Henry Benson.
>
> This accounts for a good part of the population today. Other families have moved in from distant reservations. Dave Fisher, father of George, Felix and Oliver, most likely came from Fisher River, as did Johnny Crate, the father of Jacob Crate. In 1922 Alfred Cook arrived from the Selkirk reservation. John Hamilton, a Cree Indian, and the father of Harry and Harold, came from Cross Lake. From Little Grand Rapids came the Bushies, Tache Dunsford and Alex Green. This does not account for all the families of Bloodvein, but it gives a good indication of the

> origin and growth of the community. Most of the Indians who cannot trace their lineage back to the original settlement, it is said, come from Little Grand Rapids. This seems possible since some of the religious practices still being carried on there are those that were discontinued in Bloodvein around 1945" (Adrian 1966:2).

Adrian was also informed that the Hudsons Bay Company first opened a post at Bloodvein in 1905.

It seems apparent that the Bloodvein people did not exist as a settled community until the early nineteen hundreds, as the memoirs of Barker attest. According to the Department of Indian Affairs, the population for the Bloodvein band in 1917 was 74. The scattered families seemed to lack cohesive organization as they became sedentary. Hallowell (1955:120) indicated that at Berens River "leadership rested on the so-called 'medicine man', those who were reputed to have gained the most power through their dreams from super-human entities, pawaganak, "dream visitors" (1955:121). Hallowell noted further that such individuals were frequently the first 'chiefs' elected to represent the newly constituted 'bands' in their dealings with the Dominion Government" (1955:121).

Most of the people presently residing at Bloodvein River are Northern Ojibwa. Resident "whites" include a store clerk, five school teachers, a Roman Catholic priest and a Mennonite lay minister whose wife is a practical nurse. "Whites" visiting the community more or less regularly are the R.C.M.P. officers, the conservation officers, the Indian agent, the school superintendent and a health supervisor.

The present Bloodvein population is 5.22 times that of 1917. A steady increase continues. In 1959 the population was 202. The band list of July 1972 shows a population of 386. These figures show that

population almost doubled within thirteen years.[7] The average number of living offspring from current fruitful women over forty years of age is 8.92. In 1968, 36% of the population was nine years or younger. 64% were under twenty.

As a whole, Bloodvein's economy is sustained largely by public assistance. A substantial amount of income for several families, however, is gained from extensive fishing, trapping and harvesting of wild rice. Wage labour, when earning projects are introduced, makes up an additional share of the income. For some the food supply is regularly supplemented by some hunting, fishing and as the seasons permit, by the gathering of strawberries, raspberries, saskatoons, blueberries and mokosominim, "cranberries".

Occupations of Bloodvein people, as listed in order of importance by Jean Lagasse in 1959 were 1) fishing, 2) trapping, 3) lumbering and 4) rice harvesting (Lagasse 1959:279).

No detailed information was obtained for trapping income. However, Lagasse's study (1959b) of the east central area, including Bloodvein, showed an average annual income of $434.09 per trapper in 1956-7. Lagasse's figures covering comparative annual figures between the years 1953 to 1957 show no increase in trapping income. Typical for all trapping areas of northern Manitoba, is the annual decrease in the number of trappers per community.

In 1958, 3,628 pounds of green wild rice were harvested. The price paid to the picker was 38 cents per pound for a total value of $1,378.64 (Lagasse 1959b:74).

CHAPTER III

PRECONTACT SPECIALIZATION AMONG THE NORTHERN OJIBWA

Occupation specialization was almost but not completely absent among precontact Ojibwa. Based on minimal role differentiation, the Northern Ojibwa did uphold some individuals as specialists in medicine and hunting skills, often combining the skills with authority attributed to them.

The Social Structure

An analysis of the pattern of social alignment must precede the discussion of specialization. An ardent debate, mainly between Harold Hickerson and Victor Barnouw has waged over the discussion whether Ojibwa were atomistic or communal in their social organization. Hickerson (1962), who benefits from Leacock's study of the Montagnais (Leacock 1954), believes that the atomistic concept of the Chippewa cannot be substantiated historically. Barnouw on the other hand follows James (1954), Hallowell (1955:147) and Mead (1937:459) in a strictly atomistic interpretation, thus portraying the Northern Ojibwa as rigorous individualists (Barnouw 1950, 1961). The heated argument seems to have subsided momentarily. It would appear that the basis of the debate was colored, in part, by the disposition of the authors towards current world political trends. In addition, it might be mentioned that it is not individualism per se that is the barb in the discussion, but a particular

kind of western individualism.

The means of acquiring game among the Northern Ojibwa needs further examination in terms of relationships between ecology and social structure. Specifically, the relationship to animals hunted is relevant. Moose are hunted individually or in pairs of hunters. Since moose was a major staple food and since it can be reasonably assumed that the economic unit is reflected in the social structure, it would appear that the precontact Northern Ojibwa were indeed atomistic in their social orientation, though not as it is known in competitive capitalistic society.

The Northern Ojibwa hunters were aligned with each other as co-residential households probably consisting of several hunters and their nuclear families. The social structure was relatively simple with an absence of extensive internal differentiation. The presence of totems, however, has been adequately documented and is still evident among the modern Northern Ojibwa.[8]

Considerable dispute centers around the question of the family size among the precontact Algonquians. Should Steward be correct in asserting that the extended family as a patrilocal band is typical for the simple hunting-gathering peoples (Steward 1936), then the Northern Ojibwa and other boreal hunters may be said to fit that pattern. Service (1962) re-emphasizes the likelihood of an aboriginal patrilocal band which in collaboration with parallel bands compares to the seasonal gathering of Leacock's multi-nuclear families.

Leacock contends that the Montagnais-Naskapi were not strictly patri but matrilocal as well. Leacock (1969:1-17) estimates four types of social units, the smallest of which is the multi-nuclear family group

which inhabited one dwelling (1969:8). Communal hunting of gregarious animals among the Montagnais-Naskapi, compared with individualized hunting of solitary animals among the Northern Ojibwa, may account for the difference in residential patterns.

While there was a character of unstructured homogeneity within the precontact Northern Ojibwa, that is, there were theoretically no outsiders in the hunting group, it is out of the question to propose random behaviour. Alone during extreme conditions, when the sustenance of the group was at stake, the aged were forsaken, the infants killed and the psychologically deviant wintigos disposed of (Hodge 1913: 97, Jones 1861:69).[9] Also, the obvious factor of excluding women, (especially during pregnancy) children and the handicapped as hunters was a form of role differentiation. Raymond Firth's assertion that there was less room for specialized roles in a small scale society (Firth 1951:47) is quite apparent in traditional Ojibwa societies. Occupational roles were especially limited. It is not that such roles, for example conjuring, required less skill than say equivalent roles in modernized society. Rather, there was neither sufficient demand for full time employment in that role, nor surplus goods in economy to support the specialist. Although the conjurer was rewarded for his services, he could not live by his specialization alone.

If Julian Steward (1936) and others have proposed that the aboriginal hunters and gatherers were egalitarian in their social structure, then a description of the present state of such societies must include observations of beginnings of specializations. It is acknowledged here that a hazard exists in classifying the aboriginal Northern Ojibwa as egalitarian--the hazard of pressing the ethnographic data into a

theoretical evolutionary schema. Whatever specializations did exist, must be evaluated in terms of minimal differentiations.

Being committed to a description of process, it becomes necessary to see the aboriginal aspect of culture in its process of paradigmatic reformulation. It is precisely the process of the undifferentiated society under transition to a differentiated society that becomes the focal point of this study.

The presence of totems is of significance to the native social structure. During presedentary times the totems were logically seen as mutually separated from each other but linked through ritual practices. Since they were exogamous patrilocal bands it was necessary for these bands to congregate each summer (Hickerson 1970:44). They also shared a common body of sacred legends. Hickerson makes the further point that the Chippewa confederated at Sault Ste. Marie (1970:45). It would appear that the confederate gathering had important consequences for the social structure of the Northern Ojibwa.

Specialization of Personnel

Specialization that did occur was characterized by the affective relationship to individuals who took on the specialized roles. That is, the criterion for selecting individuals was familistic, rather than universalistic in nature (Levy 1952). Unlike the industrial-urban context in which persons are theoretically selected for positions according to their skills, the Northern Ojibwa selected them for who they were in terms of kinship alignments rather than for what they did or could do. Since the specialist's, for example, the conjurer, client was likely to be his sister-in-law or even his sibling, the particularistic criterion

was completely essential in order to retain the social cohesiveness in the group.

The conjurer, as a minimally specialized individual, manifests carefully masked authority in hunting activities. While the location of game is not a prominent feature of the conjuring ritual, it has occurred (Hallowell 1942:43). When conjuring is undertaken for the purpose of locating animals, it serves ends not dissimilar to shoulderblade divination employed by the Montagnais-Naskapi (Moore 1969). These read the cracks and spots on the charred bones to gain information on the whereabouts of animals. Scapulancy for the Montagnais-Naskapi served to project important final decisions to an impersonal mechanism, thus eliminating the clash of personal preferences within the hunting group. Divination is adaptive because hunters will often end up covering territory which has no game at all, thus preventing overkill of the very animals upon which their survival depends. At the same time, the hunting boss is "taken off the hook" because he then is not required to do the very un-Ojibwa thing of directing his hunting partners.

Location of game by conjuring, as observed by Hallowell (1942: 43) among the Saulteaux, it could be argued, is more open to the influence of personal judgement of the conjurer, though allegedly it is the visiting pawaganak, "spirit helpers" who supply the information. Thus the conjurer, as a quasi leader, appeals to the pawaganak whose authority cannot be overruled, while he himself is spared from being elevated up and away from the status of the other members of the community.

The fact that each hunting group must have had at least one conjurer (Hallowell 1942:28) suggests that even the minimal degree of

specialization indicated by the separate function of the conjurer seems inevitable for the existence of any human group.

The Algonquian Feast of the Dead is a further religious institution practiced by Ojibwa groups (Hickerson 1970:53), probably including Northern Ojibwa (Hickerson 1970:39-41, 48-49). A major function of the Feast of the Dead was its structural reshuffling. Captains were reelected who served as leaders in one capacity or the other (Hickerson 1960:91). Even the rearrangement of the hierarchy among the dead took place during that ritual (Hickerson 1960:90).

Dog feasts have been reported by Hallowell and Dunning. But not sufficient information is known to conclude that ritual specialists or other forms of specialization are evident during these festivities. An example of the comparable Montagnais is recorded by the early Jesuits. At the "eat all" feasts it was the one who had given the final blow to the animal taken who gave the feast (J.R. 1959,6:291). Although Le Jeune noted that "there is neither honor nor disgrace in being served first or last" (J.R. 1959,6:287), he also observed that priority of persons served was evident during the distribution of the food.

The nonhuman environment was a basis for role differentiation in that the seasonal variation (Levy 1952:340) brought about structural changes. Summer groups were larger than winter groups, and summer activities included gathering of berries as ventures undertaken by older men, all women and children.

Although gradations of social prominence are not absent, it must be acknowledged that the office of the chief as it is known today is largely the creation of "whites" (Rogers 1965:271). Rank designation did not occur among the Ojibwa until the era of government negotiations.

Nevertheless, the term okima, "boss" or "leader" is clearly an aboriginal term and reflects leadership of some sort. The okima, to be distinguished from the post contact designation okimahkan[10], earned his status as the result of his superior access to basic resources. Or as Eva Lips has observed:

> "der Haeuptling hat sich, wie schon dargelegt wurde, aus dem bestem Jaeger der bei den Ernten vom ersten Reisexperten abgeloest wurde, entwickelt" (Lips 1956:251).

Although the position of the okima was linked with particular skills in acquiring food resources, the status was not purely based on food getting. Eva Lips makes the interesting observation of the Nett Lake Ojibwa that the role of the chief and that of the priest were unified as she reports of the "zusammenfliessen der beiden Aemter" (Lips 1956: 253).

While the traditional okima was not without authority, it is to be observed that his influence was very dependent on popular acceptance. Henry Schoolcraft already noted that "in the Algonquian tribes the chiefs are mere exponents of public opinion" (Schoolcraft 1851:194). Similarly Eva Lips noted: "Haeuptling heisst also, die personifizierte Stimme der Gemeinschaft sein" (Lips 1956:252).

E. S. Rogers (1962) has examined more basic questions pertaining to leadership among the Northern Ojibwa. He has pointed out that formerly each band had a leader, though he does not designate him as the okima. A series of linked obligations and responsibilities characterized Ojibwa leadership. Protection of his followers, the caring of the sick and needy, the mediation of intra-group conflicts and giving feasts were among the expectations. His rights were the assumption of special dress and the expectation of aid from followers. His

qualifications were that of possessing superior religious power, maximum adherence to behavioural norms and knowing the appropriate behaviour in ritualistic performances. His role was validated whenever he successfully executed the above demands. The fact that he had political, economic and religious responsibility, that is, a series of linked roles (Rogers 1962:7), indicates his minimally specialized role.

Leaders were also awarded additional wives for performing outstanding feats. Dunning (1959a:181) reports of polygyny as a type of reward. Here he follows Levi-Strauss who proposes that the status of prominent individuals in subsistence societies where economic surpluses and ritual prestige is lacking finds polygyny as its means of ascertaining that status.

Given the precontact Ojibwa contexts the conjurers were specialists. Dunning (1959a:180) designates the medicine men or conjurers as specialists for their skills in several types of curing techniques, he also acknowledges that they were primarily occupied with hunting and trapping as were the other members of society. The conjurer was not only a ritualist then, he was also a hunter, father, etc. The office of the conjurer was never developed to the point of a full time position. It is very doubtful whether native religion itself was conceived as a separate institution apart from other survival activities.

While specialized roles in the modern sense probably did not exist, a point is nevertheless to be made about a considerable degree of specialization seen from a native perspective. Beyond specialization of human roles, there was indeed a high degree of sophisticated classification per se. There was and is, for instance, a highly specialized acquaintance with trees, plants, birds, mammals, reptiles and other items

of flora and fauna. These specializations are reflected in the terminology. Even for the etic observer minimal specialists did exist. They include the mid-wife, several classes of shaman (Rogers 1962:13; Jenness 1935:60) and leaders of patrilocal bands. Similarly, mythological specialists are labelled reflecting thereby their position on the hierarchy of mythological characters. At Berens River, Hallowell documented the belief in the pawaganak, "dream visitors" or "guardian spirits". There is a "boss", djibai in Northern Ojibwa mythology (Hallowell 1955:156). The head of evil spiritual beings was matchi manito, "bad spirit" (1955:156).

Territoriality

Some specific designation of territory, that is, the allocation of a specific place, for specific functions, is also evident. Conjuring took place mainly at the river mouths during the spring and autumn seasons. The remains of the ceremonial grounds indicated by turtle effigies in the Whiteshell area of Manitoba, are further evidence of a gathering place that clearly indicate a repetitive meeting at a given place.

At Berens River, contrasted with the inland groups, the breakdown of seasonal movements of families had taken place to a great degree and conjuring was practiced least. Greater Christianization and more established institutionalization of the trading post at Berens River are also accompanying factors. The correlation between degrees of acculturation and personality types of inland and non-inland groups has been adequately demonstrated by Hallowell (1945:208).

Congregating at river mouths is in itself an expression of

territoriality. The concentration of pictographs near the river mouths implies frequent gatherings in those areas by pre-Ojibwa (Steinbring and Elias 1968). Much has been made of Sault Ste. Marie as a festive gathering place for the Ojibwa and other tribes (Hickerson 1956) in the early historical period. The precontact Northern Ojibwa hunters were classical nomads. Some notion of territoriality is nevertheless apparent. Harvesting of wild rice by specific groups returning to the same rice field, requires at least seasonal returns to the same rice-yielding rivers and lakes. Eva Lips has speculated about the interesting observation that the Ojibwa did not make the transition from a harvesting to a horticultural people (1956:20ff). Her examination of the Nett Lake Ojibwa led her to conclude that an agriculturally suitable environment does not necessarily yield an agricultural people. But Lips did not give adequate consideration to the fact that even though wild rice is a grain, it requires neither cultivating nor seeding. Thus wild rice harvesters fall into the category of gatherers, and a gathering economy can remain nomadic, or semi-nomadic.

