THE CANADIAN INDIAN RESERVE: COMMUNITY, POPULATION, AND SOCIAL SYSTEM

by

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ABSTRACT

The central problem addressed in this thesis was formulated in 1965 and 1966 during participation in a study of administrative and other problems relating to the Indians of Canada. As it is now generalized, it has become a problem of conceptualization posed by population aggregates within any larger polity.

Most studies of contemporary Indians in Canada and the United States employ as a major model and unit of analysis concepts such as society and community, in which spatial and social boundaries are treated as coterminous. In the first chapter of this thesis, I have discussed the limitations of these concepts when they are applied to smaller population aggregates such as Indian bands or reserve populations. In the second chapter, I have constructed an alternative framework in which the conceptual distinction between people and systems of social relationship is made a central feature. In this model the unit of analysis is an aggregation of people either spatially or socially distinct, for which I have used the term population in an attempt to avoid the unwanted connotations of such terms as "community". The population is regarded not as having a social system in the way that societies and communities are conceived, but as being a nexus of many systems of social relationship, some of which may be contained within its boundaries and some extending far beyond them. The population is thus envisaged as the context or social field within which individuals act.
The systems of social relationship intersecting in a population are conceived of as existing as models in the minds of the actors and the observer, with each actor holding at least two: an ideal model of his social context as he would like it to be, and a concrete model of how he believes it actually to be. Actors make choices of behaviour within the framework of constraints and incentives provided by these models, their situation, and the choices of others.

In Chapters III, IV, and V, three Indian Reserve populations are described and discussed in terms of this conceptual scheme, using data I collected in 1965 and 1966. The potential of the scheme for explaining and interpreting behaviour and events is demonstrated in Chapter VI, where the position of the bands in the larger polity is analysed, and interaction between Indians and government personnel, the formation of reserve power groups, factionalism, and the quality of reserve life are discussed as further tests of the scheme's utility.

In Chapter VII, it is concluded that in spite of differences in organization, location, cultural heritage, and economic activity, the three reserve populations have many features in common, and that these features may be accounted for in terms of the particular interconnections of systems that they represent. It is further concluded that the framework of concepts developed in Chapter II provides an improved model for the description, analysis, and comparison of aggregations of people that do not fit the standard definitions of community and society.
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

## INTRODUCTION ................................................................. 1

### Chapter

#### I  BAND, SOCIETY, COMMUNITY ........................................ 4

#### II  POPULATIONS AND SOCIAL STRUCTURE .............................. 19

- A. Population and System .............................................. 19
- B. Systems and Behaviour ............................................. 26
- C. Conscious Models .................................................... 29
- D. Models and Consensus .............................................. 34
- E. Transaction ............................................................ 37
- F. Relational System .................................................... 41

#### III  AN INDIAN RESERVE POPULATION: NORTH PRAIRIE ............. 58

- Introduction ............................................................. 58
- North Prairie Band ..................................................... 61
- A. The Populations ..................................................... 61
- B. General Description ............................................... 63
- C. Organization ........................................................ 75
- D. Some Recent Events ................................................. 80

#### IV  AN INDIAN RESERVE POPULATION: SHIELD LAKE ................ 102

- A. The Populations ..................................................... 102
- B. General Description ............................................... 103
- C. Organization ........................................................ 109
- D. Some Recent Events ................................................. 120

#### V  AN INDIAN RESERVE POPULATION: NORTH COAST VILLAGE ..... 132

- A. The Populations ..................................................... 132
- B. General Description ............................................... 138
- C. Organization ........................................................ 162
- D. Some Recent Events ................................................. 180

#### VI  INTERPRETATION AND ANALYSIS .................................... 195

- A. The Position of the Bands in the Larger Polity ................. 195
- B. Some Consequences of the Connection and Operation of Systems in the Band Populations ................................................... 215
- C. Summary ............................................................. 254

#### VII  CONCLUSION ............................................................. 256

## LITERATURE CITED .......................................................... 265
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>Employment, North Prairie Band</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td>Income, Other than from Employment, North Prairie Band</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III</td>
<td>Household Composition, Shield Lake Reserve</td>
<td>106</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV</td>
<td>Employment, Shield Lake Band</td>
<td>108</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>Income, Other than from Employment, Shield Lake Band</td>
<td>108</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI</td>
<td>Household Composition, North Coast Village</td>
<td>141</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VII</td>
<td>Employment, North Coast Band</td>
<td>144</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VIII</td>
<td>Income, Other than from Employment, North Coast Band</td>
<td>144</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IX</td>
<td>Population, North Coast Band</td>
<td>161</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X</td>
<td>Experience of other Populations, North Coast Village Children</td>
<td>204</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XI</td>
<td>Preference Among Populations, North Coast Village Children</td>
<td>204</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
INTRODUCTION

This thesis had its genesis in 1965 when I conducted a series of studies of the organization of Indian bands as a participant in a project designed to make recommendations to the Government of Canada about the administration of the affairs of Canadian Indians. Although the administrative and social problems were real enough, and many of the social phenomena connected with them directly observable, the data I and my co-workers collected did not fit easily into traditional anthropological frameworks of concepts and assumptions. The conceptual and theoretical problems thus raised have, I believe, a more general relevance and application, and lead to fundamental questions about the units of social and cultural analysis. I have attempted to work out and present in this dissertation a conceptual scheme that will organize such data and allow for a broader range of comparison among population aggregates that do not meet the requirements of definitions of "society" and "community".

It must be acknowledged that the conceptual framework, the descriptions, and the analysis are presented here in a more orderly sequence than that in which they actually occurred. In reality, the questioning of concept and assumption was initiated by the field studies and in discussions with the directors of the project and with my co-workers. The conceptual scheme was developed during and after the collection of descriptive data in an attempt to organize and interpret those data.

Most anthropological studies of Indians in Canada have focussed
upon those aspects of their lives that are most clearly Indian—upon
behaviour, thought, and organization that is derived from their
distinctive cultural traditions—and paid attention to the institutions
and arrangements of the larger society only to the extent that these
impinge upon that Indian identity and behaviour. In the studies I have
presented here, I have attempted to focus upon populations of Canadian
Indians as clusters of individuals who live out their lives in the
context of a complex maze of social systems, some local and indigenous,
and some of much wider scope. I have included description and analysis
of some of the workings of the lower administrative levels of the
Indian Affairs Branch, of other government agencies that work with and
for Indians, and of churches, companies, and other organizations with
which Indians have dealings. This is the result of having attempted to
follow outward from a centre of observation in the homes, villages, and
workplaces of Indian people, the webs of relationship and transaction
that make their lives what they are. In my descriptions and analysis I
believe that I have reflected some of the realities of everyday life
among Indians of southern Canada, and focussed upon some events and
situations that are important to them.

A paragraph of effusive thanks to a long list of professors and
kinsmen is often an irritation or an embarrassment to the readers of
introductions to theses and books: however, I should be remiss if I did
not acknowledge that during the preparation of this work I received
much assistance and support. My teachers at the University of British
Columbia, my colleagues at the University of Toronto, and my co-workers
on the Hawthorn project all provided stimulating discussion. The Indian
people received me with kindness, and the Indian Affairs Branch personnel
with cooperation. Most particularly, Dr. H.B. Hawthorn has been a patient, generous and inspiring mentor.
CHAPTER I

BAND, SOCIETY, COMMUNITY

In an article published in 1964, R.W. Dunning proposed two ideal, polar types for Canadian Indian bands. His Type A is "a remote and isolated society which in some cases appears to be functioning with reference to its indigenous structures and norms". Type B is a band "with considerable history of contact together with a knowledge of the national language and culture" (1964:3/4).

By defining these two types, Dunning draws attention to a set of problems relating to the conceptual frameworks and models by which such population units as the Type B band may be studied—a set of problems that are visible under the surface of most studies of reserve and reservation Indians in North America, but have been seldom directly confronted, and nowhere adequately resolved.

In the paper cited, Dunning examines a Type B band and concludes that it is "neither a cultural unit nor a social entity" (1964:26) and that "the collectivity of persons recognized by Government as Indians... is an artificial one" (1964:35).

Implicit in Dunning's analysis is a model of acculturation which begins with populations functioning as units according to traditional systems. With formation into legally-defined bands and extended contact with the surrounding (non-Indian) society, the indigenous systems break down, and individual Indians adopt behaviour patterned after that of those non-Indians with whom the most extensive contact takes place. The product
of this irreversible process is an unstructured population aggregate with artificial (legal) boundaries, the members of which exhibit, as individuals, behaviour patterns like those of low-status non-Indians.

Wayne Suttles, commenting on the study of British Columbia Indians by Hawthorn, Belshaw, and Jamieson (1958) criticizes their use of a similar model:

In this view, the Indians are on a one-way track to North American culture, though they may get stalled indefinitely along the way. There seems to be no room here for the formation of neo-Indian cultures among these stalled groups of Indians (Suttles 1963:524).

However, Suttles agrees with Dunning in rejecting the band as a meaningful unit for study, and his main criticism of Hawthorn et al. is that they have made it central to their analysis. He describes for the Coast Salish both aboriginal and modern inter-village ties, and goes on to suggest that the intergroup relations he has described "define the real self-sufficient social unit" (Suttles 1963:523) (emphasis added) for the Coast Salish. Like Dunning, Suttles concludes that the band is "largely an artificial administrative unit" (1963:524).

Eleanor Leacock comes to a similar conclusion about a band she studied in 1945: "Seabird has no 'community'...people living near each other do not form a single social unit despite the pressure of outside forces in this direction" (1949:194). She accounts for this with the statement that "the unconscious patterns of [the Seabird Island residents] former, interpersonal life apparently remain dominant" (1949:188).

Wilson Duff sees present-day Indian populations in a transitional stage between some previous, aboriginal steady state and a new one:

...the process of change has not yet run its course. What we see in Indian life today is not the old cultures in slightly modified forms, and it is not a carbon copy
of the white man's culture. Nor has it settled into an equilibrium as a somewhat different sub-culture, which is what it might become (1964:76).

In each of these discussions, a dichotomy like Dunning's is apparent; a dichotomy created by assumptions about the nature of society. Although Dunning's two types are defined in empirical terms, the distinction between them is conceptual. Quite simply, Type A is a unit to which a functionalist model of an integrated sociocultural system may be applied—a unit amenable to study by traditional ethnographic methods—and Type B is not. In each of the discussions cited above, there is an attempt to arrive at a unit of the A type, and a rejection of units that will not fit.

In her pioneering study of reservation Indians, Margaret Mead drew attention to these problems, casting them in the larger framework of problems relating to the study of "transitional primitive culture":

Such cultures provide neither the homogeneous routinized background upon which the ethnologist depends for the validity of his conclusions nor the large number of cases by means of which the statistical sociologist attempts to control the complexity of his material...(1932:12)

The homogeneity of a true primitive society is gone. Parts of the culture which once reinforced and articulated with each other in a smoothly functioning whole are gone...

The student finds not an organic social background but an odd collection of traditions, once integrated, now merely coexistent...(1932:13).

The student lacks not only an integrated culture but also the typical individual, the product of the routinized social attributes of a primitive society...(1932:14).

Mead's solution was to use what was known of the aboriginal society and culture of the "Antlers" as a baseline, and treat her study as a description of "transition" and change.

The two most successful recent studies of reservation Indians in the United States, Elizabeth Colson's on the Makah (1953) and Theodore
Stern's on the Klamath (1965), follow a similar line. In both, aboriginal units are used as reference points from which change is carefully documented. Each study includes within its scope whatever units, relationships, and events are necessary for understanding the historical sequences involved—non-Indian towns, Bureau of Indian Affairs policies and personnel, the social effects of World War II, and so on. Rohner's study of a Canadian band (1967) seems to stem from a similar conceptual base. Contemporary units of observation are not discussed as conceptually problematical, and the analysis of Gilford Island is treated as a contribution to the continuing study of the Kwakiutl.

Admirable though these studies may be, they are so descriptive and empirical that they admit of very little comparison with one another and provide no conceptual basis for undertaking comparative studies of other bands or reservations. There are no consistently applied units of analysis beyond the aboriginal baseline or the group of people who were treated as a unit by a government agency at some time in the past.

This is not, certainly, to say that such studies are useless. Apart from the light they may shed upon processes of change and acculturation, something like them is necessary background to the study of any contemporary population. However, judged as studies of contemporary populations, and for their potential contribution to sociological generalization, they still appear as Mead described them nearly forty years ago - studies of societies in peculiar conditions of disequilibrium...

Difficult to control, difficult to duplicate in the experience of the student, too aberrant to make plausible a prediction of...exact recurrence, too disorganized and complicated to provide a complete and satisfactory study...(1932:15).
Where they fall short is in the lack of a consistent conceptual scheme capable of contemporaneous, comparative application to a number of like situations.

In each of the examples discussed thus far, the fundamental unit has been the "small society", conceptualized as clearly bounded and self-sufficient, or at least self-contained. The concept is a useful heuristic device when applied to a group that existed at some time in the past, as in these historically-oriented studies of change and "transition". It may remain heuristically useful when applied to present-day North American Indian populations that are spatially and socially isolated, where contact with the larger society is through relatively few and specific channels, as in Dunning's study of Pekangekum (1959). However, for many contemporary Reserve populations and other populations in which one may be interested, it simply does not fit. Adherence to it leads Dunning to reject such groups as meaningful units for study, Suttles to direct his search for a "real self-sufficient unit" that must somewhere exist, Leacock to postulate the existence of such a unit only in the memory of her informants, and Duff to look forward to a "new equilibrium", when, presumably, such units will again be available.

A.K. Davis has summed up the burden of the argument thus far:

...a traditional, locally oriented ethnological approach... has long been obsolete;...Indian and Metis communities must now be viewed in terms of Canada's national urban-industrial society...(Davis 1968:222).

He does not delve into the problems of conceptualization that I am posing here; however, the implication seems to be that units which are the conceptual equivalent of Dunning's Type A band may have existed among Canadian Indians at some time in the past, but such units are now
to be found at the national level or beyond, if they are to be found at all.

This does not solve the problems. If Indian bands (for example) are to be treated "in terms of" or "as parts of" (Davis 1968: 222, 219) or as "a...sub-system of" (Dunning 1964:26) some larger functional whole, it is still necessary to define them as units. If they are parts of something, what is that thing, and what sort of parts are they?

Methodologically, Davis favours an eclectic approach. He states that to understand contemporary Indian populations in the context of the larger society

...we must draw upon all the social sciences, including history in particular; and upon both the orthodox and Marxian intellectual traditions of social philosophy and political economy (1968:217).

In practice, however, his approach is that of the "community study". The concrete group studied may be a band, a non-Indian town with a reserve nearby, a Metis settlement, and so on, but the central concept is that "complex, usually unanalyzed abstraction", the community (Minar and Greer 1969:ix).

Conrad Arensberg, who has devoted much time and effort to the explication of the concept of community, makes a distinction between the community as "sample" and as "object" (1961). The former refers to the effort of the student of social phenomena to "come to terms with an explicandum", such as "social disorganization" (1961:243) "the nature of peasantry" or "the emergence and interaction of high culture...and low culture" (1961:245), by means of "close-up observation of his problem matter in a local scene, normally a community" (1961:243/4).

This "referral of problems to empirical reality", he argues, can
proceed (and has proceeded fruitfully) without consistent and explicit definitions of the concept of community, the method being developed and refined in precision and rigour ahead of the conceptual base. Its variations, however, "continue still to be matters of journeyman experience rather than high plan" (1961:245), and the "vague models" of community to be "derived from unspecified and unsystematized canons of art and literature" (246).

It is this fact, in part, that leads Steward to make the statement that "...community studies are not comparable, for quite unlike purposes underly their problems, methods, and reporting of data" (1950:51). To provide a basis for this vitally necessary comparability—to "provide a rationale for the community study method...a better theory of the part-whole relations of findings in a community and explanations of a problem of a larger universe of many communities"—requires the "limitation and structuring of the community as object or bounded field" (Arensberg 1961:246, 244). That is, it requires the working out of a consistently applicable definition.

In pursuit of this goal, Arensberg treats of the community as a territorial unit (1961:248), a population unit (249), a "table of organization" (249), and a "temporal pattern" (250). For the purposes of this discussion, the crux of his definition is the statement that "the community is the minimal unit table of organization of the personnel who can carry and transmit [a] culture" (253). It "contains within it, specifically...persons and roles and statuses, or the transmitted and learned awareness of them, for every kind and office of mankind that the culture knows" (1961:254).

Defined this way, the concept of community becomes a tool for the
study of cultures:

...a master institution or master social system; a key to society; and a model, indeed perhaps the most important model, of culture. (Arensberg and Kimball 1965:ix).

...there is...good reason to believe that in general, with proper sampling and due attention to specializations, communities do give us some cell-like minimal duplication of the basic cultural and structural whole at each age and stage of human society (Arensberg and Kimball 1965:45).

The diagnostic criteria for the delineation of a community are defined by reference to a larger whole; in many ways community, so defined, seems like the older concept of society scaled down. Indeed, Arensberg and Kimball, in warning against mistaking a neighbourhood or suburb for the real thing, refer to the community as "self-perpetuant" (1965:31).

Obviously, such a concept does not help to solve the problems introduced at the beginning of this chapter. If "the North American city taken whole...is...the community of American modernity" (Arensberg 1961:256), a nation-state like Canada will contain many population aggregates, such as "company towns", rural hamlets, and groups of Indians living on reserves, that are not communities. What of them? If they are to be studiable at all, a different scale of organizing concept is required.

One anthropologist who has given explicit recognition to these problems as they relate to groups of Indians is James Clifton. He notes the inadequacy of traditional frameworks for the study of people on reservations, and begins his search for more satisfactory ones from the statement that "stable structural forms have obviously developed out of the acculturative experience of American Indians" (1965:320). He then proposes as an organizing concept Leonard Plotnikov's (1962) "fixed membership group".
I would be inclined to dispute this concept's "fit" to many reserve and reservation populations—for example, the criterion that "social cohesion is based on emotional ties" (Clifton 1965:320)—but it has a much more serious weakness than that. The major structural characteristic of the fixed-membership group is that "there are very few role requirements associated with the status of member" (Clifton 1965:322). Beyond the observation which Clifton makes that "the membership of this type of group is predisposed to cultural heterogeneity by virtue of the fact that there are only minimal sanctions against experimentation with novelties" (1965:322), the concept has little analytical power. A primary requirement of the conceptual scheme being sought here is that it allow for a comparative study; "the elements which enter into the system of analysis should be capable of continuous comparison" from one unit to another (Belshaw 1967:7). Since the fixed-membership group is by definition virtually structureless it cannot provide the required basis for comparison and generalization, and the conceptual problems remain unsolved.

In the discussion to follow, these problems will be considered with particular reference to three Canadian Indian bands. I studied the organization of each band for about a one-month period in 1965, and continued the study of one of them for about four months during the summer of 1966. In addition, some reference will be made to a cluster of small bands in the Fraser Valley area, where I conducted a three-week study of organization in the summer of 1965, and a study of Indian—White relations for three months in 1964. The names of the bands, of individuals, and of non-Indian towns and cities have been disguised.

A fuller description of these bands will be presented in Chapter III and following, but they may be identified briefly as follows:
1. **North Coast Village**: A Tsimshian band consisting in 1966 of about 1,000 people, located on the northern British Columbia coast. The band owns some 85 reserves in the area, and in 1966 approximately 870 members lived in a compact village on one of them, the only one occupied. The village has existed continuously for well over a hundred years. Most of the cash income and a large part of the subsistence of the Villagers comes from fishing.

2. **North Prairie Band**: A Cree band in Alberta with a population in 1965 of approximately 1,650 people. About 1,200 of these live on one reserve at Prairie Lake, and 450 on another reserve, Fish Lake, some 25 miles away. Although it is officially one band, there is some administrative separation of the two populations, and each reserve group elects a chief and councillors proportionate to their portion of the total population. Economic activities are diverse, and include some trapping and commercial fishing along with agriculture and part-time agricultural labour. Few band members have regular and dependable sources of income. Welfare payments are high.

3. **Shield Lake Band**: An Ojibway band in Ontario of approximately 485 members, of whom about 350 live on a long, narrow reserve along the shores of a large lake. Economic activities include the cutting of pulp-wood both on and off reserve land, employment in nearby industry, some guiding of fishermen and hunters, and the leasing of cottage and ice-fishing sites to non-Indians.

4. **Fraser Valley Bands**: A cluster of small bands in an area of the Fraser Valley, British Columbia, that is intensively exploited by the non-Indian population in dairy farming and mixed agriculture. Very few Indians in the area are farmers.
The studies of band organization in 1965 were undertaken as part of a comprehensive study of Indian Affairs in Canada, which has since been published (Hawthorn et al. 1966, 1967). The second period of field study at North Coast Village was undertaken to follow up the problems of conceptualization raised by the first series of studies, and was financed partly through the Hawthorn project, and partly by a Canada Council pre-doctoral fellowship. The study of Indian-White relations in 1964 was carried on under the direction of Dr. R.W. Dunning, then of the University of British Columbia, and supported by him from a grant from the National Museum of Canada. This study was not connected with the studies of organization, but it raised in embryonic form some of the problems that have been outlined above.

For the purposes of the Hawthorn project, the data from studies of band organization could be organized for description and comparison using the formal structures of the Indian Affairs Branch as a general framework. The bands share a common identity in law, and a common formal relationship to the bureaucratic and governmental institutions of the country. As a unit of analysis for studying the administration of Indian affairs, the band may be used in much the same way that Arensberg's concept of community is employed as a tool for the study of cultures (see p. 11 above). Several band studies carried out by several field workers were used this way with good results in the published reports of the Hawthorn project (1966, 1967).

However, this approach does not organize all the data, and it is limited in its purposes and in the range of comparisons it makes possible. It was my purpose to view the data from my band studies in a larger perspective, as referring to people in groups rather than to units in a
bureaucratic system. This led to a consideration of concepts appropriate for the description of the bands as units capable of such wider comparison. It became apparent to me that increasingly in the modern world the concept of "society" can be applied with any strict definition only to large and complex units; the "small-scale societies" that were the object of so much anthropological study are few and growing fewer, and Canadian Indian bands are certainly not units of that kind. I further concluded that the concept of "community", when defined with any rigour, may be applied only to certain segments of societies. Therefore there remain, in a polity such as Canada, a great many aggregations of population that do not fit the definitions of society or community, and do not even seem to be groups in any but the spatial sense; yet such aggregations are real and significant to their members and others, they are the milieu for much day-to-day social interaction, and they are distinguishable from one another by assessments of the costs and satisfactions associated with occupying a place in them.

This, then, is the problem. Indian bands are treated as units by the governments of Canada and the provinces, and regarded as units by their members and the general public. They exist in time and space. The quality of life on an Indian reserve is palpably and observably different from life in a non-Indian town of comparable size. However, these population units may be called societies or communities only by extending and loosening the definitions of these terms until the concepts are virtually useless for analytical purposes. How can we regard Indian band, the company town, the rural hamlet or the urban ghetto? We "know" that they are real, and we "know" that they are significant, but how can they be conceptualized for analysis?
Obviously, we must try to conceptualize them as units, and we must try to say something about their structure if we are to compare them one with another. From what has been said above, it is clear that such groupings are being visualized as aggregations not of statuses or roles or positions, but of people, and it is from that point of view that the following discussion begins.
Chapter I

1 Except where I have indicated otherwise, the term "band" is used throughout to refer to the administrative unit defined in Section 2 of the Indian Act (Revised Statutes of Canada, 1952).

2 Hawthorn et al. do, in fact, take account of the other units and the inter-band ties that Suttles draws attention to (cf. 1958:465). However, they take the position that "the band is today the most effective and significant social and political unit beyond the family" (1958:19). Since theirs is primarily a study of administration, they take the administrative band unit as given, and do not discuss the problems of conceptualization I am posing here.

3 Suttles is dealing with an area in which most bands are small, and in which inter-band relations may well be of more importance to the Indians than they are anywhere else in Canada. Certainly, his stress on inter-village ties is well justified; however, I believe that he has under-valued the importance of the "largely artificial" band units. At the annual Cultus Lake gathering that he mentions (1963:518), participants in the various competitions are identified by band membership. In the heart of the area with which he is concerned are three small neighbouring bands that are closely bound together by common cultural background, interests, and kinship ties. They have cooperated in the building of a community hall, and hold in common the rights to some Reserve land. In 1965, Indian Affairs Branch personnel had been working for twelve years to bring about the amalgamation of the three bands, but had met continuous resistance from the band members.

Some band members in the same area, supported by Indian Affairs Branch personnel, were in 1965 working to create an inter-band council, but they received little popular support. The chief councillor of one band expressed his opinion of amalgamation and inter-band organization this way:

It won't get off the ground..."We like things the way they are. We've got our own band; we're our own boss; we have everything we want. We don't want any changes. We're satisfied the way we are. You get a bigger organization, and you have to go down on your knees to ask for things. We like to be our own boss."

It appears that even within the larger structures linking the Coast
Salish, the band is an important unit to the actors.
CHAPTER II

POPULATIONS AND SOCIAL STRUCTURE

A. Population and System

The discussion above was initiated by, and focussed upon, conceptual problems posed by a particular phenomenon, the Canadian Indian band. It is, however, part of a much more general movement in anthropology involving widespread dissatisfaction with fundamental conceptual units. This dissatisfaction is evident in such writings as Barnes (1954), commonly cited in the genealogy of "network" studies; Manners (1965) and Philpott (1968) on West Indian migration; Mayer (1966) on "quasi-groups"; Barth (1966) on transaction models; and Boissevain (1968) on "non-groups"; to cite only a few examples.

Traditionally, anthropologists and sociologists have recognized systematic, patterned social interaction, and spatial aggregations of people within which a great deal of this patterned interaction takes place, and they have striven to conceptualize units in which the boundaries of one are also the boundaries of the other. Sociocultural systems have typically been used to delineate groups of people: the "carriers" of a culture, or the "members" of a society. By treating systems and population aggregates as coterminous in this way, discrete units for analysis are created, which may be thought of as "self-sufficient"—societies (cf. Aberle et al. 1950); or as parts of a larger whole—communities. Within these, in turn, the focus has been upon groups—corporate, organized bodies of individuals. The demands of this
pattern of thinking are clearly illustrated in a recent discussion by C.S. Belshaw, whose definition of social system leads him to "focus... upon social systems which correspond to the largest political units which organize populations" (1967:4), and to exclude "interactions beyond the bounds of the nation state", even though he is well aware that "it is here that the model departs most sharply from the reflection of reality" (1967:5).

This departure from reality need not, in itself, be a difficulty. As Belshaw notes in the same context, "in the modern world, and indeed throughout history, the isolated society is a fiction" (1967:5). It has been a most useful fiction in the past, and Belshaw's current version of it, among others, will undoubtedly prove useful for the study of many problems in the future.

Difficulties do arise, however, when we are faced with recognizable aggregations of people, like Indian bands or urban ghettos or migration-oriented societies (Philpott 1968), which do not fit any of the definitions in which system and population boundaries are coterminous. Such situations present themselves as problematical for a number of reasons. Relatively small population aggregates like neighbourhoods, towns, etc., are intuitive or "common sense" units (see Belshaw 1967:4). Seen apart from theories of community or society, they seem no more artificial or epiphenomenal than any other. They are the locale for a great deal of the interaction from which we build up our idea of social system in the first place. They frequently draw our attention because of a distinctive style or quality of life. Because of the limits on the scope of individual interaction, they are the sort of unit that is manageable for study by participant-observation techniques, and often seem to be the
sort within which the direct action of "applied" or "welfare" anthropology can most usefully take place. Most important, perhaps, these units have the sort of "social reality" defined by W.I. Thomas—they are treated and thought of as units by their "members" and others. If such units can be considered analytically only when they can be made to fit arbitrary definitions of society or community, the problems remain. However, it should be possible to manipulate or modify conceptual frameworks to solve them.

It is important to remember at the outset that the conceptual separation of social system and individual human being has long been a feature of anthropological and sociological theory. Linton stated the distinction clearly: "...a social system is an organization of ideas. It represents a particular arrangement of statuses and rôles which exist apart from the individuals who occupy the statuses and express the rôles in overt behaviour" (1936:253). A society, on the other hand, he saw as "an organization of individuals" (1936:253). Establishing the boundaries of societies posed no particular problems for Linton with his cultural emphasis; societies were simply "...the sort of organized groupings which can function as independent culture-bearers" (1945:57). As long as he was dealing with such groups as the Comanche, and concentrating on analysis of how exotic social systems were constructed, this sort of formulation was quite adequate. Something like it underlies a great deal of standard ethnography, and it seems to me that the conceptual distinction made so carefully by Linton has become blurred and partially forgotten:

A system is seen as composed of a number of individuals united by ordered relations, existing in time and space...(Arensberg and Kimball 1965:270). (Emphasis added).
However, the modern world does not lend itself easily to the drawing of cultural and social boundaries on this basis. One may choose to draw them wide and act "as if" the resulting units (such as Belshaw's nation states) fit the definition; or one may focus upon a specific aspect or narrow range of social interaction so that the precise location of boundaries is relatively unimportant. However, when one's attention is drawn to population aggregates of the sort discussed here, it is necessary to return to the fundamental distinction between systems and people.

Briefly stated, the strategy I propose is simply to abandon the attempt to force analytical and "real" units together, to accept the "real" units as an object of study, and to apply the analytical concepts to them without pre-judgment of how they should fit. In this way, structuring, integration and structural bounding of units are not matters of definition, leading to the rejection of a population unit as an object of study if not enough of them is found. They become, rather, variables to be measured for any given aggregation of people by empirical examination.

A.R. Radcliffe-Brown discussed the problem of delineating units of analysis and arrived at a formulation not unlike the one I have suggested; to him, the unit of study could be "any convenient locality of suitable size" (1952:193). In practice, however, and for purposes of comparison, he treated the results of such study as though they referred to discrete social units. My concern here is with aggregations of people within a larger polity, and I wish to avoid the connotations of such terms as "community". For this purpose, the term population seems to be one that carries few unwanted connotations for social anthropologists.
It is used by zoologists with a variety of meanings; perhaps the one closest to my intended usage is Pearl's (1937):

A group of living individuals set in a frame that is limited and defined in respect of both time and space (cited in Allee et al. 1949:265).

For my purposes, "individuals" will be taken to mean human individuals, and the "framing" in time and space to exist in the minds of people.

By this approach, the basic conceptual unit is an aggregation of people treated or thought of by some significant individuals as a unit and expected to be relatively enduring. This definition is merely a description of the sorts of units that are recognized in everyday speech and social intercourse. If it is to be used as a concept for analytical purposes, it will be necessary to enlarge upon and clarify it somewhat.

To begin with, it must be repeated that the population is to be seen as an aggregation of people, and the term does not imply anything necessary about organization or system. Thus, the delimitation of populations would seem to depend upon (a) the identification of persons with places or territory, or (b) the identification of total social characteristics, such as race or ethnicity. The first may be thought of as referring to physical or geographical space, and the second to social space. In some cases, of course, the two may coincide to some extent.

The identification of persons with places refers, typically, to the individual's domestic arrangements—to where he "lives"—and leads to the delineation of spatially bounded populations of the kind that will be of primary interest in the discussion that follows. However, the definition seems to allow for the delineation of what may be termed "dispersed" populations; for example, the members of an ethnic category
spread through a larger population. Both sorts of identification may be related in various ways to positions in social systems, but are not definitionally dependent upon them. With this definitional independence, the connections between populations and systems can become the central focus of interest.

Obviously, the units that may be termed populations in this usage are many and varied. They have in common only the fact that they are regarded or treated as units for some purposes by some people, and thus have a measure of social reality. There need not be general agreement. Persons "outside" may regard a particular aggregation as a significant, bounded unit, while persons "inside" the population so designated may regard it as several units, or not as a unit at all, or may include other persons in their definition. None of this need matter, for, by the approach I suggest, any population that is thought of as a unit is potentially a significant unit for study.

However, it is incumbent upon the researcher to do two things at the outset. First, he must indicate clearly the grounds on which the boundaries of the population he has selected for study are drawn where they are. That is, he must indicate who regards or treats this aggregation as a unit, and for what social purposes they do so. Second, he must indicate in what way the unit so defined seems significant for study—perhaps because it is typically the locus of certain kinds of interaction, or because units of a similar type seem significant in some larger context. For example, Canadian Indian bands are units defined formally by the law of the country and less formally in other ways by members and non-members alike. They may be regarded as significant units for study because of the presumed effects of their unique legal
definition, because of the kinds of social interaction believed to go on within them, or because of social problems that are defined as being peculiar to, or widespread within, them.

Once such groupings of people are selected and delineated, they may then be examined for elements of system represented in them, or affecting the lives of individuals included within them. Linton describes social systems by analogy with geometric figures:

A geometric figure consists of a series of spatial relationships which are delimited by points. These points are established by the relationships and can be defined only in terms of the relationships. They have no independent existence. Each of the patterns which together compose a social system is made up of hypothetical attitudes and forms of behaviour, the sum total of these constituting a social relationship. The polar positions within such patterns, i.e., the statuses, derive from this relationship and can only be defined in terms of it. They have no more independent existence than do the points of the geometric figure (Linton 1936:256/7).

When population and system are thought of as being coterminous, as in society or community, it is meaningful to speak of the social system, covering the totality of patterned interactions. However, it is also possible to conceive of particular linkages of statuses as forming separate systems with their own unity, regularity, and boundaries. Linton made a clear and important point of "the recognition of...systems as entities distinct from societies" (1936:259):

The individuals who compose...a society are classified and organized in several different ways simultaneously. Each of these systems has its own functions as regards relating the individual to culture, and he occupies a place within each of them (1945:75).

Thus, it may be seen that the population as defined here, far from "having a system", is a nexus of systems—a point at which systems overlap and interconnect. The very existence of the population "on the
ground" and its recognition as an entity is the result of the operation of systems, the boundaries of which may be anywhere. The distinctiveness of given populations and of the quality of life within them is the result of the particular linking and overlapping of systems they represent. If these can be classified and typed, the basis for comparison of one population with another is established.

It is the stress upon comparison that distinguishes this approach from, for example, that of Boissevain's article on non-groups, with which it shares a great deal in its basic definition of the problem. It is an attempt, like Boissevain's, to shift the accent "from the group towards the individual" (1968:544), with the individual seen as "the central point of a shifting network of relations, recruited from many fields, which he manipulates for his own ends" (1968:544). However, it is also an attempt to place the individual, not in a "network" or "quasi-group" but in the context of an aggregation of other individuals with whom he shares physical space and some minimal social identity. Boissevain's avowed interest is in "forms...which are intermediate between the individual and the corporate group", and he states that "once they become pure groups I cease to be interested" (1968:544). I, on the other hand, am primarily interested in the ways in which aggregations of individuals relate to systems, whether or not these relationships involve groups.

B. Systems and Behaviour

Another dimension of Linton's conceptual distinction between systems and people relates to differences between the "ideas" of the system and the actual behaviour of individuals. Again, his interest in exploring the structure of exotic systems made the distinction of little
practical importance. He could, for the most part, "ignore the wide range of individual variation in the expression of the system's patterns and...concentrate upon those patterns and their interrelations" (1936:259). Nevertheless, he insisted upon the distinction in spite of the difficulty of maintaining it (1936:113, 253).

To many anthropologists this dichotomy has not seemed essential, and they have defined social structure as inhering in "standardized behaviour patterns" (Nadel 1951:29) (cf. also 1957:2-6), or in "regularities" discoverable in "the diversity of particular events" (Radcliffe-Brown 1952:2-3). Levi-Strauss, however, makes the point very clear:

The term "social structure" has nothing to do with empirical reality but with models that are built up after it. This should help one to clarify the difference between two concepts which are so close to each other that they have often been confused, namely, those of social structure and of social relations. It will be enough to state at this time that social relations consist of the raw materials out of which the models making up the social structure are built...(1952:525).

Frederick Barth's summary of the "structuralist's view" suggests that this conceptual distinction was rendered unimportant for many scholars by an assumption (not necessarily explicit) of congruence between systems of ideas about behaviour and observed behavioural regularities:

This view leads to a type of analysis where regularities in the pattern of behaviour are related to a set of moral constraints and incentives which stipulate the critical features of that regularity. Thus for example the regularities summarized in a status position are specified as a series of rights and obligations which summarize all the regular aspects of behaviour which are associated with that status (1966:1, 2). (Emphasis in original).

James Coleman, although engaged in a different argument, made a
similar observation:

...sociologists have characteristically taken as
their starting point a social system in which norms
exist, and individuals are largely governed by
these norms... (1964:166).

This sort of assumption, whether made explicitly or merely lying
behind a strategy of description and analysis, is helpful and perhaps
even necessary when the emphasis is upon exploring alien systems, like
the assumption about bounded social units, for, after all, observed
regularities of behaviour are the object of study—the thing to be
explained. However, it does not seem adequate for the sorts of social
situations represented in this study by Indian Reserve populations, for
put into practice it involves, according to Barth, a "transformation"
in which

one form, in the sense of a set of regular patterns
of behaviour, is translated into another, virtually
congruent form, made up of moral injunctions, which
are made logically prior to behaviour (1966:2).

This may be an over-statement of the case, but even so,
constructing a set of norms to account for regularities of Reserve
Indian behaviour would not seem to be particularly enlightening. On
the other hand, construing discontinuities in behaviour between the
Reserve and the non-Indian town as Indian "rejection" of "White values"
seems to come no closer to explanation.

An alternative view is provided by what have been termed "choice"
or "decision-making" models:

It is possible to look upon a society as a collection
of choice-making individuals, whose every action
involves conscious or unconscious selection among
alternative ends. The ends are the goals of the
individual colored by the values of his society toward
which he tries to make his way (Burling 1962:811).
The most simple and general model...is one of an aggregate of people exercising choice while influenced by certain constraints and incentives (Barth 1966:1).

In this view, Linton's "difficult distinction" is made central to the analysis. Individual human beings make choices in the pursuit of their various needs and wants; they make them in the context of pre-existing sets of ideas held by themselves and by others; and they make them in a world peopled with other human beings pursuing their own ends. The norms and injunctions of systems are not seen as directly and immediately determining behaviour, but rather as part of the framework within which choices about behaviour are made. Patterns of behaviour may be explained by analysis of the contexts within which a number of individuals made similar choices.

It appears, then, that the description above (p. 25) of the population as a "nexus of systems" is somewhat ambiguous. The point would be made clearer by seeing the population as a nexus in a web of concrete social relations and in sets of ideas about such relations.

C. Conscious Models

What Linton included in the term "system", Levi-Strauss has termed "conscious model", and equated with "norms" (1952:527). Barbara Ward added a dimension to this with the observation that if it implies that there is ever one single version of their own social system [i.e. pattern of social relations] constructed in the minds of all the individuals of any society it is misleading (1965:137).

In her analysis of data from a fishing village in Hong Kong, she identified three varieties of conscious model: the "ideological model", or what the villagers believe to have been the system of the traditional
literati of old China; the "immediate model", or the villagers' view of their own, present pattern of social relations; and "internal observers' models" which are the villagers' views of the social relations of other Chinese groups (1965, esp. pp. 135-7).

Cara Richards makes much the same observation when she argues that instead of "the dichotomy between ideal and real culture...there is actually a trichotomy of ideal, real, and presumed behaviour", the last referring to "what members of the society think other members do" (1969:115). However, she seems to miss the point stressed by both Levi-Strauss and Ward that the "real" behaviour is not in itself a structure or system, but is the raw data upon which at least some models, including the observer's, are based.¹

For the purposes of this presentation, I shall consider three relevant models. The ideal model is the picture of their social context as individual participants believe it should be; the concrete model is the picture of the social context as they think it actually to be. The third model, of course, is the observer's model, and it includes the analyst's view of the "reality" of the situation as well as his analysis of the way in which ideal and concrete models of participants relate to observed and reported behaviour. I shall use "system" and "system of relationship" to refer to both ideas about interaction and actual patterns of interaction. For example, ideas about the relationships among teachers, principal, and pupils, and an actual school may both be referred to as systems of relationship.²

At their widest, such concepts as ideal and concrete models could be equivalent to "individual world-views", encompassing all that the individual knows or believes about his surroundings and himself. For
present purposes, however, the terms will be used primarily to refer to models of social relationships.

For the units in such models, the terms status, role, and group are among the most common, but the terms have been employed in a wide variety of ways:

What Linton and Newcomb define as a role, Davis defines as a status. What Davis defines as a role, Newcomb calls role behaviour and Sarbin role enactment (Gross et al. 1958:17).

Some writers have abandoned the concept of "status" entirely, others retained the concept but substituted the term "position" (cf. Banton 1965:28). Goodenough has suggested that the term "status" be reserved for "combinations of right and duty only" and that "social identity" be used to refer to positions in a system (1965:2).

The plethora of terms and usages is the product of the struggles of many scholars with particular problems of analysis, but the differences in usage represent, for the most part, variations on a conceptual theme of units linked to one another in a systematic way by rights and obligations. It may be said, as Nadel said of the concept of role, that these basic ideas are

Not an invention of anthropologists or sociologists but [are] employed by the very people they study. No society exists which does not in this sense classify its population—into fathers, priests, servants, doctors, rich men, wise men, great men, and so forth, that is, in accordance with the jobs, offices or functions which individuals assume and the entitlements or responsibilities which fall to them...(1957:20).

