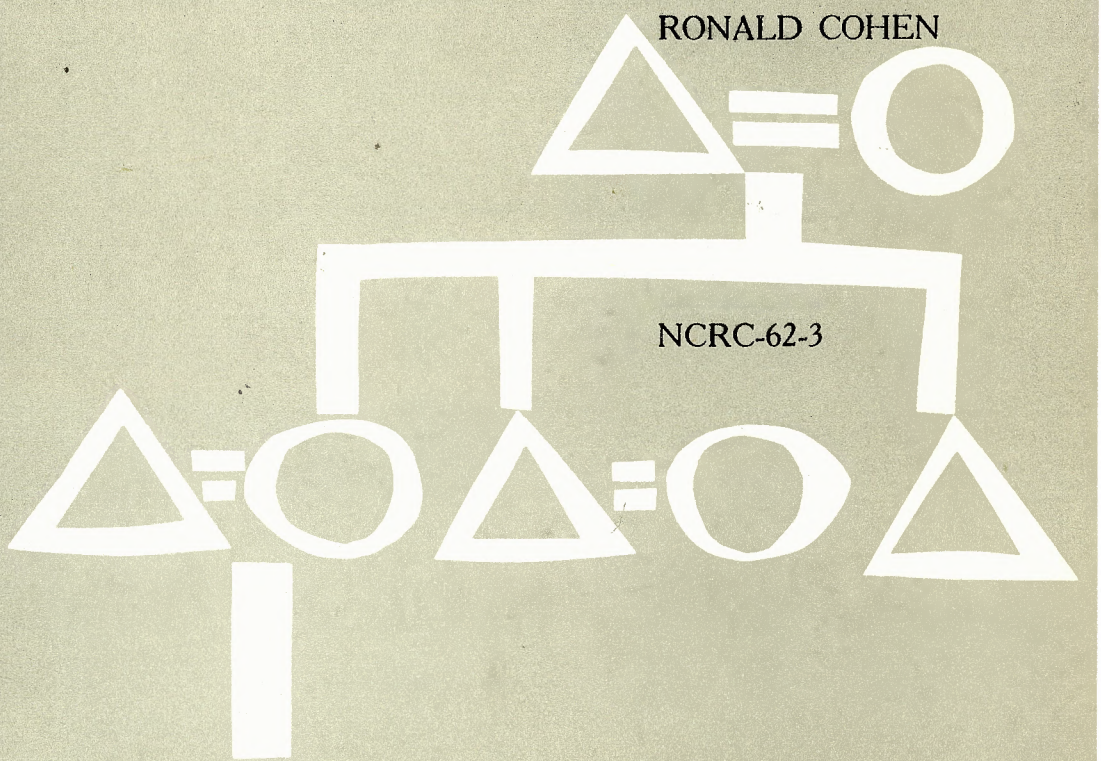
AN ANTHROPOLOGICAL SURVEY OF COMMUNITIES IN THE MACKENZIE-SLAVE LAKE REGION OF CANADA

RONALD COHEN



NCRC-62-3

AN ANTHROPOLOGICAL SURVEY OF COMMUNITIES IN THE MACKENZIE-SLAVE LAKE REGION OF CANADA

by

Ronald Cohen

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Northern Co-ordination and Research Centre,
Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources,
Ottawa.

June, 1962.

PREFACE

This report is the product of contacts and cooperation with a very large number of people and agencies. The writer would like to express his appreciation and indebtedness for the scholarly advice of Dr. James W. VanStone whose knowledge and experience of the north have made the author feel much less of an amateur in the area than he really is. Financial support for the field work has come from the Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources of the Canadian Government, and the writer is indebted to Mr. V. Valentine for the cooperation and kindness that this agency has extended to both Dr. VanStone and himself. The Indian Affairs Branch, Department of Citizenship and Immigration, has been most helpful in supplying useful statistical records from their Ottawa office.

The writer feels an obligation to scores of people and many agencies both public and private in the Mackenzie District. Private persons and representatives of agencies who suffered the endless questions of the anthropologist, and still extended their hospitality, are too many to mention. Indeed, to name them all would be a formidable task, and the fear of leaving someone out makes the author feel an obligation to express his profound gratitude to all those residents of the region who turned an interesting summer into a warm and friendly one.