Because of the intimate relationship to the nonhuman environment, it is unlikely that land was regarded as a commodity having economic value. This can be seen by the fact that land could not be bought or sold (Leacock 1954:1). Sahlins, whose discussion on ownership takes on more of a poetic than an analytic form, suggests that land in tribal societies is not primarily economic property, but is regarded as the "plain of one's bones" (Sahlins 1968:80). Modern Ojibwa continue to reject notions of ownership. At best only "made things"[11] can be owned.

Specialization of Time, Behavioural Form, and Ideology

Some degree of temporal differentiation was apparent. Conjuring, for instance, correlated not only with the season of the year, that is, spring and autumn, but also with the occasions when the various hunting bands congregated at the mouth of the river or at places of open water. Thus there is not random behaviour of religious activities in terms of time allotments. In this case, the cycle of vegetation became the calendar index for time allotments.

Similarly, there were specific items of ritual apparatus related to the conjuring practice. The water drum and the medewiwin scrolls served as specialized items for the semi-specialized function of religion.

Conjuring or tent shaking, known to the Northern Ojibwa as kosabandamowin, was by far the most prominent and the most institutionalized ritual. The small barrel-like structure was built for the conjurer who entered it at twilight. As he entered the tent he summoned the pawaganak, "spirit helpers". Thereupon the tent began shaking while the audience looked on and often participated by conversing with the conjurer. A. I. Hallowell has extensively documented and analyzed the practice of conjuring among the Northern Ojibwa (Hallowell 1942). Hallowell's observation supplemented by subsequent writers is most relevant to our discussion. He noted several types of conjuring, the various qualifications of a conjurer, the number of conjurers per population, a description of and occasion for conjuring and the social functions of conjuring. The conjurer, as evaluated in Hallowell's typical psychological terms, is an exceptional member of the Saulteaux society and frequently under suspicion (Hallowell 1942:85-87).

Unlike the Tsembaga's Kaiko (Rappaport 1967), a self-regulating

ritual bringing about economic and social homeostasis, conjuring exercises no direct control over the distribution of food sources. Indirectly, the sharing of food is, however, influenced by the ritual since conjuring strongly enhances group solidarity. Group solidarity for the Saulteaux is an absolute prerequisite for survival. Any breakdown in the solidarity would result in the failure of successful hunters to share food with non-hunting members in the group and with unsuccessful hunters, thereby causing starvation. Whereas subsistence activities among the Tsembaga diffuse, the Saulteaux especially in the winter, are solely dependent on the males for the food supply.

Hallowell makes his point that conjurers, as individuals, played a role that was set by their culture (Hallowell 1942:75). To that role belonged dreams appropriate to it, and specific sequences of ritualistic acts. Since the role was thoroughly validated by Northern Ojibwa ideology, there could be thorough identification of the conjurers with those roles. Conjuring belonged to the behavioural paradigm of the Northern Ojibwa. Only outsiders who did not share that ideology or that paradigm, could or would question the efficacy of the conjuring practice. And that is precisely what has happened with the invasion of the Euro-Canadian ideology which has struck at the very foundations of the Northern Ojibwa worldview, the basis upon which conjuring rested.

The practice of conjuring, like many other religious features, is currently waning (Hallowell 1942:29). Younger men, according to Hallowell, cannot draw the pawaganak (1942:29), and according to Rogers there is a problem of obtaining power (1962:D5).

The drumming ritual may or may not have accompanied the conjuring

practices. At Bloodvein River the informants report that the drumming at the mouth of the river was accompanied by a circular dance. Significantly, the drumming and singing was restricted to selected persons. At Bloodvein River, only one person of the current population is a drummer. Two other persons are said to be able to assist him in the singing and have done so occasionally.[12]

The vision quest, too, was a religious institution in which preadolescent boys disappeared into the forest, usually for four days, a time during which they fasted and waited for a spirit helper. Frequently the boys returned with the report of a vision. Sometimes they were given special songs by acknowledged pawagans during the quest period.

An outstanding feature of aboriginal Northern Ojibwa religion was the manner in which religious ideology undergirded such basic activities as food getting, the means of human alignments, and the crisis of life cycle: birth, puberty and death. In Paul Radin's description of the related Winnebago, he states

> "....the strength of religion lay in its being rooted in the everyday life and demands of the community" (Radin 1937:16).

If religion did not exist separately from other aspects of life in the minds of the Northern Ojibwa, then it becomes somewhat difficult to isolate any specialized functions within religion alone. The practices of conjuring and that of the <u>medewiwin</u> described earlier, are not exclusively religious in nature. Their function is in fact political-religious-medical in its scope. But if we assume that conjurers were predominantly oriented towards religious practices, then we can reassert the minimally specialized role of the conjurer and the mede priest.

Some significant conclusions regarding religion and specialization need to be noted. The specialist status of the religionist depends on the assent of the relevant community. And this assent is reflected in the stringent regulations which validate a conjurer's status (Hallowell 1942:54). The conjurer retains his status only as he proves to be successful in his conjuring, as Hallowell has pointed out. The competition of the conjurer comes to the fore when the summer gathering season brings him into proximity with conjurer-leaders of other hunting groups. Ostensibly it is the pawagan to whom he appeals for ultimate authority, thus taking him "off the hook", and following the conjuring practice he will again "re-enter" as a regular member of the society. Only that aspect of aboriginal specialization can be retained which continues to receive the assent of its relevant body.

In his discussion about the Algonquians, Elman Service writes, "As in many other societies which lack political institutions a shaman may inspire fear because of his unusual control of supernatural power" (Service 1966:92). The belief that lifting traps will react on the hunting luck of the guilty party (Speck 1933:579) was in itself a form of social control having its roots in the system of the society.

Regulation of acceptable social behaviour within the Northern Ojibwa community was effectively achieved in the context of the socio-ecological nexus. And that is substantiated by a well formulated belief system. Serious reflection of an individual's past action came about following the contracting of prolonged illness (Hallowell 1955:253ff). Such examination of one's performance would serve as a screening out process to bring to consciousness any un-Ojibwa activities.

Ideological considerations regarding property were deeply

engrained. Aboriginal theology pertaining to life hereafter stresses the idea of travelling light. Even in historic times, members anticipating death asked their relatives not to bury them in a coffin. The burial form of course was a European influence. It was thought that they would have to carry their coffin to the djibaiaking, "land of the dead" (Hallowell 1955:156).

An absence of storage was substituted, in a sense, by ideological achievement. Shortage of food storage caused frequent occasions of hunger. To counteract the pain of hunger, there was a "stern development of mind and nerves", to use Henry Schoolcraft's expression as employed by Hallowell (1955:143). Hallowell's informant, Chief Berens, commented that "Indians, as compared to whites, do not mind going hungry" (1955:144). The use of the nicknames mician, "I'm hungry", given to P.G. of Bloodvein River, and nimantawe, "I'm starving", given to K.O. of Little Grand Rapids, evoke laughter and corrective ridicule.

CHAPTER IV

SPECIALIZATION IN RESPONSE TO EUROPEAN CONTACT

The beginning of increased specialization for the Northern Ojibwa seems to have centered first around the fur trade, and more recently around whatever relationships are sustained with the encompassing Euro-Canadian culture.

Specialization of Personnel

A pertinent development among the Ojibwa trappers is the emergence of liaison specialists. The trapping unit is headed by the wani'ikeokima, "trapping boss". The role of trapping boss was also observed among the Pikangikum Ojibwa by Dunning (1959a:58) at which community the head trapper is called the wempipeokima. Dunning noted that the wempipeokima is of slightly higher status than the other members of the trapping unit. It is the wempipeokima at Round Lake and the wani'ikeokima at Bloodvein River who carries out negotiations with the conservation officer regarding the regulations of trapping.

That there was an aboriginally defined leader of the hunting party is probable, though not entirely verified. Now that the trapping industry requires negotiation with the marketers, it seems clear that the emergence of the wani'ikeokima is in response to the non-native trade industry. At Bloodvein River the wani'ikeokima is almost without exception the oldest male member of the patrilineally defined kinship trapping unit.

Beyond the level of the trapping boss, who traps in the unit as a wani'ike nichiwaagan, "trapping partner", is the emergence of a trapping boss as an employer. This recent introduction of an employer-employee relationship demonstrates the initial stage of further specialization among Bloodvein River trappers. In 1969 it was noted that of the 64 trappers[13] two trappers were hired by a non-kin trapper. To other members in the community this seemed to be an unusual development and a predictably temporary arrangement. The employer-employee relationship represents a contrast with the traditional alliance of trapping partners which was based on patrilineal descent.

The problem of trapline rights is, of course, compounded seriously by three additional factors:

1. there is the growing number of sons to share the trapline[14] which would threaten an overkill of game,
2. the advent of the power toboggan, resulting in greater trapping efficiency, and
3. the impossibility of expanding trapline areas or obtaining new ones.

What becomes apparent is a new demographic stress highlighted by an increased efficiency in trapping. The resulting excess members of the hunting unit, often in-marrying males, are left to assume newly formed non-native roles in the community. The non-traditional Northern Ojibwa members thus become innovators of various semi-specialized jobs, less specialized than those held by resident "whites", but nevertheless different from those of the trappers. Roles of minimal specialization other than those linked with the trapping and fishing economies, then, seem to be assumed by marginal members of the Northern Ojibwa. These roles, it

should be noted, were however first introduced by "whites". Additional roles of greater specialization continue to be innovated by "whites". In any case, specialization, minimal or maximal, results in role differentiation making stratification inevitable. Thus the present demographic stress on the Northern Ojibwa reserve community forces social reorganization.

Outsiders prove to be adaptive in their exploration of new occupational roles for the community in that they provide a needed articulation with the encompassing non-native population. Two questions, however, emerge:

1. is their influence acceptable because of the nature of their outside status?
2. to what extent will outsiders continue to come in?

Specifically the reference here is to the fact that of the 64 trappers at Bloodvein River, 57 are patrilineally linked, that is, the father will trap with his brothers, his sons and grandsons. A number of in-marrying males do not trap, or at least not within the first year of their residence with their in-laws. Notably, the role of storekeeper was occupied by in-marrying males. Two individuals, B.H. and Q.C. are examples.

Since the tendency at Bloodvein River, as a reserve community, is towards endogamy, there will be fewer and fewer outsiders to explore new non-traditional occupations, thus sharpening up the problem of native subsistence means. This development is accentuated grossly by the current population boom at Bloodvein River.

Specialization seems to occur in response to commercial trapping and fishing. This is apparent in stratification which concurs with

specialization. The tri-level hierarchy has been evident in the trapping unit, that is, (1) wani'ike nichiwaagan, "trapping partner", (2) wani'ike okima, "trapping boss", and (3) the trapping employer[15]. Thus Sahlins' conclusion is verified:

> "Increase in scope, frequency, and complexity of distribution implies increasing status differentiation between distributor and producer" (Shalins 1955:5).

The growing number of endogamous males who have rights to traplines is creating an imbalance between the trapper and available fur bearers. The native system treats only in-married males as marginals. Inevitably there will be a clash between the natively defined kinship system of trapping rights and that of the Manitoba government. Yet even in-married males press for an entre into the trapping unit. Two trappers who were hired earlier as employees are not trapping with their wives' father and wives' brothers as wani'ike nichiwagaanak. That switch indicates two possibilities:

1. that the non-Bloodvein and non-anishinaabek status of the employees is difficult to accommodate by the Bloodvein trapline ownership system, since only male descendants theoretically had access to the trapline, or
2. that the kinship system is beginning to be overruled by an alternative system of trapline ownership, for example, the wage earner status among the trappers.

The two possibilities are not mutually exclusive and both are apparently in operation. The latter appears to confirm the inevitability of social reorganization. An increase in ranking seems to be evident, that is, the introduction of the employer-employee relationship, for example, the case of I.D. who employed S.H. and T.N. Since the manner

of incorporating in-marrying males as "full members of the society" requires an initial testing period, it seems that the kinship alignments tend at this point to overrule the possibilities set by the Manitoba government.

The development is relative when a search of emerging new roles is undertaken. In the case of I.D., the employer status is emerging even within the relatively traditional occupation of trapping and fishing. What was formerly a kinship based partnership has become stratified in response to the modern market, that is, the fur trade and the fish market. In I.D.'s economic unit, to cite an isolated case, a non-kinship employer-employee base of operation represents the shift from a familial to a non-familial allocation within the economic unit. It is thus regarded as part of a developmental process in the direction of further specialization. Marion J. Levy's (1952:279) delineation of particular-universal criteria in the selection of human personnel, although grossly categorized, is nevertheless applicable here.

An increasing degree of complexity seems inevitable for the modern reserve administration. Aberle's study of the Pueblos (1948) demonstrates the evolution of the Pueblo civil organization. The elaborate categorization obviously results from the Spanish and the U.S. governments' interaction (Aberle 1948:91-93). Aboriginal government, says Aberle, was less complex.

> "...the pre-Spanish administration must have been considerably smaller and simpler corresponding to the aboriginal economy" (1948:24).

At Bloodvein River the Indian Affairs and the band administration share in the directing of local affairs. To delineate the actual seat of authority, if indeed it has a single locus, may be pushing the discussion

beyond the borders of the topic undertaken here. Some significant observations should be made, however.

Formal administration on the reserve level is handled by the chief and councillor[16]. It is questionable whether the chief's office, as it is defined presently, can in any way be regarded as a continuation or even a transformation of the aboriginal Ojibwa leader. The reasons for this change can be enumerated thus:

1. The size of the group has increased from a minimum of a patri-local band, to groups ranging from several hundred to several thousand in modern day reserves.
2. Not every member is linked consanguinely. That is, the group extends beyond a kinship network.
3. The office of chief, like that of the councillors, is attained by a different set of criterion entirely. The office is in fact an imposition of the Canadian government. The former qualification rose out of and was adaptive to the ecological circumstances encountered at that time. The present office of the chief, while he is elected by the local people, is chosen for his skills in diplomacy, rather than for his achieved authority within the group. Qualifications for chieftanship are those of the broker rather than those of age, prestige or religio-magic skills.
4. His linked roles have disappeared, that is, he is now an administrative specialist.

Amidst the array of changing expectations of the role of chief, one basic thing remains constant. His chiefly role is dependent on his capacity to obtain resources. But two major changes regarding resources

are apparent:

1. The resource base itself is revolutionized. Most of the resources are presently obtained from government sources in the form of public aid, and
2. The means of obtaining those resources requires completely unprecedented skills in diplomacy.

Julius Lips made the point that the precontact chief was expected to be a superior hunter (Lips 1947:401) among the comparable Naskapi. To be successful in hunting he performed scapulancy (Moore 1969).

During the fur trade era, it was the chief who frequently served as the fur trade okima (Hallowell 1955:114). That is, the chief provided the link to the source of income.

The local expectations of the chief's office have undergone major transformation (Jenness 1935:2). Whereas the precontact okima was their leader in terms of his power governing all aspects of Ojibwa life, he is now emerging as an administrative specialist. Among the Montagnais-Naskapi, Leacock (1969:18-19) distinguishes an "inside chief" from an "outside chief". She reports that the "outside chief" is the elected chief of the band and is really the go-between for the band and the Indian agent. He is often considered to be a spy for the "whites". The "inside chief" is only a chief temporarily for a particular period. At Bloodvein River, the terms "shadow chief" and "real chief" are applied in a manner that would roughly compare to Leacock's observation. This sociological distinction is also differentiated linguistically. The term okima, "leader" or "boss" is used for the trapline boss. The preacher is anime'okima, "praying boss". But the band

chief is okimahkan, the affix -kan implies that he is chieflike. One informant pointed out that he is an okimahkan instead of an okima, because he is a "made" chief just like a "made" boat is chiimanihkan, instead of a real (meaning factory made) boat chiiman. Ellis has noted a similar distinction between okima and okimahkan among the Moose Cree (Ellis 1960:1).

There are two significant types of economic activities over which the chief and council government seem to have no jurisdiction, namely trapping and fishing. Trapping rights are defined by the provincial government. Conflicts over the same are arbitrated by the non-native conservation officer. Similarly, the fishing industry is regulated by the government of Manitoba with licenses being issued through the government and not via the chief. Thus the most basic forms of economy bypass the local reserve government.

The chief also exercises minimal authority in the settling of local disputes. He seems to be particularly hesitant in arbitrating over any disputes between clan groups. The chief and councillor seem even more reluctant to arbitrate any conflicts arising from disputes between "whites" and Indian people, as in the case of a tension between the native janitor and the non-native school principal in the school year of 1969. Despite repeated pleas on the part of the school principal for the chief to step in to settle longstanding disagreement, the chief "played it cool".