Since my concern here is with the sorts of conscious models outlined above, a relatively simple set of concepts stressing the ordering of positions into systems of relationship seems to be required.
A modified version of Linton's status and role seems to fit that description.

In Linton's statement, statuses are compared to points in a geometric figure defined only by their relationships, and he wrote as though each status had a single role (1945:77). Merton (1957:368-70) expanded upon this view with the observation that, just as an individual may occupy several statuses, a status may have several roles. That is, a single "point" may be associated with several sets of behavioural expectations vis-à-vis other "points". Gross et al. have developed this further:

the points acquire labels or identities which may come to have an almost autonomous significance. People may recognize that some identities are located in a relationship system, but have only a rudimentary conception of what those relationships are (1958:489).

As an example, they refer to the position of school superintendent. Many people recognize only that it is a position of authority in the school system, but have no clear idea of the relationships between that position and teachers, principals, and so on. In this way, statuses may have a social reality apart from their constituent roles.

This view of status has its main significance with reference to the concrete model, for it is part of the broader notion that any given conscious model is not uniformly precise and orderly. It allows the possibility that individuals may conceive of a position in a relational system without having any clear conception of how that position is related to other positions in the system. Such a "floating" status is more than a mere label or linguistic tag by virtue of the fact that its general location is known or postulated. The point may be of considerable importance in the analysis of Indian reserve populations, where some
members' access to information about social relationships beyond reserve boundaries is often limited.

Another set of questions about the precision and clarity of conscious models has to do with the degree to which the ideas about roles and statuses held by the people under study are "conscious and verbalized" (Linton 1936:259). To identify statuses and their constituent roles, it is necessary for the investigator to employ both "statements and case histories" (1936:260). That is, he must collect from the people not only prescriptive or normative statements, but also expressions of attitude toward actual behavior. Various actions may be judged by observers as "proper" or "correct" for the status holder in a given situation; others may be seen as in some way deficient, excessive, or "wrong". Some actions may be judged as "typical", even though disapproved, and so on.

It is out of such material that the investigator builds up his picture of the ideal and concrete models held by his informants—a picture that may well be more precise and explicit than the view actually held in the mind of any of the actors. Thus, what are represented as "conscious models" of any individual or group are, in fact, "models of models", for the reality they represent can never be directly known. That is, all of the models referred to are, in fact, observer's constructs. However, the process is, like other uses of "status" and "role", an attempt to go beyond the simple recognition of the fact that people do categorize and hold expectations, and to "turn it into a special analytical tool". (Nadel 1957:20).
D. Models and Consensus

Though models and parts of models may be communicated from one individual to another, they are held in individual minds. Many scholars who have worked with the concepts of status and role have been led to assume, or at least to postulate, a general agreement among "members" of a "society" about behavioural expectations. Linton, for example, in one of his definitions of role, states that it "...includes the attitudes, values, and behavior ascribed by the society to any and all persons occupying this status" (1945:77). (Emphasis added). In this connection, Gross _et al._ surveyed literature from several branches of the social sciences and concluded that "the postulate of role consensus has been as embedded in sociology as in anthropology and social psychology" (1958:37).

Nadel, however, allows for variability in expectations: "We know that diverse and even conflicting social norms frequently coexist in the same society...and what is true of social norms in general is likely to be true also of the norms underlying roles" (1957:45). Over all, he would seem to be in agreement with this statement by Gross _et al._:

That the members of a social system, whether a dyad or a total society, must agree among themselves _to some extent_ on values or expectations is a matter of definition. The point we have been trying to underscore is that the degree of consensus on expectations associated with positions is an empirical variable (1958:43).

In the terms used here, this is the question of the extent to which conscious models or parts thereof are shared among interacting individuals. It is another question that may be of particular importance in the study of Indian reserve populations, where, as I hope to show, many key interactions take place between individuals whose conscious
models may be expected to differ by virtue of differing socialization and life experience.

Most discussions of this matter, like the two quotations above, refer primarily to agreement on "values" or "norms" or "expectations". That is, they seem to refer to agreement or sharing at the level of the ideal model, involving commitment to aspects of a moral order. The inclusion of the concept of concrete model allows for agreement to exist in the form of shared knowledge of statuses and roles or relational systems. Interaction, then, may take place on the basis of some shared definition of the situation, and need not depend upon congruence of ideal models.

Several aspects of status and role definition and sharing of conscious models may be illustrated by referring to behaviour involving members of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police at North Coast Village. The village was visited from time to time by an R.C.M.P. boat carrying three or four members of the force. Sometimes these visits were in response to calls from the village; more often they were "routine". The policemen might remain in the village for a few hours or for most of the day, or overnight. On some occasions, a policeman would remain in the village over the weekend, staying in a "government cabin" on the school property.

One of the policemen, a corporal, had the reputation of being strict and unbending, rigid in his application of the law, and coldly formal in personal contacts, which in the village were confined to "official" ones. He was described as one who would "arrest his own grandmother" if the occasion arose. A younger man of the rank of constable, on the other hand, would joke and chat with people, was
reported to "turn a blind eye" to minor infractions when no serious consequences seemed likely, and was observed at least once to lay aside his uniform jacket and cap to join in an impromptu baseball game with the village men and boys.

Most of the village residents with whom I discussed these two men seemed to feel well-disposed toward the constable, though some appeared to distrust his friendliness. A few people professed approval of the "rigid" corporal, saying that with more policemen like him there "would not be so much trouble" in the village or in Harbour City. In a discussion among a small group of men, one observed that the constable was "fair" in his dealings with people in the village. No one disagreed, but another added that the corporal was also "fair" in that he carried out his duties impartially. Again, no one disagreed, but some ironic laughter and comment indicated that the corporal's band of "fairness" could prove uncomfortable at times.

Thus, at the level of the concrete model, there seemed to be something approaching consensus about the status and role behaviours of the two policemen. Although some villagers might recount incidents illustrating unexpected rigidity in the behaviour of the constable, or equally unexpected informality or leniency in the behaviour of the corporal, there was general agreement about a pattern of behaviour to be expected of each. Further, the behaviour of each man was seen to approximate one of two different ideal-typical policeman's roles vis-à-vis members of the public. These, in turn, are part of a more general class of stereotypes associated with "authority" statuses in formal structures, such as teachers, Indian Affairs Branch officials, and even, in some measure, clergymen. Both stereotypes are, of course, represented
frequently in the cinema, on television, and in literature.

At the level of the ideal model, there was disagreement, for some villagers "approved of" one role more than the other. Finally, agreement could again be reached on the abstract value of "fairness" against which both men's behaviour could be measured.

The implications of this for individual choices of behaviour will be explored more fully below. For the moment, the main point is that both commitment to and knowledge of norms and values may influence the way people choose to behave vis-à-vis other people.

E. Transaction

The link between conscious models and actual behaviour may be found in a conception like Fredrik Barth's of "the transactional nature of most interpersonal relations,...the reciprocity which we impose on ourselves and others" (1966:3). Implicit in this approach is the notion of maximization—the assumption that individuals make their choices of behaviour in such a way as to maximize their satisfactions. This assumption has been stated in many ways. Homans, for example, presents it as two linked propositions:

1. Men are more likely to perform an activity, the more valuable they perceive the reward of that activity to be.

2. Men are more likely to perform an activity, the more successful they perceive the activity is likely to be in getting that reward. (Homans 1964:816-817)

Barth summarizes his "transactional" approach as follows:

In any social relationship we are involved in a flow and counterflow of prestations, of appropriate and valued goods and services. Our own and our counterpart's ideas of appropriateness and value affect our relationship in two major ways. Firstly, they determine which statuses may serve as complementary positions in a situation,
i.e. be combined in a set: only those involving commensurate prestations are relevant counterparts in a social relationship. Secondly, they affect the course of interaction in a relationship: the flow of prestations is not random over time, for each party's behaviour is modified by the presence and behaviour of the other in a progressional sequence (Barth 1966:3-4).

For the present purpose of application to the study of populations, certain aspects of Barth's formulation need to be modified. His statement that only statuses involving commensurate prestations can be counterparts in a social relationship is a corollary of a more general statement that he makes in the same context:

I should think few will quarrel with one of Leach's formulations: 'In any such system of reciprocities one must assume that, overall, both parties...are satisfied with their bargain, and therefore that the exchange account "balances".' (Leach, 1952:51) (Barth 1966:4).

In Leach's article, "any such system of reciprocities" refers to the exchange of women between two local descent groups of unequal status, and "both parties" refers to "the junior group and the senior group alike". Barth seems to employ the statement much more broadly as an assumption about social relationships in general. Though such an assumption may be useful for certain kinds of analysis, it appears, when applied to many observable situations, to be flatly contradictory to experience. Many individuals may continue to be a party to a social relationship and engage in transactions with another individual not because "the value gained...is greater or equal to [sic] the value lost" (Barth 1966:4), but simply because it is the best bargain they can get. Perhaps the simplest illustrations are provided by the employee who continues to work for what he considers to be inadequate wages because he has no immediate prospects of earning more from a different employer,
or the tenant who continues to pay what he regards as excessive rent simply because he cannot secure similar accommodation for less. The continuation of the transactional relationship is based not upon "satisfaction" but upon a rational calculation of known alternatives.

The point has important implications for the study of changes in behaviour patterns. At the North Prairie Reserve, Indian Affairs Branch officials and certain financially successful Indian leaders reported that the men of the band were becoming "lazier". There had been a time, they said, when non-Indian farmers around the Reserve had no difficulty recruiting band members for casual labour on their farms. The men would walk long distances and otherwise exert themselves to secure this kind of employment. Such recruitment, however, was becoming more and more difficult, even when the farmers came to the Reserve in their trucks offering transportation to and from the job. Some non-Indian farmers gave similar statements.

Even though they explained the situation in terms of increasing "laziness", the Indian Affairs officials and Indian leaders also noted that increases in welfare payments had created a situation in which a man with a moderately-sized family could receive "on relief" as much as, or more than, he would receive by working for the extremely low wages offered by the non-Indian farmers.

From this situation there flowed a whole series of actions and counteractions that underline the transactional nature of the relationships. I.A.B. officials threatened to, and sometime did, cut off welfare payments of men who refused legitimate offers of work; men sent their wives to apply for welfare benefits; I.A.B. officials refused to deal with the women and insisted that they send their husbands to apply;
women continued to call on I.A.B. officials with applications for "relief", saying that their husbands were ill or were away looking for employment; and so on. The relationships were continuing ones, but to assume that the Indians were at any point "satisfied" with their bargain would be quite incorrect.

For present purposes, therefore, it would seem that the word "commensurate" in Barth's statement (quoted above) should be replaced by "commensurable". That is, the goods and services offered by each party to the relationship must be able to be measured in value against one another. However, one party to the transaction may be able to exact more from the other than that other wishes to give. This ability to control the transaction may be termed power.

A corollary of the assumption of balanced reciprocity is the notion that transactional behaviour between paired status holders may be analyzed as though it constituted a "closed system". However, when the focus is upon populations, a broader view must be taken. A population, after all, is by definition made up not of statuses and roles, but of people. It is people who want things and need things, people who make choices, engage in transactions, occupy statuses, and play roles. Very often, people want things that are difficult to specify in terms of rights and duties. Goods an individual may gain as the incumbent of one status he may disburse as the incumbent of another, in exchange for other goods more desirable or more necessary to him. He may engage in a certain set of interactions, not for the rewards or satisfactions to be gained directly from them, but because they are a means to other kinds of reward. Individuals do not all want the same things, and they want things at different times and with different degrees of intensity. In
terms of the conceptual scheme, then, the attributes of people are that they have desires and they calculate the costs and rewards of action. They may be able to select some of the statuses they will occupy, and to choose which aspects of some of their roles they will emphasize or with what intensity they will invest in a transactional relationship.

Therefore, the approach taken must be flexible enough to include intangible "goods" as well as monetary and other material rewards, and to permit consideration of complexes of transactions as well as relationships between paired statuses. The principle of maximization is still applicable, but it must be applied to the total transactional life of the individual. One implication of this perspective is that relationships must often be analyzed on more than one level of transaction. For example, an Indian Affairs Branch official, in his dealings with Indian people within his jurisdiction, may conduct himself in such a way as to maximize intangible goods like esteem and affection. Several Branch officials have spoken to me with pride of the high regard in which they are held by "their" Indians, often displaying or telling of gifts and compliments that are symbols of this, and stating that the Indians "always come to me when they need help". At the same time, however, the official is being paid by the Government of Canada to carry out certain tasks of which these interactions with the Indians are a part, and the requirements of his job act as constraints and incentives upon his relations with the Indians.

F. Relational Systems

In the discussion above, it has several times been implied that the statuses and roles that make up the conscious models of both
participants and observers form relational systems—collections of statuses linked to one another by roles into complexes that have some measure of conceptual independence or separateness. Some of these may be very specific in their application, in their prescription of roles, and in their boundaries—bureaucracies, for example. Some may be diffuse, with both role prescriptions and boundaries vaguely defined. It could well be argued that from the perspective of our Euro-American cultural tradition with its universalistic values, no encounter between human beings is devoid of system, since minimal "human-to-human" behaviour is morally prescribed, and as soon as an individual is conceived of as occupying a position vis à vis another, system is present by definition.

Systems are given concrete reality when individuals are identified as occupying the statuses and their behaviour is therefore measured against the role prescriptions of conscious models. Some may be exemplified many times within a given population—the family, for example—while others may be unique, such as departments of a government. They may be deliberately and consciously created by agreement among individuals, as in the formation of a company or club, or they may "grow" out of values, choices of behaviour, and transactions, as kinship systems have presumably done. In part, relational systems may be distinguished from one another by the nature of the goods that are the content of transactions among occupants of statuses within them—what might be called the "currency" of the system. Such systems may be to some extent independently analyzed on the basis of power relationships, posing questions about the control various status holders can exercise over the terms of transactions, and so on.

One aspect of treating population and system boundaries as coterminous
(as in the concepts of "society" and "community" discussed above) that is methodologically convenient is the fact that the two sorts of boundaries, when merged, reinforce one another in the picture that is finally drawn of the unit described. If some idea of system is used to delineate a population, then the population boundaries can be used as a boundary for other aspects of system. This kind of thinking is not confined to delineating societies and communities, but may also be applied to their "parts". Parsons and Shils, for example, speak of "single system(s) of interaction" in which the "boundaries are defined by incumbency in the roles constituting the system" (emphasis added). These they refer to as "collectivities". Collectivities are characterized by "solidarity" which is "the institutionalization of shared value-orientations" (1951:192, 193).

However, when the focus is upon a population as an aggregation of individuals, especially if it is a small aggregation like a southern Canadian Indian band, it may readily be seen that the boundaries of relational systems bear no necessary relationship to the boundaries of the population. Some systems may be wholly contained within it; some may include it but extend far beyond; some may be coterminous with it; some may cut through it, involving some members but not all. It is this perspective that gives meaning to the description of the population as a "nexus" of systems, and allows particular features of the population to be explained as the product of a particular intersection and overlapping of systems of relationship.

In any given interaction, a participant may be acting in the context of, and with reference to, several relational systems, even though his social context probably presents itself to him as a complex whole, and
his own cluster of statuses, by virtue of his occupancy, appears to have some kind of unity. However, in the analytical model presented here, it is possible to state with greater clarity the ways in which systems can relate to one another. By the definitions offered above, it would appear that systems may be linked in four separate ways:

(a) A status in one system may be related by prescription of rights and duties to a status in another. The link is in the role.

(b) A status in one system may be also a status in another. This is what Cross and McEachern (1958) term a "pivotal status" and the link is provided, of course, by the status itself.

(c) A person may occupy statuses in several systems, so that the systems are linked by the individual.

(d) Individuals occupying statuses between which no prescription of rights and duties exist may engage in ad hoc exchange. The link is provided by the transaction.

It is obvious, especially from (a) and (b), that the boundaries of systems are somewhat arbitrary, for if what are termed separate systems have statuses in common or role prescriptions linking them, they could be seen as one system. However, if the systems are thought of as separate, and especially if different "currency" circulates within them, the conceptual separation and specification of linkage can be of analytical importance. The bureaucratic phenomenon of "going through channels" places emphasis upon links of the (a) type; the appointment of "liaison officers" and ex officio members of executive bodies seem to be deliberate creation of type (b) links.
Linkages of the (c) type can easily be overlooked or under-emphasized in the analysis of formal structures, but they should be of great analytical importance in the study of populations. They may occur accidentally or incidentally as a consequence of the normal occupancy by an individual of a number of statuses, but the links so formed may have consequences for the operation of the systems concerned. They may be institutionalized, with an individual who occupies a status in one system being expected to occupy a status in another. Particularly important is the fact that such links may also be deliberately created by individuals in their pursuit of satisfactions; advantages may be gained and interests furthered by the linkage of two or more systems through the occupancy of selected statuses by a particular individual.

Two brief examples of type (c) links between relational systems at North Coast Village may make the point clearer:

(i) The principal of the village school, several of his teachers, an educational administrator in the Agency office, and the Public Health Nurse at the village are all members of a proselytizing Protestant sect different from the formal religious denomination of any of the North Coast band members. It may be assumed that their view of their obligations and duties as members of the sect influenced these individuals in their decision to come to the village in these statuses, and to assume others for which they have volunteered, such as Boy Scout and Girl Guide leader, and so on. It further seems clear that their view of "sect duties" influences their choices of behaviour in their various roles in the village. By virtue of this particular linkage of systems through persons, high school aged children from the village who
are "sent out" to attend school have been directed to foster or boarding homes of sect members in another part of the Province. Thus, the sect as a system of relationship is linked, through these individuals, to a number of other systems that impinge upon the population here referred to as North Coast Village.

(ii) The chief councillor of the North Coast band was a member of the board of directors of a timber company, along with several non-Indians from the area. The incorporation of the company is a matter of public record, but I could find no evidence that it had ever carried on any business. However, since the North Coast band owns several reserves upon which there is marketable timber, it may be suggested that the simultaneous occupancy by one individual of statuses in the band council and the timber company could have important consequences for the operation of these two relational systems, and hence for the rewards gained by individuals occupying statuses in them.

The importance of the (d) type of linkage in social situations at cultural interfaces has been explored by Robert Paine (n.d.) among others, with particular reference to entrepreneurial activity. It should, perhaps, be noted that the examples above (i and ii) also describe entrepreneurial activity, and that the relationship described in example (ii) probably started with a (d) linkage that was converted to (c) by the parties involved. The main point to be underscored here is that it is people who engage in transactions, and people have, at least in theory, some measures of choice with regard to the statuses they will occupy and the transactions they will engage in. Bargains struck among individuals have important consequences for the operation of the relational systems
in which they may occupy statuses, as well as for the satisfactions of
the individuals concerned.

G. Characteristics of Populations

The founders of sociological theory posed as a central problem
the question of how it is that people come to be organized. In cultural
terms, Malinowski's "theory of needs" (1939) is of this kind—cultural
systems are seen as the result of people in groups pursuing their needs
and wants. In the terms used here, this is the question of how populations
create systems. Even when sociological inquiry ranged far from this
fundamental question, its basic assumptions remained, and societies and
communities are visualized as groups of people organized by a system or
systems more or less coterminous with the group.

Having arrived at this conception, sociologists and anthropologists
have then sometimes worked backwards from it, attempting by this means
to determine the fundamental characteristics of the units so conceived.
Aberle _et al._ proceed by providing a definition of society (1950:101),
then stating four conditions "terminating the existence of a society"
(1950:103) which are negations of the essential elements of the definition,
and finally stating eight "functional prerequisites"—conditions that must
be fulfilled if the society-terminating conditions are to be avoided
(1950:104ff.). The list is a convenient guide for the organization of
data, and in effect provides the investigator with the question of how
these prerequisite conditions are fulfilled for any given concrete unit.

In the approach being developed here, however, the prior existence
of systems of relationship is taken for granted, and it seems clear
that, in the modern world at least, once systems are manifested in
behaviour, they create populations. Systems are visualized as webs or networks of positions, some spread widely and extend even beyond national and cultural boundaries; some are small and contained within the compass of a small cluster of people. Individual human beings, pursuing their wants within the pattern of constraints and incentives provided by the systems, occupying positions and engaging in transactions with other position holders, are aggregated into groups. Populations are where they are and what they are in a large measure because of the operation of systems of relationship within which people pursue their goals.

Within this perspective, it should be possible to follow the same logical procedure as that employed by Aberle et al. in the paper cited above (1950), and arrive at a set of questions that will aid in exploring the characteristics of any given population.

I have defined a population as "an aggregation of people treated or thought of by some significant individuals as a unit and expected by them to be relatively enduring". The reference to "significant" individuals identifying the unit is merely the requirement that the identification have observable social consequences. Identification of a unit by a few individuals with power—members of a government body, for instance—could have as important social consequences as identification by a much larger number of less powerful individuals. However, this aspect of identification provides the first question: who identifies the population as a unit? How, and for what social purposes do they do so? In answering these questions, the analyst must make clear his reasons for delineating the population as he does, and he must do so with reference to the social consequences of its definition.

If a population is identified as existing, having existed, and/or
being expected to persist, obviously the people making it up must not all die, nor must they all disperse into other populations, and most of those who do either must be replaced. Therefore, it must be assumed for any existing population, seen as an aggregation of choice-making individuals, that their bodily needs are at least minimally satisfied and that they have reasons for remaining where they are. If the replacement of those who die or emigrate is by other means than sexual reproduction, there must be reasons for individuals to join the population. However, it should be noted that this reference to choice and to "reasons" should not be taken to mean that all—or even most—members of any given population are there by preference. It should also be noted that populations may differ markedly from one another in the permanence of residence of the individuals who make them up. A "company town" for example, may maintain a population over a considerable period of time in which numbers, age and sex distributions, and other characteristics remain quite stable, but the turn-over of individuals is considerable.

Although there have been speculations about aggregations of completely independent individuals (cf. Leighton 1959), no such population is likely in reality, so the satisfaction of bodily needs and the motivation to come to or remain in a population must be provided at least partially in the context of systems of social relationship. Therefore, a further set of questions is raised: what systems maintain the population in existence? How do they do so? What influences do the characteristics of the individuals making up the population have upon the operation of the systems? How do the systems intersect in the population? What consequences does this particular intersection of
If historical data are available, it is possible to describe the interaction of populations and systems over time for a selected space. For example, with the discovery of gold in what is now the interior of British Columbia in 1856, a world-wide complex of relational systems provided the motivation to bring thousands of people into the area, and thousands more came to provide services desired by those seeking gold. Population clusters like the one at Barkerville generated local relational systems out of individual transactions among these people, and attracted national and international ones, from banks to Chinese secret societies. As the gold that had provided the initial motivation petered out, the people making up some of these populations moved to other locations; some populations remained in existence, maintained by the operation of other relational systems long after those concerned with gold were no longer represented. The results of this kind of description would differ from those produced by standard techniques of historiography only in the perspective that sees the population aggregates as artifacts of existing and emerging relational systems, rather than as "communities" *sui generis*, in a state of "growth" or "decay". However, it is this perspective that provides the vitally necessary basis for structural comparison that is so often lacking in historical accounts.

This point of view is of particular importance, I would suggest, in the study of Indian reserve populations, for it draws attention to the fact that however different from the "average" Canadian village or town such populations may appear to be, they are nonetheless embedded in the relational systems that make up the Canadian polity, and are thus as surely maintained by, and maintaining of, systems of relations with world-
wide ramifications. The point is underscored in the characterization by Dunning, Suttles, and Leacock (cited above) among others, of the present Indian band populations as "artificial", which by implication contrasts them with "natural" non-Indian population aggregates.

This contrast seems to be produced by the extension of an organic functionalist view from the level of society or culture (where these terms are used to refer to both aggregates of people and the systems of ideas that organize their activities) to population aggregates within a modern polity, and the "natural" vs. "artificial" dichotomy seems to rest upon two main features of that point of view. The first of these is an assumption of direct relationship between the economic activities of people and the location of population aggregates of the kind that is illustrated in such classifications as the culture areas delineated for aboriginal North America. This assumption is not really adequate for a cultural situation in which techniques of production of material goods are so complex, networks of distribution are so wide, and where so many individuals are far removed from subsistence production. A town around a pulp mill on the British Columbia coast is not the functional equivalent of an aboriginal Kwakiutl village. However, populations within a modern state do come into being, grow, diminish, shift, and change in response to "economic factors", and it may seem as though the assumption works as well for explaining the demographic map of modern as aboriginal America. If the matter is not pressed further, southern Indian bands may seem to stand out as different, and thus "artificial".

The second feature of the point of view that sees Indian bands as artificial units is the assumption that inadequate operation of a socio-cultural system will result in the termination of the unit which the
system defines (cf. Aberle _et al._ 1950:103-4). There is no measurement of "adequacy" independent of the persistence or non-persistence of the unit, but the statement is not intended to be propositional, it is definitional. To speak of units with coincident physical and relational boundaries is to set limits to the kind and extent of social relationships that are to be considered. Thus, if a defined unit is taken as a starting-point, changes over time may be plotted in the relationships that define it, and among the possible kinds of changes, obviously, are ones that will alter or obliterate the boundaries stated or implied in the original definition. Members of the unit may all die, or be "absorbed" into some other unit—that is, the regularities that allowed the unit's definition in the first place may disappear. To again refer the assumption to an example from aboriginal North America, the Nicola were presumably once a clearly-defined Athabaskan enclave in Salish territory. By the 1890's, their language, material culture, and social organization were distinguishable only with difficulty from their Salish neighbours'.

This assumption, too, is not adequate when applied to population aggregates within a large modern polity. In present circumstances in Canada, biological extinction is no longer a possible end for all but the most remote population aggregates, and if it should occur there, it would much more likely be due to "inadequate" operation of some relational system outside the population aggregate than within it. To be sure, both relational systems and populations—clubs, companies, sects, organizations, and towns—come into being and cease to exist with the passage of time, but causes for the creation or obliteration of their boundaries must usually be sought outside those boundaries as well as
within. However, because Indian bands often do not appear to have the sorts of internal structure implied by definitions of community and society, and non-Indian units are assumed or believed to have them, the Indian band again appears different and may be labelled artificial.

The description of present-day southern Indian bands as "artificial" with reference to these two features of an organic functionalist framework can be related to certain common elements in their histories. The bands as units have rights under the Indian Act to lands that were set aside for their use. For some bands, these are territories which their ancestors were occupying and exploiting, by aboriginal subsistence techniques or whatever modifications of them had been brought about by contact and interaction with non-Indians, at the time when the reserves were created. For other bands, the lands were "new" lands intended for the ancestors of the present population to exploit by a method new to them—full-time agriculture, for example. Little of the aboriginal or early-historical economy remains for the first group, and few of the others made fully the expected changes in their economic base. However, the relationships between populations and territories have remained fixed in law.

The populations that became the bands varied greatly in the extent to which they approximated the ideal embodied in definitions of society or community. Some were tribes or portions of tribes (the Blood), some were villages (Coast Salish bands), some traditional bands (northern Ojibwa). Some were clusters of aboriginal units brought together by contact influences (the Kwakiutl at Fort Rupert), and some may have been no more than clusters of refugees (some southern Ojibwa bands). None appear to have been aboriginal units unmodified by Euro-American influences.
The social, as well as the territorial boundaries of these populations were established and/or "frozen" in law, the mode of succession to membership was formalized, and formal patterns (e.g. of local government) were superimposed upon whatever elements of internal structure were present. These legal boundaries have typically been reinforced by a variety of new social ones—patterns of thought and action on both sides of the legal boundaries that make it difficult for individuals to cross them. To the extent that such populations lacked "adequate" organization (especially in the face of changing economic conditions) this has been provided from outside their boundaries in the form of subsistence goods, control of disruptive behaviour (cf. Aberle et al. 1950:110), and so on.

The differences between such units and the "typical" non-Indian unit implied by the artificial/natural dichotomy may be summarized as follows (though it should be noted that the description of the "natural" non-Indian community is an ideal one that may be difficult to find exemplified in reality):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Non-Indian Town</th>
<th>Indian Reserve Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Social and territorial boundaries established by individual and collective decision, agreement and contract. Membership replaceable by sexual reproduction and recruitment of adults. Immigration and emigration mainly dependent upon &quot;opportunity&quot; and subject to considerable individual choice. Population's position on the land related to the operation of the national (and international) economic system, and the population ordinarily &quot;self-supporting&quot; in the context of that system.</td>
<td>Social and territorial boundaries largely dependent upon Federal government fiat. Membership mainly ascribed and members replaceable almost entirely by sexual reproduction. Both immigration and emigration restricted by formal and informal social patterns. Population's position on the land fixed in law. Population not necessarily &quot;self-supporting&quot; in terms of the national and international economy.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Non-Indian Town

Recruitment of new members from beyond population boundaries to fill status positions for which no current member is available.

Formal political structure integrated with a hierarchy of elected governments and related bureaucracies.

Indian Reserve Population

No recruitment from beyond population boundaries to fill any status positions except those of marriage partners for men. A narrow range of special statuses provided by "outside" systems and typically filled by non-members who remain non-members (e.g. teachers).

Formal political structure dependent upon and responsible to a single bureaucracy of the Federal government.

From this examination, it appears that the description of Indian band populations as "artificial" can be summed up in the proposition that if it were not for the Indian Affairs legislation and activity of the Government of Canada, most southern Indian Reserve populations would not be where or what they are, and it further appears that this proposition derives from the application of a functionalist model of society to population aggregates within the Canadian polity. However, from the point of view elaborated here, it may be argued that no population aggregate in the country would be where it is or what it is without the operation of relational systems of national and world-wide scope, and that the bands are neither more nor less "artificial" than company towns, urban slums, ghettos, or, indeed, villages or cities. All of these are clusters of individuals embedded in a complex of relational systems, and their attributes may be investigated and compared by analysis of the particular relational systems that surround and pervade them. It should therefore be possible to single out given population aggregates and by investigation determine what concatenation of systems maintains them in existence, and what consequences this has for the lives
of the individuals who make them up. It should also be possible to make explicit structural comparisons on these grounds. The discussions under headings A to F above are intended to provide the main elements of a conceptual framework or model by which such analysis and comparison may proceed.
Chapter II

Another treatment of this subject is Oliver's (1958), in which he classifies interaction as "normative", referring to "peoples' opinions... about how persons ought to behave" (1958:803); "historical", referring to interaction the observer sees or has reliably reported to him; and "suppositional", referring to interactions the "historicity" of which "cannot be reliably established" (1958:804). The main weakness of this formulation from my point of view is that it does not adequately distinguish actors' and observers' perspectives. An interaction that the observer may categorize as "suppositional" may be regarded as "historical" by actors.

In Marion Levy's formulation, what I am here calling systems of relationship would be "concrete structures", which he defines as "patterns that define the character of units that are at least in theory capable of physical separation (in time and/or space) from other units of the same sort" (1952:88). However, by my use of conscious models and the concepts of transaction and choice I am attempting to maintain a conceptual separation between statuses and roles as ideas, and the actual behaviour of individuals.
CHAPTER III

AN INDIAN RESERVE POPULATION: NORTH PRAIRIE

Introduction

This chapter and the two that follow it present summary descriptions, with some analysis and interpretation, of three Indian Reserve populations in different parts of the country. I spent about one month in the study of the organization of each population in 1965 as part of the comprehensive research project on Indian Affairs mentioned above, and returned to North Coast Village for about four months in the summer of 1966 to follow up questions raised during the earlier studies. For about two months at North Coast, I was accompanied by my wife and three children.

It is my opinion that because the populations were made up of people of Indian legal status, the collection of some kinds of information was easier than it would be for other sorts of population aggregate. The Indian Affairs Branch, like most bureaucracies, keeps voluminous records. Agency files include letters and memoranda dealing with the personal lives of band members, minutes of band council meetings, data on band finances, and a wealth of other information. For each of the three populations I was able to examine these records in some detail. At Shield Lake and North Prairie I was given full access to Agency files. For North Coast Village, I was allowed more selective access to Agency and Regional Office files, but had full freedom to examine records and documents held by the band council and by individuals and organizations in the village, some of which dated as far back as eighty years. In
each case I was able to give careful attention to documentary materials relating to events of the ten or fifteen years immediately preceding my visit and rather more cursory attention to older materials. For North Coast Village I also consulted archival material and published sources.

The information gained this way enabled me to proceed quickly to interviews with selected individuals, and helped me to avoid some of the difficulties encountered when trying to explore an unfamiliar social setting without such help. The aim of the field studies was to investigate the organization of each population from the point of view of its members and other relevant persons, and I presented myself to the persons interviewed as frankly as possible as one who wanted to learn about "the way things were" in that place. By questioning people in a general way about "problems" I was able to elicit accounts of events of importance to them, and these accounts usually included the informant's summary of the relevant social relationships as sketched in for an interested stranger. Each of these personal "maps" of a web of relationship is a guide to further interviewing and an interpretation of interviews already recorded.

Following such threads led me to interview, besides band members, Indian Affairs Branch personnel, policemen, nurses, teachers, clergymen, storekeepers, and others. I attempted to trace webs of relationship and to construct from the many conscious models presented, my observer's model of the social systems relevant to the choice-making activities of the people of the population. I do not claim that the summaries in the chapters that follow are "complete" descriptions. I do believe, however, that they focus upon events and issues that are important to the people concerned, and from an analytical perspective, important to the existence
of the populations and to the quality of the lives of the people who make them up.

The three descriptive chapters are similarly arranged. First, each presents a discussion delineating the population that is the focus of interest. There is then a "General Description" covering the physical setting of the population and information about communications, transportation, and so on. This is followed by a description of the "organization" of the population, classified under four headings according to whether the organization is contained within the population or extending outside it, and according to the nature of the Indians' participation. Finally, there is a section entitled "Some Recent Events" in which are described events, situations, and phenomena that should be explainable in terms of the conceptual scheme presented above.

Any description is selective. Under the heading of "General Description" the selection is my own and intended to provide the reader with sufficient general information to form a picture of the population. For the rest, the selection is in a great measure that of the people themselves, for although I prompted informants with questions about "problems", they made, for the most part, their own choices of the issues they wished to discuss.

There is little description relating to the distinctive cultural heritages of the populations nor to their histories for either North Prairie or Shield Lake. For North Coast Village there is considerably more, but it falls far short of a Tsimshian ethnography. This accurately reflects the way people presented information to me. At North Prairie the remarks of even elderly informants rarely included references to events of anything but the most recent past. At Shield Lake people
rooted their descriptions of contemporary events in accounts that reached back to the 1920's and 30's. At North Coast Village, adult informants of any age made reference to their people's aboriginal past and to the hundred-year history of the village as an entity in the Euro-American society. The differences may be due in part to the differing lengths of time spent with each population and to differences in the length and intensity of interviews, but I believe that they also reflect differences in the way the people think about their world.

Since some of the information I have included could be embarrassing to some people, I have disguised the names of bands and individuals. A list of the documentary sources used for the chapter on North Coast Village will be submitted under separate cover to the Library of the University of British Columbia and will be allowed, I hope, only limited distribution.

North Prairie Band

A. The Populations

The population unit designated as the North Prairie band of Indians by the Indian Affairs Branch consisted in 1965 of about 1,880 people. Approximately 1,250 lived on the North Prairie Reserve, and 450 on a second reserve, Fish Lake, about 40 miles away. The remaining 200 were classified as living off the reserves.

The North Prairie band was created by the government out of four traditional Cree bands, three of which were at the time resident at or near the present North Prairie Reserve, and the fourth at Fish Lake. The intention was that the Fish Lake people would move to the North Prairie Reserve and take up farming, and that the wooded, hilly Fish
Lake Reserve would remain as a hunting and fishing preserve for members of the combined band. The expected move did not take place, although there has been some movement of people from one reserve to the other at times. Thus, although the total population is officially one band with two reserves, it is de facto two bands, each with its own reserve. Each group elects its own chief and councillors, although the chief councillor from North Prairie is recognized by the Indian Affairs Branch as the chief of the whole band. The two councils meet separately on their own reserves from time to time, and meet regularly each month as a combined council in the local offices of the Indian Affairs Branch, with chairmanship of the meetings shared between the two chief councillors. The band's budget is shared between the two groups on the basis of one-third to Fish Lake, and two-thirds to North Prairie.

Most of the people at North Prairie are Roman Catholics, and most at Fish Lake are members of the United Church. Although there has been some exchange of personnel between the two populations, and many consanguineal and affinal relationships link them, people in each group expressed opinions indicating that they regarded the other as being made up of a "different sort of people". An Indian Affairs Branch official said that the Fish Lake people were "more community minded" and "work together better", and this opinion was repeated by a number of people at North Prairie. The opposite view was expressed by several people at Fish Lake, who said that their segment of the band "could never get organized" like the North Prairie group. A North Prairie man who moved to Fish Lake said that he found the people there "unfriendly" and "hard to get to know".

Thus, on all but the most formal administrative level, the North
Prairie Band consists of two populations, and the appellation North Prairie commonly refers to the larger population on the reserve of that name. The report that follows will use that terminology, and concentrate upon that population, referring to Fish Lake only for comparative purposes.

The only non-Indians living on the reserve are a Roman Catholic priest; four nuns, two of whom teach in the Indian Day School on the reserve; one lay teacher; an Assistant Superintendent of the Indian Affairs Branch and his family; and a Public Health Nurse employed by Indian Health Services. None of these people is regarded as belonging to the population; they are seen as "outsiders" temporarily resident on the reserve.

B. **General Description**

North Prairie is a reserve of 54,800 acres, located about 150 miles from a large prairie city. The town of Wheatville, where the Indian Affairs Branch Agency offices are located, is 15 miles away, about half of the distance covered by a paved secondary highway and the other half by a graded dirt and gravel road. Wheatville, with 2,500 inhabitants, is the largest population centre for about 100 miles in any direction, but around the periphery of the reserve, and a few miles from its boundaries, are perhaps a half dozen small non-Indian farming communities, consisting of a store or two, a gas-station and perhaps a feed or equipment dealer's establishment. The reserve residents do some shopping and receive mail at the one nearest to them. These communities are typical of the area in appearance, and reflect the ethnic differences common to the Canadian Prairies. The people at North Prairie make
specific references to these ethnic differences, and speak of "the Ukrainians at _____" or "the Irishmen: at _____". Ukrainians and French Canadians are numerous among the non-Indian farmers; Wheatville is an old settlement of French Canadians and Metis, and about half of the population is French-speaking. Some Indians from North Prairie, mostly women, have married non-Indians living near the reserve, and some Indians speak a little French or Ukrainian. Most of the people at North Prairie, however, speak English and Cree. Apart from Fish Lake, the nearest Indian reserve is over 50 miles away; it is a Chippewyan reserve, and there appears to be little interaction between the people there and those at North Prairie.

Along the road from Wheatville, and about 4 miles inside the boundaries of the reserve, is the nearest approach to a centre of population. Here, along a stretch of about 1 mile of the main road through the reserve, are found:

1. An Indian Affairs Branch office, staffed by an Assistant Superintendent. The office is small and bare, and is open for a short time during the mornings, mainly to receive applications for social assistance. The Assistant Superintendent spends his afternoons in the main Agency offices in Wheatville, where the main files for the Agency are kept.

2. The residence of the Assistant Superintendent and his family, a small, tidy, well-appointed house.

3. The nursing station, consisting of office, clinic, and residence. According to the nurse in residence in 1965, the station is supposed to have two nurses, but rarely has. The resident nurse does both treatment and public health work, but
a full schedule of clinics, including one afternoon a week during which a doctor visits the reserve, prevents her from making many home visits.

4. A four-room Indian Day School in two buildings, one with an attached teacherage. The school buildings are relatively new, and well-appointed.

5. A Roman Catholic church and the priest's residence. The priest is a French Canadian in his late forties who has been on the reserve for many years, and speaks Cree quite well. From his house he operates a "bank" and a "store", and offers other minor services to his parishioners besides the services of his calling. There is a pay-telephone outside the priest's house, and a large, lighted clock in the window of his study.

6. A residence for nuns, where four sisters were in residence in 1965. Three of the nuns taught at the school.

7. A large hall owned by the band where dances, band meetings, and other public functions are held.

8. A building that housed for about a year a self-service laundry owned and operated by a non-Indian who owns similar installations in nearby towns. One Indian informant said that the laundry had been closed because the machines had been abused.

9. A "stampede corral" built in 1964 for a rodeo put on at the time of distribution of Treaty payments. According to informants, the rodeo was a feature of Treaty Time at North Prairie for many years in the past, and attracted almost the entire population of the band, as well as many non-Indians and
Indians from other reserves. The 1964 performance was the first for twenty years, but was well attended and successful.

10. Besides these buildings, in an area of about a mile square around the Agency office, are perhaps forty houses, ranging from a fairly large and well-appointed farmhouse to one-room log shacks. Some informants who live elsewhere on the reserve spoke disparagingly of the people who live in this area, and suggested that they live there so that they can have access to the Agency office for help. Although the school, church, and the residences of the Whites are supplied with electric power and telephone service from lines running along the road from Wheatville, only three of the Indians' homes are so supplied. About a half dozen overhead lights on the power poles in this area are the only outdoor lights on the reserve.

About 5 miles away from this centre is the United Church, served by a minister and a lay-preacher from a nearby town. Not far from the church is a newly-built "gospel hall" built by a small number of fairly recent converts to a Protestant sect. Many of the minority of Protestant members of the band live in this area, but by no means all.

Apart from the small cluster of houses around the Agency offices, North Prairie's 1,250 people live in 220 households widely scattered about the large reserve. The houses vary in type from four or five large, well-appointed farmhouses occupied by successful farmers, to small, one-room shacks referred to as "log cabins" in Indian Affairs Branch records and correspondence. The term is misleading in that it suggests a measure of solidity and "coziness"; in fact, the "logs" are poles about 6 inches
in diameter, and the walls are chinked and plastered with mud. In several such houses, it was possible to see daylight through large cracks in the walls. One of them that I visited was 15 feet square, and housed three adults and four children. Some occupants of these houses live in tents during the summer, and some reported living in tents during some winters. In recent years, a number of "welfare houses" have been built with funds from the Indian Affairs Branch and the band. These are small, urban-style houses, the largest type of which had a floor area of 32 x 24. A few of these are painted and well-maintained, but most are by urban standards dirty, unfinished, and in a state of disrepair. Many are overcrowded, since people with large families have priority in being supplied with a house, but the designs allowed by the Indian Affairs Branch are not large enough for families with more than five children. In the opinion of both Indian Affairs officials and band members, housing for the population is inadequate, both in quality and quantity.

Four large farmhouses belonging to the successful farmers, which are located on the periphery of the reserve, and a few of the houses in the vicinity of the Agency office are provided with electricity and telephone, and have running water from wells. Indian Affairs Branch records state that water for all the houses is provided by wells, and that there is no health problem associated with water, although there is a problem of supply. Health records and verbal reports by the nurse, however, indicate that health problems associated with the water do exist, and it is clear from observation that many houses do not have wells. People in these houses get water from creeks and sloughs, some hauling it for a mile or more.

During the ten years between 1955 and 1965, the main roads on the
reserve were improved greatly so that school buses could transport children to nearby towns, and the band owns and operates a road grader to maintain them. Many roads, however, are little more than trails, and are impassable at some times of the year. According to the Indian Affairs Branch records, members of the band own 76 automobiles and ten trucks, but such a figure is very difficult to estimate, for the purchase and sale of old cars goes on whenever seasonal employment provides a little extra money, and many houses have the hulk of at least one automobile beside them. There is no public transportation besides the school buses, and some families with no car can be very isolated indeed. Many families own a horse or two, and Branch records show 34 horse-drawn wagons owned by band members.

Although there have been explorations for petroleum on the reserve, and some surface leases granted to petroleum companies, the only known exploitable resource in 1965 was land for agriculture and stock-raising. Band lands are held in common; there is no formal allotment of land to individuals, but band members have rights of use to whatever tracts of land they may be able to cultivate or use for pasture. Of 9,078 acres classified as "improved", 7,128 are in use by band members, and 1,375 are leased by the band to non-Indians. Most of the rest is road allowance. Of 42,005 acres classified as "unimproved", including native pasture, 9,505 are leased to non-Indians and 6,000 are in use by band members.

According to Indian Affairs Branch estimates, the average annual income for workers on the reserve is $600.00. Of the 220 households, 210 received social assistance in money or groceries at some time during 1964, and the average annual expenditure for the band on welfare is estimated at $80,000.00. Sixty-two households are listed as permanent recipients
of welfare, about half receiving cash and the other half groceries.

Indian Affairs statistics for employment and other income are shown in Tables I and II.

**TABLE I**

EMPLOYMENT, NORTH PRAIRIE RESERVE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Employment</th>
<th>No. of Workers</th>
<th>Man Months</th>
<th>Estimated Income</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>On Reserve:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Forestry</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>trapping</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>9,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fruit, berry picking</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>skilled trades</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>3,600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>clerical and office</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>900</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>unskilled and casual</td>
<td>130</td>
<td>130</td>
<td>21,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>beef stock ranching</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>6,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dairy farming</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>7,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>crop farming</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>160</td>
<td>24,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Off Reserve:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Forestry</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>9,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>skilled trades</td>
<td>2</td>
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<tr>
<td>clerical and office</td>
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<td>60</td>
<td>15,000</td>
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<tr>
<td>unskilled and casual</td>
<td>130</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>45,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fishing on or off reserve</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Indian Affairs Branch Resources Questionnaire, 1964.

**TABLE II**

INCOME, OTHER THAN FROM EMPLOYMENT
NORTH PRAIRIE BAND

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source of Income</th>
<th>No. of Recipients</th>
<th>Estimated Income</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Treaty payments</td>
<td>1,297</td>
<td>6,485</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family allowance</td>
<td>181 (722 children)</td>
<td>56,496</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Old Age Pensions</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>35,100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disability Pensions, etc.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>900</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployment Insurance</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3,300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Welfare assistance</td>
<td>210 households</td>
<td>80,002</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Indian Affairs Branch Resources Questionnaire, 1964.
By my analysis, the population at North Prairie seems to be divisible into three income classes:

1. **Successful Farmers.** Two older men and one son of each, or four heads of families are in this category. In both cases, the father and son work together and share machinery, although each farms land that is "his own" in the terms of the band agreement. All four live on the edge of the reserve, and are successful farmers even by the standards of nearby non-Indians. They occupy the large and well-appointed farmhouses and own a variety of large farm machinery.

   Two or three other men are on the borderline between this category and the next.

2. **Marginal Farmers and Stock-raisers.** These are men who farm small holdings with a minimum of machinery and/or have small herds of cattle. They may supplement their income from farming, by working for neighbouring non-Indian farmers, or by engaging in the seasonal labour to be mentioned below, and occasionally receive welfare assistance. Their housing ranges from fair to poor by outside standards. In 1965, perhaps thirty heads of families would fall into this category, but the numbers fluctuate. For example, a number of men who were in this category and indebted to the band for farm improvements lost their investments in a series of bad crop years in the late 1950's, and the lands they had been using were leased out to non-Indians by the band council for six-year periods. The revenue from these leases is to be used to pay the outstanding debts, and any surplus is to be used to re-establish the men in farming if that is possible. In 1965, therefore, these men would fall into the next category.
3. **Casual Labourers and Welfare Recipients.** This is the largest group, and it includes all the other employable males. Some have a few horses and/or cows, and cut hay from common hay-fields to sell to non-Indians. The main possibilities of employment for these people are:

- Labour for non-Indian farmers. This is the usual sort of farm labour, mainly available at planting and harvesting time. Hours are long—ten to twelve hours a day—and rates of pay as low as $4.00 per day were documented in Indian Affairs records for 1964. Although machinery has replaced some hand labour on the farms, the demand for workers is high at certain times of year, but many men of the band are unwilling to work for the wages offered. Indian Affairs Branch officials and members of the council reported that many more men could be employed this way than actually are.

- Work on the sugar-beet farms in southern Alberta. This is available during a three-to-four month period starting early in June. It is highly organized by the Indian Affairs Branch, the National Employment Service, and the sugar-beet growers, with buses transporting workers from all over the Prairie provinces to the farms, and some regulation of working conditions. Payment is on a piece-work basis, by the acre, and is graded according to the difficulty of the work done. The first hoeing of the fields is the most difficult, and paid at the highest rate, with the second and third hoeings paid at decreasing rates per acre. According to reports, extremely hard workers can earn $15.00 or more in a ten-to-twelve hour day, but averages estimated by informants were nearer to $10.00. Whole families go to the beet fields, and even
small children of six or seven work with their mothers and fathers. According to the official agreements, living accommodation is to be provided free by the beet farmer, but Indians reported that rates of pay tend to be lower for people who live in the accommodation provided than for those who find their own places to live. According to the testimony of the Indians, the living accommodation on the beet farms ranges from reasonably good on a few farms to very bad on most, and these assessments were offered by people whose permanent living arrangements would be judged as very bad by most urban Whites. Since most Indians who go to the beet farms have no transportation while they are there, they cannot go to town for shopping, and many beet growers set up small commissaries or company stores to sell them groceries and tobacco. Some Indians reported discrimination in rates of pay against Indian workers, and reports of sharp practices by the beet farmers were common.

- Fall and winter jobs for men, organized in a similar manner to the sugar beet hoeing. These are jobs like cutting brush for a pipeline, or clearing brush in such places as Jasper National Park. Men are recruited through the Indian Affairs Branch, transported to the place of work, and provided with accommodation. Wages are about $1.25 per hour. A number of informants complained of discrimination against Indians in the type of accommodation provided on these jobs.

- Winter Works projects. These projects are organized by the band council, and include road maintenance, land clearing, and so on, on the reserve. Although government regulations prevent the Indian
Affairs Branch from operating a "work for welfare" system, the band council may do so, and these projects are arranged that way. Men are hired at $1.25 per hour, and allowed to earn the amount of welfare assistance allotted to their families. The scheme was, according to his own report, initiated by an Indian Affairs Branch official, and was spoken of with approval by Branch employees and the more successful members of the band council as contributing to the "community spirit" and "self respect" of the band members. However, men who had worked on the projects expressed a variety of complaints about them, for example, that the council are unrealistic in their demands, expecting men to work in weather conditions that would close down private projects; that men can lose welfare money they would otherwise receive if they cannot provide medical proof of inability to work; that able-bodied young men who are covered by their fathers' welfare applications are not allowed to work, and so on.

- Other off-reserve jobs. A few men find employment from time to time in the construction or logging industries. The number so employed varies with the demand, of course, and in 1965 very few men were in this category.

These represent the major categories of employment for the people of North Prairie. Some people do not fit easily into any of them; in 1965 two men with carpentry training had been steadily employed for over a year in the construction of "welfare houses", one man was employed full-time as the janitor of the day school, and another as janitor-maintenance man at a nearby residential school. One man was steadily employed as band constable.
C. **Organization**

1. **Organization sponsored and directed by the Indian Affairs Branch**

   The band council at North Prairie operates under Section 2 of the Indian Act (Revised Statutes of Canada 1952), which specifies a chief and councillors "chosen by the custom of the band", but in fact the council is elected in a manner very similar to the procedures laid down in Section 73 of the Act. The people on the North Prairie Reserve elect a chief and eight councillors. The council has standing committees, such as a Hay Committee to organize and control the cutting of hay on band lands, an Agriculture Committee that recommends on assistance and loans to farmers, and a Welfare Committee that receives and passes judgment on applications for social assistance. On some occasions the council may appoint a committee of non-councillors or a council committee including non-councillors. The Treaty Day Rodeo was handled by such a committee in 1964.

   The council or committees may meet from time to time as needed on the reserve, usually at the Agency offices, but most of its business is carried on at monthly meetings in the main Agency offices in Wheatville. Those meetings are attended by the Assistant Superintendent who is mainly in charge of Indian Affairs Branch administration for North Prairie, and by the Superintendent or other Branch personnel as required. The Assistant Superintendent keeps the records of the band and initiates most of the discussion of routine business. He keeps rather sketchy minutes, and posts a typewritten copy on a bulletin board outside the office on the reserve. Band meetings are held from time to time on the initiative of the council, when some action requires a band vote, or as the result of a
petition from band members. According to informants, before 1956 all meetings were open to the band members.

The council employs members of the band in road and building maintenance, house-building on the winter works projects described above, and in other capacities as needed. One man is employed as band constable. The council as a body and through its committees administers the granting of welfare assistance, farm assistance loans, and "welfare houses"; it recommends on applicants for loans from the Revolving Loan Fund and for a Revolving Herd of beef cattle designed to give prospective ranchers a start. The council controls and administers all leasing of band lands, and rules on disputes over land among band members. For a few years between 1956 and 1960, the council administered the band's ownership of two bulls that were maintained for the service of band members' herds.

Also sponsored by the Indian Affairs Branch, through the council, and drawing funds from the council from time to time is the Women's Auxiliary that replaced the Homemakers' Club after a religious factional dispute, a School Committee, and a "War Dance Club". The Women's Auxiliary is active mainly for such special occasions as dances and the Treaty Day Rodeo. The War Dance Club was intended for young people to learn traditional dances for performances at such occasions, but according to reports it has not been very active.

2. Organization sponsored by other agencies outside the population

The North Prairie Band has three church organizations. Over 80 per cent of the band members are Roman Catholics, and perhaps 15 to 18 per cent belong to the United Church of Canada. A small number are converts
to an Evangelistic sect that was started on the reserve by a man and wife who taught at the Indian Day School for a short period. The council asked that they be relieved of their duties as teachers, charging that they were causing disruption on the reserve and using the school to teach their religious beliefs, but they have remained in the area and continue to take a leading part in the activities of their small group of converts.

The parish priest and the teaching sisters sponsor Boy Scouts and Cubs, Girl Guides and Brownies for the children, but this is not solely a church enterprise. One scoutmaster is a member of the United Church, and children of both Roman Catholic and Protestant families belong. Most of the children who attend come from families living near the Agency offices.

Executive members of both the Catholic Indian League and the provincial Indian Association are members of the band, and each of those organizations has a North Prairie chapter, but neither has a very large or very active membership.

3. Organization contained or centred in the population

It appears that the three traditional bands that were amalgamated to form the North Prairie Band (four, if the Fish Lake group is included) may have been significant units in reserve affairs at one time, but have declined in importance in recent years. Council records from before 1956 contain references to "chiefs and principal men" of the four bands, and to events that appeared to involve the bands in some opposition to one another from time to time. In 1965, however, very few people made reference to these groupings, and then only when speaking of events of
the past. In their assessments of current events, informants referred to
kin-based factions, such as "that bunch of Smiths", or to economic categories
like "the rich guys" or "the relief-hounds". The people referred to as
"that bunch of Smiths" appear to be a loose affiliation of descendents of
an early part-Indian Protestant missionary from Eastern Canada, and some
of their affines and other supporters. These people are all Protestants,
and mostly "better off" than the average by reserve standards. Many are,
or have been, members of the council. A similar but smaller affiliation
is the Halton family, who are Roman Catholics. Of the four successful
farmers mentioned above, two are Smiths and two are Haltons. The two
Haltons and the elder Smith are members of the council, as are two other
members of the Smith family. Many of the poorer band members spoke of
the band in terms of a simple dichotomy, with "us poor people" on one
side, and on the other "the rich guys" whom they equate with "that council"
and speak of as dominated by Smiths.

Most adult male members of the band have at one time or another
been involved in some form of agricultural enterprise, although for many
this has not involved much beyond cutting hay on band lands for sale to
non-Indian farmers. The successful farmers on the reserve operate in
much the same manner as their non-Indian counterparts in the region,
farming quite large tracts of land, and having considerable investment
in heavy farm machinery. They have an advantage over the non-Indian
farmers in that their land is free and not taxed, but it may be a dis­
advantage to them that they cannot borrow money with their land as
security. They draw most of their profits from grain, but grow other
crops and raise some cattle. As might be expected, the less successful
farmers own less machinery and farm smaller tracts, and thus have less
margin to sustain them in difficult times. Until 1961, it was possible for individual band members to enter into agreements with non-Indian farmers, in which the band member received the use of the non-Indian farmer's machinery in exchange for a share of the crop. They also leased lands they had cleared to non-Indian farmers in return for cash or the use of machinery. These arrangements were forbidden by a decision of the council, and in 1965 the only such arrangement open to a band member was to exchange his own labour on the non-Indian's farm for the use of his equipment. There was some evidence that crop-sharing agreements might still take place, disguised as labour agreements.

The lowest level of agricultural enterprise is the hay-cutting mentioned above. Individuals make application to the council for a share in the common hay meadows, and may cut the hay allotted to them and sell it to another band member or to a non-Indian.

4. Individual participation in organization centred outside the population

Band members buy groceries and other necessities from stores owned by non-Indians in hamlets around the reserve and in Wheatville. Some of these store owners reported that they would give no credit to Indians, and others that they would open charge accounts for Indians they knew well.

In 1965 in this province, the sale of alcoholic beverages to Indians was illegal, and a number of non-Indians were known as bootleggers from whom Indians could buy liquor. Some of these people were reported to come to dances on the reserve with liquor in their cars for sale to band members at prices of $10.00 or $15.00 for a bottle that sold
for $5.00 in the Provincial liquor stores. People from the reserve also bought and consumed liquor when they came to Wheatville.

In the view of many reserve residents, social relations between the people at North Prairie and the non-Indians of the surrounding area are marked by discriminatory attitudes on the part of the Whites. For example, two women from the reserve reported incidents in which their children, while waiting for their mothers to conduct business in Wheatville, went into the town playground. Mothers of White children in the playground called to them to "get out" and to their own children not to play with "those dirty Indian kids". A member of the R.C.M.P. detachment in Wheatville reported that it was not uncommon for White youths driving cars to pick up girls from the reserve and supply them with liquor or beer in exchange for sexual favours. Sometimes the girls are mistreated and lodge complaints with the police, or are left alone and drunk on the back roads.

The successful farmers, on the other hand, participate in a variety of relationships with non-Indians, belonging to agricultural and other associations. R. Smith, the most successful North Prairie farmer, belonged to a service club in Wheatville and to a national political party, for which he had once been a candidate in a Federal election.

5. Summary

In terms of the conceptual framework, the North Prairie Reserve holds a population that is considered to be a unit by government, by its members, and by surrounding non-Indians. Band members not resident there are in a somewhat ambiguous category, being for some purposes still associated with the reserve. It is my impression that some of them are
regarded as members of the population temporarily resident elsewhere, while others are regarded as members of other population units, although they remain members of the band corporation. The non-Indians are not regarded as members of the population, but as representatives of systems centred outside it.

The population as a body and each member of it individually take part in the systems of relationship provided by the Indian Affairs Branch. They also hold statuses in the more general systems of the Provincial and Federal governments as recipients of health services, family and other allowances, law enforcement services, and so on. Apart from the band organization itself there are few other systems of relationship organizing the population or centred in it. Among the most important of these few seem to be loose affiliations of kin, and factions of shifting membership. A few organizations other than the governments provide some organization within the population, but apart from nominal church affiliation none of these includes very many people. Social interaction between most members of the population and non-Indians of the surrounding area seems to be limited to buyer-purchaser and employee-employer relationships. A few of the most economically successful members of the population occupy statuses in the systems organizing it and in systems limited to the surrounding area, providing links among these systems of the kind that I have classified above as "Type C" (p. 44).

D. Some Recent Events

Before 1959, the funds of the North Prairie Band were low, and the largest annual expenditure was in the form of a per capita distribution of interest money. During the 1950's the funds increased
slowly, apparently from a policy of encouraging oil exploration and surface leases and the leasing of agricultural land. In 1956, the council and committee arrangements described above took shape.

From 1956, the annual budgets show an increase in expenditure of band funds on welfare assistance and on small loans and grants for farm assistance. Council meetings began to be held in the Agency offices in Wheatville, rather than on the reserve. In 1956, 1957, 1959 and 1960, petitions and motions at band meetings called for the resignation of the sitting council, and on two occasions the council did resign. During that period, influence in the council appeared to shift among members of the family and economic factions mentioned above, with none able to command control completely. In 1960, for example, a group of band members privately engaged a lawyer to seek the resignation of the council, and the lawyer wrote letters to Ottawa outlining their charges of favouritism in the granting of assistance and jobs, the use of band funds for the purchase of equipment without band sanction, and drunkenness and immoral behaviour by councillors. The Superintendent answered the charges by saying that the main complainants had been "at the bottom of the poll" at the previous election, and referred to them as "a badly defeated opposition trying to push through a vote of non-confidence in an effort to force the resignation of the governing body". Of the whole incident, he said: "this, in effect, is democracy at work on an Indian Reserve". The sitting council he referred to as "progressive".

In 1961, several of the complainants in this action were elected to the council, one as chief councillor. The new chief councillor and some of his supporters continued their campaign, aiming their complaints now mainly at the Agency personnel, and charging them with interference
and non-cooperation with the council on matters of welfare, housing and planning. A local Member of Parliament forwarded their complaints through Indian Affairs Branch channels. The Agency Superintendent answered the charges in a lengthy letter in which he accused the chief councillor and his supporting councillors of misappropriating band funds, drunkenness, insulting Agency staff, disorderly behaviour, and child neglect. One sentence read: "I would like to dispel the belief that [North Prairie] has a progressive council. This was true up until the new council was elected in December 1960". In 1962, the chief councillor resigned for "personal reasons". In 1963, he was re-elected, and two men who had given some support to his complaints were elected councillors, but his main supporters among the councillors were replaced by men who had been on the previous "progressive" council.

Records and informants' accounts of the events of these years are a bewildering array of charges and counter-charges, alignments and realignments. Individuals who appeared, from council records, to be allies in a dispute, criticized each other volubly in interviews. Persons who made heated charges of favouritism and nepotism when they were not on the council were the object of identical charges when they became councillors. The major identifiable trends through the period are toward a centralization of control of band affairs and information in the council, with a corresponding decline of participation by the band at large, and an expansion of the policy of the use of band funds and resources to support and encourage agriculture by band members. On the council in 1965 were three of the four most successful farmers—two members of the Halton family and one of the Smith family. Three other councillors were in the next highest economic category, and two of these were members of the
Smith family. Two councillors were unsuccessful farmers.

In 1958, opposition to the trend toward increasing centralization of decision-making took the form of appeals to the Regional office of the Indian Affairs Branch over the fact that council meetings were being held in the Wheatville Agency offices, where "the people can't find out what is going on". The complaint was passed back from the Regional office to the local Agency, and the Superintendent replied with the following letter:

Regional Supervisor

Agency

Use of Basement of New Post Office
Building for Council Meetings

The subject matter in your letter of [date], was placed before the [North Prairie] Council on [date]. It was actively discussed and the council took a determined stand on the matter. I advised them to place something in the minutes to confirm their views. It is listed hereunder:

"Moved by [name] we continue to hold council meetings in Agency office in [Wheatville] for the following reasons:

(1) In arriving at decisions for assistance to band members the personal background and history of the individual often have to be discussed. Such personal problems should not be made available through discussion to band members because of the common gossip which may result.

(2) The constant delays in individuals bringing small personal problems to the council impedes and delays the passing of more urgent business which is for the common good of all band members.

Seconded by [name]. Carried.

There is no doubt that since they have been meeting in Wheatville they have speeded up their business and worked in a more business-like manner.

I do not think in the matter of democracy we can draw a comparison between the House of Commons and a Band Council or a Municipal Council. The House deals with the broad issues and policy and the arrangements are such that the public cannot voice their opinions in the House. On the other hand, council chambers are small affairs and once the public
is admitted interruptions follow. At the council level they are dealing with personal cases. Every time a personal case comes up you simply cannot clear the room and close the doors and after the personal problem has been discussed, open the doors again. In spite of the belief that municipal councils open their meetings to the public, this is not the case and public attendance at their meetings is discouraged.

With a population of 1,600 in a band, the council breaks up into committees. Personal problems should be taken to the committee members in private. After the committee member has obtained all the details, he can refer it to council if unable to handle it himself. However, a large proportion of the personal problems can be dealt with directly by the committee members.

The North Prairie Council in particular are functioning more like a municipal council. Should we reverse this trend? We are in the process of seeing council develop up to the point where they will take a determined stand against pressure groups. Open the doors to the pressure groups and the council will yield if they have to face them on the floor. My suggestion is to let them gain strength in their present stand without open interference. Perhaps in a few years their experience and strength will enable them to open the doors, control the meetings effectively and still stand up to the pressure groups. They are not ready for this yet.

The council also brought out the fact that the council minutes are posted on all notice boards and available to all band members to read. Therefore, it cannot be claimed that the council business is being hidden from them. Municipal councils do not post the minutes, therefore, we are being more democratic in posting ours.

My frank belief is that the Department should take another look at the matter and assess the development of councils in a realistic manner and not expect the ideal of democracy too quickly.

Yours truly,

Superintendent.

The posted minutes referred to in the letter are sketchy and written in a bureaucratic style not unlike that of the letter itself. In the course of a generalized complaint, not having reference to the issue discussed in the letter, one band member said to me:

"Those council, they have meeting in [Wheatville]. We don't know what they say there. [The Assistant Superintendent], he put up a paper, but we can't read that. Sometimes my daughter, she read it to me, but I don't know what it says. All those big words."
They never tell us nothing. Just say we do this and we do that."

On the Resources Questionnaire filled out by Agency personnel in 1964, adults over thirty years of age were classified as "illiterate", though my own observations indicate that many can, in fact, read and write.

Appeals to persons outside or above the Agency office, such as those mentioned above, occur frequently. Several were made to me during the short period of my field work at North Prairie. They have been made to all levels of the Federal Government, and these tend to be handled by referral back to the local Agency. In 1964, for example, the chief councillor again took a series of complaints about the Assistant Superintendent to a local Member of Parliament, which led to an exchange of letters among the Ministry, the Regional Office, and the local Agency office. The charges were all answered by the Assistant Superintendent against whom they were made.

The illiterate man who was quoted above with reference to the posting of council minutes told me of a letter he had had his daughter write to the Prime Minister, complaining of the council and the Agency staff, and suggesting that the council was using band money for its own purposes. The letter ended with a request for a book "that will tell us what is in the Indian Act, so that we will know what is right". Later, at a council meeting in Wheatville, which I attended, the Assistant Superintendent said, "I am going to read you something amusing." He then read aloud from a copy of the letter to the Prime Minister, mimicking the halting monotone of a semi-literate person. When he had read the letter, he read in a brisk voice a formally worded reply from
an assistant in the Prime Minister's office, referring the complainant to her local Agency office of the Indian Affairs Branch. The copies of the correspondence had been forwarded to Indian Affairs by the Prime Minister's office, and further copies sent from Ottawa to the Agency level.

Still later, the man who had caused the original letter to be written showed me the reply and the "book" he had requested—a standard office copy of the Indian Act—and said aggrievedly, "My daughter says she can't read that. Don't know what it says." When I told him that the letter said that he should take his complaints to the Agency office in Wheatville, he replied, "But those are the guys I'm complaining about. They're the ones who are doing everything." He seemed to feel that his unsatisfactory reply may have been his daughter's fault—that she might not have written the original letter properly.

An extreme, but revealing, example of this referral of communications from band members to the channels of the local Agency office was provided by a series of letters on file at the Wheatville office. A young woman who was in a large city hospital with tuberculosis wrote to an Indian Affairs employee who had been in the North Prairie office but was now in another Agency. Although she knew he was no longer at North Prairie, she said, she had confidence in him and could trust him to help her. She reported that she was receiving a small sum of money in the hospital, and that she wished to send it to him along with her Treaty money to keep for her "little boy" who would need a little extra money from time to time. In several sentences through her letter, she repeated in various wordings that she did not want anybody else to know about her request. It was "none of their business" and was to be
a "secret" between the writer and the recipient. The Indian Affairs employee forwarded the letter to the North Prairie office with the pencilled notation, "I bet you didn't know I had such loyal girl-friends out there." The young woman was sent a typewritten letter signed by the Agency Superintendent, which said, in full:

"Dear Miss ________:

Mr. ________ has forwarded to us your letter of ________.
Please be advised that there is a Social Worker in the ________ Hospital, who will assist you to open a savings account at a local bank if you so desire."

Yours truly,

________

People from the three income classes expressed different opinions during interviews about the main problems of the reserve. All of the successful farmers put relief high on the list, stating that people "are not willing to work any more". They went on to complain of ineptitude and inefficiency on the part of government officials, stating that technical advisors and others made decisions about matters concerning the reserve without consulting knowledgeable local people. For example, one man recounted a story of the government spending $30,000.00 to provide a water supply for the school, which turned out to be unusable. According to his report, the project was undertaken against the advice of band members. Other informants gave substantially the same story, and in 1965, the school had two water systems, one providing water that was unfit for drinking.

The more successful people among the marginal farmers also placed relief at the head of their list of problems on the reserve, some stating it even more strongly than the successful farmers: "What problems
do we have? Relief. People don't want to work for a living. Everybody wants a hand-out." Several stated that ten or fifteen years earlier, men "kept busy" all year around, working for nearby farmers in the spring and summer, and trapping and fishing in the winter. However, as one man said, "Farmers come to the reserve now with trucks, begging men to go and work for them, but they won't go. People used to walk miles to get those jobs." Some people blamed Agency personnel for making relief too easy to get in the recent past, and "spoiling" people. Another major area of complaint by the marginal farmers was the difficulty of getting capital to improve their operations. They stated that the Government loans require the recipient to have some capital of his own, and security in the form of buildings or machinery, and that small farmers cannot provide it. Further, they said, the small farmer has no assets to act as insurance against bad crop years. One man said, "These small loans is no good [band records show many loans from band funds of one to two hundred dollars]. They just put a man deeper in debt." Another said, "Farming is big business these days. At one time a man could get started with a couple of horses and a plow and a wagon, but now it takes twenty thousand dollars." Some of the least successful marginal farmers expressed the opinion that loans from the Government and from band funds were available only to the "big guys", and this sentiment was echoed in a letter written by the local Member of Parliament to the Minister in charge of Indian Affairs during one of the disputes mentioned above:

"I fail to understand why the Revolving Fund, which is supposed to help the Indians, is available only to, perhaps, those who need help the least."

The majority of the people on the reserve, who are in neither of these income categories, expressed a complex of related problems. High
on the list was employment—there were not enough jobs, and those that were available from time to time were badly paid and involved bad working conditions. Welfare assistance, they said, was inadequate and hard to get. They charged that the council and Welfare Committee practised favouritism, and that they were never sure who was responsible for receiving their applications for relief. Some gave reports of approaching a councillor and being sent to the Assistant Superintendent, who sent them to another councillor, who referred them to the Agency offices in Wheatville. Many expressed dissatisfaction with the "work for welfare" scheme, saying that there was favouritism in hiring, that the council-appointed foremen were "slave drivers", and that able-bodied young men were not allowed to work if covered by their fathers' applications. Others complained that although "welfare houses" were supposed to be allotted on a point system, depending upon the numbers and ages of children in the family, the councillors allotted houses to their "friends and relations", and that, in any case, not enough houses were being built, and those that were built were inadequate. In general, they seemed to lay the blame for the situation on the council and "the big shots" who are virtually synonymous, and on the Indian Affairs Branch as represented by the local Agency staff. One man, referring to the centennial grants offered by the Federal Government to municipalities and Indian Bands, said:

"Our Queen, she say she give us some money. So much per head, for - what you call? One hundred year? We never see that money. Those council got that money. R. Smith take that money. Got that money right in his pocket."

Ironically, the council had not at that time made its application for the grant, and the councillor referred to was urging them to complete it
before the deadline date. People in this category also objected strongly to the fact that, during the preceding few years, the amount of the annual *per capita* distributions had decreased, and finally the distributions had stopped altogether.

People in all economic categories complained about services on the reserve—the lack of access to power and telephone lines, bad roads, inadequate health services, and poor schooling. Some complained that the school buses for the reserve were operated by a contractor different from the one who served the provincial school boards in the region, and that he gave bad service. Opinion was divided about the integration of schooling, which had taken place over a five-year period, and was nearly complete by 1965. Some felt that it would benefit the children and the band—"Now maybe our kids will get the same education as White kids". Others felt that the reserve children were at a disadvantage in being sent to "White" schools—"Our kids don't have nice clothes like those White kids. The White kids don't like them. Our kids feel bad if their clothes aren't so good like the White kids have."

Opinions of Indian Affairs Branch personnel seemed to be closest to those of band members in the higher income categories. They complained of "unwillingness to work" on the part of most members of the band, and of constant and persistent applications for social assistance. They complained of the council's administration of relief, saying that although the Welfare Committee was responsible for granting or refusing applications, its members were often not available, and even when an applicant could find a councillor, he would often be referred back to the Agency office. They also expressed the opinion that the "work for welfare" scheme, although a good idea and better than simple relief, was being badly
handled, charging that the council-appointed foremen were lax and inefficient, and did not keep proper track of whether men came to work on time. Relief was a frequent topic of conversation by the Assistant Superintendent. At a council meeting in the Agency offices in Wheatville, his first words to the councillors upon entering the room were, "By God, I just got back from a couple of days' holiday, and there were four of them [relief applicants] on my doorstep this morning. How'd they know I was home?" Like the Superintendent at North Coast, he complained that women typically made application for assistance, and said that he was in the habit of telling them to "send their husbands in". Women who applied for relief complained that they could not get it without "a lot of nasty talk", and two men said that the women applied because "a man can't put up with all the shit they give you there". Both the Agency personnel and the councillors reported pursuing a policy of refusing or delaying relief when sugar beet hoeing or other employment was available. It was my impression that although the councillors felt it to be in their interest to control the granting of assistance, they preferred not to refuse very many applicants, and this could account for the complaints of band members that they "got the run-around" when trying to apply, and of the Assistant Superintendent that the councillors were not available to applicants when needed. In one recorded dispute, the Welfare Committee accused the Assistant Superintendent of granting relief to two applicants without consulting the council, and the Assistant replied that he had been unable to find the responsible councillors in spite of several efforts to do so.

There were also mutual complaints by Agency personnel and the poorer band members over their personal interactions, with the Agency
people saying the Indians were "a nuisance", "persistent", and "insolent", and the Indians saying that the Agency personnel "treat us like dirt". During a day in the Wheatville offices, I heard the stenographer-receptionist greet band members in manners ranging from friendly informality for the successful farmer-councillor to a rather aggressive brusqueness for some poorly-dressed women. To one man who said he wanted to apply for relief and that he had no food she said, "Well, you'll just have to wait until ________ gets back. Anyway, anybody who can afford to ride around in a car doesn't need any relief." The man's home was in a rather remote part of the reserve, some twenty miles or more from Wheatville.

In general, Agency personnel seemed to feel that there were a few "progressive" people at North Prairie, but that too many of them were "backward" and "irresponsible". Even the "progressive" councillors, they said, occasionally showed unexpected irresponsibility and intractability. For example, the Assistant Superintendent said that he and others had been urging the council to apply to be administered under Section 68 of the Indian Act, which permits a band to "control, manage and expend in whole or in part its revenue moneys" (Revised Statutes of Canada 1952), but that the council had consistently refused to take this step. A "progressive" councillor explained his opposition to the suggestion on the grounds that if the band were to come under Section 68 they would have to employ a full-time manager to look after administrative details presently handled by Agency personnel, and they could not afford to do that.

In 1965, the North Prairie Band Council consisted of:

1. J. Moore, Chief Councillor, a marginal farmer in his
sixties. This was the man who initiated the formal complaints about the Indian Affairs personnel as described above, and who was described as "irresponsible" and accused of dishonesty by the Assistant Superintendent during his previous term of office. He had been a councillor off and on for thirty years. He voiced to me complaints about "relief hounds", and criticism of the two councillors in (4) below, whom he put into that category. He also complained about the "rich guys", represented by the councillors in (2) below. He is a Roman Catholic.

2. R. Smith, M. Halton, and K. Halton, three of the four most successful farmers on the reserve. Smith was in his late fifties; M. Halton slightly younger, and K. Halton, his son, was in his late twenties. Smith is Protestant, and the two Haltons are Catholics. R. Smith has been active in council affairs for nearly thirty years, and was the most successful individual on the reserve. At times, while not holding a seat on the council, he has acted as its "financial advisor". He was apparently the most influential of the Smiths, and was named frequently by poor dissidents as symbolic of the "rich guys" and "those council". Both of the Haltons married non-Indian women from nearby towns. The younger man speaks little or no Cree. He is in his first term as a councillor, and expressed the opinion that it was "all right, as long as it doesn't
take too much time". His father had been a councillor several times, but not as often as Smith. He, too, had acted as a "financial advisor" to the council on occasion.

3. J. Smith and C. Smith, men in their forties, Protestants, and described as cousins to each other and to R. Smith. J. Smith was once a marginal farmer and rancher, but sold his stock when he had an opportunity to work on a construction job off the reserve. When the job ended after three years, he tried to re-establish himself in farming but could not, and his land was leased by the council to pay his debts. He was on the Welfare Committee of the council with the chief councillor and M. Norris (see below) the latter of whom he described as "no good". He expressed the opinion that relief was too easy to get, and that men should be forced to work for neighbouring farmers when such jobs were available: "They don't kill you for $5.00 a day." J. Smith lived in a new welfare house.

C. Smith worked for outside farmers and did some small farming for himself for several years. He took a carpentry course sponsored by the Indian Affairs Branch in 1959, at the age of forty-one. Since that time he had been fairly steadily employed in building welfare houses on the reserve, and lived in one himself. In his opinion, the biggest problem of the band is that the people are "spoiled" by assistance: "They want to be helped all the time instead of helping themselves. It all comes too easy."
C. and J. Smith felt that the two councillors in category 4 below represented the worst (and largest) element of the population.

4. M. Norris and M. Bird, two men in their late thirties. Both had been unsuccessful in attempts to establish themselves in farming, and in 1965 owed money to the band and were among the occasional workers and welfare recipients that made up the majority of the population. They both acted as foremen for the council on the winter works projects. I could not interview Bird, who was away working, but gathered from interviews with Norris and others, that the two men were close friends and tended to agree with and support each other. Norris was critical of the "rich guys" who, in his opinion, dominated the council and the band. These, he said, were people who had received assistance from the Indian Affairs Branch at a time when it was easier to begin farming and when no security was required, and they were now using their positions of leadership to prevent others from getting assistance. He mentioned that he and Bird and others had failed at farming because they had too little capital, and because of their failure they were not allowed to try again. He and Bird were planning to help Norris's brother to acquire the necessary equipment to qualify for assistance to set up as a stock-raiser.

Norris had supported the chief councillor's attacks on the old council in 1961, and had been described at that time by the Assistant Superintendent as immoral and dishonest. Both
Bird and Norris had missed a number of council meetings since their election, and were criticized for this by their colleagues and the Agency personnel. Norris said that he often could not go to the meetings because he had to work when work was available, and the meetings were always held in the daytime. Both men have frequently been away from the reserve working on the sugar-beets and other seasonal jobs. Norris is a Roman Catholic, and Bird a Protestant.

5. L. Conway, a man in his sixties, once a Protestant but in 1965 a Roman Catholic. He had done the usual variety of jobs and marginal farming, and in 1965 was on welfare. He had been on the council with brief interruptions for over twenty years.

During our interview, Conway showed little concern or knowledge of the specific issues mentioned by the other councillors, but confined himself mainly to general remarks about "rightness" and "good behaviour". Remarks by him recorded in minutes of council and band meetings were also of this character, taking the form of adjurations to the council or the people to behave with propriety. He judged the merits of past councils on which he had sat by whether there had been "quarrelling", which, from the context of his remarks, I took to mean disagreement of any kind. His view of the organizational structure beyond the council did not seem to be very precise, and he sometimes referred to it in rather mysterious terms. He spoke specifically
of only one matter—the water supply for his welfare house, which he had occupied since 1959. By his account, "some people" had come on three occasions to dig wells at his house. When I asked who had employed them, he replied, "Oh, the council. Or maybe the Agency." On one occasion, he said, the well-diggers had found good water, but immediately upon doing so, "they covered it up. Filled it in. They've never been back. I don't understand that." When I asked if he had inquired further into the matter, he said that he had not. In 1965, he was hauling brackish water with horses and a stone boat for three-quarters of a mile for his household supply.

On analysis, it appears that the interests and opinions of the five councillors in categories 2 and 3, two of the Halton family and three of the Smith, coincide much of the time, so that they form a group which might be termed for descriptive purposes the "governing faction". The two councillors in (4) represent an "opposition" whose interests and opinions are opposed to those of the governing faction most of the time. The chief councillor appears to share some interests and opinions with both, and to side with one or the other on specific issues. In interviews he was critical of both sides, but expressed some opinions similar to some of those expressed by representatives of each. L. Conway appears to be a man who does not fully understand what is going on in the council, but gives an impression of knowledge by speaking in terms of abstract values rather than issues. He had maintained a seat on the council during the period in the late 1950's and early 1960's when others
were losing and regaining them. As a body, it appears that the council represented the interests of the successful and marginal farmers, though not uniformly nor in a united manner.

The poorest members of the band, though dissatisfied, did not aspire to council seats. Several said that they could not run because they were illiterate and/or could not speak English well. After one man had given me a lengthy list of complaints and a detailed analysis of reserve politics, I asked him if he had ever considered running for office. He replied, "Oh, I couldn't do that. I got no education. I don't know about all those....(vaguely)...things." Another such man had been a councillor for one term, but had found it very difficult: "I couldn't understand R. Smith and those Government men, what they say, and I couldn't talk good. Couldn't express myself."

During a council meeting in Wheatville, which was not attended by either of the "opposition" councillors, I observed two men who brought problems before the council, waiting in the outer office of the Agency until the council was ready to hear them. The first man came into the council chamber and stood behind the chair of the Assistant Superintendent, who did not turn around. Nobody greeted him. The man spoke in Cree, directing his remarks toward the chief councillor, while most of the rest of the councillors talked among themselves and the Assistant Superintendent passed around a resolution form for signatures. When the man stopped speaking, the chief councillor answered him briefly in Cree, and the man left. To the Assistant Agent, the chief said, "He was asking for money for his house and a well. I told him we have no money budgetted for that."