But the band council did take specific action at Bloodvein River during the year 1969. The establishment of a post office, acquiring funds for building a road and regulating the hiring of personnel for that construction, the introduction of hydro and the regulation of hiring

personnel for that project, acquiring monies for welfare distribution, and acquiring funds for the construction of new homes were administrative actions of the chief and council. It should be noted that in each of these negotiations, the chief is expected to gain access to basic sources, namely money. He is then more of an ambassador or a broker than a local authority figure.

A number of new specialized offices have emerged at Bloodvein River since my field work in 1969. My informant provided some recent information on August 3, 1972. He reported that the band now has appointed two welfare administrators, a municipal administrator, a nurse and a local constable[17], all of whom are salaried from outside government sources. Each of these is however a resident member of the Bloodvein band. An additional development is the salarying of the chief, an action called for by the Manitoba Indian Brotherhood (Wahbung 1971:41). Partial, if not total salary, is projected for assistant leaders of the local government, namely the councillors.

The major point to be made, is that all of the local government administrators have as their financial base either the government of Canada or the Manitoba Government. Similarly their roles are defined by an outside "assenting body". The frustration of the chief occurs with two different images held by the same person who nevertheless must gain local assent in order to get elected. It would appear that the only kind of assent the local people give to the office holders is an assent that eventually pays off in obtaining government monies. Certainly they do not give assent to them for exercising local authority.

By standards of a western democratic nation of political organization, the Northern Ojibwa reserve administration with its chief and

council seems well ordered. Internal cohesion is a different matter--a condition to which Dunning's description "acephalous agglomeration" (1959a:200) continues to apply.

Post Contact Territoriality

The settlement pattern at Bloodvein River reflects the introduction of land allocation. The Bloodvein Reserve, like most other woodland reserves of northern Manitoba, is located at the traditional summer gathering spot of family hunting groups. Without exception each major river system emptying into Lake Winnipeg now has at its mouth a permanent Indian village.

The development from a nomadic to a sedentary condition seems to have come in response to the fur trade as Hickerson (1956) has demonstrated. There were then two probable reasons for establishing their villages at the mouth of the river or at places where there was early open water in the spring of the year as in the case of Little Grand Rapids, for instance.

1. They are the traditional summer gathering spots, open water being a condition for capitalizing on the early fish runs.
2. These areas are accessible to the traders, directly via navigation with larger boats, and indirectly via canoe transportation into inland regions.

The combination of these two factors probably accounts for the rapid, relatively non-disputed early agreement reached on reserve land allocation. The treaties specified the residential area, and later the allocation of trapping territories was legally confirmed by the provincial

government. Both allocations represent forms of territorial specialization. At Bloodvein River the chronological process of the settlement cannot be completely reconstructed though much information can be gained from older members of the community who recall the establishment of the first trading post by the Hudson Bay Company in 1905, for instance. The several burial locations scattered about the mouth of the Bloodvein River suggest an earlier settlement was much more scattered than the present one. The present members of the reserve recall developments toward "centralization". One old traditional member, G.H., is said to have lived further up the river a number of years ago. The annual decrease in useage of the trapping residences away from the reserve by entire family units indicates the centralization trend.

The introduction of stores, schools, and churches may well be factors in reinforcing the compact pattern of the present settlement. The recent intorduction of electricity at Bloodvein River during the summer of 1969 forced peripherally dwelling members to relocate in the core region of the community in order to have access to the hydro power. Certainly the introduction of roads and the telephone system, and as is the case at Berens River, the introduction of sewer and water system consolidates the pattern even more. The actual congestion on the reserve demonstrated by the proximity of the homes, stands in direct contrast to the one thing that the Northern Ojibwa possessed, namely space.

At Bloodvein River, the residential area consists of 72 major buildings[18] (see Table C), which follow approximately two miles of northeastern riverbank. Of the 72 buildings, 54 are dwellings. All but four of the dwellings are inhabited by treaty families.

An incomplete list (see Table B) of 43 treaty homes provides

information on: 1) the number of occupants, type, condition, date of construction, size and number of rooms for each residence. The number of occupants ranges from one to thirteen. All buildings are either log buildings or frame construction; 10 are log houses, 31 are frame buildings. 7 are in very poor condition, 5 listed as poor, 4 as fair, 14 as good, and 13 as very good. All but 3 houses were constructed in the 1960's. Sizes of the houses ranged from 10' X 12' (3 houses) with 120 sq. ft. per house, to 38' X 24' (1 house) with 912 sq. ft. The 298 inhabitants listed in Table B have an average of 85 sq. ft. of dwelling space per person, or an average of 589 sq. ft. per family[19]. Nine of the houses have only one room, five have 7 rooms; the average number of rooms per house is 4.25.

A few families erect small tents during the summer. Some also do some cooking over an open fire outside.

The cluster of houses of the C. clan (see Table D) has houses spaced at an average of 70 ft. from one another, causing considerable congestion. The immediate terrain frequently limits spacing the houses at a greater distance.

Nonresidential buildings include a modern four classroom day school, a kindergarten school house, an R.C. chapel, a Mennonite chapel, an Apostolic chapel, nursing station, a band warehouse, 2 stores, and a diesel plant. There are only a few auxiliary buildings. None of the homes are equipped with internal plumbing. Not nearly all homes have outdoor toilets. Two of the fishermen have storage buildings to protect their equipment, and one family has a horse barn to provide a winter chelter for the lone horse in the community.

There are, however, some fascinating continuations of native

social organization reflected in the settlement pattern at Bloodvein River. The sedentary condition, though congested, is nevertheless not random, as it appears to the casual visitor. Typical of other reserves, which are however less familiar to this observer, Bloodvein River reflects a clustering of patrilineal groups. Almost without deviation male members as they are married construct their houses very near that of their fathers. The few exceptions at Bloodvein River have already been "corrected". That is, B.Z. who married the daughter of K.T. and lived near his father-in-law's house, demolished his home even though it was still in good condition and rebuilt his home near his father's place. W.D. moved to the "other end" when he married, then abandoned his newly constructed Indian Affairs house and lived in an old empty house of his older brother which was located next to his father's house. When that old house burned down, he was forced to return to his Indian Affairs house at the other end of the reserve.

At least five family clusters are clearly evident in the settlement pattern at Bloodvein River[20]. The members of the patri-local groupings function as units both residentially and socio-economically.

Similarly the allocation of homes by the federal government is done with the recognition not of extended but nuclear families. Consequently a father and his son may obtain a new house during the same year. Lots are not measured out per nuclear family on the modern reserve, with the exception of those areas where "town planning" type of housing has been introduced as at Berens River. But transgressions in lot allocation are quickly discerned and dealt with. Some restrictions are set by the terrain. All houses at Bloodvein River are within several hundred yards of the riverbank, where water is accessible.

Some more general comments about the sedentary development are in order. Commercial trapping, and commercial fishing are no doubt the most prominent factors in the development of the sedentary condition. A secondary factor influencing fixation of dwelling areas is agriculture. The earliest treaties allocated agricultural implements and domestic animals for each family[21]. An introduction of agriculture among the Northern Ojibwa by the early missionaries was successful for a brief period from approximately 1920 to 1940, as the older members of the communities at Bloodvein River, Berens River, Cross Lake, Little Grand Rapids and Hole River recall. They speak of the presence of cattle, horses, chickens, potato plots and vegetable gardens. In none of these reserves are there any domesticated dairy animals left. With the advent of canned milk and the establishment of trading posts to stock storable consumer goods, the agricultural venture seems to have come to an abrupt stop, thus the introduction of one cultural innovation, that is marketing of canned foods, cancels out the cultural innovation of agricultural sedentariness[22].

Arguments given to demonstrate the correlation between agriculture and sedentariness need not be repeated here. For the nomadic hunting and gathering Northern Ojibwa, agriculture attempts had radical implications. The presence of both animals and garden plots without the technology of fence building was impossible. Establishment of garden plots in the few areas where the soil is suitable evoked unprecedented notions of land plot ownership--a conflict of concepts that persists at Bloodvein River. The abortive attempt at agriculture seems to have taken place in a parallel manner over a fairly wide area among boreal hunters.

Not only does the specialization of lands create sedentariness

or vice versa, but spacial specialization is imposed via the architecture of houses. The blue prints for the "Indian Affairs" houses are prepared quite apart from considerations for kinship alignments. Specifically, the homes are designed for a nuclear family. If the early Jesuits of Labrador noticed with some astonishment the presence of two fires in a given lodge, then clearly the two fires reflected a multi-family or an extended family type of dwelling. There has been no adaptation on the part of the architects to specify two hearths or several kitchen sinks, for instance. To some extent, then, the question of privacy and nuclear family residence is dictated by the architecture prescribed by Indian Affairs and Northern Development.

There is a specialization within the architecture itself. Instead of a one room house, the home is now divided into kitchen, living room area, bedrooms and bathroom, that is, a specialized place for specialized activities. There is an allotment of place per activity, thus spacial specialization. There is a progressive increase in auxiliary buildings notably for storage of outboards, fishing nets, and ski-doos. The community as a whole has a specialized place for worship, there are three churches at Bloodvein River. There is a specialized storage place for food--two stores, a specialized place for learning--the day school, and by now a specialized administrative building, the band hall, a specialized medicine center--the nurses building, and even a centralized place of electric power--the diesel unit building.

It appears that land tenure itself in the form of specific hunting and trapping territory is the product of the fur trade and therefore a post European contact development (Leacock 1954).

What developed first as locally defined trapping territories[23],

was later formalized by civic governments. The Bloodvein band has ten such legally defined hunting territories[24] known as registered traplines. The reserve territory itself is said to be communally owned by the band, however the reserve system is clearly the result of federal government innovation as are the legal definitions of the local bands. The Bloodvein reserve area, consisting of 3,885 acres, was allocated in treaty #2 in 1871. According to the government regulations the trapline rights can be extended to all members of the band including in-marrying males. To provide an in-marrying male with trapline rights would mean the acceptance of the same as wani'ike nichiwaagan, "trapping partner". Such developments represent a clash with traditional patrilineal inheritance of territorial rights. The trapline rights, now defined legally by the Manitoba government, accord right of access to treaty as well as non-treaty individuals[25]. No distinction is made by the provincial government except for the one stipulation that the trapper must be a resident of the province of Manitoba.

Conflicts over trapping areas are theoretically solved through the arbitration of the conservation officer of the Manitoba government. This officer makes periodic visits into the trapline areas. From the point of view of the local trappers, violations hardly ever occur. That is, trappers do not set their traps in beaver lodges that belong to another trapping group except by carefully defined mutual agreements.

Not all of the territory of a given trapline is trapped each year. My informant, G.Z. of Bloodvein River, indicated to me that his family traps only one part of the trapline leaving the next to be trapped the following year. When I asked him what the purpose of that was, he said in conversational terminology, "we give the beavers a vacation every

other year". Significantly, then, the conservation practice of "strip trapping", not altogether unparallel to the practice of strip farming in agriculture, is in operation. G.Z.'s trapping unit sub-allocates its already specialized trapping territory. That is, the territory is defined for purposes of ultimately gaining a greater amount of resources from the environment.

The trapline territories cover a very large area beyond reserve boundaries of Bloodvein River. The outside borders of these traplines are contiguous with traplines from Berens River, Hole River and Little Grand Rapids. On the western boundaries, they are bordered by the shoreline of Lake Winnipeg.

The ten trapline areas used by Bloodvein trappers comprise of approximately 300 square miles (see Table E). The 64 listed trappers (see Table F) thus cover an average of 4.7 square miles per trapper. Considering the total Bloodvein population of July, 1972, there are 7.75 persons per square mile of territory belonging to the Bloodvein Band. A citing of a comparative figure from the Berens River Ojibwa is helpful to illustrate the unusual increase in population density. In the 1940's the population density at Berens River was .028 persons per square mile (Hallowell 1955:122).

A further note is relevant to the process of specialization in the trapping industry. Although the trapping practises have been regulated and supervised by the Manitoba government, there has nevertheless emerged the development of the Manitoba Registered Trappers Association, a province-wide union of registered trappers. This trappers association comes in the wake of the general assertiveness expressed currently by Indians of the province and throughout North America. Specifically the

president, George Simpson, is working on a charter which will

a) provide access to the provincial government,

b) protect trappers against liabilities, and

c) represent a bargaining platform in marketing negotiations.

Regionally the trapping association has organized local fur councils, as at Bloodvein River. The election is supervised by the representative from the Manitoba government, and consists of a president and five council members.

The provincial government retains accurate map descriptions of the traplines and lists members who have legal access to each separate trapline. The list of trappers per individual trapline supplied by the conservation officer of the Bloodvein River trapline agrees almost completely with the list given to me by my informant.

Theoretically, fishing and wild rice gathering territories are not owned, but in fact it is known that family units repeatedly fish and harvest rice in the same locations.

In concluding the discussion on territoriality, the following observations are relevant to the discussion of specialization.

1. The treaties of the federal government define the territory of the reserve itself, the boundaries of which become the outside limits for the establishment of permanent residences.
2. The establishment of registered traplines restricts the territory for the trappers though not for the gathering of wild rice nor for hunting, nor are the fishing areas per family unit, at least not ideally.
3. While the clustering of houses reflects the traditional kinship group adherences, the architecture reflects the pressure

exerted by non-native government planners towards the establishment of nuclear families, a process that is virtually complete.

4. Individual housing plots, though not measured in straight lines with rectangular form, have boundaries that are "understood" by the neighbours as in the establishment of areas in which the grass is mowed and gardens are maintained.

Specialization of Time

Units of time on the modern reserve are allocated according to the European calendrical system. Sundays, like religious and native holidays, are non-aboriginal. Even the celebrated "Treaty Day" is a "white" innovation. Thile the days of the week and the months have Ojibwa names, it is clear that the naming of these is a post European development. Friday is pahweshikani kiishikan, "bread day", Sunday is anama'e kiishikan, "praying day".

The fishing season is defined by the Manitoba government. Spring fishing begins June 1 and ends July 15. Fall fishing lasts from September 1 to October 15. Trapping seasons are more dependent on the condition of the fur and thus limited to the winter and early spring. Gathering of wild rice requires detailed sensitivity to the stage of ripeness of the rice. Failure to gather the rice on a given day results in major losses due to the "shedding process" of ripe kernels.

The school program and the church year are geared to their respective administrative specifications, which in turn reflect an agricultural seasonality. Almost no effort is made to accommodate seasonal time allocations native to the hunting and gathering patterns.

Leaders are chosen, not according to their current measure of authority, or such other features as age and health, but in compliance with the Indian Act, which requires an election every two years.

CHAPTER V

THE CONFLICTING PARADIGMS

The Conflict of Roles and Structures

It has already been noted that local specialized non-native occupational roles are sustained only via non-local structures. The description of specialized roles, like the financing of holders of those roles, has its source quite outside the local community. Notable at Bloodvein River, for instance, is the appointment of the following native personnel: the postmaster, the nurse, the school janitor, the band administrator, the supervising carpenter, the municipal foreman, the welfare dispensers and a constable. All of these appointed persons receive their salaries either directly or indirectly from government sources. Even the chief, who is elected locally, is receiving a regular salary from Indian Affairs and Northern Development.

If any local assent is given at all for these posts, it is for their cleverness on the part of officers in obtaining a "good deal" from the government. In return, it is expected that these officials do some sharing with their peers especially in the sharing of alcoholic beverages.

An emerging exception to the above development is the appointment of elders in the apostolic group.

The specialist's role seems to be in immediate jeopardy once the external support is absent. Notable is the role of the elders who were

appointed at Bloodvein River in 1971 during a visit by non-native Apostolic leaders. G.C. and X.H. were appointed and ordained as elders whose function is to provide local leadership for the group. In the case of both men, their eldership was short-lived. Eldership, largely an alien concept, particularly as an exclusively religious role, did not enjoy the assent of the local relevant body of people.