The second man was concerned about the recently-built "gospel
hall". The lease for the land on which it had been built had not been completed, and he wanted to know whether it was all right for the sect members to have an official opening. He also stood behind the Assistant Superintendent's chair and addressed the whole council, speaking English in a careful, formal manner, and nervously twisting his hat between his hands. The councillors conversed with each other during his presentation, some explaining to each other in legalistic terms where he was in error and expressing amused exasperation at his ignorance. The Assistant Superintendent did not turn around, and, beginning while the man was still speaking, he told the councillors that the sect should go ahead with their opening, and that the lease would have to wait until a survey had been completed. The man continued to stand behind the Assistant's chair, and the Assistant opened discussion on another matter. The man waited uncertainly for a moment, then said, "Thank you", and went to the end of the table where he showed L. Conway a paper referring to the opening of the hall. After a moment, he looked uncertainly around the table, said "Thank you" again, and left the room. Nobody had spoken to him directly except Conway.

From time to time, however, the poor majority are able to influence or make decisions through a band meeting. In 1964, the band had received a fairly large sum of money from petroleum companies for explorations and surface leases. The council wanted the money to go into band funds for community projects, but on the initiative of a number of poorer people, with some support from the two "opposition" councillors, a band meeting was held at which there was a heavy vote in favour of a per capita distribution, amounting to about $9.00 per band member. The Indian Affairs Branch personnel and the more successful band members saw
this as typically short-sighted and "Indian" behaviour. The Assistant Superintendent explained the action in terms of "irresponsibility" and inability to "plan for the future". The successful Indians seemed to agree, and to feel that it had damaged the reputation of the band with the Indian Affairs Branch and prejudiced their chances of receiving Government assistance in the future.

Several of the poor majority, however, explained the incident in simple terms: either the council gets the money or the people do. One man expressed it this way:

"Sure, I know it's not much money we get. Not much. But why shouldn't we get it? Those council get it, they just use it for themselves. We don't get no good from it. It's better we get a little bit, because if we don't, they get it all."

It appears to me that in this instance the poor majority was able to over-rule a council policy because the issue was seen as clear-cut, and a per capita distribution was well within their experience, so that much of the mystery that for them surrounds the workings of the council was in this case lacking.

More typical, however, are those situations in which the poor people feel dissatisfaction, but seem unable to generate action. For example, one man said:

Used to be we could clear some land and lease it out to some White man. Make a little money that way. Can't do that no more. Council made a law."

Some councillors had argued for this action in a band meeting by saying that "we don't want non-Indians reaping the benefits of Indian land". One of the dissidents, however, pointed out that although the by-law will no longer allow individuals to lease land to non-Indians, the council was doing so. He felt that if the individual leases had been allowed to
continue, competition for land would have begun, disputes would have arisen, and a survey of the reserve and formal allotment of lands would be the inevitable outcome. This, he felt, was what the successful farmers most wished to avoid, for it was his opinion that the present system of land tenure—freedom to use any reserve land not in use by somebody else—worked to the advantage of those with the capital to exploit it. However, there was no united feeling among the poorer band members on this issue. Some appeared to fear survey and allotment because they believed that taxation and loss of Indian rights would follow. Others agreed with the sentiments about White exploitation of Indian land, and regarded the council leases as only a temporary expedient, and so on.

These, then, are some of the events and issues of concern to people at North Prairie. Many of the population suffer from what they and the larger society regard as poverty. There is a pervasive feeling among people of all economic levels that there is something wrong with the situation on the reserve, and this feeling is shared by Indian Affairs personnel. There are, however, a number of different opinions about the causes of this condition.
A. The Populations

In 1965, the Shield Lake Band of Indians consisted of 484 people of Ojibwa ancestry, of whom about 330 lived in 70 households on a reserve stretching for 20 miles along the shores of a large Ontario lake, and 150 lived off the reserve in about 37 households, some in nearby towns and some scattered widely about Canada and the United States. In ordinary local usage, "Shield Lake Indians" refers mainly to those living on the reserve, but it may also include band members living in nearby towns and enfranchised Indians living in the towns or on the borders of the reserve. Persons other than band members living on the reserve include only a Roman Catholic priest who lives beside the church at West Village (see below); non-Indian summer cottage owners who have leased sites from the band; and two households of enfranchised Indians who rent houses at the eastern end of the reserve from kinsmen who are band members. Only the last of these are included in the population as identified by non-Indians.

It appears that to most local non-Indians, all the people of the area possessing certain identifiable physical characteristics constitute a population which is centred on the reserve but has a few members who have moved outside those boundaries. To some non-Indians in official positions, such as policemen and Provincial social welfare personnel, band members resident on the reserve constitute a distinct unit. As
at North Prairie, the band council and Indian Affairs personnel seem to regard band members whose permanent residence is on the reserve (thus including some people temporarily resident elsewhere) as constituting a distinct population, and it is to this unit that I shall refer in what follows. For some purposes this population unit is sub-divided by both its members and Indian Affairs personnel into two groupings at opposite ends of the reserve. Some Agency staff referred to the people at the west end as "progressive" and "cooperative", as opposed to those at the east end, who were "conservative" and "hostile". Others criticized the west-enders as "always asking for something" and commended the east-enders as "self-supporting". This separation of the reserve population into two units with their own characteristics was also made by several members, and some had made attempts to have it recognized officially by a formal separation into two bands, each with its own reserve. This division and the reasons for it will be discussed more fully below.

B. General Description

The Shield Lake Reserve consists of about 49,000 acres. A similar area in two bordering townships is administered for the band under surrender to the Indian Affairs Branch. Originally, the reserve included, besides the present acreage, three full Ontario townships. In 1907, the three townships were surrendered by the band and surveyed, and in 1917 they were put up for auction in lots of about 320 acres apiece. The purchase price of the lots was to be paid in five instalments; one-quarter at the time of sale and the balance in four equal annual payments. Timber cut in clearing the land for cultivation could be disposed of free of dues, but timber cut outside of the clearing area before the
land was paid for in full was to be under permit from the Indian Affairs Branch, and was to be subject to dues. No purchaser was to be allowed to buy more than one lot, and the scheme was described as one by which returning veterans of the First World War could secure agricultural land.

According to Agency records and testimony by a long-time Indian Affairs Branch employee and local resident, many non-Indians including the Indian Agent of the time and his entire family, purchased the lots at prices between two and three dollars an acre. Two Indian informants reported that Whites paid Indians to purchase additional lots for them.

Some purchasers paid their first instalment, cut the best timber, and allowed their payments to lapse and the ownership of the lots to revert. Some completed their payments and later did not keep up their Provincial taxes, so that the ownership of the lots passed to the Government of Ontario. Others completed their payments, continued to pay taxes, and retained their property. Some lots were not sold at all. Apparently timber regulations were not carefully enforced; the entire area was pretty well stripped of the best timber, but little agricultural enterprise was begun. The sale of lots stopped in 1938.

Thus, the three townships remained for many years a confusing patchwork of lots owned by the Provincial Government, by individual non-Indians, and by the Federal Government under the terms of surrender by the band. Between 1955 and 1965, the Indian Affairs Branch pursued a policy of consolidation, trading lots with the Province and non-Indian owners with the intention of consolidating the Indian holdings, so that the remaining Indian lands could be released from surrender to the Crown and returned to administration as band lands.
The present reserve is long and narrow, bordered on the south side by Shield Lake and on the north by a major highway. Lines of both major railways pass through it. Three miles from the western end is Pulp City, a manufacturing centre of 7,000 people, and about the same distance from the other end is Mine City, an industrial and distribution centre of 25,000. The main centre of population on the reserve is at the western end. On the lakeshore there, about 5 miles from Pulp City and two from the major highway, is a cluster of thirty-two households which will be referred to here as West Village. On the highway and 2 miles closer to Pulp City is a cluster of ten households, here called the Veteran's Site. These forty-two households are referred to collectively as the "West End" and constitute one of the sub-divisions of the population.

Twenty miles to the east, at the opposite end of the reserve and about 3 miles from Mine City, is a cluster of fourteen households, here referred to simply as the "East End". Approximately mid-way between these two major clusters is Johnson's Point, with eight households, and the remaining six within a few miles on either side. In the factional division of the population, most of these people are included with the East Enders.

Of the seventy households, approximately fifty-three consist of nuclear families, and eleven of these are single persons, mainly elderly widows and widowers. The remaining seventeen households are of varied composition, as shown in Table III.

All band land is held in common with the exception of the building lots at the Veterans' Site and two or three at the East End which were surveyed and allocated to individual band members so that they could qualify for grants under the Veterans' Land Act. Six hundred acres on
the lakeshore at Johnson's Point have been surrendered and sub-divided into half acre lots for lease to non-Indians as summer cottage sites.

**TABLE III**

**HOUSEHOLD COMPOSITION, SHIELD LAKE RESERVE**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Composition</th>
<th>Number of Households</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nuclear family (including bachelors, widows, etc.)</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nuclear family plus married offspring, their spouses and children</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nuclear family plus unmarried or separated offspring and children</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nuclear family plus children of offspring</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nuclear family plus parents of marriage partners</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nuclear family plus miscellaneous extra kin</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nuclear family, related nuclear families not covered in the categories above</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>71</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: One household is counted under two categories

Children from the reserve are brought into either Pulp City or Mine City by bus to attend school, and the reserve population uses both cities for shopping and recreation. There are small stores on the highway within a few miles of the smaller clusters of population near Johnson's Point. The Agency office of the Indian Affairs Branch is in Mine City, and the Indian Health Services nurse has her office in Pulp City.

By comparison with other reserves I have visited, most of the houses are well kept and in good repair. Most have electricity and telephone. The water supply comes from wells, from the lake, and from small creeks; about half of the houses have their own pumping equipment, and thus are supplied with running water and flush toilets attached to septic tanks. According to Indian Affairs Branch records, 2 acres of
the reserve is in use by band members for gardens and orchards for personal use, and 100 acres are village and townsite. The remainder is unimproved woodland, parkland, native pasture and wetland. The same records indicate that band members own twelve automobiles, one truck, and two pick-up trucks, but I would estimate that the number of automobiles is slightly higher.

Table IV gives an Indian Affairs Branch summary of employment for the band, but the accuracy of the figures must be regarded as questionable. Information is included for only sixty-two workers, and job classifications along with my own information lead me to believe that some of these are women; other band records indicate that there are over eighty employable males alone. However, the table will give some idea of types of employment and levels of earnings. Other Agency records contained the estimate that in 1964, forty-three workers were employed for eleven or twelve months; nine were employed for five to six months; fourteen for three or four; seven for one or two; and seventeen for less than one. March, April and May are the months of highest unemployment.

Indian Affairs Branch figures for other sources of income are given in Table V, and no other data I have would lead me to question these.
### TABLE IV
EMPLOYMENT, SHIELD LAKE BAND

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Employment</th>
<th>No. of Workers</th>
<th>Man Months</th>
<th>Estimated Income</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>On Reserve:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Forestry</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>15,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>trapping</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>guiding</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>7,200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>clerical and office</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>2,100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>unskilled and casual</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>26,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>handicrafts</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>950</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Off Reserve:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Forestry</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>skilled trades</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>24,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>clerical and office</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>10,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>unskilled and casual</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>2,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Fishing on or off reserve</strong></td>
<td>4</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Indian Affairs Branch Resources Questionnaire, 1964

### TABLE V
INCOME, OTHER THAN FROM EMPLOYMENT, SHIELD LAKE BAND

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source of Income</th>
<th>No. of Recipients</th>
<th>Estimated Income</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Renting cottage sites</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1,800</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Treaty payments</td>
<td>457</td>
<td>1,828</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Band distribution</td>
<td>457</td>
<td>3,656</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family allowance</td>
<td>100 (225 children)</td>
<td>20,250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Old Age Pensions</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>1,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disability Pension, etc.</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>375</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployment Insurance</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Welfare assistance</td>
<td>39 households, 47 dependents</td>
<td>3,600</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Indian Affairs Branch Resources Questionnaire, 1964.
C. **Organization**

1. Organization sponsored and directed by the Indian Affairs Branch

   The band has the usual elected council organization, with a chief and four councillors. The council has created several committees, consisting of a councillor and one or more band members, which are responsible to the council for such areas of interest as Timber, Welfare, Sports, and so on.

   Since 1962, the council has employed a band member in a position sometimes referred to as Band Administrator. This man is also the Welfare Officer and Fire Warden, and he keeps the council's books and pay lists. He received some training from the local Agency staff, but both Agency personnel and Provincial welfare officials felt that he was not capable of being a real administrator and financial advisor to the band; they felt that he did not have a full understanding of band finances, and had only learned the mechanics of filling out forms. At the same time, however, both Indian Affairs officials and band members suggested that he had conspired with the chief councillor to manipulate relief funds and other money to their mutual benefit, which would suggest a rather greater understanding. Several band members expressed the opinion that the position was a "pension" for the incumbent since he was unable to do other work, and suggested that he had been chosen because he is the father of one of the councillors. His own account of his appointment is phrased in rather mysterious terms, which could reflect a real lack of understanding or may be an attempt to combat suggestions of nepotism:

   One day the nurse came in here and said, "You're
going to be the Relief Officer here one day." I didn't know anything about it. Then I was called to a council meeting. The Superintendent said, "Sign here." I didn't know what it was all about. After that I went to Mine City and they taught me what to do.

When I asked the Assistant Superintendent about this man, he replied, "Oh, he's pretty good. He keeps welfare costs down." However, the district Provincial Welfare Coordinator felt that he was not administering social assistance properly at all, but merely giving small sums "to keep people quiet". The Coordinator showed me a monthly welfare sheet, pointing out small sums that, in his opinion, would be completely useless for the purposes for which social assistance is intended. One example was a family of twelve which had received a payment of $48.00, of which the Coordinator said, "What's the use of that? They probably came to him and said that the husband had missed a couple of days work, and he gave them that so they wouldn't cause him any trouble."

The council manages the resources of the band, granting permits to cut timber on the reserve and collecting money for band lands leased to non-members. In 1965, reserve land was leased for a gas station, a sawmill, a pipe-line, and an ore mill. In addition, the council has invested a large sum of money in developing and sub-dividing a section of the reserve on the lakefront for lease to non-Indians as summer cottage sites. The returns from such enterprises are disbursed by the council for the building and maintenance of roads, the digging of wells, for social assistance payments, and, until recently, in per capita distributions to members of the band.

Through the council, the band and its members are linked to a variety of institutions of the larger polity. For example, the council
pays out of band funds two-thirds of the cost of premiums for each band member in the Ontario hospital insurance plan and in a private insurance scheme covering doctors' bills. The remaining third is paid by Indian Health Services. The administration of social assistance is under an agreement with the Provincial Government, which reimburses the band for 80 per cent of the funds paid out in this way, and Provincial welfare officials advise the Band Administrator on matters relating to social assistance. Partly because of the efforts of the priest mentioned below, surrounding municipalities have begun to take account of the reserve population as a municipal entity, and the chief councillor is sometimes invited to inter-municipal meetings of elected officials.

The Indian Affairs Branch also sponsors a Homemakers' Club which is included for descriptive purposes under the next heading.

2. Organization sponsored by other agencies outside the population

An organization-minded Roman Catholic priest, Father Dunn, has made Shield Lake his headquarters since 1960. Although he had been absent from the reserve during much of his tenure, doing post-graduate study on community organization, he apparently had a considerable effect upon the lives of the people at Shield Lake. During 1964, he encouraged the people to put into practice many of his ideas, and in 1965 eleven organizations were active on the reserve. Two years before, the Indian Affairs-sponsored Homemakers' Club was the only one. Some of these organizations are in the nature of local branches of systems of wider scope, and some are purely local. They include:

(a) The Legion of Mary (Junior and Senior) - a church and community service organization;
(b) The Church Committee;
(c) The Catholic Youth Organization;
(d) Alcoholics Anonymous;
(e) The Cana Club - a social club for young married people;
(f) Brownies and Cubs;
(g) The Homemakers' Club;
(h) The Sports Committee;
(i) Adult Education - taught by Father Dunn and concentrating on public speaking and organizational topics;
(j) Up-grading English - organized locally and taught by a teacher from Pulp City.

All of these groups together are regarded as a "Community Council", and hold monthly joint meetings at which each group may discuss its problems, programmes, and plans. The community council elects a chairman, and a monthly schedule is worked out so that there will be a minimum of overlap in activities and a minimum of conflict in meeting times. Sometimes guest speakers are invited to address meetings of the council. All of these activities are intended to be separate from those of the band council, although the chief and all the councillors take a leading part in the community organizations and make use of them in carrying out band council activities.

Most of the participants in this scheme felt that the programme was very valuable to the band, and commented to the effect that "nothing was happening here until Father Dunn came". Two councillors expressed the opinion that the programme had helped them greatly in their work with the council by teaching them procedural and organizational skills, and by giving them confidence to speak in public. The system of band council committees consisting of both a councillor and other members of
the band was influenced by this community organization. Two councillors felt that the committee system and Father Dunn's community organization had helped to check the illicit activities of the chief councillor and the band administrator.

Almost the entire membership in these organizations is drawn from the West End of the reserve—from West Village and the Veterans' Site. The core of the organization seems to include about half of the adults in that area, people who are also on the band council, active in council committees, taking other active part in band affairs, and engaged in the entrepreneurial activities described below. People from the rest of the reserve do not belong to the organizations and attend only rarely at public functions. Some of these expressed the opinion that Father Dunn was "not interested in us" and that the whole programme was a part of a conspiracy by the West End group to dominate the affairs of the reserve. Some of the East End people do not attend Father Dunn's church, but go instead to a church in Mine City.

One ex-councillor in the West End felt that some effort should be made to extend this organization to the East End, perhaps by building a hall and holding some meetings there. Most other active West Enders felt that the East Enders could participate if they wanted to, but that they were "not interested".

3. Organization contained or centred in the population

Five men on the reserve could be regarded as full-time entrepreneurs. One of these is an elderly man at the East End whose main job for nearly fifty years has been taxidermy. He maintains a small shop near his house, where he stuffs and mounts fish, birds and other game for tourists and
tourist resorts. This man is descended from the man who was named as chief of the band when it was created as an administrative unit in 1850. In addition to his taxidermy, he has done some farming and wage work from time to time.

Four men at West Village are logging contractors, each employing four to six band members. Until 1955, permits to cut timber on the reserve were granted to non-Indian as well as to Indian contractors, sometimes, but not always, on the condition that the contractor hire band members. Since 1955, permits can be granted only to band members, and a rule that permit-holders may hire only band members has been enforced from time to time since then. Men who were councillors before 1955 maintain that they only granted permits in times of unemployment, using the timber resources of the band as something to fall back upon in time of need. Since 1955, logging has been carried on all year, weather permitting. Buyers for pulp mills, sawmills, and veneer plants contract with a band member for a specified amount of timber. The contractor decides where he will cut it, and takes the proposal to the band council. If the council agrees, it will authorize the Agency Superintendent to sign the permit. The buyer scales the cut timber each week, and issues the contractor advance payment on this basis to cover his operating expenses. When the contract is completed and the wood delivered, the buyer pays the balance of the agreed amount and the contractor pays dues to the band for the amount of wood cut.

In theory, any band member can get a timber permit, but for the most part only the four contractors mentioned above actually got them. At least one other man had tried to start contracting, but had been refused permits by the council. Older men say that at one time, when the
timber was closer to the roads, logging equipment was less complex, and buyers were willing to contract for smaller amounts of timber, almost any man with a team of horses could cut and sell timber. Now, however, the capital investment of a contractor is considerably more than that. The eldest of the four contractors operating in 1965 had been in the business for about twenty years and had equipment worth approximately $20,000.00. The other three, one of whom is the first man's son, had started their businesses within the previous seven to ten years, and each had equipment worth about $10,000.00. All four men had received and were still holding loans from the Federal Government's Revolving Loan Fund.

One was in unofficial partnership with a non-Indian who loaned him money to buy a piece of major equipment, and he suggested that the other contractors might have similar unofficial arrangements with non-Indians. The contractors were reluctant to discuss some details of their operations with me, and East Enders who were critical of council policies vehemently denounced the contractors and their methods. The substance of this criticism was that the timber operations are under-capitalized, so that the contractors must cut a large volume of timber just to meet the costs of interest payments or rental on equipment. One East Ender said:

C_______ told me he was renting a skidder for $800.00 a month. How much timber do you have to cut to pay for that? The timber is coming out fast, but what are we getting out of it?

The band council sets the rate of pay for band members working in the woods at $15.00 per day, with $3.00 extra if the man uses his own chain saw. One contractor maintained that he could get non-Indian workers for $12.00 per day if he were allowed to hire them. However, the dues paid by the contractor for timber cut on the reserve are considerably
lower than those charged for cutting on Provincial Crown lands. According to Indian Affairs Branch surveys, the council is letting too many contracts, and the timber resources of the band will soon be depleted. All four contractors believe that they will be able to continue their operations by contracting for timber on Crown lands after the reserve timber is depleted, but none has tried such contracts yet.

Two of the contractors were members of the band council in 1965, and the other two have been councillors and are leaders in the community organization of Father Dunn. All have received loans from the band funds for house improvements as well as the capital investment loans from the Revolving Fund.

As Table IV indicates, a number of men engage in commercial fishing for a few months each year. About ten women and two men make small handicraft items for sale to non-Indians.

There is no evidence that the traditional Ojibwa kinship system operates as an organizing principle for the band. It appears that each of the three population centres—West Village, Johnson's Point and the East End—may have been the home of a small group of kinsmen in 1850, when the population of the band was only forty-seven. Johnson's Point and the East End are still largely clusters of fairly close kin, and West Village appears to contain about four such clusters. However, each of the population clusters is linked to the others by kin ties, and most families appear to have kin links with persons of non-Indian status living off the reserve.
4. Individual participation in organization centred outside the population

The band members resident on the reserve participate as individuals in a wide variety of systems of relationship that have their main focus outside the population boundaries. There are no stores on the reserve, and reserve residents go to either Pulp City or Mine City for shopping and entertainment. All of the school children go to one city or the other by bus to attend the municipal separate (Catholic) schools, and several parents belong to Parent-Teacher organizations.

The Ontario Provincial Police and the Royal Canadian Mounted Police have detachments in both cities; the former have contact with band members in cases covered under ordinary provincial and federal statutes, and the latter in cases covered under the Indian Act. Representatives of both police forces reported that cases involving reserve residents seemed proportionately no more numerous than for the population at large.

Some reserve residents belonged to the Union of Ontario Indians and the Indian-Eskimo Association, but neither organization had a local chapter. A number of East End men were steadily employed in industries in and around Mine City, and some of these belonged to unions. No West End men had jobs off the reserve. Some men from both ends of the reserve, mostly young and unmarried, leave the population from time to time to work in lumbering and mining camps or on construction jobs; these men are still regarded as residents, and a few of them have wives and children or other dependents living on the reserve.

It appears that most nuclear families in the population have some kin links with people of non-Indian status living in the nearby cities
and towns.

I received at Shield Lake no reports of general discrimination against Indians by surrounding non-Indians, such as I received at North Prairie. However, there were several reports of discrimination by neighbouring industries in hiring policy. The West Enders felt that it was impossible for a reserve resident to get a "good" job in Pulp City, and they accused the East Enders of having made "deals" with industries in Mine City when they were in power in the council, to secure jobs for themselves and keep West Enders out. East Enders, even those with steady jobs, recognized some discrimination in hiring, and said that certain industries would never hire Indians. They tended to blame the situation as much upon certain fellow reserve residents as much as upon the employers. One man said,

Some of these guys who don't really want to work, they get into these places first. After the first pay they quit. After that they [the employers] don't want any more Indians. They are fed up.

Another East End man said that more men from the reserve could be employed in nearby industrial jobs, but that they preferred to work for the reserve timber contractors under the existing council policy:

A while ago they wanted men at _______. I went up there [to the West End] and asked them. They all said, "No, sir! We'd rather work in the woods." The money wasn't so good, but at least it was a job. They wouldn't take it.

Like other East Enders, this man was critical of the council's timber policy, saying, "We used to keep the timber for when we needed it—for when men couldn't get other jobs. Now they're using it all up."

5. Summary

As at North Prairie, the members of the Shield Lake Band who are
resident on the reserve form a reasonably well-defined population unit. However, for some purposes this unit may be sub-divided into two, and this division apparently exists in the concrete models of most of the people. It exists also in the ideal models of at least some East-Enders, who would like to see the division made official.

In 1965, many systems of relationship that in the ideal models of some administrators and band members should organize the whole population, were relevant only or mainly in the West End. Although the band council is elected by the whole population, only West Enders were councillors or active on council committees. The community organization sponsored by Father Dunn was also confined to the West End, and only West Enders were engaged in the exploitation of band resources, either as private or council enterprises. The East Enders, apart from their statuses as band members, participate in practically no systems of relationship centred or contained in the population. Many have jobs off the reserve, and most apparently have kin and friends of non-Indian status living off the reserve.

In the West End, there is considerable interlocking of systems. Father Dunn's community organization rests upon what I have termed "Type B" links among systems; statuses in the various organizations are organized into the "community council". Links provided by individuals' simultaneous occupancy of statuses in more than one system, or what I have termed "Type C" links, connect the community organization, the band council and its committees, and the operations of the timber contractors. Organization within the population is linked to systems outside it by "Type A" links, such as the developing roles relating provincial and municipal official statuses with those of band administrator and chief
councillor, or the established roles relating non-Indian timber buyers and band timber contractors. The emergent nature of much of this organization seems to leave scope for the creation of Type D links, or ad hoc transactions among individuals, such as the illicit ones with which the chief councillor and band administrator were charged.

D. Some Recent Events

Until the early 1950's, money from the sale of lands in 1917-38 was the main constituent of the band's capital assets, and the policy of both the Indian Affairs Branch and the band council appeared to be to conserve it. Interest on this capital made up the bulk of each year's revenue, and the major expenditure was an annual distribution of about $30.00 per capita. Most of the men were employed seasonally at fishing, trapping, guiding, and logging. A few men at the East End had jobs in nearby industries. The councillors were mostly older men from the East End, and E. Corteau, the taxidermist mentioned above, was re-elected as chief councillor without opposition for a number of years. According to informants' reports, the policy of conservation was also applied to the timber resources, and permits were granted to cut on band lands only when other work was not available.

Between 1939 and 1945, several men from Shield Lake served in the Armed Forces, and many families left the reserve to live in nearby towns and cities where opportunities for employment in wartime were good. According to some informants there were only four or five families in West Village during the early 1940's. After the war, there was a gradual return to the reserve. The veterans built houses with the aid of Veterans' Land Act grants, and younger members returning from military
service or work in wartime industry began to take a greater interest in band affairs. In the early 1950's a new Agency Superintendent took office, replacing a man whom informants in 1965 referred to as "lazy" and "inactive". At this time a number of families were living in one-room shacks along the highway, without electricity or other facilities, and under the stimulus of the new Superintendent a vigorous programme of house-building and improvement was begun, which by 1965 had involved $50,000.00 of band funds. Most of this was in the form of loans which were to be repaid out of the annual per capita distributions. Most of those returning to the reserve and leaving the shacks on the highway settled at the West End, in West Village and the Veterans Site, the latter location having been chosen by the Indian Affairs Branch over the opposition of many band members for its proximity to existing survey lines and to electricity and telephone lines.

In 1958, E. McDougal, a man in his thirties from the Veterans' Site, opposed Corteau in the election for chief councillor, and was elected by a narrow margin. Three of the four councillors were still older men from the East End. A petition claiming election irregularities and asking for a new election, signed by the defeated chief councillor and forty band members, was sent to the Minister of Citizenship and Immigration, but was not allowed. Under the new chief councillor, a policy of expanded services to band members was embarked upon, using capital funds as well as revenue. Besides the house-building programme, roads were built, electric and telephone lines brought in to West Village, and wells were dug.

There seems to have been no active attempt to increase revenue. In 1959, a regional University Committee proposed to build a university
on 400 acres of reserve land. The Indians were to be guaranteed employment in the construction, free tuition and room and board for students from the band in perpetuity, and a seat on the board of directors for the chief councillor. The proposal was turned down by the band under the advice of the council. In 1965, those who had opposed the offer expressed their reasons for doing so in terms of "not letting any more of our land go". Others said that although they had voted against it at the time, they would not do so again if the offer were to be repeated.

In 1960, McDougal was opposed in the election for chief councillor by T. Dubois, a man in his twenties from West Village with kin ties in the East End. According to informants, Dubois expressed an extremely "conservative" point of view, and was a vocal opponent of the council's policies and actions. Before the election there was a good deal of controversy about the eligibility of voters, and an East End man made a formal request that the voting take place under police surveillance. The election resulted in a tie, and the Agency Superintendent cast the deciding ballot in favour of McDougal, the incumbent. Also in this election, two younger councillors from the West End were elected in place of two older East Enders.

A plan to surrender and develop land on the lakeshore in the Johnson's Point area began to receive serious discussion. As nearly as I could determine, the plan was introduced by the Agency Superintendent and promoted by Agency personnel. At first, it was rejected by the council as too expensive.

By 1961, expenditures on roads, welfare, and other community services were so high that the annual per capita distribution was made
out of capital funds. Also in that year, band meetings were called upon to vote on the proposed surrender of the lakefront land for development. At the first two meetings, the proposal did not receive the required majority, and each time the Agency Superintendent wrote letters to the Regional office urging that another vote be taken. In one instance, he argued that "the more progressive element [was] away at seasonal occupations" at the time of the voting. Several East Enders, including some ex-councillors, were very vocal in their opposition to the plan. On the third vote, in 1962, the proposal passed, though not with a very large majority. Opponents from the East End and Johnson's Point initiated legal action to stop the implementation of the plan, but without success. The per capita distributions were discontinued, and as a result many of the housing loans that were to have been paid by holding back the borrowers' shares in the distributions had not been paid in 1965.

In interviews, E. McDougal, the chief councillor for this period, confided that during his tenure he had been "a drunk" and that he "did not know what was going on". In 1965, he was a member of Alcoholics Anonymous, and although he was still an active supporter of the policies and programmes begun during his term of office, it seems clear that the main impetus for those programmes came from the Indian Affairs Branch.

In the elections of 1962, four other candidates were nominated besides McDougal for chief councillor. Three of these were men in their seventies, including Corteau, the long-time chief councillor whom McDougal had defeated in 1958. All opposed the policies and actions of McDougal's council. The fourth candidate was T. Dubois, the young man from West Village who had tied with McDougal in the 1960 election. According to reports, Dubois had promised that if he were elected he would halt the
lakefront development and resume per capita distributions. Dubois was elected by four votes. From a field of fourteen candidates, four young councillors from West Village were elected, three of them new to the council. One of these was the new chief councillor's brother, and another was the daughter of the Band Administrator.

At first, Dubois attempted to carry out his election promises, but was met with heavy opposition from the Indian Affairs Branch personnel and from some of the councillors. By his own account, as he learned more about the projects and policies from the officials of the Branch, he became convinced of their merit, and by 1965 he had become one of the most vocal supporters of the cottage site development, and was talking about new projects of a similar kind, such as offering industry inducements to lease reserve land.

In 1963, the council tried a policy of taking timber contracts on behalf of the whole band, and allowing any band member to cut timber under the contract. Out of this rose a series of charges that Dubois, his councillor brother, and the Band Administrator were conspiring with non-Indian timber buyers to make money for themselves. The timber contractors were angered by the policy and charged that other band members, including the chief councillor, had waited until they had used their machinery to make logging roads, and then had moved in to cut the timber thus made available.

Early in 1964, a petition was circulated by a councillor and signed by eighty of the 134 eligible voters of the band, asking for the impeachment of the chief and council. In a memo to the Regional office, the Agency Superintendent offered his opinion that the charges were substantially true, and noted that the husband of the female councillor
had been on welfare most of the time until the election of his wife and Dubois, but that since the election he had been doing very well out of the timber cutting. The Regional Office refused the petition, stating that the electors "must take responsibility for their actions in electing the present council". It was noted that regular elections were to be held within a few months, anyway, and that the petitioners could elect somebody else.

In May of 1964, about three months after the petition, Dubois was again nominated for chief councillor. Running against him was F. McDougal, a cousin of the previous chief councillor and one of the West End timber contractors. Dubois was re-elected with fifty-five votes to his opponent's thirty-three. Also re-elected were Dubois's brother, the female councillor whose husband and father were implicated in the charges of dishonesty, and the councillor who had circulated the petition. The fourth councillor was another of the West End timber contractors. In 1965 this council appeared to be working harmoniously, pursuing the policies begun in the 1950's; the defeated candidate for chief councillor was on a council committee, as was his father, another timber contractor. At the same time, most of the councillors expressed to me distrust of some of the others, and of the McDougals. People who had signed the petition against Dubois, including the councillor who had initiated it, expressed the opinion that he was no longer involved in dishonest practices, but most felt that he had to be watched closely. East Enders said that the entire council was engaged in dishonest and destructive activity, and that the controlling group had "bought" their positions by spending band money. Several felt that no opposition candidate could win an election because too many reserve residents had become dependent
upon income stemming from the council's policy. One East Ender said of the chief councillor,

He doesn't know anything about money. He's never had any—never had a job. Now he signs cheques for thousands of dollars, but he doesn't know what he's doing.

Thus, in 1965, the control of the council and community organization was in the hands of younger people (45 and under) from the West End of the reserve. The people at the East End were not involved in the council or in the community organization, and did not attend council meetings except when issues of personal interest were being discussed. Members of the active council faction suggested that the East Enders were "not interested in progress" and only attended meetings to bring up petty grievances against the council members and each other. East Enders suggested that the ruling faction and their supporters were conspiring with "outsiders" for their own short-term benefit, and were not interested in conserving Indian rights and assets. Two elderly ex-chief councillors from the East End approached the Agency Superintendent with a proposal to formalize the division and make two bands, dividing the assets equally between them.

Although both band members and Indian Affairs Branch officials commonly refer to the division in these terms, as a split between East and West, events between 1955 and 1965 were also described as a replacement of "old" and "conservative" leaders by "young" and "progressive" ones. The basis for both of these descriptions will be seen in the foregoing account. Clearly, the geographical and generational divisions are part of the picture, but explanations on the grounds of the relative conservatisrn or progressiveness of the actors are not adequate. The
core of the faction supporting council policies (though not necessarily the present incumbents of council positions) is primarily young and from the West End, but some support does come from older people, like the Band Administrator and the eldest timber contractor, who are linked to the young "progressives" by kin ties. Practically all of the men in the council faction make their livings on the reserve, as contractors or workers in the woods, through employment in band projects, or as recipients of social assistance. Present council policies of greater expenditure on welfare, housing, and public service, and the development and leasing of band land all work to their benefit. The core of the opposition is made up of older people who are opposed to any action that they see as endangering their rights as Indians or as dissipating band resources. They recall what they regard with some justification as the theft of their land and timber in the sales of 1917, and are particularly angered by the discontinuation of the per capita distributions. These people are supported by younger band members, mostly in the East, who are steadily employed in industry off the reserve, for whom the council policy seems to provide no immediate benefit. Even the payment of medical insurance premiums out of the band fund meant little to these men, since they were already covered by schemes administered through the companies employing them.

A third group are in the condition that most reserve residents—and the chief councillor himself—once were in. They are poorly educated, unable to get steady work, and dependent upon the vagaries of the weather, the tourist traffic, and the larger economy for work opportunity. Many people who had been in this position were in 1965 gaining benefit from the year-round timber operations, work on band projects, and welfare and
housing assistance, but these conditions remained for some.

Seen in these terms, the "conversion" of Dubois is rendered understandable. Although he was young and living in the West End, he was the son of an elderly and "conservative" father, and had links with "conservative" kin in the East. He received little education, and had never been steadily employed. It appears that his opposition to council policies was based on the emotional appeal of the arguments of his "conservative" kin, but that once he became chief councillor he could see the potential material benefits to himself and his friends of carrying on with the "progressive" policies.

Neither of the two major factions is united. On the council side, the timber contractors oppose increased welfare expenditure and the limitation of hiring only band members to work in the woods; others oppose the granting of loans to the contractors, by which they "can feather their own nests with our money". Some oppose the appointment of the Band Administrator, saying he gives welfare only to his kin and friends. On the opposition side, the self-supporting workers are not unalterably opposed to the leasing and exploitation of band land, but feel that the present council is "in too much of a hurry" and will exhaust band resources for short-run gains and personal advantage. The most "conservative" element in the opposition maintain that every move to release band resources since the 1907 surrender has been accompanied by promises of prosperity, but that none of the promises have been fulfilled, and they phrase most of their arguments in terms of a betrayal of Indian rights and interests by "outsiders" and their dupes. One small kin group possesses what they represent as the "real treaty" between the band and the Crown, and maintain that the treaty under which the affairs
of the band are being administered is a false document, substituted by the government. The "real" treaty guarantees the inviolability of the reserve, freedom from government interference, free housing, per capita annual payments of $120.00, and so on. On the basis of this document, obviously prepared by someone unskilled in the use of written English, they claim the right to massive compensation for violations of the reserve that have taken place, and advocate that the government should oust the present council and cancel all its projects. Some of these people believe, or profess to believe, that decisions of the council taken without a band vote are invalid, and they have attempted to take legal action to have council decisions reversed. Some believe, or profess to believe, that the Whites leasing cottage sites have symbolically or legally "become Indians" and now hunt and fish on the reserve without reference to game laws. When some of the lessees advertised their cottages for sale in a local newspaper—one for $8,000—some "conservatives" interpreted this as the re-sale of their land by Whites for inflated prices. Although the cottage sites are leased for twenty-one year terms, many "conservatives" state their belief that the land is "lost" to the Indians, just as happened with the 1917 sales, and that if the lessees do not retain it, the Provincial government will.

These people have gained some validation for their arguments from certain difficulties encountered by the council in pursuing their policies, and from certain actions of the surrounding municipal governments. For example, when a pipeline was built across the reserve and contiguous Crown lands in the 1950's, a county school board built a school near it, across the highway from the reserve, apparently to give themselves the right to levy taxes on the pipeline company. According to
reliable testimony, the school has never had either teacher or pupils. Although the Indian Act does not allow provincial or municipal taxes to be levied on Indian lands, they may be levied on non-Indians' interest in Indian lands, and in 1965 there was the threat that summer cottagers in the Johnson's Point development would be subject to taxes on their cottages because of the presence of the school. Since the cottage sites had been advertised as being free from taxes, cottage owners were objecting to the band council, and some were reported to be demanding that the band pay their taxes or otherwise take responsibility for the situation. The costs of the development at Johnson's Point had been higher than anticipated, and cottage sites were not being taken up as quickly as had been hoped.

In pursuit of its policies the council has, in fact, spent a good deal of the capital assets of the band. Indian Affairs estimates indicate that the timber resources are quickly being depleted, and no re-forestation is taking place. The tourist and summer-cottage development is producing some revenue and providing some jobs, but there is no certainty that it will be a successful investment.

Indian Affairs Branch officials, although they are critical of some of the actions of members of the ruling faction, regard the policies being pursued as "progressive", and present a picture of a band which is "developing strong and positive leadership" and taking over more initiative and control of its own affairs. Two elderly ex-chief councillors, on the other hand, give an almost diametrically opposed view. They accuse the present council of being "weak" and "doing whatever the Superintendent tells them". When they were in office, they say, they were not afraid to say "no" to the Superintendent, and they constantly resisted efforts
by Indian Affairs Branch officials to encourage the lease and sale of band land. As was noted above, there is some evidence that Indian Affairs Branch personnel initiated the programmes, and it is clear that they have fostered and assisted their implementation.

The Shield Lake Reserve population, like that at North Prairie is obviously embedded in a far-flung network of social systems, and the operation of those systems clearly has effects upon the choices of action made by members of the population.
A. The Populations

In local usage, North Coast Village is the name of a geographical area of indeterminate size around a small bay on the northern British Columbia coast where approximately 900 people had their residences in 1966. To these people, "North Coast Village" is the answer to the question, "Where do you live?", and it is the address that appears on their mail. However, the boundaries of the population referred to loosely by this name may be drawn in several different ways, depending on the immediately relevant context of its use.

The largest and most clearly definable unit so named is the North Coast Band of Indians, consisting of about 1,100 people whose names appear on the Band List and who are recognized by the Canadian Government as making up the band. These people have rights under the Indian Act to the small reserve that forms the village site, as well as to seventy other reserves totalling 35,000 acres, and they share with another band the rights to twelve more reserves totalling 127 acres. Of these 1,100 people, approximately 970 were in 1966 recorded by the Indian Affairs Branch as being resident on the reserves, and had, in fact, their permanent residence in the village. The remaining band members had their residences variously in nearby Harbour City, in other towns and cities down the British Columbia coast and in the interior. A few lived in other parts of Canada and in the United States. These off-reserve band
members are thus for some purposes members of other populations, but remain for some purposes members of the collectivity known as the North Coast Band. They may return to the village and take up residence there, and they retain their share in the assets of the band.

In another context, the name North Coast Village may include in addition to the members of the band living in the village about fifty people not of Indian legal status. A government-maintained road marks the border of one side of the reserve, and it is paralleled for part of its length by a steel-mesh fence enclosing the school property. The area on the side of this road opposite the reserve is referred to as the "White Side" and all but one family of the non-Indian residents live there. These people participate to various degrees in the daily activities of the village. They may be divided for descriptive purposes into four categories. The categories are not entirely exclusive, but each is, I believe, at least partly conceptualized by local people, though not necessarily named.