The resistance to non-native specialization can be seen with great clarity when the problem is held up against the social structure. Typical of composite bands (Service 1962) the Northern Ojibwa sedentary community lacks any overarching structural unit that links the patrilineal, co-residential groups. Rolf Knight has observed among the similar Algonquian community of Rupert House, that its structure "lacks any really effective supra trapping group political positions" (1968:94). The authority of the band chief and councillors are according to Knight "inconsequential", a factor that we have considered earlier. R. W. Dunning stresses the sociological phenomena of an ordering system within a society, and regards the Northern Ojibwa as a kind of cellular structure of independently functioning groups. He suggests that:

> "as the social organization is almost entirely lacking in overall or cross-cutting forms to unite these groupings, result approximates an acephalous agglomeration" (Dunning 1959a:200).

At Bloodvein River there is little to unite the band as a whole. Not even a wide based kinship system typical of the Plains Indians seems to be forming. The ecological factors did not call for a permanent overarching structure prior to European contact, and since the coming of the Europeans, the "whites" themselves introduced such superstructure.

The attached Table H is an attempt to portray graphically the structural picture of the Northern Ojibwa. Of particular significance

is the fact that overarching structure A is almost entirely lacking. Consequently there seems to be a vacant "niche" in the social structure of the modern Northern Ojibwa. Typically this situation is that designated by Service as the composite band. And following Service, the composite band is a response to European contact. As Service has noted, "the composite band is obviously a product of the near destruction of aboriginal bands after contact with civilization" (Service 1962:108).

It should be noted, however, that the social disorganization resulting from the lack of an overarching structure over subsidiary units is a condition typical for other kinds of group formations. Chance and Trudeau have demonstrated (1963:53) with their study of the Winisk Cree that disintegration resulted because of a lack of any authority system for solving conflicts between the intruding Europeans and members of the Winisk Cree.

The absence of an overarching structure beyond the totemic groups, results in a vacant structural niche in isolated non-urban communities. This vacancy has made for an easy entre by European "whites" into that slot. Two observations are crucial:

1. the vacant niche will be filled, and
2. the roles fitting into that niche will probably be filled by "whites".

Ruth Landes (1937:31-37) noticed the absence of ranking and specialized functions among the Emo Ojibwa. Strangers and outsiders, who are usually specialists, are non-relatives and are either dubbed with a kinship term and thus accommodated within the totem group (Dunning 1959a: 81), or they remain local outsiders. But it was particularly those outsiders who "made a hit" with the Ojibwa at Emo who received kinship

appellations (Landes 1937:207n).

On the other hand, strangers at Pikangikum are termed pewetayk (Dunning 1959a:83). At Bloodvein River the Catholic priest is a pakwaish. The Mennonite minister is a shaginash. "Whites" generally are wemihtikosiwak. While none of the appellations are derogatory, they are non-kin terms, an indication that the all inclusive native concept of kinship cannot be stretched indefinitely. Thus the innovation for a new classification for individuals.

Increasingly the outsider, particularly the non-Indian "white" outsider, assumes permanent status on the reserve, but only as a specialist of one kind or another. It is this status, not the person who occupies the status, however, that is permanent. Offices held by non-Indian persons are quite tentative. What is significant is that non-Indians form part of the Indian community. That is, the character of the Indian community would be altered substantially should this group of outsiders be absent. The ignoring of "whites" present in an otherwise homogeneous Indian community by ethnographers[26], does not encourage accurate assessment of the existential nature of this transitional human group.

Power positions within the Northern Ojibwa community seem more ready to be automatically associated with the presence of non-local personnel. Stan Williams, minister at Manitoulin Island, made the point that Ojibwa Bible School students, upon returning to their own reserves, refused to assume any duties in the church. But as they enter another reserve away from home they exercise their influence with a great deal of zeal[27]. The question is not centered alone around the principle whether the leader is native or non-native, but whether he is an outsider or not.

Manitoba Indian Brotherhood, the organization which now appoints community development workers in Indian communities, appoints native persons, but takes precautions not to send Indian community development workers into their home communities. It would be a fruitful study to examine whether progressive chiefs are not in part outsiders. Hallowell's informant, Chief Berens, was of mixed Indian and white blood (1955:260) and "an outstanding leader among his people". Hallowell makes the point that his informant was less provincial in his outlook, had seen the outside world and was a Christian (1955:254). At Bloodvein River the position of chief has been dominated by the C. clan which is the last of the patri-local groups to have become settled at Bloodvein River, and whose original English speaking male is Cree. Perhaps a point can be made that chiefs qualify for their position if they are fluent in English, thus fulfilling the role as mediator between two "assenting bodies". As such the chief has come to assume qualities of the marginal man and in many instances, like resident "whites", functions as the "boundary straddler".

The role of the conjurer, a role representative of native social structure, no longer receives the overt assent of the encompassing non-Indian peoples. Consequently that role seems to be fading out of existence. New occupational roles, however, have been created and are being created in the acculturation processes. Students are repeatedly encouraged to consider becoming nurses, teachers, or any of a variety of specialists. Although these local specialized vocations appear to be attainable opportunities for upper mobility in the social status scale, these are not readily seized.

The reluctance of Indian students in universities and high schools

to commit themselves to return to their home communities to serve in one specialized capacity or another is a further verification for members of a homogeneous community to be reluctant in assuming specialized roles.

J.I., a Bloodvein woman married to a local man, is expected to fulfill the role of practical nurse in the community. J.I. has been especially trained for this position and functions well, but only during the presence of a non-local nurse. The wife of the Mennonite missionary has been a nurse who, however, encouraged J.I.'s appointment. As long as J.I. was undergirded in her nursing role by the Mennonite nurse, she functioned successfully. Two days after the Mennonite nurse left for her summer holidays, J.I. became desperate and took the first plane out to join her husband who was manning a fire tower for the summer elsewhere. Similarly locally appointed teachers have been met with a great deal of local resistance.

W.D., who claims he is an excellent mechanic, will not repair motors because, "the people don't pay me".

The chief, who has come to replace the Indian agent in dispensing government aid, finds himself in an intolerable position. Formerly the agent visited the reserve briefly, was played up to, stipulated the aid, then left. In his absence he was frequently derided. Since the switch to band administration, it is the chief who does not only dispense aid, but becomes the scapegoat for much derision. Unlike the Indian agent, he cannot escape from the persisting demands. In the words of Chief I.D., "the people think they own me".

Until recently, non-local persons have dominated specialist roles in Indian communities and consistently served as:

1. clerks in the trading post

2. school teachers
3. clergy
4. nurses
5. conservation officers
6. constables

By and large these outsiders were "white" people.

At Bloodvein River the in-marrying males have begun to assume some of the minimal non-native specialist occupations. The clerks of both grocery stores were outsiders in 1969, one of them treaty, the other not. This is explained in part by the fact that in-marrying males have less access to the more traditional roles of trapping.

The French industrialist society (Durkheim 1932, 1947:266) was characterized by increased diversification as a result of greater competition in the struggle for existence. If rivalry among individuals who compete for limited resources is in fact the condition that produces specialization, as Durkheim has suggested, then minimal specialization development among Northern Ojibwa is clarified. The means of acquiring resources necessary for survival are twofold. One source of income is obtained via the quasi-native economy of trapping and fishing. But this source is exploited to the maximum, therefore allowing no further specialization. A second source is public aid, and specialization developed in response to that source and is characterized by political shrewdness manifested in the office of the chief. Specialization at Bloodvein River is ordered around that two-tiered orientation. Indian communities, therefore cannot be examined as though they were virtually self-sufficient, an error often made in examining economic feasibility of the reserve system[28].

To ask here for causes that explain the reluctance by Indian peoples to accept specialized occupations may well be asking far-reaching questions. The answers, if they are given in their completeness, suggest a deeply embedded network of reasons that usually cannot be appreciated by non-Ojibwa people. Note for example the testimonial of a Northern Ojibwa informant, F.N., who occupies an executive leadership position in a downtown Winnipeg Indian youth center.

> "When a white person lands on the moon, he is honoured by fellow whites. Everybody cheers him on. They celebrate and are glad for him.
>
> But Indians are different. When someone gets elected as a member of parliament or is appointed to an important job, all Indians get jealous. They don't want him to get higher up than they are. They all want him to be on the same level. They are very jealous and try to pull him down.
>
> My people often tell me that no matter how much education I get or how much work I do, my skin will never turn white. I will always be an Indian. They try to pull me down. Often they threaten me. If I don't give them money, they threaten to wreck my reputation so that I won't be able to do my work as director of the youth center" (May 11, 1972).

The specialists on the reserve, who are usually "whites", tend to live in a separate social sphere. Bernard James (1961:744) has shown that the reservation (reserve) system brings on an extreme socio-economic status differential between Indians and "whites". It may also be questioned whether the mainline denominational churches have not advanced the principle of subordination in contrast with the Indian concept which is one of unity with the supernatural. The newly formed apostolic group, by contrast, encourages the non-structured ideology with the phrase reflected in the comment "everybody can pray".

However recently much philosophy of missions discussion centers about indigenization of Christian leaders. Inevitably the discussion

focuses on the conflicts that occur when local individuals do assume such leadership. This discussion is true generally about missionary activity anywhere in the world, as well as that among the Northern Ojibwa. It seems apparent, however, that the deadlock occurs due to the absence of obtainable behavioural roles, that is, the specialized vocational models in the northern communities held by "white" clergy. The situation is not at all unlike that of the Nez Perce Pentecostal preacher quoted by Walker:

> "we don't think you have to get all dressed up and turn your collar around to be a preacher. The Pharisees are the ones that do that. We have to read the Bible and live by it. That's what counts" (Walker 1968:137).

The overspecialization of resident non-native church leaders in Northern Ojibwa communities seems to have created a deadlock in the acculturation processes and thus creates a condition that will provide a new basis for the formation of a new religious paradigm.

Persons holding power positions, that is, specialists roles, on the reserve, tend to undergird one another. The visiting R.C.M.P., Indian Affairs agents, health services people, will usually visit the home of the missionary or teacher. Thus the churchman immediately gets placed on the side of the external power holders, often against the powerless native people. It is this collaboration that undoubtedly incites Harold Cardinal to correctly label the churches as "fifth columnists" (1969:80-90).

The differential between "whites" and Indians among the Northern Ojibwa, in terms of their rank, demonstrates the hypotheses of Morton Fried (1967) who generalizes that the social evolutionary processes move progressively from an egalitarian type of social structure to a rank

society.

Dunning has described the Northern Ojibwa communities as "ethnic caste-type societies" (1959b:118) due to the clear distinction between high status non-ethnic representatives who hold all the local power positions, and the local ethnic populations. Dunning's major point is that while these non-ethnic individuals are the only contact persons around which all change is oriented, they are not typical of the wider Canadian population.

> "Often in these circumstances the contact person's behaviour is not representative of, or comparable with the social ethics of the national society" (Dunning 1959b:122).

Dunning suggests that the Indian communities are being misled by the paternalistic and discriminatory quality of the contact persons, and as such will become "negatively structured" (1959b:122).

Dunning's analysis of the marginal man is most helpful in depicting the disparity of roles between the Indian and non-Indian individuals in the Northern Ojibwa community. There may however be an alternative conclusion that can be reached on the analysis of the social structure. What seems to be even more disruptive than the undesirable paternalistic powerholders, is the fact that these positions are indeed unattainable for local ethnic individuals. His description of the social structure as a "caste-type" already suggests the barrier to any vertical mobility in the hierarchy of leadership roles.

Marshall Sahlins' observation of the Polynesian social structure led him to find a correlation between the complexity in economics and the status differentiation (Sahlins 1955:5). Sahlins' comments have relevance for Northern Ojibwa communities in that offices of "whites", both of economic and non-economic nature, in Indian communities are not

patterned after a native Ojibwa structure, but after the "white" hierarchial system which they represent. As such these roles are top heavy, obviously, representing for the local community an overly differentiated system.

This top heavy status of non-local individuals in the Northern Ojibwa communities is certainly not limited to ranking of individuals associated with economic distribution. It is apparent in the separate systems dealing with health, political power and religion as well. If, as Sahlins has suggested, dispensing of food and other goods is rewarded with prestige, then non-resident "whites" have indeed enjoyed their due amount of local respect, if not prestige. In fact, it appears that the prestige gained as dispensers of goods is regarded as prerogatives for extending their authority into other areas of the local social network.

Some encouraging new articulation by Indian peoples themselves reflecting awareness of the status differential is apparent. The well articulated position of Dave Courchene, president of the Manitoba Indian Brotherhood, is reflected in Wahbung. His comments about the church are at once flattering and critical.

> "The church (meaning all religions) could be and should be one of the strongest for social change in our society. They represent agencies within our society that can, without fear and reprisal, stand up and speak out for social change and justice. That they have largely abdicated that responsibility is tragic" (Wahbung 1971:86).

Models of occupational roles propounded in the school system via textbooks do not seem to aid the process of presenting attainable vocational models. Pictures of the police blowing his whistle, the father coming home from his office job, the fireman and the farmer are of course non-applicable models for the reserve-dwelling Northern

Ojibwa, yet continue to be held before them as such. Creative teachers, on the other hand, have revamped the curriculum, often without the assent of their superiors, in order to present more attainable models. The highly specialized role of the teacher himself seems beyond reach for a local child. Certainly the visiting superintendent does not pose as a person who could be emulated by the elementary student.

The educational system represents a conflict with traditional means of socializing children, first in the high degree of its institutionalization, and secondly, in its content. One father lamented, "every time my child gets an A instead of a B, he is elevated one step further away from that which I am". Native socialization took the form of demonstration and participation as in the process of learning to grap or hunt. Specifically, a child does what his parent does. The Ojibwa child learned by watching and by doing. The modern educational system conceptualizes about action that cannot be seen.

It is little wonder then that answers from children to the question about their vocational future are as follows: "I would like to be a bombardier driver", or "I would like to be a pilot". In both instances the profession is lived out before them and visible to all. To be noted is that neither the bombardier driver nor the pilot represent roles that are native, but the learning of these is non-abstract.

Conflict of Ideologies

A clash of native and non-native religious specialist roles is particularly apparent in the three following accounts.

Account A.

> During the summer of 1970, Mrs. N. visited an older female relative at Bloodvein River. Mrs. N. is an outsider whose

background is nevertheless Indian. She is known to the community as a Christian who is said to tell the men that they will go to hell because they drink so much and are such backward Indians. Both Mrs. N. and the relative whom she visited are known to me over a period of approximately ten years. I dropped in for a casual visit at the house of Mrs. N.'s relative, during one of my trips to Bloodvein River. During that visit in the house, Mrs. N. appeared. I was amazed with the unusual appearance of Mrs. N.'s face. Her cheek was pulled sideways giving a twisted effect to her mouth. After greeting her, I asked her if there was something wrong with her. She said that she was not feeling well because she had caught a bad draught as she was washing clothes. That afternoon Mrs. N., together with her aged mother and other friends, left Bloodvein River.

During my own return home, I was accompanied by several Bloodvein people who needed a ride into the city. One of them was I., a young woman who had married a Bloodveiner recently, but has actually grown up in the city of Winnipeg. When I commented to I. about Mrs. N., she replied immediately that Mrs. N. had crossed the lake during a hot day when a cold wind developed over the lake, and Mrs. N. must have taken a slight stroke.

Later on that summer I was told another angle to the story, namely by a Mennonite student, Q.I., who had temporarily replaced the Mennonite Mission personnel at Bloodvein River. Q.I. had been told by Mrs. N.'s relative's son-in-law, X.N., an in-married Metis from Berens River, that he and his family could no longer occupy their house which is located on the fringe of the settlement, because a bear was bothering them every night. Q.I. had offered to sit up at night to shoot the bear. Together the men kept watch that night, with their guns loaded. When Q.I. asked whether a flashlight was available, it came as a surprise to his companion. During the course of the night, it became very evident that the threat was not that of a bear. All night Q.I.'s companion told stories about the Wintigo. Neither of the two men made any attempt to spot the bear. Following the stories about the Wintigo, Q.I. was informed about many processes going on in the community. One such story was the incident of Mrs. N. Q.I.'s companion asked him whether he knew why Mrs. N. stayed only two days when she had intended to stay for two weeks. Q.I.'s answer was that he did not know. To that X.N. explained that the twisted mouth had something to do with that. He informed Q.I. that the men of Bloodvein do not appreciate the presence of Mrs. N. This time someone had decided to do the "Indian thing" on Mrs. N. "And as you could see", said X.N., "it worked very well".

Comments on the Mrs. N. incident:

Clearly there are three accounts to interpret the physical condition of Mrs. N. The interpretation given by Mrs. N., namely about

her chill she received while doing the laundry, and that of Q.I. of a slight stroke, are accounts given that would make sense to a "white" man. The fact that Mrs. N. and Q.I. were very quick to provide the interpretation suggests that there is an attempt to mask a native interpretation. The fact that Mrs. N. left so promptly, substantiates her awareness of a native interpretation of the events, and her fear of consequences. These fears are present even though Christians are said not to believe in "witchcraft" any longer.

Particularly significant, however, is the fact that X.N. confided the entire story to a denominational leader, that is, to a non-native specialist. X.N. was not aware of the person who had cast the spell, but he knew that it was one of the native religious specialists who carried on these kinds of practises in an "underground" fashion. While there were serious indications that X.N. firmly believed the authenticity of the "Indian thing" practice, he nevertheless tested the process with Q.I. Incidentally, X.N. and his family promptly moved back to their own house after the night of watching for the bear. That action in some ways demonstrates the "courage" of the "white" specialists who overpowered the Wintigo. Other members of the community commended Q.I. for his brave deed. The clash, then, is between Q.I. as a Christian denominational specialist and the authority of the unknown specialist who cast the spell, a clash in effect of religious paradigms.

Account B.

> This story was told to the author on June 16, 1972, by G.C., who was accompanied by his wife. G.C. stopped at the Mennonite residence on the way home from a visit in the community. It was apparent that he had been drinking a little.
>
> At the house were several visitors, F.F., a former principal at Bloodvein River, the Mennonite missionary, and myself. G.C.

began talking immediately, probably in response to F.F.'s greeting, "how are you?" F.F. and his family had just arrived to visit.

G.C. reported on his health events. He talked about the two "heart attacks" he had suffered recently. G.C. spent several weeks in the hospital.

He acknowledged F.F.'s "diagnosis". F.F. had told him last fall that his puffed up face and hands looked like a possible heart condition. "And", said G.C., "I guess that's what it was". Two months before that G.H., an old, very traditional member of the community, had warned G.C. that very soon something was going to happen to him. "And I'm not exactly the kind of guy who makes fun of old people", he was quick to add. G.H. had also said that he would do whatever he could to help him.

"When I did get sick, I remembered what G.H. had told me", said G.C. He got very emotional as he talked.

G.C. then told us of his dream that was recurring: "In my dream the gray horse always comes to me. I heard a voice and it said to me, 'keep going, don't fall back, keep going either until you kill him or he kills you'". G.C. repeated that phrase twice, then added, "that's how you'd say it in English". "If the gray horse ever gets me, somebody is going to die. One time he just about got me. He got hold of my shoulder, Menno", he reminded me. "I told you about the gray horse before", (referring to the summer of 1969 when G.C. was a major informant of mine. I recall the occasional reference to the gray horse very well.)

When I asked G.C. who the person was who was trying to get him, he said he didn't know. He concluded, however, that it must be someone from Bloodvein, because he said, "I have never been out of Bloodvein".

Comments:

1. Alcoholism encourages expression, an observation that has been made frequently.

2. There is a clash of two world view ideological systems:

   a) the scientific diagnosis of illness made by F.F. to which G.C. made his first reference;

   b) there is a traditional socio-medical view which confirms perhaps that "witchcraft" serves as a substitute for

physical violence, and is thought to be capable of killing a person as well as making him very ill, an observation that has been made about other Indian groups (Driver 1961:357).

3. The trembling of the speaker reflected something else besides the effect of alcohol. G.C.'s behaviour both during intoxication and during the time of sobriety is well known to the author.

4. The gray horse of the dream has a counterpart in reality, that is, a white-gray horse is in the community, the only horse there is.

Account C.

This account deals with socio-medicine practises at Sachigo Lake, Ontario. F.N. is a young Northern Ojibwa person who has had considerable exposure to the urban way of life. He is presently employed as director of an Indian youth center in downtown Winnipeg. His father, K.N., was visiting him. F.N. invited me to have coffee at his house and visit with his father, whom I had met in March of 1971. K.N. is a minister of the Assemblies of God Church. Present at the house were K.N., F.N., a second son H.N. and his wife, and several other children, including H.N.'s fifteen year old son. Here is the story told by K.N. and translated into English by F.N.

> When my boy H.N. was only seven years old[29], I was buying groceries at Sandy Lake. As I was ready to leave with my one and a half horsepower outboard, I saw this old man, B., on the shore. He expected me to stop and say goodbye. He also expected me to share some groceries with him. I did not stop. The old man, B., was a medewiwin inini, a "medicine man". He then told some of the people, 'just wait, he'll be back here'. Sure enough, when I was half way home, H.N. got very sick, sick enough to make me turn around and go back to Sandy Lake. At Sandy Lake another

old man, C., also a medewiwin inini, was ready to help me. He said that he would be ready to cure H.N., but there was a fee involved. According to today's standard the expected fee would be about one thousand dollars. However, he offered to help out of the kindness of his heart, since he knew me as a friend. Besides, he didn't like the old man, B., who caused all the trouble. Consequently he would cure H.N. for a small fee. He wouldn't ask more than I could pay.

So he got out his instruments, piwapik. He had all kinds of them. They were much like the ones used by the "white" doctor, wemihtikosi. He took out one of them. It was about this long (showing a ball point pen), which he inserted into H.N.'s chest about this deep (showing about three quarters of an inch on the pen. Applying pressure he kept turning the pen on his own chest to indicate the process. With another instrument he measured how deep it was penetrating. Here K.N. held a teaspoon away from his body studying it like one would read a thermometer.).

From the hollow instrument poured quite a bit of pus. It was yellow fluid. When he pulled it out and shook it, a small ball-like object fell into the palm of his hand. 'That is what the old man put into your son's body and that's what made him sick'.

Then the old man asked me what to do with it. I told him I didn't know anything about this curing business so I didn't know how to answer him. When he explained that if the object would be sent back, then the old man would be killed, he asked, 'should I send it back?' I told him whatever he thought was best, 'all I want is that my son gets well'. 'So you don't want me to send it back?' said C.

Then he took the palm of his wife's hand and rolled the object into it. Then he asked his wife to concentrate while slowly turning her palm facing down. The object did not fall. It also did not stay in the hand, but was absorbed into the hand. 'We'll keep it as ammunition for another day', he said.

My son got well. Of course I took him into the hospital, but they couldn't find anything wrong with him.

The old man, C., said he could prepare some medicine for his grandson, that's what he called my son, which he should rub on his chest whenever he had pains. It looked just like curry powder. He had about this much (indicating about three quarters on the outside of his coffee mug). When he got it from the woods I couldn't go with him.

'I need someone who knows something about medicine', he said to me. So he took along his young son who was about his size (pointing to H.N.'s thirteen year old son). They went behind the trees near some rocks. I was curious about how they got the medicine, so I asked the boy afterwards. The boy explained the

procedure. C. had found a big crack in the rock. Then he closed his eyes. As he concentrated, he placed the container about waist high and let as much medicine come in as he needed. When he quit concentrating, the powder medicine stopped coming. (K.N. was demonstrating the procedure with a coffee mug which he held against the china cabinet next to us.)

'You don't have to be afraid of the old man, B., anymore', he said. 'I'll protect you at your house. And I'll let you know when I arrive'.

At night while I was lying on my bed, I heard a sound coming. It was almost like a plane, but it sounded like somebody's voice. It took just about as long to travel as it takes a plane. Then I remembered that the old man told me he would let me know when he arrived.

I believe the Indians were given just as much power as the "white" man has. They all have an equal amount of intelligence. But the Indians use their power in a wrong way. Instead of using it for making machines and inventing electricity, they used it to kill and harm one another. That's why something had to be done about it. Sometimes I think that the Indians shouldn't have quit using medicine. They could have used it to find a cure for cancer.

Since some people have become Christians, they don't practise Indian medicine anymore. They still believe in some things that the Indians used to do. If you load your gun and wrap it in a blanket and put it beside your bed, then when you go to sleep, the person to whom you are pointing it will commit suicide by himself.

Comments:

There was intense listening on the part of those present. Particularly his fifteen year old grandson seemed completely absorbed. H.N., who remembered the event of his healing at age seven, made occasional additions to the story, but substantiated it unquestionably otherwise. K.N. has been a minister of the Pentecostal Assemblies of God for twenty years. There is no doubt about K.N.'s own belief in the strength of the <u>medewiwin inini</u>. Consequently, it is clear that an overt Christian as K.N. professes to be, nevertheless operates with two ideological systems governing religious thinking.

It would be fair to conclude that K.N., who in his pastoral role for the Pentecostal Assemblies, is loyal to the ecclesiastical body of Christian people which sponsors that denomination, largely a non-Indian and non-local body of Christians. K.N. is an exception in that he is a denominationally sponsored native minister. His other religious frame of reference is prescribed by the Northern Ojibwa assenting body. Undoubtedly, K.N. is regarded as a specialist in his native community of Sachigo Lake. Yet the two assenting bodies are prescribing a different set of expectations for him. There are two cultural paradigms at work embodied in a single individual, the clash of the two being rather obvious in this case.

Added to the duality of religious ideologies that is operative is the multiplicity of denominationalism present in almost all communities of the Northern Ojibwa. The multi-denominationalism may, in fact, be as theologically perplexing as the syncretic convergence of native and Christian concepts of God. When F.N. was questioned by a group of clergymen whether he found major conflicts between the Ojibwa manito and the Christian God, he promptly responded, "I don't have any trouble seeing Manito and God as the same person, what I can't bring together are the Anglican, Pentecostal, Catholic and Mennonite Gods".

A further type of ideological duality is apparent in the categorizations of stories. Traditional sacred stories told only by older members, usually males, are atisohan. The atisohan, centering mainly around the culture hero wisahkecak, include legends on creation, and a great flood. acimowan are stories of a factual nature, and can be told by any member, and in less formal contexts.

Biblical accounts are also classified as acimowan, never atisohan,

not even the parallel Genesis accounts of creation and the flood. Since the body of atisohan is guardedly kept "pure", it appears that they rank higher in importance than do the acimowan. The fact that Biblical stories do not receive the atisohan classification may suggest their incomplete acceptance[30].

CHAPTER VI

THE CHANGING PARADIGM

The social structure of the Northern Ojibwa is in the midst of a changing paradigmatic process. The body of people itself that will eventually give its assent to the new paradigm is not the same as the body usually described as the Indian band, the Reserve et. al. A part of that assenting body is a sprinkling of resident non-natives and at least several non-resident "whites" and non-natives. The changing structure is pivoting on a shifting base. Assent for that paradigm is to be shared. And that mutuality seems hard to come by. It, in fact, induces a severe social crisis for the Northern Ojibwa communities.

What Kuhn has described as a crisis in the field of natural sciences whenever a new paradigm emerges, seems to be paralleled in major cultural upheavals as well. That is, the process of acculturation can be understood in terms of a switch of paradigms.

Paradigmatic changes for the Ojibwa are not without precedent. The Southern Chippewas experienced such a social revolution in the seventeenth century. Harold Hickerson (1970:53) regards the vanishing of the Feast of the Dead ritual along with its semi-autonomous socio-political units to be replaced by the multi-clan village. Hickerson in fact infers a paradigmatic revolution by his comment, "...These new communities were structured by an entirely new canon of organization" (Hickerson 1970:53) (underlining is my emphasis).

A further parallel of the waning of the Feast of the Dead ritual can be made with the several aspects of continuing current acculturation processes. The Feast of the Dead had as an underlying ideology the notion of unrestricted sharing of goods. The Algonquian Feast of the Dead ceremonies, celebrated by confederating clans at Sault Ste. Marie, functioned according to a pre-European Algonquian ideology of unrestricted sharing, an ideology which was ecologically and socially viable for the samll semi-autonomous hunting group. But the impoverishment resulting from give-aways was no longer feasible during the fur trade era. Alone the dispensing of basic trapping tools was disastrous. Since the ideology of unrestricted sharing could not be sustained following the introduction of the fur trade economy, an alternative ideology became necessary.

Non-native residents tend to be the pioneers of new roles in the Northern Ojibwa community. It has been pointed out that the Northern Ojibwa structure fails to present an overarching social unit that will link the smaller components of the now sedentary society. However, Dunning and Knight who follow Steward in this analysis, leave the argument without recognizing that resident "whites", to a large extent, supply that overarching structure of authority. In doing so they are pioneering new roles of behaviour; that is, new for the Northern Ojibwa, and, are nevertheless not readily accessible.

"Whites" present can be regarded as the innovators of a new ordering of social alliances, bringing about a condition that may approximate the emergence of a tribal society. Since the point of this entire thesis is to draw attention to the process of cultural change, an examination of the pioneering of roles follows.

Malinowski's observation of the tribal social structure of the Argonauts of the Western Pacific aids in pointing out the multiplicity of roles pioneered by the tribal chief.

> "The chief everywhere, acts as a tribal banker, collecting food, storing and protecting it, and then using it for the benefit of the whole community" (Malinowski 1932:232-233).

Malinowski's observation may well be conceived as a starting point in the analysis of the social change now occurring among the Northern Ojibwa. But acknowledging, as all students of human behaviour must, that social systems of any kind do not remain static, it is compelling to inquire about sequential processes of anticipated changes.

Among the Northern Ojibwa the change is dramatically evident, with the overwhelming innovations in technology, political authority and belief systems. Malinowski's observation of the "Argonauts'" social structure has generalized application, and appears to be reflected in Northern Ojibwa communities. Thus it is relevant to inquire about the nature of so-called primitive economic development, considering not only the local Indian peoples, but also the local "whites" and those non-local "whites" who are in one way or another tied up in the community as components of that community's organization.

Marshall Sahlins, whose analysis of social structure in Polynesia (Sahlins 1955:3ff) eminates from the theoretical thinking of Malinowski, makes a further helpful point of the chief's role[31].

> "The chief's role as central distributive agent not only gives him the prestige by which he might extend his influence to other activities, it naturally demands that his powers be spread into other aspects of the economy and society" (Sahlins 1955:4).

If the statements of Malinowski and Sahlins are applicable to a tribal economy, then it becomes necessary to ask what are the structures

of economic distribution in a non-tribal hunting and gathering economy. For our purpose that question is relevant to the Northern Ojibwa bands which in the social evolutionary scale precede the tribal economy. Specifically, who pioneers the roles of the banker, food collector, the storer and protector, when it is apparent that the hunting and gathering social organization is obviously in the dynamic throes of change.

The relative comparison of the Polynesian social structures with that of the transitional Northern Ojibwa communities lies not in the equation of the native chief, referred to by Malinowski, with the modern chief of the Northern Ojibwa reserve, but in comparing the most basic function of the two, and then deriving from that description the economic leadership role in the Ojibwa community. Clearly an examination of the form of economic distribution, storage, etc. in the modern reserve, cannot omit non-native, even non-local individuals. The contention here is that modern economic leadership roles are innovated by resident outsiders, who are usually non-native people.

In religion, like economics, the Bloodvein River community tends to become universalized. That is, the community moves away from a familistic network towards one based on non-familistic criteria in the selection of its leaders. An examination of processes in the religious development at Bloodvein River may throw light on leadership selection.

There is a shift from a familistic to a non-particularistic structure which undergoes a revolutionary phase. The question to be asked here is how the new non-familistic structures innovated will operate and who are the first people to assume the positions created as the resutl of this shift.

The missionary, trader, and teacher have been outsiders. They

were non-familistic with reference to any of the local people, as their non-kinship appellations imply, and could "afford" to be innovative without being socially ostracized. As such, the outsiders, as "culture brokers", have filled roles and accomplished functions quite beyond the stated function in the community.

While positions of the clergy, like those of other resident "whites", have been described as top heavy, which were unattainable models, there are some variations in the individually held positions that are of relevance here. It should be understood that not all "whites" present were true to their specialized vocation and I would submit here, it is in the deviation from their overly specialized roles that they are most adaptive. Teachers, nurses and missionaries and others who assumed a series of linked roles in the community, not unlike that of the aboriginal okima, have received greater support than those holding single roles. It has been observed for instance that clergy, in particular, played the initial role of the bankers by loaning money to needy individuals, and by providing change for larger bills. They were dispensers of medicine long before officially appointed medical staff was available. They frequently handled written communications and thus pioneered the role of the office of post office. They became dispensers of gas and oil, thus pioneering the institution of a service station. They handled legal documents by interpreting them and responding on behalf of the local people thus pioneering the role of lawyer. And some did mechanical repair work thus pioneering the role of mechanic. Other specialties could be added. Interestingly, the functioning in these roles often provided an easier access for Indian people to the "whites" and vice versa than in their stated function as clergy.