1. **Enfranchised Indians.** These are three households of persons who would be classified as Indians, or possibly as "half-breeds" according to local assessment of physical type, but who do not have the legal status of Indians. Members of all of these households are linked by kin ties to members of the band, and all participate to some degree in the social life of the village. Members of the households occupy hereditary statuses in the traditional social system of the band, and one of them holds a chiefly position. Their housing, occupations, and style of life differ in no noticeable way from those of band members resident in the village.

2. **Permanent Non-Indian Residents.** These are four households of persons
of non-Indian status who make their permanent homes on the "White Side" of the village. In each case the male head of the household, and in three cases other members of it, are engaged for their livelihood in occupations relating to the physical maintenance of the North Coast population. The four households are:

- C. Jackson, with his wife, grown son and young daughter, keeps a store just outside the borders of the reserve. He grew up on the "White Side" of the village, where his father was an independent fur and fish buyer. Jackson still does a small amount of buying of fish and furs, but apparently depends mainly upon the store for his own and his family's livelihood.

- A. Gordon, a middle-aged man and his wife who live in a small cottage on the White Side. He does some maintenance work on government roads outside reserve boundaries, occasionally hires out to logging and other companies in the area, and operates a fish camp for a cannery company during the fishing season. He is also a prospector, and is reported to be developing a gold claim on Crown land near the reserve.

- M. Larsen and B. Larsen, two middle-aged men who live with their elderly mother on the White Side, and are employed by a steamship company as wharfingers, freight-handlers, and warehousemen. They have a small blacksmith-cum-mechanic's shop at their home, and do a wide variety of odd repair jobs. They also own a truck with which they do hauling and moving as required. Their mother has some Indian ancestry, and all members of the household have lived in the area for a long time, the brothers having grown up there.
K. Davis, who lives with his wife and sister-in-law in a small house with an attached office-porch that houses the Post Office. The sister-in-law is postmistress. The sisters are part Indian and related to members of the band. Davis is primarily a fisherman, but has done a variety of other jobs.

The last two households are included in this category rather than the first because, although they contain persons who might be identified as "Indians" by local non-Indians, the life style and orientation of the households seem to be primarily "White" while for those in the first category they are like those of the band members in the village. People in this category differ from those in the next by virtue of the fact that their residence in North Coast Village seems to be prior to or take precedence over their occupations. Their residences, like those of the households in the first category, are spread over a fairly large area near the reserve. This is in contrast to the households in the next category, which form a fairly close cluster on and near the school property.

3. **Government and Service Personnel.** These are persons who are temporary residents of North Coast Village by virtue of the fact that they are filling a range of special statuses provided by "outside" systems of relationship. Their status positions are regarded as more or less permanent features of the local concatenation of systems, but the present incumbents are not expected to be permanent residents. None of the persons referred to in this category had been at North Coast Village for more than five years, and since 1966 practically all have left.

- The Principal and nine teachers at the Federal Day School. Housing
for the teachers is provided by the government, and includes various sorts of accommodation. The school population has expanded rapidly over the past few years, and there is a considerable annual turn-over of teachers, so living accommodation is arranged each year according to the distributions of age, sex, and marital status in that year's staff. In 1966, teachers were living in apartments in the school building, in urban-style houses, in a house-trailer on the school grounds, and so on.

Teachers vary in the extent to which they take part in village activities, but they are apparently expected to take leading roles in outside-supported organizations such as Boy Scouts and Girl Guides, the United Church Sunday School, and so on.

- The Public Health Nurse, who operates a nursing station under Indian Health Services and lives in attached quarters on the school property.

- The United Church clergyman and his family, who lived during 1965 and 1966 in a house on the "White Side" that had once been the property of the Hudson's Bay Company. During the summer of 1966, a pre-built urban-style house was brought in and set up on church land on the reserve for the new minister who was to take up his duties in the fall of that year.

- A Community Development Officer, employed by the provincial government for a three-year period. This man's wife and family remained in southern British Columbia, and he lived alone in a house trailer on the school grounds.

- The Agent for the Northern Air Lines, a woman who lived in a house on the reserve rented from its Indian owner by the company.
Her husband worked for a logging company some distance away, coming to the village from time to time on week-ends. Their daughter had married a young man of the band, and the young couple also lived in the house. The woman's job involved calling to Harbour City for charter aircraft, and handling passengers and small freight for the two daily scheduled flights. The position had been filled at other times by other non-Indian residents and occasionally (but briefly) by members of the band.

- A cook and manager of a small restaurant building beside Jackson's store. Jackson rents this building to the manager, and provides him with supplies. According to informants, both Indian and non-Indian, the rental rate is very high and the restaurant manager is expected to make his profits from the illegal sale of alcoholic beverages. Although I have some evidence to suggest that liquor and wine were sold from the restaurant, I have none to indicate the involvement of Jackson.

4. **Others.** At any given time, there may be resident in and around the village other persons who may be distinguished from those in (3) above by the fact that the positions they fill are not permanent features of the local concatenation of systems. Their period of residence is usually shorter than that of the service personnel, and most are men who either have no wives or families or whose wives and families have been left at some permanent residence elsewhere. During the periods of study, this category included such persons as

- Two men employed by the Indian Affairs Branch on the installation of sewer pipes in the village.

- A carpenter employed by the United Church to supervise the building
of the foundation and the placing of the new minister's house.

- A carpenter employed by the Indian Affairs Branch to supervise the erection of two new teachers' houses.

- A foreman and other employees of a longshoring company engaged in loading logs aboard ships at a site a few miles away from the village (see below for details).

- A man and wife and another male employee who lived on and operated a floating "fish camp"—a fish buying station and company store that anchored in the village bay during the fishing season.

For the most part, people in this category are present during the summer, and accommodation can be found for them in the teacherages and the government buildings.

The name "North Coast Village", therefore, does not always label the same aggregation of people. I shall follow what I believe to be local usage, and use it unmodified for the band members resident in the village. When other populations are relevant, I shall indicate by appropriate modifiers.

B. General Description

The nearest centre of population to North Coast Village is Harbour City, an industrial, shipping, and distributing centre of about 25,000 people, linked to the rest of British Columbia by a highway, a railroad, by shipping and regular airline flights. A few other Indian Reserves are not much farther from the village than Harbour City.

There is no road between North Coast Village and any other centre of population. A small, local airline operates two scheduled flights a day between Harbour City and the village, using light pontoon aircraft;
the trip takes about fifteen minutes, and costs $6.00 each way, plus $1.50 taxi fare between the city and the seaplane base. The aircraft may be chartered for $18.00 a trip. In the ordinary fishboats of the area, the trip to Harbour City takes three to four hours. A steamship that carries passengers and freight between Vancouver and smaller centres northward on the coast, calls at the village once a week. There is no telephone service in the village, but there are radio-telephones in the nursing station, the airline office, at a nearby logging camp (see below) and in Jackson's store. The last is available during store hours for public use at a charge of twenty-five centa a call; use of the others is normally confined to official business, but they may be used in emergencies for other purposes. A small number of village-based fishboats have two-way radios.

In 1966, two band members and the United Church clergyman owned and operated cars; light trucks were owned and operated by the White storekeeper, the wharfinger, and two members of the band. Approximately fifty men of the band and four of the non-Indian residents own fishboats (with the qualifications on ownership to be outlined below). Almost all of them are small gill-netters, and a fluctuating number of other village men have the use of similar cannery-owned boats during part of the year. Perhaps thirty people own small outboard or rowing boats.

In 1962, a television "booster" station was established near Harbour City, and North Coast Village came within its signal range. In 1966, I would estimate that 50 to 60 per cent of the households had television sets.

With the exception of the three households of non-status Indians mentioned above, the Indian population of North Coast Village lives in
ninety-nine residences on building lots along the unpaved village streets. The houses are made of wood, and although some under construction in 1966 had concrete foundations, only one finished house had, the rest being supported on wooden pilings. Most of the houses are old, few are painted, and most appear to an urban observer to be in a state of disrepair, with broken windows, collapsed stairs and porches, and so on. Only two houses have successful gardens—one of flowers and the other of vegetables; most houses have none. Inside, most of the houses are untidy, and underfurnished by comparison with those of the non-Indian residents, and in spite of evidence of long occupancy, the urban-oriented White visitor may receive an impression of impermanence. This may be related to the fact that until recently much of the Indian population moved about seasonally, living for the summer fishing season near the large canneries at Harbour City. A few houses on the reserve are decorated, furnished, and maintained in a style similar to those of the non-Indians.

The basic household unit seems to be the nuclear family, although nearly half, and possible more, of the households include other persons. A summary of data from a household census is provided in Table VI. The figures in this table can do no more than indicate something of the range of variation in household composition, for it was not possible to collect equally reliable information about all households. For example, I suspect that there are more cases in which the children of unmarried daughters are living with their grandparents, but are represented publicly as the offspring of the grandparents. This fictional "skipping" of a generation seems to be a pattern of long standing in the village. In several instances I had been led to believe that two men were "brothers", but was later told in confidence that the younger was "really" the elder's
### TABLE VI

**HOUSEHOLD COMPOSITION, NORTH COAST VILLAGE**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Composition</th>
<th>Number of Households</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nuclear family (including widows, bachelors, etc.)</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nuclear family plus daughters with husbands and children</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nuclear family plus daughters with children, no husband</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nuclear family plus daughter's children</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nuclear family plus sons with wives and children</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nuclear family plus son's children</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nuclear family plus husband's parent(s)</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nuclear family plus wife's parents</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nuclear family plus husband's siblings, their spouses and children (if any)</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nuclear family plus wife's siblings, their spouses and children (if any)</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>101</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Ninety-two of ninety-nine households reported sister's son. On one occasion an elderly man was talking to me about his married "daughter" with whom he was living, when he suddenly "remembered" that she had in fact been born to one of his older daughters before the daughter's marriage. He later reported that he had gone home and mentioned this suddenly remembered fact to the woman, who had become angry and insisted that it was not so. On another occasion, I was talking to an elderly couple about a middle-aged man. As I inquired about his kin links, the old woman volunteered, "He's my son. I had him before I married ________, and my mother and father brought him up."

The village has a domestic water supply, but many houses do not have running water, their inhabitants taking water from outdoor public taps. Houses that have running water also have flush toilets connected to septic tanks. Many of the tanks are in poor condition, and many
houses have outdoor toilets. Band council files include a number of complaints about a neighbour's sewage running onto the complainant's property. During 1966, a village sewer system was being installed on a cost-sharing arrangement between the band and the Indian Affairs Branch. There is no garbage disposal system, and many people carry their garbage out to the end of the wharf and throw it into the water. The beaches and empty land are heavily littered with empty soft-drink tins, broken bottles, and other debris.

The band owns and operates a diesel generating plant which supplies electricity for homes and streetlights from 6:00 p.m. until midnight during the summer months and from 4:00 p.m. until midnight during the winter. The plant in operation in 1966 was about four years old, and supplied A.C. power rather than the D.C. that had been supplied by the previous plant. Because of the change, all of the houses in the village had to be re-wired to meet the provincial safety regulations, and in 1966 about thirty houses were without electric power until re-wiring had been completed. The band council collects a "light rent" from people using electricity, the money being used to provide fuel and maintenance for the plant. There are no meters. Rates are based on the number of lights and appliances in use and their assessment is on what the chief councillor termed an "Honour system". A few village houses and most of the houses of the "non-official" non-Indian residents have their own small generating plants. Jackson's store and residence has its own electric plant, and the school, nursing station, teacherages, and government buildings are serviced by a separate plant operating twenty-four hours a day.

The band also owns a small sawmill and planer mill. The mill is
operated by the band council, who hire a non-Indian head-sawyer and a number of band members when there is need of lumber. Some individuals have had beachcombed logs cut for lumber for their own use, and the council has cut some lumber for construction of a band building and some for sale. However, the mill is not operated on a regular basis, and there is no regular supply of logs. Some non-Indian observers believe that the mill could be a profitable full-time enterprise.

The band council maintains the village streets and, since part of the village is an island at high tide, a bridge. There are two floats for fishboats. In 1966, the council met in a dilapidated hall built on pilings over the foreshore, but a new council headquarters and "town hall" was under construction. Public buildings not under control of the band qua band include a large United Church building with a small attached hall, two large halls built and maintained by clubs (see below), and two smaller halls owned by religious groups. An ornamental band-stand is located on the band-owned land, but councillors and musicians were uncertain about the ownership of and responsibility for the stand, itself.

Indian Affairs Branch figures for employment and other sources of income are given in Tables VII and VIII. As with the figures for Shield Lake, these provide an indication of the range of types of employment and relative levels of income, but the accuracy of the actual figures and their reflection of the real employment situation at North Coast must be questioned. For example, in the same questionnaire that includes the data summarized in these tables, it is estimated that in 1964 the band's 125 resident workers earned $150,000.00, or an average of $1,200.00 each. However, even a conservative estimate based on the figures in Table VII
### TABLE VII
EMPLOYMENT, NORTH COAST BAND

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Employment</th>
<th>No. of Workers</th>
<th>Man Months</th>
<th>Estimated Income</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>On Reserve:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Forestry</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>222</td>
<td>$100,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>trapping</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>3,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>unskilled and casual labour</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>6,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>self-employment in commercial enterprise</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>17,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Off Reserve:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Forestry</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>21,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>skilled trades</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>22,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>unskilled and casual labour</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>37,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>self-employment in commercial enterprise</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>4,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Fishing on or off reserve</strong></td>
<td>65</td>
<td>260</td>
<td>130,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Indian Affairs Branch Resources Questionnaire, 1964.

### TABLE VIII
INCOME, OTHER THAN FROM EMPLOYMENT, NORTH COAST BAND

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source of Income</th>
<th>No. of Recipients</th>
<th>Estimated Income</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Family allowance</td>
<td>150 (600 children)</td>
<td>4,200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Old Age pensions</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>43,600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disability pensions</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3,565</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployment insurance</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>10,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Welfare assistance</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>21,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Indian Affairs Branch Resources Questionnaire, 1964.
allowing for the inclusion of non-resident band members, yields an average of over $2,000.00. Further, the figures in that table reflect an atypical employment year, for the seventy-four workers listed as earning $100,000.00 in forestry on the reserve were employed in a timber operation on band land that had only begun in the previous year and seemed unlikely to continue to provide this level of employment. Some of the men employed in this way would in a typical year have been fishermen at least during the summer gill-netting season, but chose instead to take advantage of the opportunity to work in the woods. Others worked for part of the year in the logging operation and went fishing during the summer.

More typically, therefore, few North Coast Band members resident in the village have much employment other than in the fishing industry. A few men trap for furs during the fall and winter, but this no longer brings much return. Others leave the village for short periods to work in the logging industry. Occasional, casual labour is available from time to time in and around the village; for example, in 1966 a few men worked for short periods as labourers on the installation of the sewer system, on the erection of the new church manse, and on the construction of the new town hall. One man is steadily employed as janitor-maintenance man at the school. Two men operate retail stores in the village, one with the aid of his wife; one man makes artistic and handicraft items for sale; one man and wife operate irregularly a small confectionery and tobacco store in their living room. One man is reported to engage fairly steadily in bootlegging. During the winter, a certain amount of employment is provided by "Winter Works" projects financed out of band and government funds, but these projects are not well organized and rarely operate as planned. For example, in 1965 it was planned to use $8,000.00
of band funds for five projects, but only two were actually undertaken. The sum of $6,000.00 had been budgetted for these, but only $4,000.00 was actually spent. The logging and loading operation that provided the "extra" income shown in the table will be discussed more fully below.

The major activity in the fishing industry takes place for two and one-half to three months from June until September each year, when government regulations allow gill-netting for salmon. During this period, the several large fishing companies with canneries near Harbour City send out floating "fish camps"—storage and other buildings built on large rafts—and anchor them in strategic locations, one of which is in the bay off North Coast Village. Vessels called "packers" ply between the fish camps and the canneries, carrying fish and supplies. The fishermen may purchase supplies from the fish camps and deliver their catches there, but some operate from a base at the cannery itself and deliver their catches directly. When conditions are favourable, the packers may pick up fish directly from the boats. At North Coast Village, approximately fifty men are classed as boat owners, and have boats all year around. Others rent boats from the canneries during the season, bringing them back to the village and fishing from there as a home base. Some whole families spend the season at the canneries, with the husband fishing out of the cannery and the wife working in it. A few village men are employed during the season as crew on packers or in some special capacity in a cannery.

Details of individual income are extremely difficult to determine because of the peculiar relationships between the fishermen and the fish companies. The companies rent boats to the fishermen for approximately $300.00 per month, and supply them with nets, gear, and other necessities
on credit. The fisherman delivers his catch to the company, and it is recorded as credit in his favour. At the end of a good season, the fisherman may be entitled to a substantial cash payment; a very bad season may leave him with a debt to be carried over into the following year. Boat owners, although they are theoretically free to sell their fish wherever they want, all appear to be involved in a similar credit arrangement with the fish companies; in fact, boat ownership appears to be in many cases more nominal than real, for the companies often hold mortgages on the boats. For example, under the Federal Government's Revolving Loan Fund, a band member may borrow money to buy a boat if he puts up 25 per cent of the amount himself, and agrees to repay the loan at an interest rate of 5 per cent per annum. By departmental regulations, the Agency office must insure the regular payment of loan instalments by arrangement with the cannery company for which the man fishes, the payments to be made out of his accumulated credit before he receives any cash at the end of the season. If the fisherman has a bad year, he may not have sufficient credit with the company to cover his loan payment. In this event, the company may make the loan payment on his behalf, carrying it as debt against him, and by the time the Government loan is repaid, the company may hold a mortgage on the boat for an amount greater than the fisherman's equity in it. On some occasions, the companies have advanced fishermen money to cover their original 25 per cent of the total amount of the loan. One man at North Coast Village borrowed from the Revolving Loan Fund enough money to buy a hull and an engine for a large gill-netter. A cannery company then supplied funds on a second mortgage for the superstructure, radio, galley equipment, and fishing gear to an amount greater than the Revolving Fund's first mortgage, and
gave the man food and fuel on a credit. Unless he were to have several exceptionally good seasons, it is unlikely that he could ever be more than the nominal owner of the boat.

Besides the credit extended for boats, gear and supplies necessary for fishing, the cannery companies also extend credit for a variety of other purposes. In general, the amount of credit a man can call upon is related to his past performance as a fisherman and the company's assessment of his ability. A good fisherman, or "high-liner", can even make purchases in department stores in Harbour City and have the bills honoured by the company he fishes for. One man boasted to me that he had bought a television set this way during the slack winter season, and I saw the ability demonstrated on smaller purchases. During the months preceding the fishing season, several of the companies issue "tickets"—small printed chits that may be used to make purchases at the company stores on the fish camps. These are accepted as payment by both the Indian and non-Indian merchants at the village, and since all the village merchants also extend credit to their customers, very little cash is seen during that period.

In return for the credit extended to them, the fishermen are expected to deliver their entire catch to the company supporting them. It is possible for a fisherman to sell some of his catch for cash to an independent buyer, but by doing so he runs the risk of having his credit cut off and more stringent demands for payment applied. Two men in the village who claimed to own their boats "free and clear" maintained an exclusive relationship with one of the companies, even though they were theoretically free to sell their fish to anyone. They said that if they tried to be fully independent, they would not be able to get credit and
support when they needed it, as, for example, during a bad year or in the event of a major breakdown or loss of boat or equipment. Some informants were reticent about discussing their own relationship with the cannery company they fished for, but the arrangements of others were a favoured subject for comment and discussion. It was frequently said of men with large and expensive boats that they did not really own them, or that they had acquired them in some underhanded way. One man said of another, with evident satisfaction, "I always thought ______ owned his boat, he was always bragging so much. But last year the cannery took it away."

It is my impression that many of the fishermen do not keep their own records of indebtedness and credit, but rely upon the company to tell them how they stand. They are aware of whether they are doing well or badly in any given season, and can cite figures of how much fish they have delivered at what prices, but probably could not give a very precise estimate of the extent of their indebtedness. Many stories of good years include descriptions of how surprised the teller was when he learned how much money he was to receive at the end of the season; this may be a device for dramatic effect, but I believe it also reflects the fact that the fishermen depend upon the companies for the details of account and record-keeping.

Times and places for fishing are strictly regulated by the Federal Government. In 1966, gill-netting for salmon was restricted to two days per week during the summer season, and most of the North Coast Village fishermen fished within a radius of about 30 miles from the village, returning home after delivering their catch. For the rest of the year, trolling for salmon is allowed and many North Coast boat owners convert to this manner of fishing when the gill-netting season is over.
During the summer, certain days are set aside by the government for Indian fishermen to take salmon for their own use, employing the same gill-net equipment as for commercial fishing. These days are extremely busy ones in the village. The fishermen go out early, and men, women, and children left in the village hurry about preparing jars, tins, and smoke-houses. As the catch comes in, and late into the evening, most people in the village are engaged in transporting, cleaning, butchering, and preserving the fish. Although not every household includes a fisherman, a variety of informal sharing agreements seems to ensure that each receives a supply of fish. Of course, most fishermen keep a few fish at any time from their commercial catch to eat fresh or give to others.

Nuclear families and other groupings of kin and friends make expeditions to off-shore islands to take sea-weed, clams, and abalone, and in a less organized way men fish occasionally for halibut, crab, or octopus. In the fall, some men hunt for deer. In 1966, only one man from North Coast made oolichan grease during the early spring run of those fish in the mouth of a river to the north of the village. However, the grease is very much in demand, and a gallon jug of it could be sold for twenty dollars. All of these food items are given as gifts, traded, and bought or sold. Occasionally boats from reserves to the north stop at the village with such foods for sale.

The organization of North Coast Village can best be described against a brief historical background. The present location of the village was apparently a summer site for nine Tsimshian "tribes"—politically autonomous villages whose winter quarters were at a site about 20 miles to the south. Each of the tribes owned a stretch of beach and a tract
of contiguous land on the site of the present village, and used it as a temporary base for sea-mammal hunting and other subsistence expeditions. In the early 1830's, the Hudson's Bay Company established a fort at an oolichan-fishing site some 50 miles to the north which was visited by these tribes and others in the area. According to "official" versions, the Company found their location difficult because of bad winter weather, poor anchorage, and other factors, and they purchased land from the Indians at North Coast Village to re-locate their fort. In the version of the story told by several villagers, the daughter of the highest-ranking chief of the nine tribes was married to the Hudson's Bay factor. She became homesick and felt isolated in the fort to the north, and her father invited her husband to build a house for her on his summer site at North Coast. The factor built a fort and laid claim to a tract of land around it.

However the Hudson's Bay Company may have come to be there, it seems clear that once the fort was established the tribes shifted their permanent winter quarters to North Coast Village, each tribe occupying its old summer village site. Relations other than for trade between the company personnel and the Indians were rather uncertain, apparently, with the company men remaining behind locked gates and guarded walls most of the time, and the Indians pursuing their own affairs in the village without much direct observation by Whites. As late as 1862, letters from a post manager refer to Indians firing upon the fort and trying to tear down the pickets. However, some Indians were employed in the fort, and some Company men married women from the village.

There was an attempt by an Anglican missionary to Christianize the Indians in the 1850's which ended with his leaving the village in the
early 1860's with a large number of converts, including the highest-ranking chief. Shortly after, small-pox swept the coast, killing as many as one-third of the people remaining at North Coast. In 1966, two very old men independently told me of their belief that the disease had been deliberately sent by the missionary who had moved away. In the 1870's the highest-ranking chief remaining among the tribes at North Coast and his wife, a woman of high rank from a different tribe, spent nearly a year in a city in southern British Columbia. Both had lived there during their childhood, and both were the offspring of Hudson's Bay personnel and women of the village. The chief's mother was still in the southern city, and had become a Methodist. When they returned to North Coast Village, the chief's wife began to hold classes in her home, giving religious and other instruction. According to local traditions, the people of the village became angry at a missionizing visit from some of their erstwhile fellow-villagers who had left with the Anglican missionary, and demanded to become Methodists. Whatever the reason, records show that in 1874 there was a visit from a Methodist clergyman who baptised about a hundred people and performed a number of marriages. Later that year another Methodist clergyman took up permanent residence in the village and organized a congregation in the manner of that denomination, with full members, members "on trial", and a church board. Many adults were baptised, adopting European names. In the version of the story told by one very old informant, the people were promised considerable material reward if they became Methodists, including livestock and "a bucket-full of money for each family—silver". Of this, the old man commented, "Big money....and big lie, too."

By 1877, the village had an elected "church council", made up,
according to local testimony, of hereditary chiefs voted into office by their tribes. The council had the village site surveyed; streets and building lots were laid out, and people began to build European-style houses. Some of these were large, two and three-storey wooden buildings that housed more than one nuclear family. Around this time the village came under the administration of the Indian Affairs Department, and became the North Coast band. Canneries began to be built near the site on which Harbour City was later to rise, and the Indians became commercial fishermen. In the 1880's boarding homes were established at the village, one for boys and one for girls, in which the children were to learn European ways in isolation from their families. Many village children stayed in the homes, and Indian children from elsewhere were also accommodated. A day school for Indian children was also operated by the church. In 1888, the missionary established a church organization called the Band of Christian Workers to engage in evangelistic activity such as holding religious meetings in the streets. Within four years, according to a religious history of the village, the Band of Workers was "out of control of the missionary, and was being managed entirely by the Tsimshean people, and was the gathering place for people disaffected from the church". They built their own hall, and carried on their own services. About ten years later, there were attempts by the Salvation Army and the Seventh Day Adventists to make converts in the village, and a nucleus of the former organization has existed there ever since. In an effort to combat the appeal of these competitors, the Methodist missionary sponsored a church organization called the Epworth League, which held marches and street meetings with a small brass band. Like the Band of Workers, this organization also grew more
and more independent of the church, building its own hall and conducting meetings in the Native language.

The period between 1890 and about 1915 was an expansive one for the whole area, and North Coast was a major centre. A sizeable non-Indian population grew up adjacent to the village, giving rise to the name "the White Side", which is still in use. The non-Indian town and the village together were called North Coast, and the White Side was the centre for government personnel, the police headquarters, and the communications centre for the northern area. Ships travelling the coast stopped at the town, which included an Anglican church, a school, several retail stores, and two hotels. In 1889, a Methodist doctor from the East started a general hospital. He received no financial support from the church at first, but later the church supplied some money and personnel. The expansive mood was enhanced by speculation that North Coast would become the Pacific Terminus of the northern trans-continental railroad line. A brochure published by land speculators in 1892 referred to it as "already an industrial town of one thousand inhabitants" with "the finest harbor of British Columbia", and predicted that "it must become, not one of the largest cities, but the largest city on the Pacific Coast." There was heavy speculation in land around the village, and articles appeared in Victoria and Vancouver newspapers until 1907 telling of the growth of mining exploration and the certainty of the coming of the railroad.

By 1908, the Pacific railroad terminus was located thirty-odd miles south of North Coast, and Harbour City grew up. Newspaper and other reports of the period suggest that both the Indian band and the Hudson's Bay Company held out for very large sums of money for their
land holdings at North Coast, thus causing the railroad planners to look elsewhere for a suitable site for their terminus. It would seem that speculation and inflated prices of adjacent land might also have been a factor. Harbour City gradually replaced North Coast as the major centre of non-Indian population in the area, and government and other offices gravitated there. The Hudson's Bay Company closed its North Coast store in 1911. However, the town retained some non-Indian population long after the completion of the railway to Harbour City in 1917.

According to elderly informants, the village of those years was a very busy place, and the people engaged in a seasonal round of diverse activities. In about the middle of March, the herring began to spawn, laying eggs in clusters on seaweed. The people collected and dried the eggs, using canoes, rowboats and sailboats for transportation. Around the same time, about five or six families who had traditional rights to fishing places at the mouth of a river to the north, went there to fish for oolichan and prepare grease. In late April, when the land weeds were of a certain length, people went to camping places on off-shore islands to pick and dry seaweed, and fish for halibut which was also dried for storage. This activity carried on well into May. At the beginning of June, the cannery season began when a tugboat came to the village to tow the fishboats the thirty-odd miles to the canneries. Elderly informants remember this with nostalgia as a time of great excitement, with families staying up late in the long northern summer twilight, packing for the trip. In the long, early dawn, forty or fifty small sailboats were strung out in a line behind the tug, each with a canvas tent, and meals cooking over wood fires in improvised stoves. A few families would remain behind in the village, and a collection would
be taken up to pay them for watching the empty houses.

Whole families went to the canneries, the men fishing throughout the week, and the women and girls packing tins in the cannery buildings. At the end of August, the people returned to the village and concentrated on taking their own winter's supply of salmon from the creeks. In late September and October, they visited the off-shore islands and beaches for clams and other shell-fish. By early November, almost everyone was back in the village, and under council regulations, each able-bodied man was expected to spend three days in "statute labour" on village streets and public buildings. Around the middle of January, men went trapping, some alone or in pairs and some with their families. In late February, they returned to the village and sold their furs, and by the middle of March the cycle began again.

They were eventful years, too. In 1903, a man came to the village, not under church sponsorship, to act as a teacher of young people beyond school age. He held classes in his house, and his students paid for their lessons. Apparently he did not make much money, and left the village after a few years, but his influence lasted much longer. In 1911, with the Band of Workers and the Epworth League operating nearly independently of church, the resident Methodist missionary formed yet another organization. This time it was the Wesley Guild, a church organization for young people. A prominent member of it was a younger son of the chiefly couple who had brought the church to the village in the 1870's. A year or so later, this young man came into conflict with the missionary when the latter attempted to discipline him for behaviour of which the church disapproved. The young man gathered around him some of the people who had attended the informal young adults' classes ten
years earlier, along with people who had adhered to the Salvation Army, and started an independent organization called the Educational Club. The Club began to field athletic teams, which took part in competitions with other teams in the area and gained considerable success. The Wesley Guild, following the pattern of the earlier church organizations, grew more and more independent, building its own hall and competing in athletics with the Educational Club. By 1918, the Guild changed its name to the North Coast Sports Association, and ceased having even nominal connection with the church. Unlike the previous two church organizations, it became almost completely secular. Soon every person in the village belonged to one or the other of these two organizations, and competition was very strong. They tried to outdo each other in the size of their halls, and each rebuilt its hall at least twice. Athletic competitions often ended in fights.

During these years, the Federal Government took over more and more financial responsibility for projects that had been financed by the church and by the now-dwindling White population, such as the boarding homes for boys and girls, and the hospital. In 1912, the home for boys was closed, and many boys from the village were sent south to a residential school near Vancouver. Many men at North Coast now tell of homesickness there and of running away from the school to return to the village. In spite of increased government financing, however, the educational and medical services remained, to all outward appearances, church institutions.

Indeed, the village of this period provides an interesting example of the importance of what I have referred to above as "Type C" linkages of relational systems—links brought about by individuals' occupancy of statuses in more than one system. On a purely formal level, the
concatenation of systems represented in the village included the separate or minimally-related institutions of government, church, hospital, and schools. In fact, however, the records of the period show these important systems to have been operating almost as one. Under the influence of the church, the elected council had passed by-laws to regulate behaviour in the village, covering such matters as drinking, sexual behaviour, and household maintenance. In one typical case, an unmarried man and a married woman were charged with "living in a profligate manner". The accused persons appeared for judgment before a Justice of the Peace who was also a prominent member of the governing board of the church and the chief doctor in the hospital. They were found guilty and fined. The woman and her husband were then called before the elected council and advised to become reconciled. Finally, the two offenders were disciplined by the church board by being placed "on trial" with regard to church membership.

An incident recorded in the Agency files and reported by informants provides further illustration. In 1917, a village girl living in the girls' boarding home was slightly injured while on a picnic. Her father, apparently blaming the supervisors of the home, took the girl away. The medical director of the hospital, who was also a prominent member of the church board, acting in his capacity as Justice of the Peace, forced the girl's return to the home under warrant, and jailed her father. This action apparently angered a number of villagers, who challenged the administration of the home, making sworn statements that the girls were mistreated and improperly fed. The Indian Agent for the district reported that he was satisfied that the charges were false, and the decision of the Justice of the Peace was allowed to stand.
This linking of systems was explicitly recognized by an Agent who wrote in a report for 1914, "The missionary and the Indian Agent are usually looked upon by the Indians as inseparably associated in the interests of the Government". Eight years later, the village council gave expression to the same sentiments in a petition to the Government requesting "the removal of the Indian Agent, Doctor, and Constable, as they are all in together".

The constable referred to in this petition was a non-Indian, resident on the "White Side". In addition, village constables were employed by the council, and council records show that they were responsible for bringing many charges against people of the village for such offences as drunkenness, adultery, and disturbing the peace. Village by-laws were also enforced by committees. One elderly man reported of the Fire Committee,

We'd go around to all the houses. One man would have a stick—a cane—and he'd bang on the stove-pipes. If anything was loose or not right, we'd say, "You get that fixed up in twenty-four hours." If it wasn't fixed when we went back, we'd just take the whole stove out and throw it in the yard.

In spite of this pervasive and sometimes very efficient organization, however, the village also experienced almost continuous dissension, factionalism, and quarrelling, of which the divisions among religious and secular organizations described above were only a small part. As early as 1903, a southern newspaper carried a report that the head chief at North Coast had successfully sued a band member for "uttering and publishing a scandalous falsehood" to the effect that the chief intended to sell the Village Reserve to railway promoters. Two elderly men still alive in 1966 accused the same chief of using his
influence with church and government authorities to deny them access to education, while seeing that his own kinsmen received it. In 1914, an Indian Agent wrote in his annual report:

At one time these Indians were induced to petition the government to be brought under the advancement part of the Indian Act, whereby they might be in a position to have Indian council under an elective system. The system has come to nought and no council has been elected for some years. Those in power tried to use the system to persecute their enemies. They decided they would act as far as possible in contravention of their own by-laws.

On other occasions, the villagers acted with what was to observers remarkable unity. In 1931, the church burned to the ground, and was fully and quickly rebuilt by cooperative, volunteer effort. The writer of the Village's religious history remarks of this event, "It was the one project in all this period in which the village people cooperated to so effective an extent". The same author writes less approvingly of a more recent event that I would be inclined to see as a similar phenomenon. According to his account and those of village informants, the minister had asked two women to leave the church choir on the grounds that he believed them to be prostitutes. They refused. Later, the minister's wife confronted the women publicly with the charge, in the presence of visitors to the village. In response, the church congregation, which included most of the adult villagers, by a unanimous vote requested church authorities to remove the minister from his post.

This pattern, in which occasional nearly unanimous collective actions stand out against a background of division and factionalism, has continued until the present, and I shall comment upon it more fully below.

The historical background may be completed with mention of only a
few more important events. In 1935, the Hudson's Bay Company re-opened its North Coast store. Also in the 1930's, three men from the village were among the founders of the British Columbia Native Brotherhood. In 1946, the Federal Government opened a hospital for Indians near Harbour City, and in the following year the North Coast hospital was closed. In 1948, the girls' boarding school was closed, and in 1954, the Hudson's Bay Company again closed its post. By this time the independent non-Indian population had dwindled to almost nothing, and the populations were much as they were described above for 1966.

It is estimated by Wilson Duff (personal communication) that in 1860 there were 2,300 Indians at North Coast, although elderly native informants are inclined to give much higher estimates. Numbers of registered Indians in the band since 1893, the year of the first reliable census, are provided in Table IX. These figures were also supplied by Wilson Duff in a personal communication. The discrepancy between the figures for 1966 in the table and those in the opening pages of this chapter is probably accounted for in part by the fact that the table refers to January 1, and my figures refer to July of that year.

TABLE IX

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Population</th>
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<tr>
<td>1893</td>
<td>665</td>
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<tr>
<td>1900</td>
<td>700</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910</td>
<td>713</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1917</td>
<td>659</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1929</td>
<td>673</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1939</td>
<td>669</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1954</td>
<td>797</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1961</td>
<td>984</td>
</tr>
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<td>1966</td>
<td>1,083</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
C. Organization

1. Organization sponsored and directed by the Indian Affairs Branch

The North Coast band has an elected council under Section 73 of the Indian Act (Revised Statutes of Canada, 1952) consisting of a chief and ten councillors. Since 1963, councillors have received an annual salary of $300.00. During the winter months the council meets regularly, holding special extra meetings when pressure of business requires; during the summer fishing season, meetings are held only in exceptionally pressing circumstances. Band meetings are held for the discussion of controversial issues, and these may be called on the initiative of the council or on the request of band members. The Agency Superintendent does not attend all council and band meetings, but when he does attend he usually acts as chairman. At times, the council has employed a secretary and some of these have kept minutes and records efficiently, but on the whole record-keeping has not been very good. In 1966 the council had no secretary.

Since 1964, the council has operated under Section 68 of the Indian Act (Revised Statutes of Canada, 1952), preparing an annual budget for Agency approval, and disbursing its own funds within the terms of that budget. The budget for 1966 amounted to $16,000.00.

The council has standing committees, and may appoint others as the need arises. It is difficult to assess how efficiently the system operates, for no records are kept of committee meetings, and the whole council discusses matters pertaining to the fields covered by committees without reference to committee reports. In 1966, there were five standing committees, covering the areas of: Light and Fire; Water and Streets,
Lots and Buildings, Health and School, Police. The council passes by-laws, as North Coast Village council have done since the church councils of the last century. I could find no record of by-laws ever being rescinded, but from time to time the list is revised. In practice, I believe, the by-laws are invoked and enforced as situations seem to require. In 1966, for example, there was an attempt to enforce a 10:00 p.m. curfew for children, but no apparent attempt to enforce a general midnight curfew; informants' reports indicated that the children's curfew had been ignored for a few years before, and that the young people were "getting out of hand". Some council by-laws may be enforced by the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, but the enforcement of most of them is the responsibility of the council, which employs two band constables for this purpose and for general surveillance.

In 1966, the council was engaged in a wide variety of activities and projects. I shall list the major ones here and describe some of them in more detail below.

- Construction of a new water system which will supply piped water to all houses, one-third of the cost to be paid from band funds and the remainder from government appropriations.

- Construction of a sewer system, which will replace the outdoor toilets and septic tanks, financed in the same proportions as the water system.

- Re-wiring of houses for connection to the lighting plant mentioned above. The plant and the re-wiring were paid for entirely out of band funds, and had cost $24,000.00 in 1966, with thirty-odd houses yet to be wired at approximately $300.00 per house.

- A house building and re-building programme. People who have had
no house before were being assisted out of council funds to build. In addition, according to the chief councillor, the council had enlisted the help of Indian Health Services personnel to have "some of the worst houses" condemned, especially those that had stood vacant for some time. The owners were offered assistance to rebuild.

- The operation of the sawmill mentioned above.

- A forest resource survey of band lands, carried on by an independent company. The band paid half of the cost and the Branch the other half.

- Construction of a new council hall with office and meeting space.

- A community development project. The provincial government supplied a community development officer for a three-year period, and the band set aside $6,000.00 a year for community projects.

- The purchase of new fire-fighting equipment and re-organization of a volunteer fire-fighter organization.

- Adult education courses in the winter. In 1965, the chief councillor said, "Whenever we'd get any ideas about adult education, the [I.A.B. officials] would say, 'There's a course in Vancouver. Why don't you go?' Last year we dug in our heels and paid the shot out of our own funds." The course that year was in navigation, and was well attended by village men.

- Most important, perhaps, a major project involving the sale of timber from reserve lands, which has provided most of the money for the other projects.

This list is not exhaustive; but it covers the major activities of the council, and gives a fairly full picture of their scope. The council
is also at least nominally the sponsor of a group of boat owners who organize search and rescue operations when village fishermen encounter difficulties at sea.

The village school also comes under the jurisdiction of the Indian Affairs Branch, and some 400 children attend, including a small number of children of non-Indian legal status. At the Agency offices in Harbour City are a Superintendent and Assistant Superintendent of Schools for the region. After completing Grade Eight in the village school, some children go to Harbour City, to Vancouver, or to Edmonton under Branch sponsorship to attend high school. The Branch also sponsors, through the council, a School Committee of parents that is intended to fill some of the functions of parent-teacher associations in non-Indian communities.

The Indian Affairs Branch also sponsors a Homemakers' Club for village women. There seems to be a tendency for this organization to operate independently of Branch sponsorship and for its members to pursue their own goals and purposes, that is reminiscent of the movement toward independence by church-sponsored organizations of earlier days. Indeed, there seems within the village to be a general tendency for the formation of independent, special-purpose organizations. A leading member of the Homemakers said:

They [the Branch] wanted to teach us how to cook. Maybe some places need that, but the ladies here know how to cook. Once, though, a lady came from Vancouver and showed how to do some fancy dishes. Quite a few of us were interested in that.

Although the Indian Affairs Branch seems to intend the Homemakers' Clubs to be educational institutions in which reserve women will learn elementary home economics, the North Coast Village club operates more as
a community service organization, raising money for such projects as a village fire siren and a covered bulletin board for community notices, and sewing baby clothes for needy families. Many other village organizations have "Ladies' Auxiliaries" and the Homemakers' Club seems to act as a generalized "Ladies' Auxiliary" to the village.

2. Organization sponsored by other agencies outside the population

North Coast Village has two formal religious organizations which are part of organizations of the larger society. In Indian Affairs Branch records all members of the band are listed as members of the United Church of Canada, which replaced the Methodist Church in 1929. In fact, however, about fifty adults are members of the Salvation Army and have their own organization and meeting hall. Perhaps thirty or forty others belong to the Epworth League, a religious organization that is for most purposes separate from the United Church, and will be discussed more fully below along with other organizations contained within the population.

Although these constitute distinguishable groupings, it is difficult for an observer to determine the nature of religious systems of relationship as they may exist in the conscious models of village residents. For example, some members of the Salvation Army and the Epworth League referred to the United Church as the "Mother Church" and appeared to regard themselves as in some way under its aegis. A United Church clergyman reported that on some occasions when the other religious organizations entertained visitors from other reserves, they brought them first to the United Church and requested the minister to lead a prayer for them before beginning their own services and activities in their own halls.
The United Church sponsors a number of subsidiary organizations, including a Women's Auxiliary and Missionary Society, and a variety of children's and young peoples' organizations. As was noted above, most of the teachers in the village school belong to a different denomination, but most of them take leading roles in church-sponsored activities, especially those concerned with children. In the summer, young adults from an evangelical mission society often come to the village to sponsor activities for children.

All of the village fishermen belong to the local organizations of the United Fishermen's and Allied Workers Union, or the Native Brotherhood of British Columbia. The Union local was formed in 1958, and has since then gained in membership at the expense of the Brotherhood. The president of the village chapter of the Brotherhood and some of its members were very conscious that their organization had a wider purpose than to be a fishermen's union, and said of the men who had joined the U.F.A.W.U., "An Indian who joins an organization headed by White men loses the right to call himself an Indian". The chapter's activities in the village seem to be mainly confined to raising money to send delegates to Brotherhood conventions.

Members of the Union expressed the opinion that the Brotherhood was "too conservative" and the local's president said, "They think we should never go on strike. They say prices are good enough". However, he felt that overt conflict between the organizations took place only over strike votes, which are taken jointly by Union and Brotherhood. Other Union members expressed the opinion that some men remained in the Brotherhood because the dues are less than Union dues, but felt that the benefits were less, too: "They don't seem to back up their members. The
Union comes right in and helps if there is any kind of trouble". One member of the Brotherhood concurred in this opinion, and told of losing the propellor on his boat at the beginning of the season:

I had to wait over a week to get a new one. When anything like that happens to a Union member, the Union flies him in what he needs right away.

Of the fifty boat-owners in the village, fifteen were in the Brotherhood and thirty-five in the Union. The Brotherhood president is also a band councillor.

The village also has a local of the International Longshoremen's Union. According to informants, when logging began on nearby band lands in 1963, a company approached the band council with a proposal that band members work as stevedores, loading the logs aboard ships for export. Some informants reported that the company had entertained councillors lavishly and urged the council to sign a contract to supply men for the work. The Union also approached the council, and the council set up a "Longshoring Committee" which organized subsequent events. Although some older councillors and others were opposed to the Union, the committee gathered together the men who wanted to work as stevedores and formed the Union local, and then disbanded itself. In 1965 the local had fifty-four members, comprising two full crews and spare members for each, and members hoped to form a women's auxiliary to engage in community work. Two of the Union local's executive members were band councillors.

3. Organization contained or centred in the population

By contrast with North Prairie and Shield Lake, North Coast Village has a great deal of internal organization. Every villager and all of the permanent residents of non-Indian status on the White Side belong to
either the Sports Club or the Educational Club, the two organizations described briefly above in the history of the village. Even band members who have lived away from the village for many years are still identified as belonging to one or the other, but none of the temporarily-resident government or service personnel belong. It appears that wives usually, but not always, join their husbands if they belong to opposite clubs at marriage, and children ordinarily join their parents' "hall" when they reach their mid-teens; some young people, however, have joined the opposite club from their parents. New applicants to either club are "voted in" by the membership. The president of one said that his "hall" never turned anybody down; the other president said that they might turn down an applicant if he were not "of good moral standing", but he added, "It doesn't matter what happens after that. We never put anybody out". Although everyone is spoken of as belonging to one "hall" or the other, the executive of each is entirely male, and each has a "ladies' auxiliary" with its own executive and functions.

The clubs sponsor athletic teams and hold dances and entertainments, each having its own hall for these activities. The intense rivalry over sports reported for the 1930's and 40's seemed to be less in 1966, although it was reported that games between teams from the clubs may still end in fights. I could find no evidence that the rivalry was reflected in other areas of village life. For example, although eight of the eleven band councillors were members of the Educational Club, the chief councillor and two of his main supporters were members of the Sports Club.

In some respects, the two "halls" resemble a moiety system. For example, informants reported that when a villager dies, members of his
"hall" handle some of the funeral arrangements, and hire members of the opposite hall to carry out special duties at the ceremony. I did not observe any funerals, however, and received only partial accounts from a few informants.

Another system that encompasses all band members, whether or not they are resident in the village, and includes the enfranchised Indians living on the "White Side" is the traditional Tsimshian kinship-political system. As was noted above, the ancestors of the present villagers belonged to nine politically autonomous "tribes", each of which settled on its own segment of land around the Hudson's Bay Company fort. Each "tribe" contained up to four "clans", exogamous matrilineal kin-groups. Within the tribe, each clan group had its own hierarchy of hereditary positions, and the clans were ranked with reference to each other, so that each tribe had its "head chief", a "nobility" of clan chiefs and principal men, and a body of "commoners", or persons with no hereditary positions or very low-ranking ones. The four clan names were the same throughout the nine tribes that settled at North Coast and the other Tsimshian tribes elsewhere, and the rule of exogamy applied to all persons under the clan name, regardless of tribe. The exogamy rule was also extended to analogous clan groupings in tribes of neighbouring Indians of different linguistic groups. Apparently the head chiefs of the tribes were also ranked in relation to one another, so that there was a head chief of the combined tribes in the village. According to informants, the first elected councils in the village were made up of these chiefs.

Although most adults can point out the sections of the village site and the White Side that were once tribal territories, the tribes
are no longer territorially distinct units. Thus, the tribes have become
another kind of non-localized matrilineal kinship group, for tribal
membership is still recognized and inherited through the female line.

This organization continues to function in some contexts of
village life. Although marriages do take place between members of the
same clan, and some couples in the village who were married as long as
fifty years ago belong to the same clan, by far the majority of marriages
involve members of different clans. Several parents of unmarried young
people reported that they had given their children firm instructions on
appropriate marriage partners, and several young people reported strong
pressures from their parents and older kin relating to their choice of
"dates". On one occasion I was present while a middle-aged woman gave
her sister's daughter a serious lecture on the subject. Interestingly,
although informants unanimously agreed that marriage within the tribe
was "all right", by far the majority of existing marriages are across
tribal as well as clan lines.

When a person dies, the leaders of his clan group within his tribe
are expected to take a major part in the arrangements for his funeral.
They come to the dead person's home, set up a bowl or plate on a table
to receive cash donations, make a donation themselves, and sit with the
bereaved family. Other members of the clan are expected to call, paying
their respects to the dead person's immediate kin, and making a donation
in cash. The donation is referred to in English as "putting something
on" the dead person. The obligation to donate is apparently heaviest
on the clansmen of the deceased, but other kin and friends may also call
and contribute. According to some informants, some of the dead person's
patrilineal kin may also contribute "to show where they come from".
Contributors and the amount of their donations are recorded by a "secretary".

After the donations are all in, the immediate kin of the dead person and the leaders of his clan count the money and plan the funeral, in which most of the village organizations participate. Grave diggers are chosen from the clan to which the deceased was linked by marriage; pall-bearers are chosen from the opposite "hall"; the brass band is asked to play for the ceremony and the choir asked to sing. All of these services are "paid for" with a portion of the donated money. Organizations not providing services, such as the union locals or the Native Brotherhood chapter, may make a donation or send a wreath of flowers.

In the abstract, the number and amount of donations depends upon the rank and importance of the deceased and his immediate matrilineal kin. If he is a chief or high-ranking person, his whole tribe is expected to participate, and not just his clan. In practice, however, it appears that the esteem in which the deceased was held by the village at large, and the extent of his own and his family's donations in the past are also factors that are taken into account on the occasion of his death. Some people are known not to have fulfilled their obligations in the past, and to have donated little or nothing to the funerals of clansmen; informants state that when these people die few people will donate for them. Others take their obligations much more seriously, and keep a ledger of donations given and received. One woman said,

I always put something on for my kids. Even the little ones. It doesn't have to be much. I still have to get after ______ and ________ [her two married daughters] when there is a death. I go to them and say, "Where is your money?"
I always tell them that if somebody dies when I'm away to put something on for me. I'll pay them back later.
This woman showed me the accounts for the funeral of one of her infant children, and it was clear from these that a great many people had honoured their obligations to her.

If the deceased has names and rank to be inherited, the heir is expected to make a special donation to the funeral expenses, and give a substantial sum to the chief or highest-ranked surviving member of the clan, who gives it out in smaller sums to position holders in the tribe or clan. If the heir is able to do this, the name and rank are transferred from the deceased to him in a simple ceremony at the funeral. If the heir takes his obligations seriously, he will at some later time sponsor a dinner in one of the village halls for members of his clan, or if the rank is a tribal one, of his tribe, at which his succession is more formally announced in speech-making. These seem to be the modern vestiges of potlatching; at such dinners or at wedding feasts an effort is made to provide more food that the guests are likely to eat, and paper bags are supplied so that guests can take home the extra food.

In the credit economy that has been described for the village, it often happens that the heir cannot mobilize a sufficient amount of money to fulfill these obligations. In this event, he may make a token presentation of a few dollars, signifying his intention of carrying through the rest of the ceremony when he is able. Some never do complete their obligation, yet claim to be the holder of the name; other villagers may gossip about such people, saying, "He got his name cheap".

Although in the ideal system the matrilineal principle is adhered to, many men of rank have "adopted" their own sons and made them their heirs. This has to be done with the agreement of both of the clans involved, and some men are reported to hold positions in two clans or
tribes simultaneously, one inherited matrilineally and one patrilineally by adoption. Since not all villagers treat the traditional system with the same degree of respect, it appears that the decision to adopt a son as heir is often based upon assessments of which potential heir is likely to fulfill his obligations honourably. If a deceased person of high rank has a younger brother, the position will probably go to him.

One man told me that when his father died, the dead man's sister came to him and asked if he would take the name, the second-ranking position in one of the larger tribes, because there was nobody "respectable" enough in the matrilineal line to inherit. He consulted with his wife, who had saved $100.00 for a trip to Vancouver. She agreed that he should accept, and gave him the money. He "put $50.00 on" his father and gave $50.00 to the chief of the tribe for distribution. When he saves enough money he intends to sponsor a dinner for the tribe to complete his formal assumption of his father's position. Records of the funeral of this man's father show some $1,500.00 given in donations and disbursed to various organizations for the ceremony.

This traditional organization has some influence in the political life of the village, although the elected council is no longer made up of hereditary chiefs. In 1966, two hereditary chiefs and one man of second rank in his tribe were councillors, but the chief councillor was referred to as a "commoner" and a "nobody" in terms of the traditional system. Some traditionally-oriented people expressed criticism of the chief councillor on these grounds, but other people equally committed to the traditional system said that he was "a good man" and "doing a good job".

The man who is regarded by himself and others as the "head chief" or highest-ranking hereditary chief of the village is the son of the
chiefly couple who brought the Methodist Church to North Coast and the man who, in his youth, started the Educational Club. He and some of the other hereditary chiefs and traditionally-oriented people seem to regard the traditional system as the highest level of legitimate political organization, and the elected council as a convenience for dealing with day-to-day affairs of the band as a corporate entity. Others, including some councillors and villagers who regard themselves as "progressive" tend to deny the legitimacy of the traditional system, saying it is "old fashioned" and "out of date". Some conflict between the elected council and the hereditary chiefs will be described below.

The two "halls" and the traditional system of tribes and clans encompass all band members and include some persons of non-Indian legal status. There are also a number of other organizations centred within the population of North Coast Village which include only some members of the population. Something of the history of the Epworth League has been given above. Starting as an organization of the Methodist Church, it has become an independent religious organization with no formal ties to the United Church or other outside organizations, although some United Church clergymen have tried to re-incorporate it into the church and some of its members appear to conceive of it as in some abstract way still associated with the church. It has a core of about thirty members, although more may attend from time to time, and these people hold their own Sunday and weekday-evening services in their own hall. Most of the services are conducted in the native language, and there are some indications that "nativistic" elements are a part of the belief system, in the form of visionary experiences and miraculous happenings reminiscent of the performances of aboriginal "secret societies". Occasionally the League
plays host to evangelistic or Pentecostal-oriented sects from other reserves. Some members are reticent about discussing the League with outsiders, and some of the reasons for this as well as an indication of its conceptual "separateness" as a system of relationship are revealed in this statement by a village woman:

I went to this lawyer in [Harbour City]. He asked me, "What's your religion?" and I said, "Epworth League." Well, he just laughed right in my face. He said, "What's that? Some Indian church?" I was so embarrassed. Now, if anybody asks me I just say "United Church".

The village brass band is an organization that has existed since the turn of the century. It plays for weddings, funerals, and for village or club functions. At one time the band was quite large and was invited to Harbour City and other neighbouring places to play at special functions. In 1966, it had about fifteen active players, most of them middle-aged, although as an organization it had perhaps forty or fifty nominal members. All of the bandsmen are men, and it has the usual "ladies' auxiliary" who hold sales and concerts from time to time to raise money for band expenses.

The village choir is another group that illustrates the tendency noted above for organizations to become independent at North Coast. It is nominally the church choir, and acts in that capacity for church services. However, its leader and those members with whom I spoke were adamant in their view that the choir is a separate entity. It has its own officers and treasury, and occasionally travels to other places to perform without reference to the church organization or the resident clergymen. Somewhat to the annoyance of some of the clergy, the choir has sung for Salvation Army services when that organization was entertain-
ing visitors, and has raised money by holding bingo games, which is against church policy.

The tendency toward organizational independence is illustrated in an anecdote told by the wife of a clergyman who had worked at North Coast. She had found after a few months in the village that she was meeting mainly middle-aged and elderly women and to remedy this had invited a number of younger women to her home for tea. After an initial period of awkwardness and reserve, the gathering became animated and spontaneously formed itself into an organization, electing an executive and choosing a name. The organization met regularly for a time, but finally appeared to have disappeared. Two years later, however, a wreath was presented at a funeral in its name.

There are three stores in the village owned and operated by band members. The largest of these is run by an elderly man who has been a councillor and chief councillor, and is the father-in-law of the man who was chief councillor in 1966. He has taken an active and vocal part in band affairs for many years, often vigorously opposing the hereditary chiefs. Much of his business is done on credit, and most villagers either owe him money or have done so.

A smaller store is operated by the leader of the Salvation Army. This man has also been involved in other enterprises. He makes coffins for village funerals, and until recently bought oolichan grease and seaweed to ship to Indians in the interior. The third store is a very small tobacco and confectionery store run by a man and his wife in their living-room which does, apparently, a largely cash business.

Several village residents have some special skills or knowledge for which they are hired by other villagers from time to time. For
example, a few men are known to be good at repairing boats or engines, or at carpentry or blacksmithing. One man does some shoe repairs and another occasionally cuts hair. On the whole, however, these services are purchased in Harbour City when it is possible for the buyer to go there. One man makes native arts and craft items in a home workshop for sale to non-Indians. A woman acts as midwife, and attends most births that take place in the village.

4. Individual participation in organization centred outside the population

As has been noted above, most of the employment open to North Coast Villagers involves them as status-holders in systems of relationship centred outside the population, mainly as fishermen or cannery-workers, and occasionally as workers in logging or other industry. Some of these relationships have some elements of a client-patron system, with the villager having a special link with a cannery official, in which each does small favours for the other. The villager may be able through such a relationship to secure a job or a cannery boat for his son or other younger kinsman, or gain some other small advantage.

All of the villagers who are able to travel use Harbour City as a source of goods, services, and entertainment. Most also appear to have kin links with persons living in the city or on neighbouring reserves. It appears that other participation by individuals in formal systems centred outside the population is slight. The chief councillor's occupancy of a status on the board of directors of a timber company, for example, was unique.

In some instances, it appears, the village is treated as a unit or
acts as a unit in situations that would normally be expected to involve individuals acting alone. On one occasion, for example, a non-Indian resident indicated a desire to organize a local association of a major political party. The band council, through a special committee, set up the machinery by which this could be done. I discussed this matter with councillors and concluded that it was not an instance of councillors fostering their own political opinions, but rather represented their idea of the way "outside" organizations should approach the village. The decision of whether or not they wished to join the party was left up to individual villagers.

5. Summary

By contrast with North Prairie and Shield Lake, North Coast Village seems to approach much more closely the ideal definitions of "community". There is a great deal of internal organization that can be analyzed in terms of status, role, and group. Some of this organization encompasses all members of the population; other organization forms "groups" within the population, but these can be seen on some occasions, such as funerals, to interlock into a "community structure". Even the local branches of organizations centred outside the population become incorporated into this structure, as exemplified by the Longshoremen's Union local, which was organizing a "ladies' auxiliary" and beginning to participate in community affairs.

At the same time, however, the physical maintenance of the population is dependent upon systems of relationship of wide scope in the larger polity, and the choices of behaviour by North Coast Villagers are influenced by the operation of those systems and by events within them.
The individual interests of villagers come in conflict as they pursue their goals within these systems and, as will be seen in the section to follow, strife and dissension are no less common in the village than in the other two reserve populations.

D. Some Recent Events

Although for most of its history North Coast Village had been the scene of many "community" activities, such as the building of halls and churches and the sponsorship of athletic teams and musical groups, these were carried on by the separate organizations of the village, each with its own money. In the 1950's the funds of the North Coast Band were low. The capital account ranged around $3,500.00, and annual revenue made up of interest on the capital and a series of small taxes levied on resident band members, was usually below $1,500.00. Most of the revenue was spent for fuel and maintenance of the village lighting plant, and the Indian Affairs Branch paid for welfare services, subsidized some housing, and provided money for occasional public works. Although most of the villagers were self-supporting most of the time, North Coast had the reputation of a village that had "stagnated" since the expansive days of the pre-war period. It was a place where "nothing was going on". Records and informants' accounts indicate that there were conflicts in this period between some men who wanted to centralize band decision-making in the elected council and expand council activities, and others who appeared to see the council as merely one of many elements in the village structure and did not want it to expand its sphere of influence. The former faction is sometimes identified as "commoners" and the latter as "the hereditary chiefs" or simply "the chiefs". An important figure among the "commoners"
was D. Graham, the owner of the largest village store and the father-in-law of the 1966 chief councillor; most prominent in the other faction was M. Blanchard, the "head chief" of the village whose parents had brought the Methodist Church, and who had himself started the Educational Club. Both men were, in 1950, about sixty years old. In 1950, Graham was chief councillor; in 1951 Blanchard was elected to the post.

In the mid 1950's, R. Stevens, the son-in-law of Graham, was elected as chief councillor. Most of the other councillors had sat on previous councils. By his own account, Stevens was concerned about the future of the village. Although in a good year village fishermen could still earn a good return, there was growing competition from larger and better-equipped boats from the south. The possibilities for herring or halibut fishing by village men were declining, and few had the capital to improve their boats and equipment. Stevens was afraid, he said, that the village would "just keep on going down-hill".

With the cooperation of the Indian Affairs Branch, the council surrendered reserve land and tenders were called for timber cutting. In 1960 a small reserve was sold for about $30,000.00, marking the first time the band funds—and hence funds under council control—had contained any substantial amount.

The surrender and call for tenders initiated the most important series of events in the recent history of the village. In 1957 the band's largest reserve, a tract of 13,000 acres a few miles away from the village reserve, was surrendered to the Crown, and tenders were called for the timber on it. No bids were received. In 1961, a new plan was tried. It was decided that tenders should be called for about 4,000 acres with the intention that band members would be employed by the company contracting
for the timber. With the experience gained this way, it was hoped that the band council could log the rest of the area as a band enterprise. Two companies bid on invitation. The Ajax Timber Company bid in the vicinity of $800,000.00, and the Hercules Timber Company a thousand dollars more, conditional upon being allowed to export logs. A month later, the Ajax Company added to its bid an offer of $20,000.00 a year to be paid to the Indian Affairs Branch to employ forestry and community development personnel for the village.

In December, public tenders were called for by the Branch for a one-month period, and this was later extended until February of 1962. In February, Ajax submitted a bid incorporating its earlier one, this time including the entire acreage of the reserve and offering a total in excess of two million dollars. According to the chief councillor at North Coast, he was unaware of any of the bidding, but was informed at the beginning of March that the Hercules bid had been accepted by the Indian Affairs Branch.

Shortly after, he was informed by a prominent Indian leader of the Ajax bids. He took the information to the council, and the council unanimously agreed that the Ajax Company's bid should be accepted. According to a published statement of the council, the Ajax bid was preferable because it

- covered several thousand acres that the Indian Affairs Branch considered to be not of commercial value;
- was not conditional upon the logs being exportable, whereas the Hercules bid was so conditional;
- included money for community development and forestry supervision;
- included an agreement to construct a road that would connect the village with a sheltered bay, providing improved access to Harbour City, and the Hercules bid did not;
- promised reforestation of logged areas, and the employment of band members in this, while the Hercules bid made no mention of reforestation.

About a week later, an opposition member brought the matter up in the House of Commons, and it became for a brief period a front-page scandal story in newspapers across the country. In the newspaper accounts it was pointed out that one director of Hercules was the son of a former M.P. for the government party and chief party fund-raiser for the province. Another Hercules director had, in another capacity, carried out an appraisal of the reserve timber for the Indian Affairs Branch some years before. It was also pointed out that the Indian Affairs Branch forester who was advising the band council had previously been an employee of the latter director of the Hercules Company. The government party denied the suggestions of collusion, and the Minister in charge defended the Branch's action in accepting the Hercules bid, saying that the Ajax bid was improper since it covered acreage not offered for tender, and that it was padded with unnecessaries. Reforestation, the Minister said, was not required in such a high-rainfall area, and the road was of no use since there were "no vehicles on the reserve, anyway". However, the Minister cancelled the acceptance of the Hercules Company's bid and indicated that tenders would be called for again.

The North Coast Band Council took the position that they did not want tenders to be re-opened, but wished to have the Ajax Company's bid accepted. A general band meeting attended by Indian Affairs officials,
endorsed the council's policy unanimously. By July, the government had agreed, and the contract was let to Ajax.

The rest of the summer and the following winter were spent in arranging the operation. The Ajax company sub-contracted for logging, hauling, loading, road-building and other aspects to separate companies, and details of the agreement were worked out. Villagers spoke with some pride of the behaviour of the chief councillor during this period, saying that he had "stood up to" the various company officials and resisted their attempts to "cut corners" on their agreements.

In the spring of 1963, work began in the woods, and the council was kept busy with the details of the operation. At several meetings, for example, the question was discussed of whether the companies were honouring their agreement to employ band members. The chief councillor was appointed by the council as Supervisor of the project at a salary of $500.00 a month, taken out of the special training and development fund mentioned in the Ajax contract. Varying numbers of band members were employed in the various operations; in mid-summer as many as thirty men were working in the woods, and perhaps as many more were employed in loading logs when ships were available. However, neither operation provided as steady or as high a level of employment as had been hoped. A considerable amount of money was paid into band funds under the terms of the contract.

In October, work in the woods and on the loading stopped, and payments to band funds were discontinued. The Ajax Company approached the band council with proposals to reduce payments and change the contract, but the council would not accept. By the end of the year it was reported that the company was bankrupt. A professional man with considerable
experience in the forest industry gave me his view of these events, and in his account the principals in the Ajax Company and the sub-contracting companies were the same men. He believed that they had "high-graded", or taken out the best timber, leaving the less valuable trees, and had allowed Ajax to go bankrupt so that they could not be held to the more costly terms of their contract, such as salvaging less-valuable timber, reforestation, and road-building.

Early in 1964, the council received a proposal that the contract be taken over unchanged by another large company, Hector Central. In spite of Indian Affairs Branch advice to the contrary, a general band meeting agreed that this should be accepted, and unanimously voted confidence in the council, empowering them to pass the required resolutions and take action without band votes. By June of that year, payments were again coming into band funds, and Hector had again sub-contracted logging, loading, and other operations. Up to seventy-five men from the village received some employment.

After about nine months of this operation, work again ceased, and Hector Central asked for concessions on the contract. The council was unwilling to accept this, and asked to examine the company's books, but Hector refused. In the summer of 1965, the band and the Indian Affairs Branch shared the cost of an independent forest survey to determine what their next action should be. In 1966, the situation was essentially unchanged. Longshoremen from the village occasionally received some employment loading logs brought to the loading site from elsewhere, but logging had not re-commenced. It seemed unlikely that the operation would provide much employment for band members in the near future. However, the band fund was up to $150,000.00, and the council had under-
taken a variety of projects, some of which were outlined in Section C above.

The knowledgeable informant quoted above indicated that the band had already received all of the immediate benefits it was likely to get from the operation. The best timber was gone; the promised road was uncompleted and sections that had been built were poorly placed and unlikely to last long. He suggested that at least one of the principals in Hector Central had also been involved in Ajax and some of the subcontracting companies. Band councillors were uncertain about what to do next. Some band members appeared to believe that the set-back was only temporary and that the operation would still bring large benefits to the band in the future.

Interwoven with the events of the timber contracts were a series of other events of interest. Throughout the period, the traditional structure of the village continued to operate independently of, and sometimes in opposition to, the band council. In 1950, for example, there was dissatisfaction over the operation of the village lighting plant. The council had taken no action, and some "principal men" in the traditional system formed a "Village Light Committee" which set about raising money by soliciting donations, holding entertainments, and approaching people who were working during the fishing season in a manner that seems very much like levying taxes. By 1955 they had $2,500.00 in the bank. In 1956, the council decided to act on the matter of the lighting plant, and with the backing of the Indian Affairs Branch, attempted to take over the money raised by the Village Committee. The chiefs and some of the donors to the fund retained lawyers to prevent the council from taking over.
While the timber operations were in progress, the village had been beset with a number of problems relating to law enforcement. According to informants, non-Indian workers came to the village drunk, drove trucks recklessly about village streets, and supplied liquor to village youngsters, especially the girls. Some village men employed in the project spent some of their money on liquor, and drunkenness and fighting were common. Band appointed constables were unable to cope with the situation. The chief councillor and the council Police Committee entered extensive negotiations with the Indian Affairs Branch and the R.C.M.P., asking that a Mounted Police officer be permanently stationed in the village, but met with no success. Royal Canadian Mounted Police officers expressed to me some doubt of the council's sincerity, saying that the villagers did not take advantage of presently-available police services, and that even when someone in the village called for the police they would rarely give investigating officers information or assistance. On the other hand, villagers said that by the time police officers could arrive from Harbour City by boat they were usually no longer needed. They further charged that the policemen were not really interested in law enforcement, but only in maintaining their own prestige. I was several times told of an incident in which the police purportedly refused to lay charges against a man who had stabbed another villager and threatened several others with a gun, yet had arrested a young man for "talking back" to them.

In 1965 a band meeting, under the leadership of some of the hereditary chiefs, appointed a Village Police Committee without reference to the council or the council's Police Committee. The chief councillor accepted the action philosophically, saying, "Well, they don't think
we're doing a good enough job on it. Let them try."

The major conflict between the elected council and the hereditary chiefs occurred over the issue of what was to be done with the money coming into the band funds. Stevens and many of the other councillors wanted to use it for village projects. Some of those undertaken have been outlined above, and in addition the council had discussed such possibilities as establishing a small cannery or fish-freezing plant or a band logging enterprise on another reserve. Largely on Stevens' initiative, the council approached a lawyer in Harbour City for advice, saying that the band had never had so much money before and they were anxious to use it wisely. The lawyer referred them to an agency of the provincial government, and a provincial community development officer was appointed to the village for a three-year period. Other villagers, mainly older people and those oriented to the traditional chiefs, wanted a per capita distribution. A leader in the latter faction was M. Blanchard, the head chief of the village in the traditional system, and he had some support from three or possibly four of the eleven elected councillors.

The "traditional" faction held band meetings without reference to the council, and collected, by their own account, 140 signatures on a petition demanding the impeachment of Stevens and the council. They charged that the council was made up largely of "drunks" and that Stevens and his main supporters in the council were manipulating council funds to their own benefit. Some of their criticism centred around "winter works" projects, in which, they said, Stevens and his "friends and relations" made a lot of money, while others could not even get a job. In any case, they said, such work used to be done adequately under
the "statute labour" arrangement at no direct cost to band funds. I could find no evidence that the charges were true, but their argument was lent some appearance of veracity by the fact that councillors did act as foremen of the winter works projects, and by the fact that Stevens held the position mentioned above as a director of a timber company headed by non-Indians. They made much of the fact that after work in the woods under the Ajax contract had stopped, Stevens continued to draw $500.00 a month as the project supervisor. He argued that although work in the woods was not going on, he was still working full-time protecting the band's interests and negotiating for a new contracting company. The substance of the "traditionalist" faction's charges was that the group of "commoners" led by Stevens and his father-in-law wanted to use the good fortune of the band for their own benefit. One elderly man said,

They want it all for themselves. About ten people I know have died since all this started, without getting any good from it. We want to get something out of it before we die.

In Stevens's view, those pressing for a per capita distribution were people who were "already set up". They had "pensions and houses and things" and didn't care about the future of the village.

Although people referred to the opposition as between "the chiefs and the council" or "the council and the old people", neither of these is a strictly accurate description. Those supporting the council policies were by no means all young—D. Graham, Stevens's father-in-law, for example, was a contemporary of the leader of the opposing faction. On the other hand, many young people supported the "traditional" side.

Further, there were two hereditary chiefs and one "speaker" or second-ranking status holder on the council, and although they sometimes
opposed the chief councillor they agreed with many of his policies. Some people known to take no part in the traditional system at funerals and weddings supported the "traditional" faction in this dispute, and some of those most committed to the traditional system supported the chief councillor.

It appears to me that the chief councillor's view of his opposition had a measure of validity. That is, the opposing faction seemed to be mainly composed of those people who could see no particular benefit to themselves in conserving the band funds for future projects. Some were pensioners, and others were boat-owners or men with long-standing relationships with cannery companies. Thus, they did tend to be somewhat older, on the average, than supporters of council policy, and "traditionalist" in the sense of being committed to fishing for a living, a way of life that had characterized the village throughout most of its historic period. Some of these people were interested by the council's suggestion of building a cannery, but others feared that this would alienate and anger the large cannery companies. On the other hand, support for the council appeared to come from men with less investment, both material and emotional, in fishing: men who looked to other occupations as a source of their future livelihood. From this point of view, it is not surprising that most of the men who worked in the logging enterprise were supporters of council policy, especially the members of the Longshoremen's Union.

To me, the major point seems to be that analysis in terms of choice-making and maximizing seems to go farther toward explaining the factions than assumptions about relative "traditionalism" or "conservatism". An example may illustrate the point. C. Henderson was a middle-aged boat owner, a member of the Native Brotherhood, and the holder of a respected
traditional position. In the "traditional-progressive" dichotomy or by my own analysis thus far, one would expect him to be against the council, yet he confided to me that he had voted for Stevens, and he expressed support, albeit qualified, for the council policy. The reasons for this apparent anomaly become clear upon consideration of other aspects of his situation. He had a large family, including several boys who were of, or approaching, employable age. None of them had done well in school, and they had little or no prospect of acquiring occupational training; he had tried to get two of them started in fishing, but was unable to get a cannery boat for them. His two sons-in-law were in a similar position. He indicated that he supported the council policy in the hope that it would provide a more promising future for his children.

On some occasions the individual tribes come into conflict with the elected council. Although after the village was surveyed into building lots tribal territories were no longer officially recognized, certain lots were set aside for the tribal chiefs' houses. The council has occasionally made use of one of these lots over the objections of the tribe concerned, and occasionally the tribes have carried their objections to the Indian Affairs Branch—without, however, gaining much sympathy or any success. Although he comes in conflict with the traditional system this way, Stevens does not denigrate it, at least to outside observers. On one occasion he said, "Some of that stuff is all right, but some of it just won't work nowadays." He recounted an incident in which he believes he made that point clear to some of the "traditionalists". Shortly after the sale in 1960 of a reserve for about $30,000.00, the band made another sale of a very small reserve for $400.00.

That reserve used to belong to the ____ tribe.
There's a lot of them; maybe 250 or so. They came to me and said they wanted the money. I said, "Okay, but you know that reserve we sold for $30,000.00? That belongs to the _______. I guess they'll get that $30,000.00 to share between the eight of them." They're just a small tribe, you see. Well, you know, I never heard any more about that.

Some Indian Affairs personnel were critical of Stevens, characterizing him as "flighty" and having "a different idea every week". One official said that Stevens was "lazy":

He never does anything but talk. Anytime you see him, he's leaning on a fence talking to somebody.

However, it is my opinion that the behaviour criticized in this statement is the source of much of Stevens's influence in the village. Several villagers who criticized him for some of his actions expressed, independently, the opinion that he "understands". In his own account,

at a big meeting, a lot of these old people can't grasp what goes on, and they get all fired up. I can go to their houses and use simple language and use my hands and then they understand.

....You've got to listen to people even when they're out of order, because they will call you a dictator. You have to be a good listener. You have to agree with them, and then slowly show them where they were wrong.

....That's why these Indian Department guys can't get anywhere.

Among the things that some of the council's opponents have not completely understood is the actual amount of money involved in the timber project. Several villagers told me of their belief that per capita shares in the band fund would be several thousand dollars, and this belief is presumably based on the original contract offer of something over two million. Stevens had made many efforts to point out that the actual shares would be much smaller—perhaps less than a hundred dollars—
but many villagers appeared to believe that he was not telling the truth.

It appears that the historical pattern noted above for North Coast Village has persisted until the present. It is much more a "community" in sentiment and structure than the other two reserve populations described, with a variety of well-defined statuses and groups operative within it. At the same time, an account of the day-to-day events of the village presents a picture of schism and conflict, and the outside observer is assailed on all sides with gossip and critical comment, just as at Shield Lake and North Prairie. However, even while factions within the village are engaged in conflict, band meetings can vote unanimous support of council actions with reference to systems of relationship centred outside it. During a discussion in which I participated with some Indian Affairs Branch officials and other non-Indians, someone referred to the village as "fragmented" and "disorganized"; a long-time Indian Affairs official commented wryly, "Oh, they can organize all right—when they want to."

The pattern was summarized and symbolized in 1966, when the Lieutenant Governor of the province, making a tour of smaller communities, was scheduled to visit North Coast and officially "open" the still-unfinished town hall. On the evening before his visit, a group of non-Indian officials were gathered in a house on the White Side, and an official concerned with community development spoke dispiritedly of the difficulty of achieving any organization in the village. The unfinished town hall, far behind schedule in its building was referred to, and an R.C.M.P. officer made reference to the events of the following day being likely to occur on "Indian time."

The next morning, a mimeographed programme of events appeared.
The Lieutenant Governor was met on the wharf by the brass band in full uniform, and conducted on a tour of the village. The town hall, consisting of no more than a sub-floor on a concrete foundation, was "opened" by the raising and unveiling of a totem pole. The official guests and representatives of village organizations, amounting to over a hundred people, adjourned to the largest hall where village women decked out in red and white aprons and caps adorned with a red maple leaf briskly served a hot luncheon while the band played from the stage. The Lieutenant Governor remarked that it was one of the few official functions he had ever attended that proceeded not only on, but ahead of schedule.
CHAPTER VI

INTERPRETATION AND ANALYSIS

A. The Position of the Populations in the Larger Polity

From the descriptions above, certain of the questions posed in Chapter II as inherent in the population concept can be answered for North Coast, North Prairie, and Shield Lake. With reference to the questions concerning how and by whom populations are identified, it seems apparent that these reserve populations are thought of as units by their members and by members of surrounding populations, and that this identification is of significance in a wide variety of social relationships. It is also apparent that membership in these populations is related, but not identical to membership in the system of relationship that forms the corporate units known as Indian bands.

Only at North Coast Village is any appreciable number of non-members of the band identified with the place-name, and these are for most purposes conceived of as a separate population. In addition, practically all members of the bands are conceived of as belonging to a larger, more dispersed population of "Indians" and most are, because of their physical appearance, readily identifiable as such.

It is not my purpose here to analyse the complex interaction over time of populations and systems in these three areas. However, any synchronic study implies history, if only because of unspoken assumptions about historical processes. In the present work, the assumptions are
not entirely unspoken, and even without detailed supporting data some inferences may be drawn from the descriptions. It seems evident that each of the populations described is the result of the delineation by the Government of Canada of an aggregation of people as a unit at some time in the past, the establishment of formal links between that unit and a territory, and the continued application of that definition to certain of their descendents. No significant part of any of the populations can be attributed to immigration, for although some individuals have joined each by virtue of marriage to a member, more have left to live elsewhere. Two of the formal band units may be subdivided for some purposes into separate populations. At North Prairie this is reflected in administrative arrangements, and at Shield Lake it is not. At North Coast Village, the population originally designated as a band was where and what it was because of then-extant systems of social relationship, both indigenous and between the indigenous population, the Church, and the Hudson's Bay Company through its fort, and because of ecological relationships of the population and its physical environment. The other two populations were what they were, and in the vicinity of their present reserves for similar reasons, and were settled in their present locations by government action.

In each area, other population aggregates have formed—cities, towns, and hamlets—by migration and natural increase, but there has been no blurring of the band or reserve population boundaries. Only at North Coast was there any considerable settlement by non-Indians immediately contiguous to the band population, and there the population boundary has remained distinct, reflected in everyday speech by the terms "the village" and "the White Side". Further, the non-Indian populations
in the vicinity of the bands have shown patterns of growth and change different from those of the bands. At North Coast, a non-Indian population grew up in the context of systems of relationship concerned with the movement of shipping on the coast and the anticipated construction of the railway; it changed and shrank in numbers with changes in the relationship between those systems and the natural and social environment. In short, the implicit historical view is that the legal definition of the bands as units and the specification of their relationship to territory and resources—that is, the legal creation of systems of relationship encompassing populations—has been a major factor in their maintenance over time.

Apart from these inferences, and viewed synchronically, the question of what systems maintain a population can be seen to have three parts:

(a) The maintenance of the organisms. Within what systems of relationship are the biological needs of the people fulfilled?

(b) The maintenance of contiguity. What systems provide reasons for the people to remain where they are?

(c) The maintenance of identification. What causes the population to be identified as such?

Although these parts are logically separable, the answers may overlap considerably. For example, the systems within which biological needs are satisfied may also provide the major motivations for people to stay where they are, and the location and activities of the people may be the main basis for the identification of the population. However, there is no necessary overlap. For example, people may know that they could satisfy their biological needs as fully, or more fully, in some other
place, yet choose to remain where they are for reasons that have nothing to do with biological wants.

In all three of the populations under study, the biological needs of the people are satisfied primarily within the context of the money economy of the larger society. Only at North Coast is any appreciable amount of the food supply acquired directly from the natural environment, and even there the equipment used in subsistence fishing and in preserving the catch is obtained within the larger economic system. For the people of all three populations, housing, clothing, and health care are provided within systems of relationship reaching far beyond band or population boundaries. Some of the ways in which these systems intersect in the populations have been explored above, and more will be explored below.

When the social scientists have studied the phenomenon of migration, they have typically concerned themselves with "push" and "pull" factors, posing, in effect, the question of why people move from one place to another. What factors make them wish to leave their place of residence? What attracts them to the new one? Implicit in this approach seems to be the fundamental conception of bounded social-demographic units, with the apparent corollary that it is "natural" for people to be where they are. If they move, explanation is required.

However, when populations are conceived of as aggregations of choice-making individuals embedded in a variety of relational systems, the kinds of questions posed about migrants may be asked with equal validity about non-migrants. Doing nothing is as much the result of choice as doing something, and the fact that some people stay where they are requires explanation as much as the fact that some people move. Barth's discussion of social structure, cited above, is an exploration
of "the extent to which patterns of social form can be explained if we assume that they are the cumulative result of a number of separate choices and decisions made by the people acting vis à vis one another" (1966:2). By "patterns of social form" he is referring, of course, to social conventions, but the aggregation of people in populations is also a pattern, and the constraints and incentives upon individual choice that maintain the population may be explored under the same assumptions.