I have attempted to demonstrate that the sedentary condition itself evokes the need for some more permanent overarching structure. The traditional summer gathering place was characterized by a series of competitive conjuring sessions, yielding authority roles in response to specific crisis situations. Always the authority question could be delayed because of the impending fall freeze-up and with that the dispersion of the family unit into the inland isolated regions where they remained for the major part of the year. While the competitive conjuring institution seemed to be the way of settling the authority question, it always did so only temporarily, leaving the permanent overarching structural component as a "vacant niche". I have tried to say further that non-local, usually non-native individuals were quick to fill that vacant niche, but in so doing created a caste system. Furthermore, new needed specialized roles have been pioneered by non-local individuals. But because they were virtually unattainable, the resulting social conditions necessitate a probable changing paradigm of social structure among the Northern Ojibwa.

Specialists and their Assenting Bodies

The fact that local persons do not assume specialist roles readily is not an unusual pattern of human group behaviour. Any number of parallels could be found by observing the processes by which specialist roles are initiated in community organizations, corporations, educational systems, etc. Native scholars of Manitoba, for instance, make up only a small percentage of the faculty at the University of Manitoba. Department heads are typically non-Manitobans, for instance. Particularly the newer departments are staffed with non-local faculty. High

level specialists in the medical practise are non-local, while lesser specialized practitioners are Manitobans. Few, if any, priests, rabbis or pastors are "home town boys". (To cite an anthropological insight from the New Testament: "No prophet is acceptable in his own country".)

The point is made, namely, that specialists in new roles are often imported people. It will be advocated here that this process of non-local specialists happens under the following circumstances:

1. Specialists are so designated by a body other than the local community which the specialist will serve. That is, the assenting body which confirms his specialist role is not the same as the body whose approval he needs for exercising his specialty.
2. The specialist is selected on universalistic rather than familistic criteria. Even the chief, who is the most specialized native person in the Indian community hierarchy holds an office that is neither locally defined, nor sustained.

It would appear that the social ostracism that faces a "home town" specialist is a greater force than the forces of aspiration for a highly specialized job. The only way that the specialist can in fact continue to function in his community is if his assenting body continues to sustain him. Such sustenance comes in the form of affective identification. It is possible for white professionals to operate at Bloodvein River with a minimal assent of the Bloodvein people. These derive their affective identification with their respective sponsoring administrative bodies, for example, Manitoba Teachers Association. But the hometowner requires a much stronger local assent because of his affectionate relationships

in his own community. And for the home community to approve his locally held position, say a teacher as was the case of Q.I., the community in effect endorses the whole idea of the acculturation process. They are then saying yes to the educational system in its entirety and are opening the way to a local member for an upward social mobility into the "white caste". Consequently that local assent is virtually unobtainable. Ultimately assent also has implications for economic support, and political protection. In the case of the latter, it is sufficiently clear to the people on the reserve that any violence done to nurses, teachers or clergy would be punishable by non-local political authorities.

Much of the publicity which has hit the news media recently has placed emphasis on locally controlled public schools for Indian children, on the concrete efforts by Indian Health Services to train local women to become the nurses of their respective communities or even the churches which advocate indigenous leadership. But any concrete action will have to be in response to the question of assenting bodies which stand behind the specialists.

Exploitation of the energy sources of the natural world is a requirement for the sustenance of human life. Yet it would be a gross shortcoming to search for means by which the Northern Ojibwa can be seen to only articulate directly with the immediate environment. Future studies of Indian communities must take into consideration:

1. the fact that Indian communities, here specifically, Northern Ojibwa hunters, in fact depend on environments quite beyond their own immediate habitat, and,
2. that they do so with one or several intermediatory individuals or structures, for example, cash receipts via the post office,

medical supplies, and non-native foods.

The process of exploiting the environment for the Northern Ojibwa must take into consideration, technological means and social structures quite beyond the locally apparent ones.

Hence Rogers comment about subarctic Algonquian, "bands have disappeared and communities have emerged" (Rogers 1965:2vii:279), is relevant. Influences of all varieties are far from parochial. The geographically isolated Ojibwa community through the mass media, and purchasing power has access to the whole world. There is, in Dunning's terms, rapid "acculturation at a distance" (1959a:208).

The legally defined, and politically protected reserve system, however accommodating it may appear, does not at all ensure the sustenance of a continued "Indian way of life". Native patterns do not necessarily remain intact because they are under political custody or because they do not participate in "white" society (Steward 1955:57). The point is that the reserve system has been brought into a relationship inter-dependent with the economic and political structures of the regional and national governments. To some extent this inter-dependency also exists with the non-native religious institution for a permeation of integrative functions.

The search for economic self-sufficiency by the extended family unit is still evident in part, but the hopes for its realization are fast diminishing. Two avenues that are theoretically open to achieve economic viability are: 1. Individual members can leave to find job opportunities elsewhere, usually in urban centres or with urban based enterprizes. Six percent of the Bloodvein band live away from the reserve. This means living in partial isolation as industrial nomads.

2. A second possibility is to develop local economic opportunity by exploiting resources beyond trapping, fishing and wild rice harvesting, for example the lumber industry.

A third economically viable means of existence is the direct procuring of funds from the Federal government. The latter is not usually considered as an optional form of survival. Economists who assess the Indian forms of income and expenditure tend to negate the economical viability of this option (Deprez and Sigurdson 1969:9). But it is in fact a workable and effective alternative. It is demonstrated in almost every Indian community of Canada. It is economically viable because the Indian people have sufficient bargaining power, namely the wider assent of the larger society, to obtain public assistance. As it turns out, the bargaining is very effective. Indeed, it is the principle of inter-dependence rather than isolation that deserves discussion on all levels of Ojibwa acculturation. And economic flow is indeed not all in one direction as is so often supposed. Indian peoples are not only recipients of goods and services.

Two not unreasonable considerations for Indians as contributors to national economics stand out. First, the so-called economic problem of Indians is also an economic asset as one sharp Indian orator, J.D., demonstrated. He made a discomforting observation at an annual convention of the Greater Winnipeg Community Welfare Planning Council at which a predominance of social workers and Indian agency representatives were present. J.D. pointed out sarcastically that were it not for the "Indian problem", "you poor people would all be out of a job". J.D.'s point is obviously stretched and rationalizes the predicament but is not outside the scope of economic realism.

Secondly, Indian people largely represent the employable but unemployed bracket of the national economic system. The prominence of Indian personnel in such seasonal work as beet hoeing, and pulp cutting suggests that their seasonal availability is an indispensible asset to national economy.

Both of the above arguments, if not completely satisfactory to economists, verify the reality of increasing cultural inter-dependence between Indian peoples and the rest of Canadian Society.

Consequently the entire current discussion of self-government or self-determination for Indian peoples of Canada is not a viable option, in fact. And the discussions of this nature cannot be regarded as an advocation of the stated positions. Rather, statements such as "independence" or "self-government" must first of all be regarded as socially acceptable expressions of dissatisfaction with the situation in general. The specific points of complaint are always extremely difficult to ascertain. In response to the question, what do the Indians really want, one prominent Indian spokesman replied, "If we really knew what we wanted, we wouldn't be here making our plea".

It is this ambiguous state of affairs that is the result of on-going acculturation processes which challenges anthropological scholars to disentangle the many influencing factors and to delineate them in such a way that clarity will result. Anthropologists are challenged to make assessments not only of human groups which once existed in their isolated purity, but of such peoples who are caught up in the midst of a wide range of influencing factors, many of which seem at this point to be ill defined.

The Emergence of Apostolicism among the Northern Ojibwa

Bloodvein River seems to have been among the first Northern Ojibwa communities to have received visits by travelling evangelists known to non-adherent Indian observers as "shakers"[32]. Members refer to themselves as Apostolics. Although the movement is traceable to a non-Indian, M. A. Howe, a freelance Pentecostal type of missionary evangelist from St. Paul, Minnesota who visited some northern communities between 1954 and 1969, the movement is largely native. At Bloodvein River, M. A. Howe and associates set up a large tent in 1954, next to the location of former traditional dancing grounds, a factor that is noted with some significance by at least one of the Bloodvein informants. A striking period of revivalism marks the introduction of the Apostolics. A number of converts were gained, and were baptized by immersion.

The Roman Catholic church, the only denominational residential missionary undertaking, was seriously threatened by the coming of the Apostolics. Apostolic testimonials usually included derogatory remarks about the Catholic church. In turn, it is reported that the priest retaliated by equating the visiting evangelist with satan, denouncing him as the devil.

The following emphases of the Apostolics are notable:

1. There is a strong anti-denominational bias evident in almost all sermons and testimonials. The phrase "we have no denomination, the Bible is our denomination; we have no leader, Jesus is our leader", comes up frequently and reflects the ideal egalitarian notion of the Apostolic church order.
2. There is categorical denouncement of the useage of alcohol, tobacco and chewing snuff for adherents of the Apostolics.

3. Converts are baptized as adults. These baptisms take place regardless of a previous baptism by the converts in the Catholic faith.
4. There is much preoccupation with illness-health. Testimonials often include miraculous healing incidents. Healing services take place at special services.
5. Speaking in tongues is regarded as the ultimate acquisition of spiritual gifts.
6. The services are held frequently but not in conformity with denominational time allotments for services, that is, Sunday morning is not a popular meeting time for the Apostolics. Rather, the meetings take place during the evenings of the weekdays, often on a daily basis.
7. The ritual has a number of semi-native features about it.
   a) There is much singing, and that of songs newly introduced by visiting evangelists. These songs are either in Cree, Ojibwa or English. Initiation is taken by whoever plays one of several instruments, the guitar, the piano accordion, the tambourine or the portable Reed organ. In other words, there is a distinct lead singer per service. Songs usually follow a duple rhythm, often beginning as quadruple, then accelerating into a duple rhythm. Members who sing along do so by the clapping of the hands which frequently evolves into the beating of time with one foot, then with both feet, ultimately to the point of a jump-like dance, following the beat of the song. The singing is very loud, often to the point of

screaming. There is much repetition within the songs. Occasionally a final verse is repeated two or three or many more times culminating with a thunderous rhythmic climax.

Some new songs make their way into the repertoire of music. S.E. tells the following story about his acquisition of a song.

> I was in the woods trapping all by myself. I did not have very much luck in shooting game. I was very hungry. After four days of fasting, I was by myself when I heard a song in the distance. I listened very carefully and learned the song. Then the next day the words for that song came to me. I will sing the song for you.
>
> I can hear my Saviour call
> I can hear my Saviour call
> And it says come unto me
> I can hear my Saviour call
> I can hear my Saviour call
> And it says I will give you rest

During the singing, if it becomes sufficiently rhythmic, and when appropriate people are present, the holy dance takes place. Here there is a rhythmic movement of the feet accompanied by a total pattern of body movement, somewhat of a choreography that has some ballet-like qualities about it. The movements of the hand follow the beat of the singing in a pattern not dissimilar to that of choral conducting.

The sequence of the ritual seems to be an alternation of testimonial lasting from three to eight minutes, interspersed with singing. Highlights are the speaking in tongues (glossalalia), the annointment of oil,

> and healing events. The meeting is culminated after four or five hours of gathering with a common benediction spoken by all members present each touching the other or clasping one another's hands. It appeared that the host in whose house the meeting occurred took the well masked initiative in suggesting when it was time to break up the meeting.

The rather successful entre of the Apostolics into Bloodvein River and other Northern Ojibwa communities is a possible commentary on the failure of mainline denominations to adapt their religious ritual and organizational structure to existing patterns of the Northern Ojibwa. Mainline churches expected formal leadership and formal positions within church hierarchies and services and during regularized meeting times. It was also expected that the sustenance of an Indian congregation should be modelled after that of mainline denominations elsewhere. That expectation by and large has been met with a barren response.

If mainline denominations have introduced top heavy, and for the local people, meaningless organizations, and on the other hand the Apostolics have operated under the pretext that organization is unnecessary, even detrimental for the practise of religion, then a single observation can be made from these experiences. Specialists will develop in a community when pressures are strong enough for that development.

M. A. Howe, who is known as "Brother Howe" rather than "Reverend", or "Bishop Howe", has moved into the community and then moved out. He has stirred up religious thinking and in fact stimulated a great deal of religious reaction. As a travelling evangelist he has left the image of a specialist indeed. While he has left little example for the

model of a church leader to sustain the local group in his absence, he seems to have reawakened nomadic notions as an itinerant evangelist. Perhaps this model explains why many of the new converts are anxious in turn to become travelling preachers themselves. Frequent visits by members or entire families are made between groups from Bloodvein River, Jackhead, Fairford, Berens River, Little Grand Rapids and Pikangikum. The neo-nomadism might be regarded as a reply to the "unnatural" sedentary condition of the reserve community.

There is no doubt that the Apostolic groups of the various Lake Winnipeg communities have formed magnetic attractions to each other. Solidarity within the local body seems to be fraught with competition for authority positions within that group.

The Apostolic group is revived by visiting fellow Apostolics. A "Conference of Apostolics" seems to be forming as the result of the inter-changing visits. Occasionally members visit the "headquarters" of the Apostolics, which is the home church of M. A. Howe in St. Paul, Minnesota. M. A. Howe is frequently cited as the authority with such quotes as "when Brother Howe was here, he said...." These comments are made to indicate that the group which claims to have no leader is nevertheless in sociological terms very dependent on an organizational hierarchy.

The term "shaker" is not used for self-designation, but is used by non-members of the group. It signifies the vigorous shaking which appears to be almost involuntary during the highly charged emotional services. Members refer to fellow members as Christians or as Apostolics. The vivacious, uninhibited expression manifested in the frequently conducted service could be considered a reply to the long standing backlog

of suppression, inhibition or non-assertiveness. It should be expected that the newly cultivated form of articulation will also provide occasion for the venting of the mounting resentment against European "whites". The fact that the Apostolic group is essentially native in its membership, and increasingly in its leadership, already points to a developing stance of a "we-they" conceptualization. The ecstatic nature of the Apostolic religious articulation will predictably be misunderstood by "whites", be they fellow promoters of religion or not.

Typical of revitalization movements elsewhere (Wallace 1956: 278-279), the Apostolic development in Manitoba reflects the reaction of the Indian people to stress and disillusionment resulting from contact with an ever increasing dominant culture. The rapid pace of acculturation process seems to be a fruitful soil for the dramatic religious revival. Should the revival not be precipitated, one can only wonder whether stark apathy is not the only alternative. Explanation for the Apostolic "cult" can in part be sought in the reaction to the situation of acknowledged or unacknowledged deculturation. Despite its "white" innovators, the Apostolic group is largely indigenous. In terms of its behavioural pattern, it is even anti-white in some points, or at least anti-modernization forms of social behaviour. As such their religious practise bears some relationship to the Ghost Dance of the 1890's (Mooney: 1965), a movement that never reached northern Manitoba.

The Apostolics manifest an interesting absence of fixity in the place of worship, the architecture of the chapel and the type of ritualistic peraphernalia. It is reported that M. A. Howe's large tent was placed first at the north end of the reserve. In a subsequent summer it was erected farther up the river. As the travelling evangelists left

Bloodvein River, they took the tent with them. The group of Apostolic Christians met alternatively in their homes. Some money was sent to B.D. at Bloodvein River by some friends from St. Paul for the construction of a chapel. With co-operation from the other Apostolic members, B.D. erected a log chapel near his own house. Benches had been donated, as well as a pulpit and a piano. It was reported that this chapel was never used except once or twice. The size of the chapel was approximately twenty-six by forty feet. During the summer of 1969, three years after the chapel had been completed, it was in rough shape. The doors and windows had been knocked in, the piano could no longer be played, benches were knocked over, the entire building was seemingly abused due to vandalism. Answers were evasive when asked why the building had not been used. Clearly there was misunderstanding over it. By the summer of 1970 the original building was entirely dismantled.