Of course, the actual motivations of individuals cannot be directly known. However, the fact that people remain where they are must be taken as evidence that they prefer this over known alternatives, and from observation and interviews it is possible to specify some of the incentives and constraints that influence this choice:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>To Remain on the Reserve</td>
<td>To Move to Another Location</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sentiment (attachment to location and people)</td>
<td>opportunity for employment and income</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>free or subsidized housing</td>
<td>access to entertainment facilities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>financial benefits</td>
<td>better housing and services</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

X Incentives

difficulty of access to entertainment and services

Y Constraints

lack of employment

factionalism and quarrelling

lack of qualifications for employment

fear of discrimination

lack of knowledge of relational systems beyond the reserve

"inertia"

Obviously, this is not a full schedule of the factors influencing choice, but all of them except what I have termed "inertia" were mentioned
to me in interviews or observed in other ways. Obviously too, these incentives and constraints vary in their relative importance from population to population and individual to individual. For example, for the successful farmers at North Prairie, both the incentives and constraints for moving away from the reserve seem to be of little importance. Their employment, income and housing compare favourably to those of their non-Indian neighbours, and they could hold no realistic expectation of increasing their satisfactions in these particulars by moving to any other location. At the same time, they have demonstrated knowledge and competence in economic activity, and participated in a variety of relational systems beyond reserve boundaries, so that they would appear to have fewer factors constraining them from moving than their fellow band members. At Shield Lake, the timber contractors seem to be in an analogous position, and all four of them indicated their intention to continue their activities off the reserve when the band's timber was exhausted, although this would not necessarily mean that they would move away. It appears, therefore, that for such people as these, the A-X square in the categorization above is most relevant to their choice of remaining in the population. For others, a wider range of constraints and incentives may be relevant, and these may vary as conditions outside the population change. At Shield Lake, a number of people had lived away from the reserve during the Second World War, and many had returned in the years after the war as opportunities for employment declined and the living conditions on the reserve improved. One of the timber contractors provides an example. He had been brought up by a rather tyrannical father who had discouraged him from attending school and encouraged him in "traditional" activities such as trapping,
fishing, and hunting. When his father died, he left the reserve, worked at a number of jobs in northern Ontario, and visited the larger cities. He then took a low-paid but steady job in Pulp City, and remained there for several years, maintaining limited contact with people on the reserve. After his marriage he found that his income was not sufficient to support his family at what he regarded as a desirable level, but he had little education and no job training and was unable to find more remunerative employment. He returned to the reserve to take advantage of housing subsidies and other assistance, and started his contracting business with the aid of government loans. He reported that he had liked his old job, his employers, and his life in Pulp City, and was sorry to leave them; at times he felt that his contracting business was "too much for him" because of his lack of formal education. On the whole, he felt that his life on the reserve provided the best opportunities for himself and his family; at the same time, however, he spoke of the possibility of moving away from the reserve again if that should be necessary to continue his business.

Perhaps the most difficult to assess among the constraints and incentives relating to choices between moving or staying is what I have termed "sentiment"—affective attachment to people, systems, and places. At North Coast and Shield Lake a number of people commented upon their attachment to the physical setting and their dislike of more urban environments, but no one at North Prairie spoke to me this way. At North Coast many people spoke with pride of the village as a unit, referring to the greatness of the aboriginal past and the accomplishments of sports teams, choirs, bands, etc., of the more recent past and the present. Some people spoke of having lived at Harbour City and other
places, and feeling "homesickness" for the village. These sentiments appeared to be strongest at North Coast, much weaker at Shield Lake, and weakest at North Prairie, and it seems a reasonable hypothesis that they are directly related to the number and kind of relational systems contained within the boundaries of the population. The main point to be made, however, is that such "community" feelings are not the only basis for continued existence of a population aggregate, as is implied in some definitions of society and community, and they may not even be a necessary part of it. Any aggregation of people in a modern polity must be seen as held together by a complex of attractions and repulsions, operating differently on different individuals. The fact that each formally-constituted band included ex-residents of the reserve who had made more or less permanent homes elsewhere supports the validity of this view.

Under the heading of constraints upon relocation I have included another factor that is difficult to assess, labelled "inertia". This is to take account of the common-sense proposition that it is easier to remain where one is than to move, for moving entails intrinsic costs and raises the possibility of unknown costs. It would appear, therefore, that if constraints and incentives are otherwise near a balance one would expect the individual to remain where he is.

A survey of seventy-eight school children at North Coast, boys and girls between the ages of eleven and fifteen, indicates that they feel the attraction of life elsewhere. Of the seventy-eight children, forty-seven (60 per cent) had never lived anywhere but North Coast Village. The others had lived for varying periods in Harbour City, in other nearby non-Indian towns and cities, and on other reserves. All of them had visited Harbour City, and most had visited other places. Only five (6 per
cent) said they liked North Coast Village best, and 6 (8 per cent) that they would like to live there after they grew up. Twenty-one (27 per cent) wanted to live in Harbour City, and 30 (38 per cent) in Vancouver, although most had never been there. Of those who indicated a desire to live away from North Coast Village, 16 (20 per cent) gave opportunity for employment and income as their reason, 24 (31 per cent) gave unspecific responses relating to the broader range of activities available (e.g. "it's big and exciting"), and 6 (8 per cent) made specific references to stores and entertainment. These responses, which are summarized in Tables X and XI, cannot be taken as evidence that North Coast Village will in fact lose people to cities as the children grow up, but they do indicate some of the range of desires expressed by the young members of the population.

The question of maintenance of identification seems to be answered with reference to the legal identification of the bands with a territory; the complex of factors that has maintained a portion of the band on that territory, and hence its spatial distinctness; the visible physical features of most band members; and the particular conditions of life within reserve populations. At Shield Lake, the distinctiveness of two populations within the reserve population seems to rest upon differences in ideal models held by, or attributed to, residents at the two ends of the reserve.

From these discussions, it seems clear that the three populations under consideration, whatever their internal organization, are firmly embedded in a complex of relational systems that extend far beyond their boundaries. In 1965, in a summary report of field studies, I wrote in a rather evaluative tone:
### TABLE X

**EXPERIENCE OF OTHER POPULATIONS: NORTH COAST VILLAGE CHILDREN**  
(78 children responding)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>No Other Place Than North Coast</th>
<th>Harbour City</th>
<th>Other Nearby Towns</th>
<th>Other Reserves</th>
<th>Vancouver</th>
<th>Other Distant Places</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Have lived</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Have visited</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### TABLE XI

**PREFERENCE AMONG POPULATIONS: NORTH COAST VILLAGE CHILDREN**  
(78 children responding)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Don't Know</th>
<th>North Coast Village</th>
<th>Harbour City</th>
<th>Other Nearby Towns</th>
<th>Other Reserves</th>
<th>Vancouver</th>
<th>Other Distant Places</th>
<th>&quot;A Town&quot;</th>
<th>&quot;A City&quot;</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Like best</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Would like to live</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
It is time that the I.A.B. faced squarely the inescapable fact that the vast majority of Indians constitute an under-employed pool of cheap, unskilled casual labour, subsidized barely to subsistence level by government welfare assistance (Inglis 1965:15).

In writing thus, I was groping toward a point of view that has been much more clearly enunciated since then by several writers: that is, that acculturation models are inadequate to explain the "underdevelopment" or "social problems" associated with Indian populations on reserves.

Essentially, acculturation models present contemporary Indians as "in transition" between an aboriginal state and full integration into the larger society, and see the distinctive features of reserve life as consequences of partial or inadequate adoption of non-Indian culture:

The European conquest of North America and the subsequent political domination of its aboriginal inhabitants has been in process for more than four hundred years. Yet despite the nominal conquest and subjugation of these peoples, the success which has attended the efforts of their conquerors to assimilate them is viewed today by many observers with impatient misgivings bordering on despair (Zentner 1967:70).

Zentner's acculturation model depends upon differences between the value systems of "modern" and "pre-machine" society. For example, he comments on values associated with time:

For the native, living as he does in the past and for the present, the value which time holds can be measured and realized only in terms of the opportunities it presents for the satisfaction of minimal physical needs essential to survival and the gratification of whim, impulse, and fancy of the moment. In consequence, time has little value in the abstract sense.

In the light of all this, it is scarcely surprising to find that native peoples appear to have no sense of the value of time ...

To the modern man, however, with his advanced
technology and social organization, with his orientation to the present and the proximate future, and with his now largely latent belief that his reward in heaven will be contingent upon and commensurate with his achievements here in the real world and in the material realm, time assumes a new and entirely different value (1967:84).

This view is consistent with a structural-functional view of society, and it agrees with Barth's summary of that view (cited above in Chapter II) in assigning logical priority to a normative or value system as an explanation of behaviour. However, it leaves much to be explained. It does not account for the persistence of the "pre-machine ethic" (Zentner 1967:88) in the face of efforts by missionaries and others to effect change, and in spite of the many major changes that have taken place in the behaviour of Indian people. In its broader application, this point of view makes it necessary to postulate that the successful farmers at North Prairie, the timber contractors at Shield Lake, and the successful fishermen at North Coast are more acculturated than their fellows, or somehow hold values more consistent with those of the larger society. Most telling, perhaps, is its inability to explain apparent changes in value system such as those reported by some people at North Prairie. There, both Indian Affairs personnel and the more successful farmers agreed that people had once been much more "industrious" and "hard working" than they were in 1965, but they had grown "lazier" and less "responsible", and could not or would not "plan for the future". It seems unlikely that they had become less acculturated, or that their value systems had first departed from and later returned to a "pre-machine ethic".

At North Prairie, accounts of work on the sugar beet fields by
people who had done it were all much alike. One man, M. Crowfoot, gave a typical statement in which he complained of the living conditions, the work, the attitude of the employer, and the rewards he had received:

...they put us in old chicken coops...didn't even clean up after the chickens, I think. That's hard work, in the hot sun all day... He tells you so much an acre, but then he says you don't do a good job, so he cuts your pay down. Costs a lot to live there...no place to put your food. You have a little fun, and you come back here, you got no more than you had before.

A very different account was given by S. Bluebird and his wife. They told of being given a small house to live in that was "all dirty. People who had been there before must have lived like pigs." They cleaned the house up, hung curtains, and did some minor repairs. They seemed satisfied with their summer's work, and pleased that the sugar beet farmer had asked them to return in the following year, promising to paint and repair the house they had cleaned. They seemed particularly proud that the farmer had asked them, "Why are you so different from the other Indians?" They had used the money earned in the beet fields to "have a holiday" and to purchase some small household goods.

The first man is described by an Indian Affairs official as "lazy", "no good", and "always wanting a hand-out"; one of the majority of band members who, when they got "a little extra money" from sugar beet work, would "blow it all on a drunk or buy an old car and then show up back here wanting relief." Crowfoot has had no formal education, is illiterate, and has never held a steady job. None of his children has progressed beyond Grade Five in school. Bluebird, on the other hand, was described by the Indian Affairs official as a "good, steady man", and by the priest as "an ideal family man". He has had little formal education,
but can read and write. For several years he had been steadily employed
as the janitor of an Indian residential school near the reserve. All of
his eight children have done well in school, and in 1965 two of his
daughters were in training to be nurses, and a son had finished Grade
Twelve and was about to begin a vocational training course.

The differences between the behaviour of the two men might be
explained on the grounds of different degrees of acculturation. However,
it is my opinion that they may be explained more economically in terms
of transactions and concrete models. To Bluebird, the income from work
on the sugar beets is indeed "extra money" beyond the regular income
from his job as a janitor. It can be used to enhance his satisfactions,
and his predictable income allows planning for the future. His trans­
actions with the beet-farmer were oriented toward a continuing relation­
ship from which he would receive social and material benefit. Crowfoot,
on the other hand, went to the beet fields because he was threatened
with the cutting off or reduction of welfare assistance. The money he
received there could not be used materially to improve his style of life;
if he had saved it for his return to the reserve it would merely have
delayed his eventual application for welfare or his departure from the
reserve and his family to work on one of the low-paid seasonal jobs
available in the winter. In this instance, it is difficult to see how
deferring gratification would have been of benefit to him. By maximizing
immediate satisfactions he was, in his own view, making the best possible
use of his money. At the same time, he was not satisfied with the
bargain he was getting in these transactions.

I do not intend by this argument to deny that differences in value
systems exist, nor to say that they are irrelevant. Obviously, each
person makes his choices of behaviour in accordance with his own schedule of wants and desires, and different people hold different schedules. However, the process of inferring an abstract "value system" from behaviour and speech, and then using this construct to "explain" the behaviour seems to me to be inadequate for dealing with the kinds of phenomena under study. By the application of a "choice model" to an ongoing series of behaviours, schedules of wants may be investigated rather than assumed, and a broader range of factors taken into account. Changes may take place in peoples' schedules of desires, but there may also be changes in the availability of goods to satisfy them or in peoples' assessment of the likelihood of their attainment. The apparent change in value system at North Prairie, therefore, could be explained with reference to changes in the availability of welfare assistance, in the potential for gaining subsistence from the land, in the relative amounts of income to be gained from welfare and from working, and so on. In 1965, records indicated that a nuclear family could have as high an income from welfare assistance as from the labour of the husband and father on nearby farms.

This view also provides a different perspective on the processes of social and cultural change at the level of populations. In structural-functional and acculturation models, since value systems have logical priority over behaviour, observable change is seen as the result of prior invisible changes in conviction or belief. This kind of assumption seems to pervade much missionary activity, and is explicit, for example in Zentner's recommendation for directed change, in which he places emphasis upon "training" and effecting "carefully calculated alterations" in the mythological and religious beliefs of the Indians "such as will bring these aspects more quickly into consistency with the concepts and values
of the dominant society" (Zentner 1967:88-89). In a choice model, values, schedules of wants, individual assessments of alternatives, and choices made must be seen as in a constant, ongoing relationship. If, over time, fewer people choose to engage in some activity, it need not mean that the activity has become less satisfying to them. It could, for example, mean that some more desirable end has become attainable through a competing activity, or that the time and energy required to achieve some more necessary end have increased.

At North Coast, many adults deplored the apparent decline of interest in the village brass band and the choir. Several members of each group said that others "didn't seem to care about it any more" and did not attend rehearsals and meetings. They spoke with nostalgia of a time (well documented in records and old newspaper reports) when both organizations travelled to Harbour City and other places for special events and won considerable acclaim. There had been, then, a perceived and documented change in behaviour, and the implication of each informant was that although his own values in this regard had remained constant, other peoples' had changed, and this was frequently presented as part of a general decline in "community spirit". A "choice model" analysis would suggest that a host of changes in technology and surrounding social systems were relevant. Harbour City—and, indeed, most of the populations in the area—had grown larger and were more closely tied by modern means of communication to the larger society. Occasions to which the band or choir might be invited were probably fewer. With regular daily flights and modern fish boats, the possibility for individual travel to Harbour City had increased, thus making the band's trips less of "special occasions". The coming of television in 1962 had provided many people
in North Coast Village with an entertaining alternative to rehearsals and meetings. In short, competing ends had become more easily available, new satisfactions had entered the range of choice, and because of changes beyond the control of participants the satisfactions to be gained from the band and choir had grown less.

This view of social change is bolstered by some observations by James Sewid in his autobiography (Spradley 1969). He had been, apparently, an enthusiastic participant in potlatching and other "traditional" Kwakiutl activities until he began to engage in steady work:

> It was somewhere around that time that I began to feel that it wasn’t right to have these potlatches. When the people were invited to a potlatch they would be gone for ten days or two weeks and it would spoil it for the people who had jobs. I was busy logging and since I was so busy I didn’t attend some of these potlatches. That was the downfall of the villages that started anything. The way I looked at it, it was more important to be on the job. I thought it was all right if it was a free time but not when there was a job to be done (Spradley 1969:109).

Clearly, this is an account of choice between competing satisfactions. The fact that later in his life, when he was economically more secure, Sewid tried to revive some potlatch activity that would not compete with "the job" may be taken as evidence that the attraction of these activities for him had not declined or disappeared.

> It is important to note that people can rarely, if ever, anticipate all the consequences of their choices. Thus, some of the behaviour patterns observed at any given time may be the unintended consequences of an accumulation of individual choices. If a North Coast Villager knew that by going to Harbour City or watching television instead of attending a choir practice he was taking part in a pattern of choice that
would lessen his satisfactions from choir membership in the future, this might influence his choice. On the other hand, he might perceive the pattern, but decide that his own attendance would not materially change it, and go on to make his choice in terms of this assessment of potential satisfactions. Since the range of choice open to individuals is never infinite and is always subject to modification as a consequence of the choices of other individuals, it is not possible to determine with any precision or completeness a full schedule of preferences for a population. It is, however, possible to analyse behaviour patterns or events in terms of individual choice making within a constellation of systems of relationship, and from that analysis some tentative assessment of hierarchies of wants may be made. For Indian bands such as those under discussion, the analysis must include a range of systems far beyond the boundaries of the populations themselves.

An alternative to the acculturation model is offered by Frank, when he writes of the "Indian Problem" in Latin America:

Contrary to popular claims, the problem is not one of the Indian's cultural isolation, still less one of economic isolation or insufficient integration. The problem of the Indians, like that of under-development as a whole, has its roots in the class and metropolis-satellite structure of capitalism, ... and its manifestations are part and parcel of that structure. (Frank 1967:123).

Jorgensen applies similar thinking to the problems of Indians in the United States, though he does not cite Frank among his sources:

...the political, economic and social conditions of Indians are not improving because the American Indian is, and has been for over 100 years, fully integrated into the national political economy (1970:2).

...they have long been in a super-exploited relationship with the national economy and in a neo-colonial
relationship as wards of the federal government supervised by a welfare bureau of that government. As a subject population they have lived in poverty, received poor educations and acquired few skills. As a partial effect, they have had few jobs and even less access to capital. As a causal effect (an effect that becomes self-perpetuating, or causal) apathy is generated and educations and skills are not acquired. Finally, because Indians have few skills, little education, influence or power, they are bigoted against [sic] by the local non-Indians (1970:30-71).

Both Frank and Jorgensen use a neo-Marxian model of capitalist structure to account for the "underdevelopment" of Indian populations generally in Latin America and the U.S.A. respectively. This model seems to work best for Latin America, where a segment of the economy rests upon a base of Indian labour, and the Indians can be seen as a rural proletariat. Canadian Indians in the fur-trade period may have been in a similar position, and some northern Indians may still be in that position, but for most southern Canadian reserve populations the rural proletariat model is at best only partially applicable. The sugar beet farms on the Prairies and the fishing industry of the West Coast represent segments of the larger economy that rest, at least in part, upon Indian labour, as exemplified by the descriptions of North Prairie and North Coast Village. However, the general picture for Canadian Indians since the fur-trade period has been one of replacement or displacement by non-Indians, and a movement of Indians toward dependency on welfare or their own limited resources. The problems of many individual Indians seem to stem less from the fact that their labour is exploited by industry than from the fact that it is not wanted at all.

This is not to deny the validity of the concept of exploitation as applied to some aspects of the situation of unemployed Indians in Canada,
and the importance must be considered of a body of structurally unemployed Indians on reserves to an economy that seems to demand a continuous measure of unemployment. However, it seems to me to be preferable to accept from the Frank and Jorgensen models the notion that Indian reserve populations are integrated into the larger society, while leaving open the question of the exact nature of that integration. In this way, events and patterns of behaviour that may add up to a general picture of "underdevelopment" may be separately analysed and explained as the outcome of choice-making within the context of whatever systems of relationship may be specified for the situation. For example, the decision by a large majority of the North Prairie band to distribute oil-lease money was decried by some observers as typically "short-sighted" and "Indian" behaviour, suggesting the application of a variation of an acculturation model to explain why the reserve "never gets anywhere". A model like Frank's or Jorgensen's might characterize the event in terms of exploitation by the oil companies. Without seeking to deny the validity of either, the present model would seek to explain the event as a rational choice among unsatisfactory alternatives, based upon the concrete model of their situation held by residents on the North Prairie Reserve and the constraints and incentives provided by the web of relational systems within which they live.

For each of the populations discussed here, it appears that the most pervasive system is that provided by the Government of Canada through the Indian Affairs Branch. Every individual in each band occupies a status in it, and these statuses are relevant to a broad range of their activities. Almost any social relationship an individual engages in may be channelled through, or referred back to these statuses. The systems within which the people gain the material basis of their existence are
either directly related to the formal I.A.B. system or else are economic systems with wide ramifications in the larger society. For the most part, people participate in these as individuals rather than as groups, and have little control over the terms of the transactions they engage in. In terms of economic activity, most of the people have few choices open to them and little or no power to expand the range of their choices. In short, they are integrated into the larger polity in a particular way, and the analytical perspective developed above should be able to give some insight into the way in which some details of reserve life are generated.

B. Some Consequences of the Connections and Operations of Systems in the Band Populations

1. The Agent and the Indian

A fundamental relationship in the populations under scrutiny is between the status of Indian Affairs Branch official and the status of Indian. Although he may have assistants and other special personnel to handle some of the direct contact with the Indians, the Agency Superintendent is responsible for the work of his Agency, and most of it is channelled through him, so Indian Affairs statuses will be summarized here under the title of Agent. He is responsible to his superiors for the administration and orderly operation of the band. He has comprehensive decision-making power over the band and its members, and controls access to money, resources, and information. At least in theory, his goal is to help the Indians under his charge to be self-supporting, and the band self-governing. The Indian, in the view of the Indian Affairs Branch, has the responsibility to be self-supporting, provide adequate care for
his family, and in general to be "a good person" according to the rather vague standards of the larger society. His rights, with respect to the Branch, seem to include minimal financial support if he is indigent, and various other forms of assistance. In transactions between them, the Indian receives tangible assistance and support, plus the use of the knowledge, information, and experience the Agent can call upon. The Agent receives evidence of progress toward stated I.A.B. goals, which he may then use in a further set of transactions with his superiors.

A number of situational factors prevent the free flow of these prestation. In the ethic of the larger society of which the Agent is a representative, welfare payments beyond a minimal level are disapproved. The tangible expression of this is in a limited welfare budget and official disapproval of excessive spending, and the Agent himself may hold these views. Many of the Indians are dependent for earned income upon seasonal occupations, and fluctuations in work opportunity are beyond their control. In some instances, as at North Prairie, work for wages offers no more reward than social assistance. To many of them, the costs of achieving "self-support" at the levels available to them apparently outweigh the satisfactions to be gained from it.

Thus, some typical patterns of interaction between Agents and some Indians are generated, as each tries to gain from the relationship the maximum return. The pattern is most obvious in the data from North Prairie, where the Agent used a variety of means to raise the social costs of acquiring relief, and the Indians employed subterfuge, persistence, and appeals to other authority in an attempt to reduce them. Often neither partner in the relationship is satisfied. The Indian may feel, as many did at North Prairie, that relief payments are inadequate and too hard to
obtain, the Agent may feel, as the North Prairie Assistant Superintendent did, that the Indians should be forced to work, "but you can't let their families starve, I suppose".

In Barth's analysis of herring-boat crews, he makes a distinction between prestations "of valued goods and services" (1966:3) and token prestations—"promises that will eventually lead to consummated transactions" (1966:8). The latter are what make up characteristic role behaviours that are not specified in the rights and duties of the relevant statuses. Since they are promises to perform, they are subject to what Goffman (1959) has termed "impression management", which Barth has summarized as "skewed communication: over-communicating that which confirms the relative status positions and relationships, and under-communicating that which is discrepant" (1966:3). This seems to work well for the limited system of the herring-boat crew, where interaction is based on an economic activity and few statuses, but for the broader perspective taken here, it seems too limiting to categorize behaviours as token or "real" prestations on the grounds of whether or not they involve "goods and services" and to confine the notion of impression management to token prestations. It appears, for example, that the "token" offerings of a beggar, in the form of a pathetic appearance and a proper tone of voice are often sufficient to elicit a "real" prestation in the form of a coin. Therefore, I shall use "prestation" to refer to anything desired that an individual may gain from a transaction, and "impression management" to refer to any effort by an individual to manipulate a relationship to his own advantage by communication.

In the transactions between the Agent and the Indian as welfare recipient, it would appear that only the Agent gives what in Barth's
terminology would be "real" prestations in the form of tangible goods and services desired by the Indian. Apart from the ego-satisfaction some Agents may gain directly from submissive behaviour by Indians, what the Agent desires in return are evidences of behaviour by the Indian that he may use in transactions with his superiors in the Indian Affairs Branch. Now, it is in the Agent's interest to communicate to his superiors two somewhat contradictory impressions: that he is working hard in a difficult situation, and thus that he and his staff are "needed"; and that he is achieving success, which could have the implication that he is less "necessary" or could manage with less staff or a larger responsibility.

In the three Agency offices mentioned above, and in others I have visited, the Superintendents complained of a lack of staff and too great a work load.

These particulars seem sufficient to explain two apparently contradictory forms of behaviour adopted by Agents in interaction with Indians asking for assistance. The first is a stern, rather punitive paternalism, in which the Indian is told he must work harder, manage his money better, and so on. To a third party, such as the observer, this form is expressed in denunciations of the Indians concerned—statements that they are "lazy" and "no good" and should not be given any assistance at all. The second form is a jocular, benevolent paternalism, combining disapproval with tolerance, in which the Agent may engage in ironic joking about disapproved behaviour such as excessive drinking, illicit sexual activity, or extravagance. To the third party, this form is expressed in statements of amusement and mock despair—"You can't do anything with these people". Agents have been observed to switch rapidly from one of these forms to the other within the same interview.
The main point seems to be that in transactions of this kind between Agents and Indians, there is no fixed and constant equation of goods in the prestation. Both "good" and "bad" behaviour by the Indians can be used by the Agent in his transactions with his superiors, and his ambivalent behaviour vis-à-vis the Indian is expressive of a desire to maintain a balance between "progress" and dependency. The matching behaviours toward the third-party observer may be seen as "rehearsals" of impression management toward superiors, or merely as impression management in relation to a member of the larger society upon whose vote and good will the structure and policy of the Branch in a small measure depends.

Both forms of Agent behaviour require submission by the Indian at the time of the interaction. Many appear to regard the price as too high, and may attempt to "even the score" somewhat by later telling others of defiant replies to the Agent, or retailing stories of the Agent's own transgressions, accusing him of drunkeness, dishonesty, arrogance, incompetence, or lechery. At times, the various components of this relationship can be interwoven in a single interaction. At North Coast, I observed an encounter between an aggressive and intelligent councillor and an Assistant Superintendent, in which the councillor asked for some assistance on behalf of another band member. The Agent responded brusquely in the stern paternalistic mode. The councillor was irritated by this, perhaps more than usually so because an observer was present, and replied with defiance, saying, "Oh, you're a mean bastard, B_____!" After a pause, he tempered his remark without withdrawing it by adding, "If I had fifty Indians like you, there wouldn't be a White man left on the coast!" The Agent concluded the interchange with a jocular remark about the personal habits of the person on whose behalf the initial
request had been made. Later, the councillor told me that he could never expect any "favours" from Agents because he always "stood up to them".

Indians may move toward the Indian Affairs Branch goal of self-support in a limited number of ways. One is by acquiring steady employment while continuing to live on the reserve. At North Prairie, there was almost no possibility of this. The reserve school janitor, and the janitor of the nearby residential school were the only people so employed. At Shield Lake, the possibilities were greater, and several heads of households held jobs in industries in Mine City. However, because of low educational levels and reported discrimination by White employers few of the other employable men could expect to get such jobs. At North Coast, fishing has some of the qualities of this kind of arrangement, but because of its seasonal nature and the special relationship between fishermen and fish companies, it must be considered separately. Apart from this, only the school janitor had such a steady job. People in this position seem generally to be "respected" by the Agents. Interactions between them and Agents seem to be more nearly on an equal-to-equal basis, and it appears that Agents are willing to help such people to obtain loans for housing improvement, and so on. If they make up any appreciable minority of the band, however, their self-supporting position may bring them into conflict with Agents and other band members, as will be seen below.

A second avenue to self-support is relocation, which removes the individual from the population and from most kinds of interaction with the Agent. Each of the three bands included on their membership lists people who were living away from the reserves, and informants' reports indicated that most of these were men who had jobs elsewhere, and lived
away from the reserves with their wives and families. Because there are very few employment opportunities on the reserves for trained people, most young people who receive education and training must enter this category if they are to market their skills. It appears that the number of people choosing this course of action is directly related to the position of the population in respect to the systems of the larger society. Shield Lake, with the easiest access to large centres of non-Indian population, the longest history of integrated schooling, and the greatest number of steadily-employed reserve residents, also had the highest proportion of band members living off the reserve, 29.7 per cent (136/457). North Coast was next, with 20.5 per cent (227/1104), and North Prairie had the least with 13.4 per cent (190/1420).

With existing levels of education and training, and the state of the job market in the larger society, steady employment in off-reserve jobs is not a likely avenue toward self-support for a great many reserve residents, whether or not they relocate. The remaining possibility, therefore, is through enterprise, either by individuals, which provides direct support for the entrepreneur(s) and may provide employment for some other band members; or by the band as a whole, which may provide increased corporate income and also the possibility of employment. Since most enterprise requires capital, and most enterprise by Indians requires co-operation of the Indian Affairs Branch, both individual and band undertakings are heavily dependent, at least in their initial stages, on the support of the Agent. Since there are limits on the total amount of support the Agent can provide and upon the opportunities for enterprise, it is in the Agent's interest to invest his support where he is most assured of a return in the form of "progress", measured in terms of the
success of the enterprise in providing income for Indians.

2. The Formation of Economic and Political Elites

Although Agents and Indians interact directly, a form of representative government is provided in the structure of the band council. In the view of the Indian Affairs Branch, the council is to provide leadership for the band as a corporate entity, to represent the band in dealings with the federal government, and to organize and regulate the collective activities of the band. _Vis à vis_ the Agent, therefore, the councillors have an obligation to act as a channel of communication with the band at large and to exercise their limited legislative and decision-making powers for the regulation of band activity. _Vis à vis_ the other band members, the councillor has the obligation to provide a channel of communication, to represent their interests to the government, to mediate between them and I.A.B. officials, and to supervise the orderly conduct of collective band affairs. The effective unit for all this, of course, is not the band _per se_, but the reserve population segment of it.

It is perhaps not surprising that, in those bands in which council positions are elective offices, Indian Affairs Branch officials tend to encourage "successful" members of the reserve population to run for office. At each of the three reserves, economically successful people reported that Agency personnel had urged them to take part in council affairs; some of the "successful" councillors professed to be reluctant to run, but unable to withstand the persuasion of the Agent. Agency personnel gave similar reports of their efforts to encourage successful and "progressive" people to run for office. Since "success" in these terms usually means that the individual has proven himself capable of filling
statuses in systems of relationship of the larger society, he has demonstrated what is to his fellow band members a prime qualification for office—the ability to deal with government officials and other Whites. These factors seem to favour the consolidation of political office and material success on the reserves.

This pattern is most obvious at North Prairie, where success is almost exclusively in individual enterprise. Three of the four most successful farmers held council seats, and all but one of the remaining six councillors were marginally successful farmers or aspired to success in that line. It also appears that at North Prairie, these councillors were able to manage channels of communication and transactions with Agency personnel in such a way as to perpetuate the conditions necessary for their continued success.

At Shield Lake, the conditions of success were more varied, and the pattern more complex. According to reports, during the Second World War and immediately after, the band could be roughly divided into three economic categories. First, there were people living off the reserve and steadily employed, either in the armed forces or in wartime industry. Second, there were the people living at the East End of the reserve who were either self-employed (like the old taxidermist and ex-chief councillor) or employed in nearby industry. Finally, there were some people with little education or job training who lived on the reserve and engaged in casual labour, trapping, fishing, and other uncertain seasonal work. The last two categories made up the reserve population and during this period the employed, successful East Enders dominated the council. After the war, as veterans and war-industry workers returned to the reserve, the possibility of success through steady
employment was largely closed to them, although many East Enders retained jobs of long standing and were able to find some jobs for their sons. Thus, opportunities for success for many people were limited to individual or band enterprise. A few individuals, with the aid of veteran’s benefits, Indian Affairs Branch help, (and, in one case at least, the illicit help of a non-Indian) were able to establish timber contracting businesses, and a few other reserve residents were able to gain reasonably steady employment with them. All four of the contractors had been councillors at some time since 1945, and in 1965 two of them were on the council. For the remaining band members, the only route to success was through band enterprise, and Agency officials fostered this over the opposition of the East Enders and some of the casual and seasonal workers. The band enterprise provided some employment for band members, with the promise of more, and allowed the creation of at least one band "civil service" job. Those most willing to further the band enterprise stood in a position to gain from it, and the "conversion" of T. Dubois, who was elected as chief councillor on a platform of opposition to the development of band resources, could be interpreted as a dawning realization of the opportunity for personal success it provided. There was a brief period during which the interests of the band enterprise and the individual entrepreneurs came in conflict, when the council attempted directly to tap the forest resources; this was resolved when the council, in effect, agreed to leave the timber to the contractors. By 1965, the council was composed of individual entrepreneurs and increasingly successful proponents of band enterprise. The previously-dominant, steadily-employed East Enders, who had little to gain from the band development, apparently lost the support of both the Agency staff and many of the seasonally-
employed people, and had become a "conservative" opposition, accusing
the council group of dissipating band resources in a short-sighted
manner.

At North Coast, the council included the most successful of the
three village storekeepers, and the school janitor, who was the only man
steadily employed. Of the nine others, six were boat-owners, and one
was the son of one councillor/boat-owner and the brother of another.
The chief councillor had been a boat-owner and a small-scale entrepreneur,
and was the son-in-law of the successful storekeeper-councillor. In
spite of these facts, the pattern of elite formation was not as clear at
North Coast. Many other fishermen were as successful as, or more
successful than the councillors, and it is probable that council member-
ship cannot be related to success in fishing at North Coast in the same
way as it is to success in agriculture at North Prairie. In addition,
the traditional village organization somewhat complicates the picture.
However, benefits from the developing band enterprise were related to
council membership, and two of the councillors were on the executive of
the longshoremen's union, which controlled hiring for the most lucrative
jobs associated with that enterprise. These facts, and the accusations
made by some band members against the chief and some of the councillors
may be seen as evidence of similar processes to those suggested for the
other two bands.

Greater scope for decision-making is extended to "progressive"
councils, which in this context means those that will foster the
implementation of Indian Affairs policies. The administration of band
projects and welfare payments by councils under the direction and
influence of Agency officials has the effect of incorporating the councils
into the Branch structure, and the control of jobs, funds, and information by the councils gives them greater potential for managing the bands' affairs in such a manner as to foster and perpetuate conditions favourable to their success as individuals, and to remain in office.

3. Structural Isolation

For many of the less successful Indians, the main links with the systems of the larger society are channelled through the Indian Affairs Branch, with or without the mediation of the council. As was noted above, the Agency offices concern themselves with many details of the lives of reserve residents, and relationships that Indians may establish outside this system may be referred back to it, whether or not the Indian wishes it so. Non-Indians may approach the Agency office for information about band members, to recruit Indians for labour, to complain of Indians' actions, to attempt to collect debts, and for many other purposes. Apart from this, statuses of the less successful Indians in the systems of the larger society are few in number. They are low-ranking employees, customers in stores, members of churches. In none of their statuses, including those in the Indian Affairs Branch system, do they have much control over sources of information or the power to set the terms of transactions. Thus, their concrete models of systems of relationship are often vague beyond the limits of the actual relationships they are themselves involved in, and the sense of structural isolation is increased when attempts to reach beyond or above the Indian Affairs Branch are channelled back through the Agency, as in the examples from North Prairie. Low levels of education and the control of information channels by Agency personnel and councils further narrow the range of
alternatives, and force greater dependence upon the single system of relationship with the federal government.

Some appear to accept this isolation. L. Conway and D. Wilson, councillors at North Prairie and North Coast respectively, are examples. Conway took little part in council discussion, and never initiated business; at band meetings, he spoke in sweeping generalities about "decent behaviour" and "co-operation". The Assistant Agent complained that "he always acts as if he knows what is going on, but he really doesn't know anything." In an interview he evinced neither knowledge of, or curiosity about, the workings of the Indian Affairs Branch. Wilson, president of the North Coast Chapter of the Native Brotherhood, was unalterably opposed to Indian membership in any organization centred outside the village except the Brotherhood and the church. For all other purposes, he felt that the Indian Affairs Branch was the only proper channel for Indians, and was fearful and angry at anything that appeared to broaden the range of relationships, such as the provincial government's action in supplying a community development worker, or the actions of some band members in joining the Fishermen's Union. "Since we are wards of the government," he said, "It is better for us to stay that way." At the same time, he was regarded by Agency officials and some other councillors as "not much good" on the council, since he did not appear to understand much of the business transacted. Many other reserve residents gave evidence during interviews of a lack of detailed knowledge of systems of relationship beyond the range of their immediate participation. Their structural isolation and the control of information channels by Agency personnel and councils make it difficult for them to widen their knowledge, and this may be reinforced by their own fear of humiliation or
rebuff when seeking information or entering unfamiliar relationships.

For example, the wife of a highly successful and confident-appearing entrepreneur at one reserve told me that her husband had been physically ill from anxiety when he first applied for a driver's licence, fearing that he would make some error in filling out forms or answering questions. Other reserve residents told similar stories. One man from a west coast reserve told of spending a short visit in Vancouver and walking for miles about the city because of a rebuff by the driver of the first bus he tried to board. The chief councillor at North Coast cited as one of his own virtues that he was "not afraid to ask questions".

With these limitations on their concrete models, reserve residents may sometimes fail to take action that to more knowledgeable observers seems obvious, and this may lead the observers, such as Agency personnel, to define them as apathetic or uncaring. However, the band vote on the distribution of oil-lease money at North Prairie and the celebrations for the Lieutenant Governor's visit at North Coast are examples of coherent collective action taken in circumstances that presented the participants with clear-cut alternatives and relationships that were within their range of experience and knowledge.

Some people who are conscious of, and made uncomfortable by the limitations of their position see the solution as lying in the expansion of their concrete models by their own efforts. Many feel that this is rendered impossible for them by their lack of formal education, but hope that younger people will be able to "understand" better. A man in the Fraser Valley who was fostering the multi-band organization (see footnote 3, Chapter I) saw one of its main functions as employing educated young people to collect and interpret the "circular letters" that come
regularly to the bands from the Indian Affairs Branch:

Now, we only decide personal things. One person wants this, and one wants that. We've never acted on anything outside our own problems. People don't know enough...

The letters get lost. People don't understand. You look at one of those letters, it's like going into a picture show halfway through. You don't know what it's all about.

Often those letters tell how to do something that you might want to do later on. For example, a group here wanted a tractor. They didn't know how to go about it. There is various procedures they have to go through, but they don't know that. Then they wonder why they don't get nowhere with Indian Affairs. They [I.A.B. officials] figure if these people aren't interested enough to find out how to go through the proper procedure, then there is no use dealing with them. They [the Indians] figure they can just go and say, "We want a tractor." The official will say, "Well, I haven't got one." I told them that. If only they would go and say, "How do we go about getting a tractor?" But they won't do that.

This man was clearly stating that the Indians do not know the terms of transactions with Agency officials, and that they can learn them from publications of the Branch. At the same time, he accepted the dependent relationship, and in a later interview he said, "The Indian Department is just like the parents, and the Indians like children. They want this and that, but they don't know the value of things." He was steadily employed, and regarded as "progressive" by the local Agent.

To many people in this position, especially if they are dissatisfied with some transactions with the Agency or their band council, almost any non-Indian appears as a person of greater power and a potential link with systems beyond his own reach. This seems to lead to the establishment of client-patron relationships between some Indians and Whites. At each reserve I have visited, I have been told of and observed such special friendships, in which the White person acts as a intermediary
for the Indian in dealings with bureaucracy, helps him to fill out forms, writes letters, and in general acts as a link with systems outside those represented on the reserve. Often the Indian's prestations in return are in the form of fish and game, or items of native manufacture, but the intrinsic value to some Whites of such a "cross-cultural" friendship must not be discounted.

During my brief periods of field-work, I was asked directly to act as a link to outside systems on many occasions, some of which were:

- to assist in filling out forms (3);
- to act as intermediary with a provincial government in a legal matter;
- to assist in investigating a land lease;
- to investigate a case of inheritance;
- to advise a chief councillor on a matter relating to a provincial government;
- to act as intermediary between an individual and a private business (3);
- to assist individuals in getting medical treatment (2);
- to interpret letters received from officials, lawyers, etc. (4).

Clergymen, teachers, community development workers, store-keepers and others, all reported rendering similar services to Indians, or being asked to do so.

4. Atomism

Writing of the Vunta Kutchin at Old Crow, Asen Balikci states:

...visitors in my cabin always talked "nice" to each other and evidenced a kind interest in the doings and behavior of their neighbors; yet as soon as a man was alone with me, he indulged in vicious gossip. Nobody,
including close relatives, found mercy in his eyes. Partners, friends, neighbors, and relatives were called stingy, liars, thieves, evil sorcerers, lazy, unscrupulous, adulterers, and so forth...

Distrustful competition, envy, and evil thoughts could be found everywhere under the amiable surface (1968:191).

Somewhat more temperately worded, this statement would come close to describing some of my own experiences at each of the three bands studied. Everywhere people criticized and levelled accusations at fellow band members, councillors, Indian Affairs Branch personnel, clergymen, and almost anybody else. Relatives criticized each other. A story told by one person in a group would later be repudiated and denied in private by other members of the group. Council records and Agency files were full of documentary evidence of dispute and contention among individuals and groups. At each of the three Agency offices, Branch personnel complained that their jobs were made difficult and band progress impeded by "factionalism", "bickering", and "quarrelling".

These kinds of behaviour have been reported for many small "societies" in the ethnographic literature—so much that Rubel and Kupferer have been led to create the category of the "atomistic-type society" (1968:189), and Human Organization has devoted most of an issue (Vol. 27 No. 3) to a discussion of it. Rubel and Kupferer define an "atomistic-type" society this way:

...a society in which the nuclear family represents the major structural unit and, indeed, almost the only formalized social entity. Interpersonal relations outside of the nuclear family are characterized by contention, suspiciousness, and invidiousness. Moreover, these attitudes and behaviours are normative (1968:108).