Meetings during the summer of 1969 rotated in three homes. H.G., one member of the group whose house was usually not used for meetings, freely announced the meeting for a given evening at I.D.'s house without even checking with I.D. Another alternative building had been renno-vated and moved to serve as a chapel and located opposite B.H.'s residence. By that time B.H. was regarded as somewhat of a leader. B.H. was also the most vigorous participant in singing, clapping of his hands and the holy dance. The building is approximately twenty-six by twenty feet in size, with a printed sign mounted over the door, "Bloodvein River Bible Chapel" and accompanied by a Bible verse. None of the benches had been moved to this second chapel. Some seating facilities in the building however line all four walls, with some specific seats along the wall opposite the front door. There is no piano in the building. In the winter

of 1971 the chapel was moved again to the place opposite H.G.

Apparently M. A. Howe will not return to Bloodvein River to conduct services since he is ostensibly disappointed with the "failure to sustain the group on their own", and with the frequent "backsliding" of members in the group.

Since it was difficult to receive any explicit rationale for the failure to use the first chapel, one can at best only theorize about it. An explanation that seems likely is that the architecture was not in keeping with the nature of the group. Although the building was erected locally, it clearly was done with the architectural style in mind seen in denominational churches. Yet the rows of benches and the distinct vestibule area strongly suggested a hierarchy which didn't fit the egalitarian ideal. The architecture itself suggests specialization within the church group. But any overt acknowledgement of specific leadership would destroy that egalitarian ideal.

A number of comments are in order to indicate the manner in which the Apostolics, either by design or by coincidence, accommodate native religious thinking.

1. The membership of the group itself is largely native. There is indication that a native spokesman is given preference to a "white" Christian spokesman, even though by standards of Christianity the reputation of the native leader is questionable.
2. The close correlation between religion and health is clearly a Northern Ojibwa feature.
3. The presence of "religious thrill", a feature observed by Evans-Pritchard (1965:39) as typical in primitive religion,

is noticeable in the emotional release expressed in a socially acceptable form, not unrelated to the form of expression and entertainment enjoyed earlier around the conjuring sessions[33].

4. There is lay participation unlike that of the major denominations. As in the practises of the aboriginal drumming dance and the conjuring practise, each member in the community can participate vocally or by physical movements.
5. There seems to be a revival of the vision quest which is used to obtain songs. It also validates authority positions for individuals as it did with the validation of the office of the conjurer or the mede prist.
6. The egalitarian ideal is reflected in the Apostolic processes even though in fact hierarchy is ascertainable.
7. The architecture arises out of the native processes. So does the location of the place of worship and the mobility.
8. The theological emphasis is existential. It centers around the here and now, that is, with the exigencies of present feelings and processes[34]. Abstaining from the use of alcohol and tobacco are the visible symbols indicating adherence to the group. Specifically, sin is not only a mythological concept, but is empirically based.

Despite the dynamic quality of the Apostolics, the remarkable tolerance toward individual interpretation of the Bible, the individually conceived songs, the visions, and personal supernatural sanctions, it would appear from evidence considered that much of the ritualistic form does not arise out of the current acculturation stresses, but is the

result of innovations accidentally or providentially matched with native needs. Upon "enlargement" of the relevant assenting body there will be innovations that are approved by one or more parts of that reformulated assenting body.

While there are a notable variety of similarities between native and Apostolic beliefs, there are also some modifications. One such change or difference is the mode of "obtaining the spirit". While guardian spirits were sought and obtained during isolation in the woods, the gift of the spirit is sought in the company of like-minded believers during an evening service.

Although the Apostolic movement is native, it must nevertheless receive at least tacit approval of the dominant "white" culture. From a religious point of view the Apostolics do receive such approval because of the emphasis on the Bible, God, Christ, the Holy Spirit, etc., as well as the rather favourable moral precepts, notably the break with alcoholic consumption. Native religion exercised in its original state, while it may receive the assent from the Northern Ojibwa population, nevertheless would not receive honourable assent from the "whites". Consequently the Apostolic group represents an intermediary state in that it receives assent from both bodies.

While a point could be made that the vision quest and other native recurrences represent cultural regression, it must be acknowledged that resorting to traditional means of confirming specialized status appears to be one acceptable means for lay people to make self-expression possible. And self-expression cultivated by the Northern Ojibwa has to be a prerequisite to a reformulated cultural paradigm.

Apostolicism as an religio-ideological mechanism seems to be

facilitating acculturation in that it represents an intermediary step between the top heavy denominations and the lingering religious ideologies and practises of the Northern Ojibwa.

Religious revivalism, among suppressed peoples, despite its factionalism, or perhaps because of it, proves to be adaptive.

What Nash observed in shakerism among the Klamath Indians (Nash 1937:377-442) and Walker (1968) in Pentecostalism among the Nez Perce, appears to be apparent among the Northern Ojibwa. The Apostolic movement among the Northern Ojibwa and other similar communities may well be exemplary of the place of religious revival in the reformulation of an ethnic people.

Will deprived groups due to domination resort to the construction of a fantasy situation as Bernard Siegel (1955:9) has suggested for several North American Indian tribes, or do suppressed peoples find retaliation possible through symbolic competition in the sense that Erich Schwimmer (1970) analyzes the Blackfeet? Or is it simply that ethnic bodies are always formulating, persisting, disintegrating and then reformulating in response to the myriad of cultural stresses they face? Should the Northern Ojibwa demonstrate their ability to complete the paradigmatic shift in specialization with the aid of an adaptive religious revitalization, then a reformulation of that ethnic body is forthcoming.

CONCLUSION

The development of specialization is not documentable as an evolutionary process beginning with zero specialization and ending with a high degree of specialization. Rather, the evidence favors the existence of separate types of specialization, one amenable to the socio-ecological nexus of the precontact Ojibwa, the other to the Northern Ojibwa as their cultural base continually enlarges to incorporate innumerable components of the encompassing European culture(s).

The paradigmatic process is induced by the situation in which:

1. Specialization of territory, sedentariness and population increase resulted in the need for structural innovations, and
2. Specialization of the offices of chief and councillor, though imposed, are irreversible in light of their increasing dependency on diplomatic skills to obtain basic resources. Similarly the introduction of other specializations innovated by outsiders are non-retractible.

Typical of the modernization process, the significance of kinship is declining as a means of social alignment. Instead, the social ordering of the Northern Ojibwa is increasingly following criteria for the selection based on specialized skills.

In order for any human group to be sustained, there must be some overarching structural unit to create the necessary solidarity for the group's existence. The fact that the roles are filled by outsiders

can be explained by the absence of any precedence of roles modelled by natives for those niches among the Northern Ojibwa. It may well be that human group leadership anywhere generally comes from external sources. Such externally introduced leadership is particularly evident at the point of a cultural deadlock, that is, when a culture faces impending major changes, be they technoligical or environmental in character. It seems to be at this point where culture, if it is to be sustained, "awaits" new "cultural genes".

The apparent native reluctance in acknowledging the inevitability of social reorganization is undoubtedly due to:

1. the fact that marginal men, or culture brokers received insufficient assent from the members of the Northern Ojibwa for their roles--roles that to the Northern Ojibwa seem to be over-specialized, and
2. that social reorganization involves major ideological adjustments, for example, acquisition of property which violates native views of ownership.

It appears that specialized technological, territorial, and other innovations occur without major resistance providing the innovations serve as a functional substitute to equivalent native components. Not so are specializations of occupational roles. These are accommodated, but with much greater reluctance. Ideological innovations also occur but are accepted, seemingly, as ideologies parallel to their own. Both are operative resulting in duality of ideological systems.

Duality of whole cultural systems is apparently not a long range functional possibility, however. If adaptive change has indeed already occurred with territorial technological specialization, then a

paradigmatic change is indeed in process. Its completion awaits further specialization of occupational roles and a solution to the duality of ideologies.

But caution is needed to prevent arrival at an easy final answer to acculturation. In no way must it be surmised that acculturation for the Northern Ojibwa means simply absorption, or integration into the larger encompassing Euro-Canadian culture. Distinct physiological features, if nothing else, remain as a prominent factor influencing Northern Ojibwa self-concepts. A consideration of unique physiological features of the Northern Ojibwa have remained outside of the scope in this thesis. Yet they must be treated as a biological constant.

Because of the easily recognized physical features, the Northern Ojibwa, like other Indian tribes, do not have the benefit, or perhaps the hazard, of other ethnic groups, namely to choose an alternative identity if they wish to do so. But Indian ethnic identity, be it biologically and/or socially based is obviously being reformulated as it manifests itself increasingly in pan Indianism.

NOTES

[1]anishinaabek literally translated can be rendered "the people".

[2]Only when there was deliberate action on the part of the chief and council to obtain government grants, did they procure these. Failure to act on behalf of the entire community always resulted in failure to obtain benefits.

[3]The term authority here has reference to control over economic resources, medical supplies, education and religion.

[4]Discreet native kinship classifications and hierarchical distinctions of supernatural entities are reflected linguistically.

[5]Skinner's (1911) designation of the Northern Saulteaux includes much, if not all of the area delineated by Hickerson as the southwest Chippewa, but did so without sufficient reference to ecological criterion.

[6]Small garden plots have been noted at Bloodvein River, Hole River and Pauingassi.

[7]See Table A for the population increases.

[8]My Bloodvein River informant, S.E., made it clear to me that the violation of totemic taboo, in this case endogamous marriage, was the cause of much mishap that had occurred among Bloodvein families. Thus Bloodvein people acknowledge the totemic system.

[9]Hodge (1913:97) documented the existence of cannibalism among the Ojibwa. The eating of human flesh was occasionally practiced along the Rainy River during severe stress of hunger. Cannibalism has also been noted in an earlier document by Peter Jones (1861:69).

[10]See Chapter IV, pages 38-39 for the explanation of okima and okimahkan.

[11]On matters of ownership the Bloodvein people distinguish between items created and territorial rights.

[12]I observed one drumming session in the summer of 1969 in which drummer G.H. brought out his drum to his brother's place and was assisted by him. The two brothers are both in their seventies. A son of the assistant was the person designated to "warm up the drum" by holding it next to a fire built specifically for heating the drum.

[13]Theoretically there are 64. Not nearly all of these engage in trapping during a given season.

[14]See Table A which demonstrates the unusual population growth since 1939.

[15]To be noted, also, is the development of an employer-employee relationship in the fishing unit in the case of two persons who were hired as fishermen in the community. Both were potential in-married males, but unrelated to the individual who hired them.

[16]Per Indian Act.

[17]The term shimakensikan is used for "Indian constable"; "white" constables are called shimakenis.

[18]Buildings are designated as "major" in keeping with the lists of buildings which were wired for electricity in 1969.

[19]The average dwelling space per Canadian family in 1961 was 1136 sq. ft. (Good Housing 1964:33). If the average size of families is four (Woofter 1955:770), then they have 282 sq. ft. of dwelling space per person, compared with 85 sq. ft. at Bloodvein River.

[20]See Table D to demonstrate the settlement pattern.

[21]Treaty No. 2 spells out the details.

[22]At Hole River potato growing has been re-introduced and with considerable success. With the use of a band owned tractor and plow no fewer than twenty potato plots were planted and harvested in 1971.

[23]Chief George Barker of the Hole River reserve reports on pre-registration days: "The fall of 1936 was no exception, as we were on our way to our trapping areas..." (Barker, no date, p. 16, underlining mine).

[24]George Barker, himself highly instrumental in obtaining registration for the trapping areas, reports about the year 1936: "The idea of the need to organize registered traplines kept bothering me until I decided I should keep going to the Government until they decided to do something regarding them" (p. 16). Later, Barker notes: "It was then (1947) that registered traplines came into effect" (p. 19). Barker's date, agrees with that supplied by Sterling Campbell of the Department of Mines and Natural Resources.

[25]Personal communication with Sterling Campbell of the Department of Mines and Natural Resources.

[26]A complete analysis of social structure must include references to all types of individuals and their roles within a given body of people. It seems at least as significant to measure influences of personnel as it is to measure influences of technology, etc.

[27]Statement was personally recorded during a Conference of Native Christian Leaders held at Canadian Mennonite Bible College, June 20, 1970.

[28]Note for example the study conducted by Deprez and Sigurdson (1969) who examine the economic status of the Canadian Indian on a basis that the immediate environments of Indian communities in Manitoba do not have a sufficiently viable economic base for their sustenance, ignoring the fact that their economic source is in the first place not regional based but is dependent on political liaisonship with the federal government via the local administration of the chief and council.

[29]H.N. told me later that he was born in 1934, which would date the event at 1941.

[30]Charles Fiero (personal communication) makes the point that acimowan are "written down stories". It must be acknowledged, however, that the respect for writing is a European influence.

[31]The term, chief, as used by Malinowski and cited by Sahlins, is of course not to be categorically equated with the term chief of the traditional Northern Ojibwa hunting communities let alone the useage of chief in the modern Northern Ojibwa reserve community.

[32]The development of the Apostolics in itself evokes the question about its originality. Other shakerism movements among Indian peoples are reported in the northwest coast. Non-Indian shaker cults have occurred in New England (Andrews 1963). While features of these movements are similar, their historical connections are unlikely. Similarly connections seem to be absent with the Ghost Dance of the 1890's (Mooney 1965) or with the shakers of the Salishen tribes (Barnett 1957).

[33]One of the few occasions for socially expressed emotionalism is the drinking party. The free assertiveness during drunkenness, or pseudo-drunkenness has many similarities to the "thrills" expressed at the Apostolic services.

[34]Despite the usual Christian evangelical emphasis on the future, that is, salvation in order to gain access to heaven, the Apostolic emphasis is on present non-futuristic feelings.

Table A

Population Increases

Bloodvein Band - 09

Agency - 571

December 31, 1970

Year	No. in band	Religious Affiliation: Roman Catholic	Other	Aboriginal
1917	74	--	--	--
1939	103	101	2 (U.C.)	--
1944	116	112	4 (U.C.)	--
1954	149	149	--	--
1959	202	201	1 (U.C.)	--
1970	351	*(not given		)
1971	370	(not given		)
1972 (July 31)	386	(not given		)

In 1970, 23 persons of the 351, or 6% were non-resident members. In that same year 6,956 of Manitoba's total treaty population 26,652, or 25% were not residing on the reserve. Of these non-resident treaty members 2,049 or 13%, however, were squatting on crown land.

(December 31, 1968 Band list)

Ages 1- 9	114	36%
Ages 10-19	87	27%
Ages 20-29	39	12%
Ages 30-39	26	8%
Ages 40-49	21	7%
Ages 50-59	13	4%
Ages 60-69	12	4%
Ages 70-79	3	1%
Ages 80 and over	1	.3%

*Mr. E. Daggit, of the Regional office of Indian Affairs and Northern Development informed me that since information given regarding religious affiliation did not agree with actual religious adherence they no longer request that data when census is taken.

Table B

1970

Bloodvein River

Name	No. in House	Type of House	Condition of House	Year Constructed	Size	Rooms
Robert Benson	5	Frame	Very good	1967	24 x 36	5
George Turtle Jr.	6	Log	Very poor	1964	16 x 16	1
Mike Green	8	Frame	Fair	1961	20 x 18	2
Joseph Bushie	4	Log	Very poor	1967	14 x 14	2
Alex Bushie	6	Frame	Very good	1969	36 x 24	6
Vernon Cook	9	Frame	Good	1960	32 x 24	5
Norbert Green	7	Log	Poor	1965	24 x 20	3
Albert Young Sr.	9	Frame	Good	1964	24 x 20	6
Albert Goosehead	6	Frame	Very good	1968	38 x 24	7
Joseph Green	9	Frame	Good	1964	32 x 24	5
Alfred J. Cook Jr.	4	Frame	Very poor	1961	16 x 16	3
Alfred J. Cook Sr.	4	Frame	Very good	1969	36 x 24	7
Chief Harry Cook	12	Frame	Very good	1968	36 x 24	7
Oliver Fisher	1	Log	Very poor	1946	16 x 16	2
Philomine Fisher	8	Frame	Very good	1967	36 x 24	5
Charlie Duck	8	Frame	Good	1966	36 x 24	5
Henry Duck	8	Frame	Poor	1969	14 x 14	1
Harry Hamilton	8	Frame	Very good	1969	36 x 24	6
Fred Bushie	9	Frame	Good	1965	32 x 24	6
Alex Turtle	8	Frame	Good	1965	22 x 32	7
Mrs. Beatrice Scott	3	Frame	Very good	1969	36 x 24	6
Harry J. Bushie	11	Frame	Fair	1961	36 x 24	5
Johnny Duck	5	Log	Very poor	1966	10 x 12	1

Name	No. in House	Type of House	Condition of House	Year Constructed	Size	Rooms
Jacob Crate	1	Log	Very poor	1966	10 x 12	1
Raymond Duck	11	Frame	Good	1963	20 x 22	3
Janet Green	5	Log	Very poor	1960	16 x 16	1
Philip Green	1	Log	Very poor	1960	16 x 16	1
Antoine Green	10	Frame	Good	1963	24 x 32	5
William G. Green	8	Frame	Good	1967	24 x 28	5
George Fisher	13	Frame	Good	1961	24 x 32	5
Stanley Skye	7	Frame	Very good	1968	36 x 24	6
Jacob Scott	10	Frame	Good	1960	22 x 36	5
Alex Young	6	Frame	Very good	1966	36 x 24	6
Gordon Hamilton	9	Frame	Good	1965	32 x 22	5
Donald Young	10	Frame	Good	1966	24 x 32	6
Willie Young	10	Frame	Very good	1966	36 x 24	6
Wilfred Goosehead	5	Frame	Poor	1968	14 x 12	1
Fred Asham (Smith)	3	Frame	Very good	1967	23 x 20	5
Mary Green	4	Log	Poor	1959	16 x 16	1
Tache Dunsford	10	Frame	Very good	1969	30 x 22	6
Edward Green	2	Log	Poor	1930	10 x 12	1
Charlie Young	13	Frame	Fair	1960	22 x 32	7
Harold Hamilton	3	Log	Fair	1964	20 x 30	4

This list was obtained from Chief Harry Cook by Abe Hoeppner.

Table C

Key to Map

Elaboration and Supplement to Manitoba Hydro Map

by Frank Young, April 6, 1970

1. Christie Benson
2. Edwin Orvis
3. Robert Benson
4. George Turtle Jr.
5. Mary Green
6. Mike Green
7. Alex Bushie
8. Joseph Bushie
9. Vernon Cook
10. Norbert Green
11. Albert Young
12. Roman Catholic school
13. Roman Catholic teacherage
14. Gaffrey's store
15. Roman Catholic warehouse
16. Roman Catholic residence
17. Charlie Young
18. Bloodvein Band Hall
19. Roman Catholic church
20. Enterprise
21. Nursing station
22. Edward Green
23. Mrs. Gabriel Green

24. Roddy Dunsford

25. Philip Boulette

26. Indian Affairs

27. Warehouse

28. Donald Young

29. Gordon Hamilton

30. Fred Smith

31. Wilfred Goosehead

32. Jacob Scott

33. Alex Young

34. Stanley Young

35. George Fisher

36. Joseph Moose Bushie

37. George Green

38. Antoine Green

39. Philip Green

40. Janet Green

41. Raymond Duck

42. Jacob Crate

43. Johnny Duck

44. Jimmy Bouchie

45. Mennonite church

46. Mennonite Recreation Hall

47. Mennonite Minister's Residence

48. Teacherage

49. Bill McKay

50. Alex Turtle

51. Beatrice Scott

52. Harold Hamilton

53. Freddy Boushie

54. Harry Hamilton

55. Henry Duck

56. Charlie Duck

57. house moved from there

58. Felix Fisher died

59. Oliver Fisher

60. Albert Goosehead

61. Harry Cook

62. Mennonite Chapel

63. Warehouse

64. Alfred Cook

65.

66. Joe Green

67. Fred Green

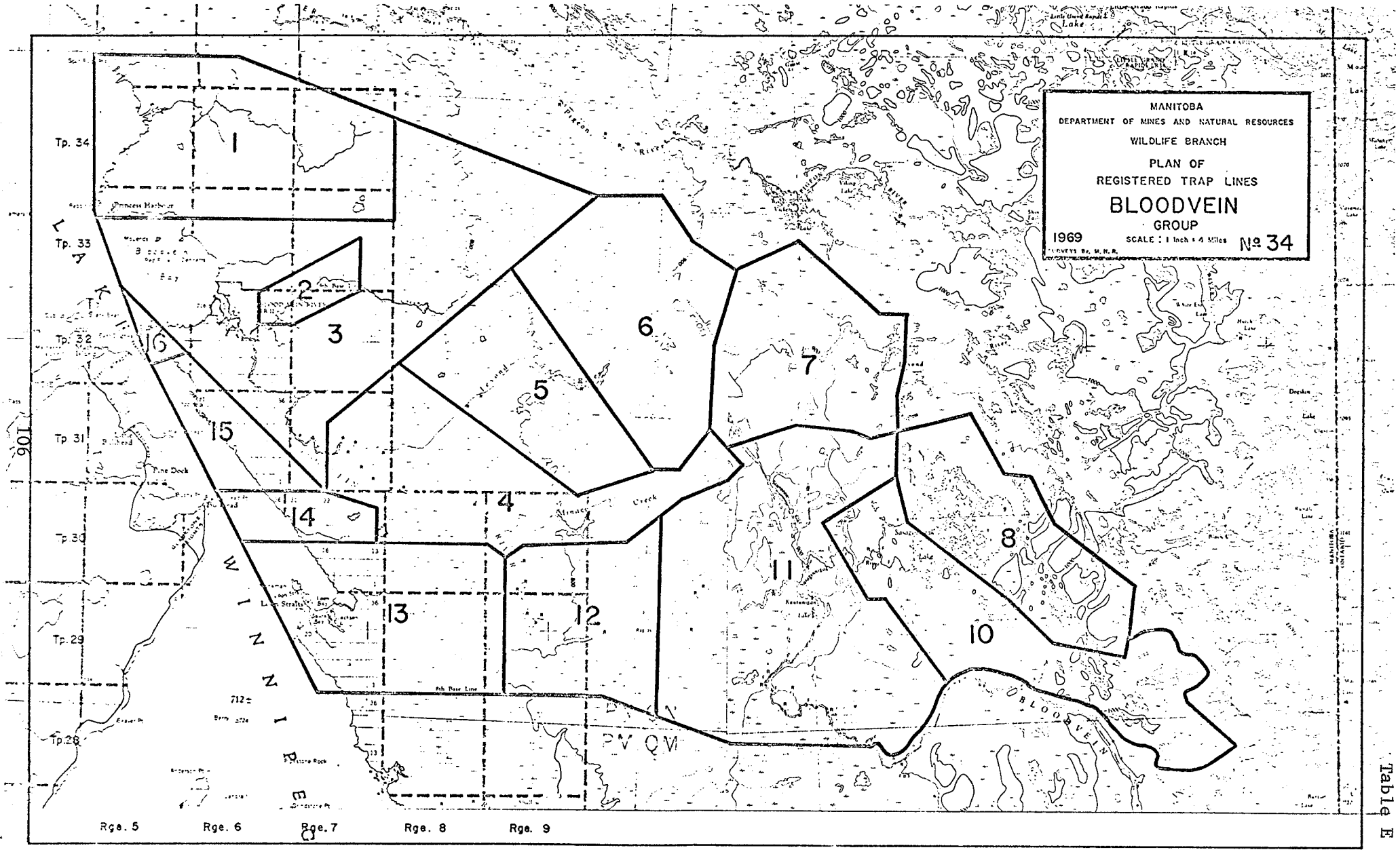
68. Manitoba Forestry Station warehouse (off map)

69. Manitoba Forestry Station Residence

70. Manitoba Forestry Station Tower

71. Jack Clarkson store

72. Philip Boulette


MANITOBA
DEPARTMENT OF MINES AND NATURAL RESOURCES
WILDLIFE BRANCH
PLAN OF
REGISTERED TRAP LINES
BLOODVEIN
GROUP
1969
SCALE : 1 Inch = 4 Miles
No 34
Tp. 34
Tp. 33
Tp. 32
Tp. 31
Tp. 30
Tp. 29
Tp. 28
Rge. 5
Rge. 6
Rge. 7
Rge. 8
Rge. 9
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2
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15
16
BLOODVEIN

Table E

Table F

Bloodvein Traplines

Informant - Frank Young
Present also was Peter Scott

Winnipeg, March, 1970

Trapline No. 2 John Young (deceased)

Alex Bouschie, Little Grand Rapids (no relatives)

Joe Bouschie (son)
Napolean Kennedy (s.-in-law) Hole River
Paul Sinclair (son-in-law) Jackhead
Clifford Bushie (son)

Trapline No. 3 Home Block

old people's area (or for handicapped)

Alex Turtle
Charlie Young

Trapline No. 4 Fishers and Cooks

Alfred Cook

Harry (son)
wife (Ruby Belarge) Berens River
Ernest (son)
Donny (son)
Sydney McKay (for Harry - salary) Berens River
Ron (Laurie, Muskego) Grieves - Cross Lake
Vernon (son)
wife (Julia) Selkirk
Edwin Orvis (Bloodvein non-treaty)
wife ( ) Little Grand Rapids
Felix Fisher (son of George)
Oliver Fisher
Joseph (Moore) Bushie, Little Grand Rapids
wife (Beatrice Fisher) Bloodvein
Alex Bushie (brother) Little Grand Rapids

Trapline No. 5 Jacob Crate (Bloodvein)

Raymond Duck (step sons) mother Little Grand Rapids
Charlie Duck
Johnnie Duck
Henry Duck

Trapline No. 6 Fred Smith, Fisher River
wife (Elizabeth Young) Bloodvein
George Turtle (adopted son)
Wilfred Young (adopted son)

Trapline No. 7 Young, William (deceased)

Charlie Young (son)
wife (Isabel Orvis) Grand Beach

Albert James (son)
wife (Audrey Kennedy) Rabbit Point

Alex Young (son)
wife (Josephine Scott) (daughter of Jacob Scott)
Hole River

Frank Young

Leonard

Rudolf Kennedy (son-in-law) Hole River - Rabbit Point
(brother to Audrey)
wife (Lillian)

Charlie Arnold "niti" (Jr.)

Willie Young (son)
wife (Clara Green) (daughter of Dick Green) Bloodvein

Stanley Young
wife (Harriet Fisher) (George Fisher's sister)

Walter Young
wife (Florence Greene) (Mary Jane Benson's daughter)

Fred Young

Wilfred Goosehead (son-in-law) Jackhead, Berens River
wife (Margaret Young)

Ron (Laurie, "Muskego") Grieves (son-in-law) Cross Lake
wife (Mary Jane Young)

Gordon Hamilton (son-in-law) (father from Cross Lake)
wife (Florence Young)

Gabriel Greene (son of Philomine)
(no relation to Youngs)

Donald Green (son of Janet Green)
(no relation to Youngs)

Trapline No. 8 Harry Hamilton (Cross Lake)
wife (Harriet Bushie) Little Grand Rapids

Gordon Hamilton (son)
wife (Florence Young) Bloodvein

Harold Hamilton (son)
wife (Illa Orvis) Traverse Bay

Morton Hamilton (son)

Patrick Hamilton (son)

Jimmy Bushie (step son) Little Grand Rapids
wife (Louisa Spence) Bloodvein

Freddie Bushie (step son) Little Grand Rapids
wife (Emily Spence) Bloodvein

Bernard Bushie (son of Jimmy Bushie)

Jacob Scott, Jackhead
wife (Dora Hamilton) Cross Lake

William Scott (son)

Freddie Scott (son)

Peter Scott (son)

Trapline No. 10 Albert Young (brother to Charlie)
wife (Sara Greene) (daughter to Fred Greene)

Donald Young
wife (Maggie Bushie) Little Grand Rapids (Freddie's sister)

Alfonse Young

Peter Young (Madeline Young's son)

Norman Young (Madeline Young's son)

Trapline No. 11 Donald Greene (Sr.)

Fred Greene, Bloodvein
wife Mary Green, "papiwak" (in sanitorium)

Mille Greene (son)
wife (Francis Fisher) (sister to George Fisher)

Tache Greene

Robert Green (son-in-law) (son of Christine)
wife (Mary Jane Greene)

John Green (son)
wife (Evelyn Bushie)

Philip Green
wife (deceased)

Antoine Green (son)
wife (Madeline Young)

William George Green (son of Fred's brother (dec.))
wife (Modina Bushie) (sister to Fred Bushie) Little Grand Rapids

Donald Green (son of Janet Greene, brother of Fred)

Trapline No. 12

Tache Dunsford, Little Grand Rapids
wife (Florence Spence) (mother of Emily)

Roddy Dunsford (son)
wife (Dorothy Kennedy) Hole River - Rabbit Point

Richard Dunsford (son)

Alex Green (son of Gabriel (dec.))
wife ("Niskato" Owen) Pauingassi

Joe Green (son of Dunsford) (nephew of Tache)
wife (Mary Ann Scott) (daughter of Jacob Scott)

Sydney McKay (son-in-law of Tache Dunsford)
wife (Evelyn Dunsford)

Edward Green (grandson of Mary Greene) (father is Edward Greene deceased)

Table G

Fruitful Females Over Forty at Bloodvein River

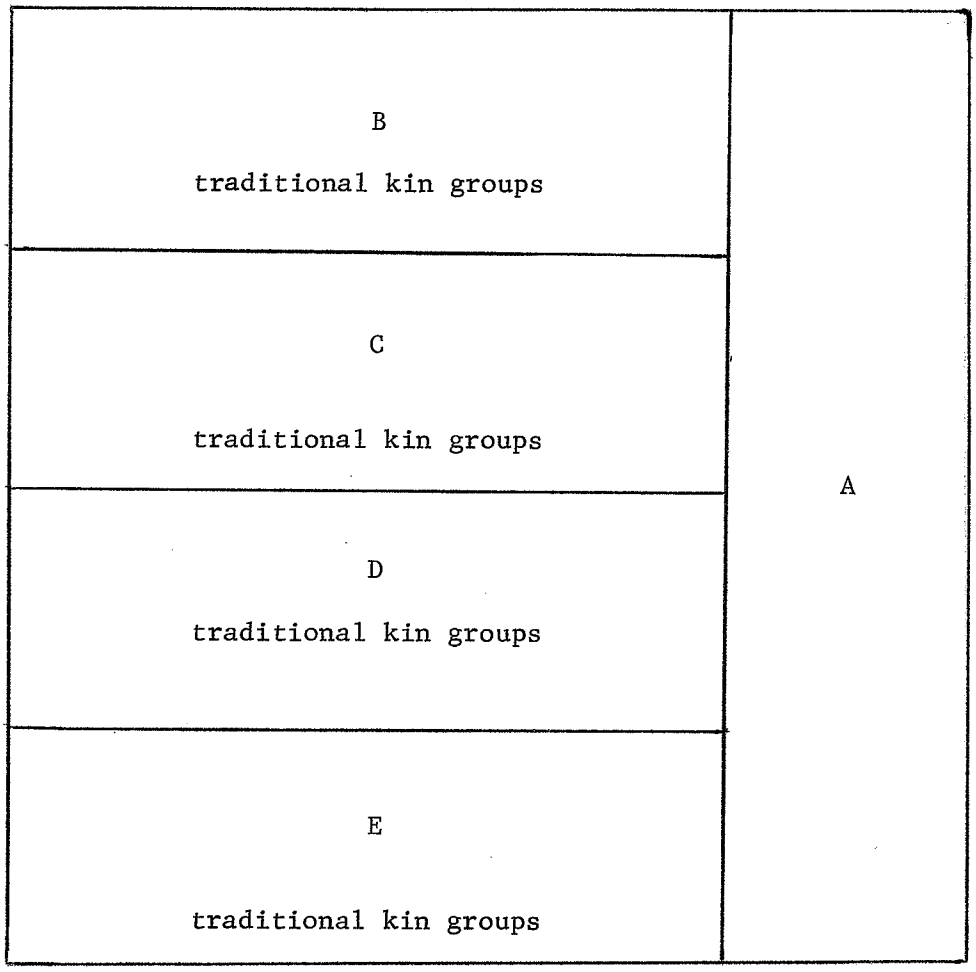
December 31, 1970 list

	Treaty No.	Living Offspring
1	13802	8
2	012302	7
3	015502	12
4	015802	7
5	014502	8
6	015902	10
7	016902	10
8	013902	11
9	013402	17
10	015002	5
11	015102	9
12	014901	4
13	015702	8
		116

Average living offspring per female over 40 is 8.92.

N.B. Information from two women over 40 was not complete and therefore these are not included.

Table H


B
traditional kin groups
C
traditional kin groups
D
traditional kin groups
E
traditional kin groups
A

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