I do not find the definition very clear. I am uncertain whether they mean by "major structural unit" the major unit of the society or
the major unit with structure in the population. I am uncertain, too, about what they mean by characterizing "these attitudes and behaviours" as normative. However, the sorts of behaviour they and the other writers in the symposium describe are very much like those I have observed in Indian Reserve populations.

Their explanatory proposition posits a link between the structural atomism of a society in which the nuclear family is the major unit, and an attitudinal atomism that is created in individuals through socialization:

we propose that in societies in which the nuclear family is the unit of over-riding significance, and in which children are socialized to see the family as the sole group upon which one can rely, the resulting incongruity—between those expectations and a realistic need to cope successfully with a larger, more complex world—is associated with a prominence of contention, wariness, and invidiousness in relationships outside the nuclear family (1968:109).

The Indian band populations with which I am concerned do not entirely fit the model of structural atomism. They are themselves "formalized social entities" and they contain other such entities and "structural units". North Coast Village, particularly, contains a wide variety of units, from aboriginal kin groups to clubs and union locals, and although it is impossible to demonstrate statistically, I am reasonably certain that North Coast showed no less atomistic behaviour than the others. Indeed, it is my impression that violent conflict and fights were more common there; it has the reputation among some local Whites as being the "toughest [Indian] village on the coast." The generalization about attitudinal atomism is cast in some doubt by the fact that contention, gossip and quarrelling took place within nuclear families as well as outside them at all three reserves, and this was even more
characteristic of the Kutchin at Old Crow in Balikci's description (1968:194-5).

In postulating the "atomistic-type" society, Rubel and Kupferer have employed the same sort of structural-functional model that I have suggested above to be an impediment to the study of Indian bands, and they state clearly one of its assumptions: "It is axiomatic that the very continuity of these groups over time clearly attests the presence of functioning integrative techniques" (1968:190). The participants in the symposium who present ethnographic data (Balikci, pp. 191-199; Piker, pp. 201-204; Spielberg, pp. 205-211; Langworthy, pp. 213-219) appear to use a similar basic model, and Balicki performs the remarkable feat of deriving forces of social cohesion from the "atomistic" behaviour itself: "...the hostility pattern corresponds to an intense interest in the other, constituting a negative binding element" (1968:199). Both Honigmann (1968:226) and Levy (1968:231) challenge the assumptions of this model, suggesting that the "atomism" may well be in the eye of the observer; but Levy makes what is to me a more pertinent observation. Referring to the groups described in the ethnographic papers, he says:

> The complicating factor here is that none of these groups is a true society. Rather, all are part-societies regardless of their more independent pasts (1968:231).

In the perspective I have adopted here, the continued existence of the populations is not necessarily dependent upon cohesive and integrating factors. They are bounded by formal, legal systems of the larger society, and held in place by a complex of forces, some of them forces of exclusion from other systems and populations of the larger society. At the same time, the wants of individuals are formed in the
context of systems outside the reserve population, by television, movies, schools, magazines, advertising, and so on. It would appear that the avoidance of contention and hostility, or at least its containment, could be expected as a feature of systems or groups in which it was perceived by the participants as threatening to the continued existence of the group, and therefore to whatever interests of their own they were furthering by membership. For most purposes, Indian bands are not associations of this kind.

If contention and animosity are common on Indian Reserves, the point is perhaps best illustrated by events in which they are apparently absent or suppressed. At North Coast, the building of the new council hall was surrounded by what observers were inclined to think of as the "usual" web of intrigue, gossip, scandal, and quarrelling. The hall was built on a lot that had once been the property of one of the tribes for their chief's house, and had come to be used by the council in a way that angered some members of that tribe. Some people said that the councillors had monopolized the jobs on the building of the hall for themselves and their friends. Others suggested that the chief councillor had made a profit on the purchase of materials. There was contention between some councillors and the council committee responsible for the building over delays in the construction. The totem pole that was to be erected outside the hall had been carved by a North Coast villager living in Harbour City, but some people felt that he should not have been given the commission and that he was being paid too much. Scandalous gossip was circulated about the carver. The pole was criticized as "wrong" because it incorporated the major crests of each of the four clans, and there was contention over the placing of the crests in relation to one another.
The catalogue of dissension could be expanded almost indefinitely, but this will give some idea of its scope.

On the day of the Lieutenant Governor's visit, the main public event was the official "opening" of the still-uncompleted hall, and the ceremony took place without any visible sign of the "atomism" that had characterized the preparations until that time. The contending councillors appeared on the platform together; the chief councillor and the maligned carver made speeches and were applauded by the people who had criticized them; members of the tribe that claimed the building lot attended and took part in the ceremony. People who had been most vocal in criticisms of some part of the arrangements worked hard to supply the Lieutenant Governor's luncheon and played in the band. As nearly as I could determine, no villager withdrew or withheld his cooperation.

On the day following the festivities, the chorus of gossip was raised again, with events at the ceremony incorporated for criticism. Now, visiting Indian Affairs officials were included, criticized for their behaviour during the previous day, and the Lieutenant Governor was criticized for a speech that had been greeted at the time with applause and flag-waving.

It would appear that the day of ceremony represented an occasion upon which individual interests were submerged in the interests of the group. Newspaper and television journalists were present, as well as high-ranking government officials, and the prestige of North Coast Village as a whole was at stake. After the event, I was told by an elderly woman, the maternal aunt of the chief councillor and a one-time leader in some women's organizations, that on the day before the ceremony she had gone to the hall where the luncheon was to take place. A group
of men were preparing the room, and the brass band was rehearsing. She had called the men around her and delivered a speech expressing these sentiments very clearly:

We want everybody to see that North Coast Village can do things properly. We have to forget about ourselves and make sure that everything goes right. I am an old woman, but I am working hard on the food. We don't want anything to spoil that day.

She also lectured the men on decorum, with special reference to drinking:

When we have things like this, there are always some people who get drinking. Now, you just remember that if one person makes a fool of himself, it reflects on the whole village, not just on that person. The Lieutenant Governor doesn't know who he is. After it's over, if you want to get your gallon [gallon jug of wine] and drink, go ahead. Sleep in the street if you want to. Mrs. Peters isn't going to say a thing against you. But not while he is here...

She stressed individual responsibility, and told the bandsmen that they must turn out, whether or not they had rehearsed enough or had their uniforms ready, and regardless of what others did. Later, the chief and another councillor said with admiring grins, "She sure gave us hell!" and both felt that her speech had been "a good thing to do". The bandmaster also expressed approval of her action, and repeated parts of her speech to men who had not been present for it.

I would suggest, therefore, that "atomistic" behaviour must be seen in the context of individual interests and transactions. As Levy phrases it:

If the explanations reviewed in [the Human Organization symposium] fall primarily into the general class of human response to stress and deprivation it follows that, as stress and deprivation are a part of the human condition, atomistic responses cannot be considered apart from other forms of response...(1968:233).
I have argued throughout that some of the difficulties encountered by social scientists attempting to study Indian bands as units stem from the application of a functionalist model of society or community. It might also be argued that the legal definitions and practical expectations within which the affairs of Indian bands are administered conform to a similar model of a self-sufficient or self-contained corporate group that has—or should have—value consensus, integrative mechanisms, and the other trappings of the model. If the perspective I have adopted comes closer, as I believe it does, to representing "reality", it may be that the policies and actions of Agency offices are oriented to an entity that does not exist, and the performances of reserve populations are measured against an ideal that is in present circumstances unattainable. Since the Indians in the bands under discussion must be presumed to share, to some extent at least, the cognitive orientations of a larger society, their own dissatisfactions may stem in part from comparison of their situation with a similar ideal type. From the analytical perspective I have been suggesting, however, the "atomistic" behaviour is seen as neither structural nor attitudinal, but as situational.

Most of the writers in the "atomism" symposium refer the concept back, in one way or another, to Foster's "image of limited good" which he summarizes as follows:

...broad areas of peasant behavior are patterned in such a fashion as to suggest that the peasants view their social, economic, and natural resources—their total environment—as one in which all the desired things in life such as land, wealth, health, friendship and love, manliness and honor, respect and status, power and influence, security and safety, exist in finite quantity and are always in short supply, as far as the peasant is concerned. ...in addition there is no way directly within peasant power to increase the available quantities (Foster
Several anthropologists have critically reviewed Foster's presentation (Kaplan and Saler 1966, Bennett 1966; Piker 1966; Kennedy 1966) on many points, including his assertion that peasant communities may be viewed as "closed system(s)" (Foster 1965:296), and his presentation of the notion of limited good as a "metaphysical perspective" (Kaplan and Saler 1966:204). It is not necessary here to review Foster's full argument and those of his critics, but merely to acknowledge that a simplified version of Foster's statement can be of considerable assistance in explaining patterns of behaviour among Indian Reserve populations.

The fact is, certain money and resources of Indian bands, as well as the material resources supplied to some bands by the government, do exist in limited supply, and what may be more important, these finite resources are owned or held by a "closed system"—the legally constituted band. It may be, indeed, that it is only with relation to band funds and resources that the band can be so regarded. Thus, the Indian's relation to these communally-owned goods is objectively very much like the "cognitive orientation" that Foster postulates for peasants toward goods in general. If a band member observes another to receive benefits from the common store, he may not necessarily feel that it is "at his expense", but he may very well feel that he has as much right to the benefit as the recipient. It will be observed that much of the contention, criticism, and gossip reported in the band studies above centred around councillors and others receiving more than their "fair share" of band funds or help from the Branch. To refer again to the events surrounding the timber contract at North Coast, it will be seen that there were two kinds of conflict; within the band dispute and contention over the
granting of the timber license and the disposition of benefits from it, were of the type discussed above under the general heading of "atomistic", and in these the interests of individuals and small groups in a finite, communally-owned resource were at stake. In conflict with the Agency office and the companies, the band supported the chief councillor and his lieutenants almost unanimously, acting like the "closed system" that it actually is with regard to its resources, when those resources were threatened by an agency beyond its boundaries.

It is not necessary to postulate a metaphysical perspective or "image", nor an attitudinal atomism, to account for the observed behaviour. Events may be explained economically with reference to transactional models, and cognitive orientations may be explored independently within that context, perhaps with the use of Barth's propositions about the generation of value consensus, integration, and institutionalization through ongoing social transactions (Barth 1966:12-22).

A prominent feature of the ethnographic discussions of atomism in the Human Organization symposium, especially of Balikci's, is the emphasis on covert dissension—on gossip, scandal, and backbiting. Balikci details other kinds of behaviour, such as violent conflict, but devotes much of his paper and his main attempts at explanation to the covert behaviour. As I have noted above, at the three reserves under discussion this was also a prominent feature, and I was almost constantly called upon to hear scandalous assaults by reserve residents upon the character of others.

Within the framework of a structural-functional model, gossip is seen as contributing to the unity and continued existence of the group within which it is practised. In it, "the values of the group are clearly
asserted" (Gluckman 1963:313). Like Paine (1967), I find this approach to explanation unsatisfactory because it focusses its attention upon the integration of the society and, in Paine's words, "attribute(s) to the gossipers the 'unity' of their community as their paramount value, and... explain(s) the regulation of gossip with reference to the protection of this value" (1967:280). In the approach I have been taking, where the unity of the community is not assumed but made the object of investigation, Paine's alternative view is preferable: that "gossipers also have rival interests; that they gossip, and also regulate their gossip, to forward and protect their individual interests" (1967:280).

A primary problem is to establish the social context of gossip and backbiting. It is by definition semi-secret communication, or communication in selected circumstances, for if the things said as gossip were to be said in the presence of those gossiped about or others who might take offence, it would be, or provoke, overt conflict. Balikci's account of Kutchin gossip does not establish clearly the context at Old Crow. He notes that people talked "nice" to each other in his presence but engaged in scurrilous gossip when they were alone with him. I noted a similar pattern at all three bands, and it occurred to me that the people might be saying to me, as a disinterested outsider, things they could say to nobody else in the population, the way a drunk may air his most intimate problems to a stranger in a bar. Balikci's explanation of Old Crow gossip is of this kind. He suggests that the much greater frequency of gossip and "evil talk" over incidents of overt conflict may be explained partly through fear of the police and of retaliatory witchcraft, but he regards as "most important" the suggestion that "the relatively free verbal expression of hostile sentiments constitutes a
satisfying enough release of aggressive tendencies, a release which allows the opponents to avoid violence" (1968:198). I had not read Balikci's article at the time, but formulated a similar hypothesis, postulating that I, as the "safest" listener available, was receiving the product of pent-up aggression and annoyance in the population.

It is difficult to explore such a possibility, for Indians living on reserves have as much privacy in personal interactions as any other Canadian of their socio-economic level, and possibly have more. It is difficult for an observer to be present in a wide enough range of social situations or to overhear enough conversations to make a confident assessment of what constitutes typical day-to-day interaction. Indian Affairs Branch records, of course, yield evidence of conflict, but not of gossip per se. However, I tried to explore the context of gossip by trying to elicit it in groups from people who had gossiped to me privately, and by watching for evidence of the social ramifications of backbiting and story-telling. I concluded that although some of the communications I received were probably examples of the "stranger in the bar" phenomenon, gossip was a feature of everyday life on the reserves. At the same time, however, I was forced to reconsider what I meant by the term.

The main focus of Balikci's article, and the phenomenon that drew my attention first on the reserves was scurrilous gossip, but this kind of communication is probably best seen as one type of a larger class of informal communications. Paine suggests as a "working definition" that gossip is "1. talk of personalities and their involvement in the events of the community, and 2. talk that draws out other persons to talk this way" (1967:283). From this perspective, some gossip may be seen simply
as a set of ongoing transactions in which people exchange information. Information received from one partner may be directly useful to the recipient, or he may store it for use in transactions with another. As with any set of transactions, "the gossiper usually endeavours to receive more than he gives" (Paine 1967:283), but he does give, and information can be useful. On more than one occasion I have found myself, in the role of professional information collector, out-played in the game of information exchange. At North Coast, for example, an expert gossiper prompted me by means of innocent-appearing questions scattered through a long, rambling interview, to divulge a piece of information about the intentions and activities of the hereditary chief of his tribe. The resulting conflict was ample evidence that he had scored heavily in our transaction, and it taught me a valuable lesson about field procedure.

Information is not just passed, however, but it is passed selectively, "editorialized", and even created. Paine refers to this as "information management" (1967:282) and confines himself to a consideration of how it affects information flow, but I would prefer to include it under the broader heading of "impression management" discussed above. It is here that much of the scurrilous gossip may be included. In the "limited good" situation I have postulated for Indian bands, it is frequently in an individual's interest to denigrate others in order to enhance his own position by comparison with them. Balikci, following Simmel and Coser, classifies the Old Crow backbiting as "nonrealistic conflict":

...there is rarely an objective meaningful reason for the hostile relationship. Evil gossip is an endless commentary on the bad character traits of the other, implying, "He is bad. I hate him." No effort is made to change these characterological
weaknesses through open exposition and discussion. Evil talk is an end in itself; it is not directed toward the attainment of specific results. Further, the target of Old Crow backbiting varies: right after he has finished criticizing his working companion, the Kutchin will start backbiting his neighbor, continuing in this fashion with apparent delight until the effusion is interrupted by some external event (1968:198).

In my opinion, this is too narrow a view, and it ignores the possibility that one "specific result" of character assassination is the enhancement of the position of the gossiper by comparison with the person attacked. The talk may boil down to the statement that "he is bad and I hate him," but the unspoken corollary may be "I am good, and more worthy than he is." Since excessive talk about somebody else behind his back is not considered to be a good thing to do, there is something of a paradox here. I noted that many people on the reserves tried to avoid it by prefacing remarks about someone else with such statements as, "I don't like to say this, but...".

Impression management by editorializing is not confined to evil gossip, of course, although that may draw our attention most strongly. At each of the three reserves discussed here, interviews with residents included besides evil gossip about others, stories and anecdotes illustrating the virtues of the speaker. At North Prairie, while almost everybody freely characterized others as lazy, grasping, and unscrupulous, no one confided that he really did not want to work or that he had spent his welfare money on beer. Stories of the shortcomings of others were almost matched in volume by anecdotes of the speaker's untiring but unsuccessful attempts to find work and to improve his condition against fearful odds.

This form of impression management may also be exercised on behalf
others, and may be a valuable indicator of complexes of common interest and networks of relationship. At Shield Lake, the band administrator about whom I have quoted some negative gossip was the subject of positive gossip by the chief councillor and the administrator's daughter, who was also a councillor. Both said that he was a great help to the council, that he was scrupulous and efficient in his work, and so on. At North Coast, on one occasion, I received some negative gossip about the chief councillor from two people at once. Both had criticized him to me independently in previous interviews, and on this occasion one offered much more damning indictments than the other. Later the same day, the less-critical informant walked for some distance through the village to seek me out on the pretext of giving me some other information, and said, "G. shouldn't have said all those things about M. He [Stevens] isn't the best man in the village, and he drinks and all that, but he's done a lot of good things." She then went on to recount a series of events indicative of the chief councillor's good qualities.

Negative gossip about others and positive gossip about oneself, when combined into a pattern, seem to be "atomistic" behaviour, indicative of individualization of interests and goals; positive gossip on behalf of others seems to indicate solidarity, or at least the commonality or congruence of interests. At North Coast, most people recounted stories in which they played the role of hero, but most also recounted stories in which the village itself, or some representative of it, was cast in that role. Stories of athletic victories, tales of the enthusiasm with which the band and choir were greeted in distant cities, and even sagas of battles won in the aboriginal past were told and re-told. Even people who were critical of some of the chief councillor's actions told with obvious
delight of how he had "stood up to" the I.A.B. officials during the timber contract dispute and resisted the blandishments of company executives. On one occasion a man and woman, extravagantly drunk, by force of sheer enthusiasm caused me to stand for an hour on the village wharf in a biting wind to watch the sunset, which, they claimed, was visible from North Coast Village as from no other place in the world.

If it could be properly quantified, the ratio of this kind of impression management to negative and personally-enhancing gossip would provide an index of atomism versus integration. More important, perhaps, since integration is seen here not as unitary and absolute but as variable and composed of many strands, a careful analysis of the content of gossip and information management could provide a measure of the kinds and extent of integration or solidarity present in a population.

Thus far, I have considered gossip as impression management designed to influence transactions by enhancing the position of some persons, or detracting from the position of others. If it can have this effect—if an individual's chances of gaining satisfactions in transaction can be materially affected by it—then gossip or the threat of it can serve as a mechanism of "social control" by modifying an individual's behaviour directly through his fear of reduced satisfactions. Sometimes, it appears, this function of gossip may be consciously employed. At North Coast, I was present during a dispute between the resident nurse and a group of women. The nurse had told the wife of a sick man to take him to the hospital in Harbour City on the scheduled sea-plane flight, but they had missed it and were asking her to send for a charter aircraft. She refused. A group of women gathered to argue the point—the man's wife, mother, mother-in-law, and others—but the nurse was adamant. As it
became apparent that she would not give in, the sick man's mother, on the edge of the group, said in a voice loud enough for the nurse to overhear, "Who does she think she is? We ought to get together and start talking about this nurse." Mrs. Peters's promise to the men of the village that she would "not say anything against them" if they got drunk after the Lieutenant Governor's visit seems to be another example of the possibilities of the threat of gossip directly to influence behaviour.

However, when Gluckman and others write of gossip "expressing the values of the group", they are referring not to this probably rare kind of intentional action, but to a largely unconscious social process. Presumably, in an ideal-typical society, one could expect congruence between the content of gossip and group values. Deviance from group norms would occasion gossip, and the threat of gossip would act as a sanction to reduce the incidence of "bad" behaviour and to reinforce the norms. That is, where value consensus is high, gossip could be expected to enhance the unity of the group. However, as Paine asserts, the unity of the group is not what gossip is about:

It is the individual and not the community that gossips. What he gossips about are his own and others' aspirations, and only indirectly the values of the community (1967:281).

Thus, where the situational factors of deprivation and limited access to avenues of personal gratification apply, the social consequences of gossip may bear little relation to the values held by members of the group. The fact that a population is "atomized" or disunited, and that gossip appears to contribute to this condition, cannot be taken as evidence that its members want it to be that way. Indian Affairs officials, community development workers, clergymen, and others who have contact with Indian
bands have expressed to me the opinion that "progressive" individuals on reserves are often "held back" by fellow band members. As soon as someone tries to "get ahead", they say, others gossip about him and put pressure on him "to keep him down to their level", and this is taken as evidence that people in general on the reserve "do not want change". It could, however, be interpreted as discontinuity between individuals' "values" and their realistic assessment of the possibility of attaining satisfactions.

At North Coast, for example, there seemed to be a high degree of community feeling at the most abstract level of the ideal model; a feeling that the village had been a good and important place in the past, still possessed some of those qualities, and had the potential to be that way again. At a more specific level of the ideal model, there was disagreement over whether the potential could be realized through a strengthening of the aboriginal kinship-political structure, through a return to the theocracy of the recent past, through economic development, and so on. At the level of the concrete model, people assessed others as "old fashioned", "not interested", or "selfish" and made various judgments about the effects of the behaviour of government officials and others.

It must be assumed that they made their own choices of behaviour in terms of their assessment of the likelihood of attaining their various goals. Although North Coast seemed to have the most clearly defined feeling of identity and community, I found no reason to doubt that the people at North Prairie or Shield Lake held as an ideal something similar to a functionalist model of society. Almost universally, people deplored "lack of cooperation" and felt that "things could be good here if only...".

In short, peoples' actions can be taken as evidence, not of their
total range of values, but only of their assessment of their present circumstances. The premature referral of observed behaviour to an over-arching "value system" or "cognitive orientation" may obscure or impede investigation of social processes. The best model for this kind of investigation is the one with the fewest assumptions, and in my opinion the "atomistic" behaviour observed in the three populations is explained more economically in terms of transaction and impression management than in terms of social structures and attitudes.

5. The Quality of Life

In the opening chapters of this thesis I have used the phrase "quality of life" in two somewhat different ways. On the one hand, I have used it to refer to an impression of an over-all "style" characteristic of a population. Here, however, I intend to use it more specifically to refer to qualitative judgment of the life lived by members of the population. The standards of judgment should be those of the people themselves; analytically, statements about the quality of life in a population refer to the extent to which the wants of its members are fulfilled within the context of the systems represented in it.

The reserve populations are envisaged and administered as collectivities, as units like the ideal definitions of society and community within which people should be able to pursue goals and gain satisfactions; yet in all three there was considerable evidence of unsatisfied individual wants. It may be assumed, of course, that all people have desires that are unsatisfied and goals that are not fulfilled, but at all three bands there seemed to be a pervasive, shared feeling that things should be better, although individuals might differ in their images
of what that better state might be and in their views of how it might be attained. The benefits and satisfactions of life in these reserve populations fell short, not of abstract and potentially limitless desires, but of what people believed they could and should be.

The experience of this kind of dissatisfaction Aberle has conceptualized as relative deprivation, defined as "a negative discrepancy between legitimate expectation and actuality, or between legitimate expectation and anticipated actuality, or both" (1966:323). Anything an individual or a group uses as a standard of legitimate expectation is a reference point (1966:323) and the total of an individual's reference points is his reference field (1966:324). For heuristic purposes, Aberle has offered a classification of types of relative deprivation, specifying the areas of possessions, status, behaviour, and worth (1966:326), and has given the concept a much fuller exposition. I shall not attempt to apply his classification in detail, but merely to consider the three Indian Reserve populations in the light of the concept.

From the band descriptions, it seems apparent that most of the members of each of the three populations experienced some feeling of deprivation in the area of possessions. It may be assumed that the successful farmers at North Prairie, the timber-contractors and steadily-employed workers at Shield Lake, and the most successful fishermen at North Coast did not experience much of it, since their achievements in this area were at least equal to those of most of their counterparts in neighbouring populations. For the rest, income levels are demonstrably and considerably below averages for the larger areas within which they live, and the people gave evidence of experiencing deprivation in access to such things as housing and services. The reference field within which
comparisons are made includes nearby non-Indians, more successful fellow band members, and the ideal standards represented in moving pictures, television, or other media of communication, either incidentally or, as in advertising, directly.

Deprivation of status—or, to avoid confusion, of statuses—seemed to exist at North Prairie and Shield Lake in respect to employment. Men complained that they could not get "good" jobs, a description that includes not only remuneration but also the esteem of others. Resentment of some of the seasonal labour available may have stemmed as much from a low evaluation of the jobs themselves as from low wages. At North Coast, status deprivation in employment seemed to be slight. Men took pride in being fishermen, and those who had turned to longshoring took pride in their occupation and their union. Other kinds of status deprivation existed, however. For example, some of the traditional chiefs and others oriented to the traditional kinship-political system deplored its declining influence in band affairs.

If the concept of status as a position in a systematic arrangement can be extended from the individual to the reserve population as a collectivity, another kind of deprivation was experienced in all three, for individuals expressed dissatisfaction with the position of the band as compared to other population aggregates. At North Coast, councillors and others were resentful of the fact that a non-Indian town in the district with a smaller population than the village had a resident detachment of Royal Canadian Mounted Police, while the village had none. People there also made some effort to apply to the village the terminology of non-Indian municipalities, calling the chief councillor the "mayor", the councillors "aldermen", and the new council chambers the "town hall".
This, of course, could be related to a desire to reserve the English word "chief" for hereditary positions in the traditional system. At Shield Lake, the efforts of the chief councillor to be included in inter-municipal meetings with elected officials of nearby municipalities could be seen as an effort to make the reserve population more nearly comparable to non-Indian towns and villages.

In Aberle's classification, "If an individual, category, or group considers his (its) behavior to be 'worse than it should be', then deprivation in the area of behavior exists" (1966:327). In all three populations, feelings of such deprivation were evident in a variety of contexts. At North Prairie, the successful and marginally successful farmers were embarrassed by what they saw as the laziness and lack of ambition of the majority of reserve residents, using as reference points an ideal of the behaviour of non-Indians and of band members in the past. At North Coast, many people deplored what they considered to be the decline of morality in the village, as evidenced in drunkenness, violence, and marital strife; again, the reference points were ideal non-Indian behaviour as presented by the clergy, and their view of the Village's own recent past. People at Fish Lake and North Prairie were distressed by what they perceived as their own population's inability to "organize" and "cooperate", each using the other as a reference point. Indeed, in all three bands the feeling was widespread that cooperation and unity were lacking, and had been greater in the past or were greater in some other place.

At one of the Fraser Valley bands, the wife of an ex-chief councillor put her feelings of deprivation in the area of behaviour into direct and pointed words:
Our people have to learn how to live. Some of them still don't know how to ... [here she gave an embarrassed laugh] ... how to live like White people, you might say. They need to be taught.

Also at one of the Fraser Valley bands, I had tea with a man who directed his daughter in serving it with gestures and muttered instructions.

After she had left the room, he said,

I want these children to learn how to do things—how to get along in the world. They don't see enough of how other people [Whites?] act. They don't know how to act.

These examples are the more telling when it is recalled that these bands are very small units in close proximity to centres of non-Indian population both large and small. At North Coast Village, an elderly woman told me that her nephew had found his son carving a totem pole as part of an art project at school. She said that he had told the boy, "You just take that out in the woodshed and chop it up. I send you to school to learn reading and writing, not to carve poles."

In Aberle's classification, relative deprivation in the area of behaviour can be given another kind of expression:

Sometimes... instead of negative evaluation of the behavior of one's own group there is defensive insistence on the rightness of its behavior in the face of known, or imagined opposition (1966:327).

At North Coast and to a lesser extent at North Prairie I noted what may be thought of as a variation of this. Rather than a defensive insistence on the rightness of the behavior of members of the group, whether as presently assessed or as reported for the past, there was an attempt to identify such behavior with analogous behavior in the Euro-American tradition. Some people at North Coast extolled the virtues of the aboriginal clan system, identifying it with Euro-American virtues of
family solidarity and support, and minimizing the "strangeness" of matrilineal descent by arguing that Whites, too, can inherit wealth and position from their mothers' kin. With reference to food, two kinds of defensive reaction were evidenced simultaneously by some informants. On the one hand they argued for the nutritional superiority of aboriginal foods over manufactured and processed ones, saying that in the old days Tsimshian people were bigger, healthier, and stronger than they are today; the same people made an effort to identify "Indian" foods with "White" foods, comparing seaweed with spinach and oolichan grease with liquid shortening. These could be interpreted as attempts to minimize feelings of relative deprivation by minimizing the differences between the behaviour of one's own group and that of a reference group whose opinion is important.

Some people in all bands gave expression to feelings of deprivation in the area of worth, complaining that they were discriminated against and "looked down upon" by neighbouring Whites. For my present purposes, however, it is not necessary to try to keep the categories separate. The main point to be made is that most people in the three populations did experience feelings of distress that seem to fit the definition of relative deprivation, and that the various deprivations they felt were linked in various ways in their conscious models and in their direct experience. For example, I received the impression that even some of the most successful people in the three bands felt a measure of deprivation of worth because of the real or imagined attitudes of some non-Indians, but were inclined to think that the negative evaluation could be changed if other band members behaved differently. At Shield Lake, some people appeared to believe that a negative evaluation of Indians (deprivation of worth) caused employers in Pulp City and Mine City to deny jobs to
reserve residents (deprivation of statuses) which in turn led to low incomes (deprivation of possessions). They also seemed to believe that this negative evaluation on Indians might change if the behaviour of their fellow band members were closer to ideals associated with Whites (deprivation of behaviour).

In short, it is my impression that for a great many—probably most—of the members of the populations studied, there was a discrepancy between ideal and concrete models and a feeling that they were gaining less than they should from the social relationships in which they were engaged. However, there seem to be few avenues through which action could be taken to reduce these feelings for the populations at large, and since deprivation is felt by individuals, it seems likely to lead to individual rather than group action. The man and wife at North Prairie who were satisfied with their experiences in the sugar beet fields and pleased that the farmer had regarded them as "not like other Indians" were in this one context reducing their feelings of deprivation in the areas of worth, behaviour, and possessions. However, by providing an example to which non-Indians could refer, they were probably adding to the field within which some of their fellow reserve residents felt deprived. Also at North Prairie, it appears that the successful farmers, by achieving for themselves a state of "low deprivation" created conditions that led to feelings of greater deprivation for many of their fellows.

C. Summary

The discussion in this chapter has demonstrated some of the ways in which the conceptual framework I propose can be employed. It has been possible to characterize the position of the three Indian Reserve
populations in relation to populations and systems of the larger society, and to analyze events and behaviour within them by means of an economical set of concepts and assumptions. By taking account of situational factors, the same framework is adequate to account for activity that might be thought of as "integrative" as well as activity that might be labelled "atomistic". None of the populations is easier to deal with because it approaches closer than the other to an ideal type, nor must any be rejected as artificial; the framework may be applied consistently to all three in spite of their differences.
CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSION

Briefly summarized, the conceptual scheme presented here visualizes population aggregates as clusters of individuals held in proximity to one another by the operation of systems of relationship. Within these contexts, people pursue their wants, engaging in a complex and continuous series of transactions for valued goods and services, making their choices of action on the basis of their models of the world, both "as it is" and as they would like it to be. Events can be economically explained within the terms of the scheme, and patterns of events may be discerned. As an observer's model, it is particularly suitable for the study of population aggregates within a larger polity, for it avoids some of the limiting assumptions of the functionalist concepts of society or community while still allowing a holistic approach to the social life of a bounded unit, and it allows the observer to apply a consistent method of analysis to population aggregates of a wide variety of types and sizes. Within the conceptual framework no population aggregate is "artificial" or "disorganized" by comparison to a theoretical ideal type, and therefore less amenable to analysis; all are seen equally as the result of the operation of specified processes. The model does not preclude the investigation of cultural and sub-cultural entities, but neither does it assign to either of them logical and conceptual pre-eminence. Rather, cultural variation among populations is revealed and delineated throughout the process of investigation.
The object of creating such a framework was to arrive at a model that would allow for comparisons from one unit of analysis to another, and account for the events, behaviour, and the general quality of life experienced by the people making up any given unit. The model developed here seems to have the potential for achieving these purposes. Populations may be compared with one another on the basis of the number and nature of the relational systems that maintain them in existence, and the sorts of interconnections among those systems. Some populations may depend upon a single, pervasive system. Company towns, for example, are deliberately planned and created with reference to some economic activity; members are recruited and held in the population and the company simultaneously. Other populations, probably including most towns and cities, may be visualized as maintained by complexes of separable yet interconnected systems such as industries, service and entertainment facilities, and governments. It is even possible to envisage populations in which segments are held in conjunction by separate and minimally-related systems, although it is difficult to think of concrete examples that fit this description.

Populations may be compared with reference to the constraints and incentives that lead individuals to remain in them or join them, and with reference to the differential application of these to different individuals. Some populations may be found to be composed mainly of people who wish to be where they are; others of people who are unable to be anywhere else. Comparisons may also be made of the extent to which systems of relationship are contained within population boundaries, and of the location of power to set the terms of transactions. Although measurement could probably never be precise, such comparisons might
provide the basis for scales of structuring or autonomy upon which populations could be located with reference to the polar ideal types of the self-contained, self-sufficient society, and the structureless collection.

When the particular concatenation of systems represented in a population has been delineated and their interconnections explored, analysis in terms of choice-making and transaction allows the explanation of a broad range of individual behaviour without the necessity of constructing elaborate and hypothetical catalogues of norms to parallel that behaviour. The analysis may be directed, not toward the workings of the systems as ideal models, but toward the total transactional life of the individual or the population. With this perspective, recorded and observed events may be analysed and explained as the conjunction of an array of individual choices or action, and the outcome of these choices may be seen as forming part of the set of conditions within which further choices are made.

Much of this kind of comparison and analysis has been presented above for the three Indian Reserve populations. The members of each occupy statuses in the bureaucratic system of the Indian Affairs Branch, but apart from this there is considerable difference among the three in the sorts of systems represented within them. At North Coast Village, a great many systems of relationship are contained within the population, some of them, like the two athletic clubs, encompassing every member; Shield Lake has far fewer systems contained within population boundaries, and North Prairie practically none. However, in all three populations the systems within which people gain satisfaction of material wants are ones that extend far beyond the population boundaries—the fishing,
logging and agricultural industries and the Indian Affairs Branch itself. It is in this sense that the populations may be said to be integrated into the larger polity.

Most individuals within them, however, appear to have no realistic alternatives to remaining where they are. Some people have left each population to live elsewhere, attesting to the existence of incentives to relocate; most, however, although they may be dissatisfied with the level of their achievement of material goals, could hold no expectation of significantly increased satisfactions in another place. These conditions, of course, could change if job opportunities became greater at some other place, or even if welfare benefits somewhere else provided the likelihood of greater satisfaction than is available on the reserves. A few individuals in each population are achieving material satisfactions equal to or greater than those of their non-Indian counterparts. The successful North Prairie farmers and the timber contractors at Shield Lake are in this position because of the particular positions they hold within the populations, and are thus apparently provided with strong incentive to stay where they are. If the band enterprises at Shield Lake and North Coast Village should ever provide steady employment to band members, these band members would be in a similar position. The people at Shield Lake who are steadily employed in off-reserve industry gain some advantage from continued residence on the reserve in the form of freedom from some taxes and (until recently) annual per capita distribution payments, but their avowed desire to split the band and the reserve in two is indicative of a great discrepancy between their reasons for remaining and those of the other residents.

In each of the three populations, most of the people have little
power to set the terms of the transactions for material goods and services in which they are engaged. They have few choices of employment and there is no competition for their labour. Rates of welfare payment are established by bodies over which they have little or no influence. The Indian Affairs personnel in Agency offices can manipulate incentives and constraints upon band members to a considerable degree, but band members can exert small pressure upon the Agency officials.

Each population, therefore, appears to be maintained in a large measure by a single, pervasive, bureaucratic system which defines the relationship of individuals to one another and to collectively-owned resources. Most members of each occupy few statuses in other systems of relationship, and their statuses as Indians and band members may take precedence over other statuses, as, for example, when employers approach the Indian Affairs Branch or the council to recruit employees. It is in this sense that these populations, although integrated into the larger polity, may be said to be structurally isolated. For people like the successful farmers at North Prairie and the timber contractors at Shield Lake, success is achieved primarily through statuses in this pervasive system; for the unsuccessful majority, the concatenation of systems creates conditions which make it difficult for them to either achieve success within the population or to relocate themselves in other populations. At North Coast, an avenue toward success not dependent upon band resources is provided by the fishing industry, but the special historical relationships of the fishermen to the cannery companies combined with the difficulty of generating capital makes a high level of material success difficult to achieve. The newly-developing exploitation of band resources at the village was beginning to show patterns similar
to those described for the other two populations.

In short, these three populations, in spite of differences in location, in internal organization, in economic activities pursued, and in cultural background, share many formal features by virtue of their position as Indian Reserve populations. Some of the consequences of these formal features for life in the populations have also been explored above. Events as different as the band vote for a per capita distribution at North Prairie, the attempted impeachment of the chief councillor at Shield Lake, and the unanimous band support of the council's action with regard to the timber contract at North Coast, can all be seen to be explainable in similar terms. The endemic quarrelling and gossiping, the formation of politico-economic power groups, and the feelings of dissatisfaction and deprivation can all be seen as flowing from the particular concatenation of systems represented in these three populations.

There is considerable evidence that neither the band members on the reserves nor the Indian Affairs administrators are satisfied with the situation. The operation of the populations and the achievement of satisfactions within them fall short of an ideal that seems to bear many resemblances to the functionalists' ideal type of society or community. The statement of the man in the Fraser Valley that "we never act on anything but our own problems" could also be applied, with allowances for rhetorical hyperbole, to North Prairie, North Coast, and Shield Lake, and could be interpreted to mean that there have been few occasions in the recent history of these populations in which individuals' goals and wants, and their assessments of ways of achieving them, have led to collective rather than individual action. It may be, however, that such action is no less frequent among Indian Reserve populations than among
populations that come closer to fitting the definitions of society, for even the functionalist model does not call for conscious, collective action by a population. Characterized in terms of transaction and choice-making, the functionalist society is a population aggregate organized by a concatenation of systems within which people pursuing their own goals as individuals and groups create conditions which make possible a reasonable level of goal achievement for all or most of the population. The people acting within it did not create it, and their actions are not necessarily directed consciously toward the goal of maintaining it except in extraordinary circumstances.

If the collective ownership of resources and the structural isolation of the Indian Reserve populations remain unchanged, it would seem that such a functioning, society-like concatenation of systems could come about only by being deliberately created. That is, for the ideal to be achieved, collective action is required. However, much of the argument above points to the conclusion that such action is likely only when the participating individuals act on the expectation of an increase in satisfactions or a reduction of feelings of deprivation. Most development projects seem to require individuals to forego present satisfactions or put aside present wants in favour of long-term, collective goals, and there has been little in the experience of most of the people to lead them to see this as a desirable way of acting. Projects tapping the limited stock of common good are likely to meet opposition if they appear to provide more benefits for some band members than for others.

The clearest examples of collective action in the descriptions above are in situations in which the individual interests of the actors
coincided, and could be furthered by concerted behaviour. The building of the church and the celebration of the Lieutenant Governor's visit at North Coast were occasions on which band members could, by acting together, reduce or avoid the negative evaluation of non-Indians; the band's reversal of the Indian Affairs Branch decision on the timber contract was protective of collectively-owned resources. At North Prairie, a large majority of band members knowingly incurred the annoyance of councillors and Indian Affairs Branch personnel to gain some small material satisfaction when they voted for a per capita distribution of oil-lease money; they may also, of course, have gained some satisfaction from the experience of exercising power. At Shield Lake, the timber contractors and the supporters of the land-lease scheme were able to cooperate on the council, since both were receiving benefit, and probably neither group could have pursued its own goals successfully without the other. The steadily-employed East Enders opposed council policies not because of a deep-seated aversion to development, but because these policies promised them little benefit, and they defined them as shortsighted and depleting of potentially valuable resources that might bring greater rewards in the future.

If the analysis is valid, it suggests that where feelings of deprivation are high, there is motivation for action, but action involving deferment of satisfactions in favour of long-term collective goals is less likely. Where deprivation feelings are low, the possibility for collective action oriented to long-range goals should be greater, but the motivation to undertake such action correspondingly less. Thus, it leads to a conclusion that may be of use to those Indians who wish to embark upon programmes designed to enhance the satisfactions of life in
Indian Reserve populations. That is, that the present concatenation of systems represented in many Indian band populations favours "atomistic", competitive behaviour with respect to limited, collectively-owned resources, and creates conditions in which a majority of band members continue to experience a high degree of relative deprivation, while only a few arrive at a condition in which feelings of deprivation are low. For people in the former category, the most successful programmes for collective action should be those that promise an immediate return for the individuals involved, but individuals who are in this category and not involved in the programme may be expected to provide opposition. Such programmes may also be opposed by people in the low-deprivation category, for they may see them as threatening to their own present or future satisfactions.

This conceptual scheme answers some of the problems raised in the first chapter of the thesis. It provides a framework within which the "common sense" units of population aggregate within a larger polity may be characterized and analysed, and events within them explained. Although it sets up no ideal types, it is a structural model, and the assumptions about transaction and choice-making provide the basis upon which the outcome of modifications in the structure of given populations may be predicted. It has been developed and exemplified here with reference to populations of Canadian Indians living on reserves, but it seems to be capable of application to a wide variety of other sorts of population aggregate, and to provide a useful alternative to functionalist and other structural models.
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