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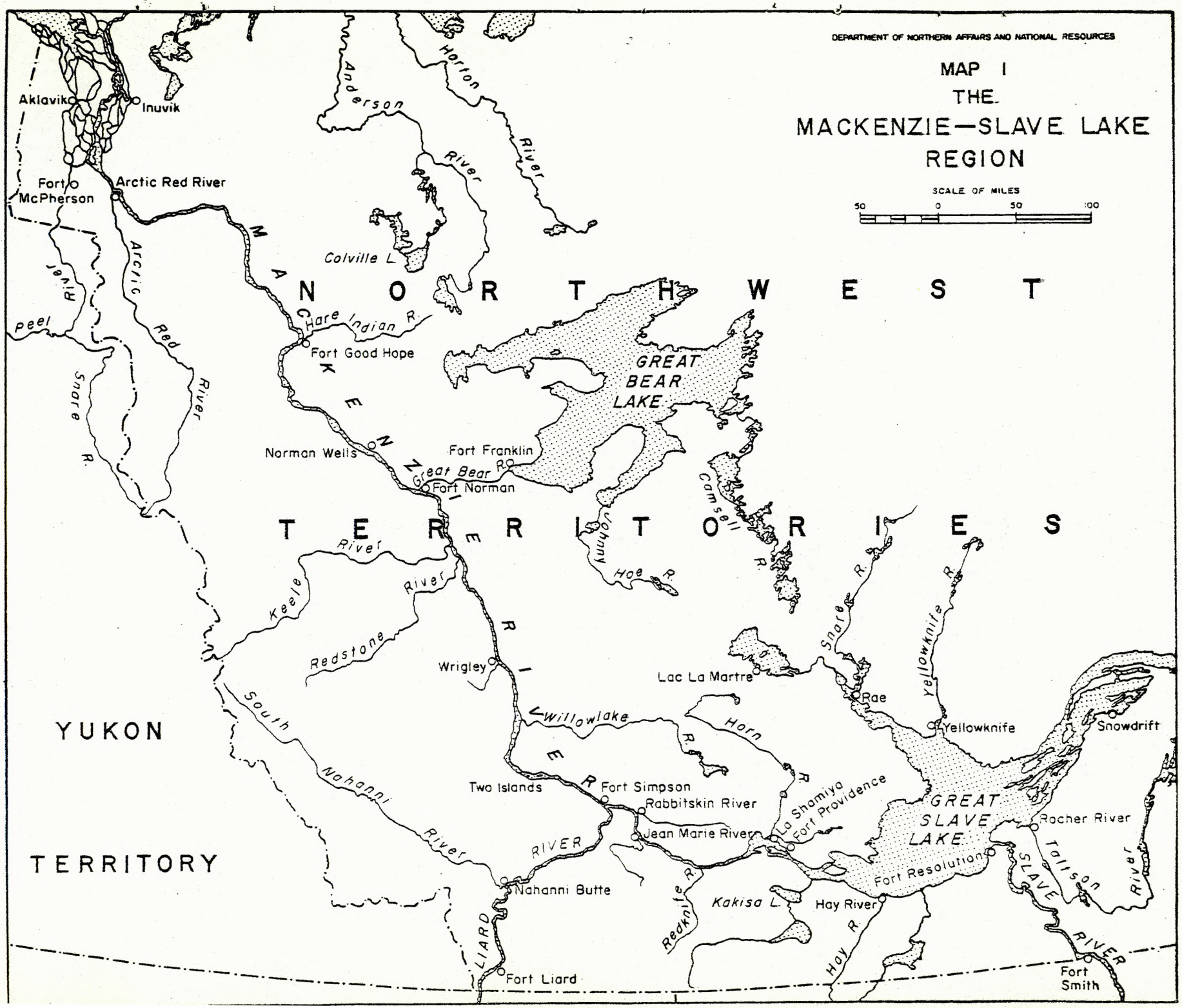
DEPARTMENT OF NORTHERN AFFAIRS AND NATIONAL RESOURCES
MAP I
THE
MACKENZIE—SLAVE LAKE
REGION
SCALE OF MILES
50 0 50 100
Aklavik
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Two Islands
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Rabbitskin River
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GREAT SLAVE LAKE
Rocher River
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Tallson River
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Hay R.
LIARD RIVER
Fort Liard
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INTRODUCTION

This report is designed to serve as a preliminary survey of the social and economic conditions of the Mackenzie-Slave Lake region of the Northwest Territories of Canada. It is hoped that the material presented here, and the conclusions reached, may serve as a basis for a more intensive and detailed study of this region, and that research may continue so that a comprehensive picture of its human potentialities may emerge within the next few years.

During the course of field work in the summer of 1960, the following places were visited for the indicated lengths of time:

Places and Dates	Total days
Yellowknife, June 15-17, July 17-18	4
Fort Providence, June 17-26	9
Mission boat, June 26-29	3
Hay River, June 29, July 12-14	3
Fort Simpson, June 29-July 12	14
Lac le Martre, July 14-17	3
Fort Smith, July 18-20	2
Fort Norman, July 20-August 3	14
Fort Good Hope, August 3-16	13
Aklavik, August 16-20	4
Fort McPherson, August	7
Inuvik, August 27-September 1	4

Even a cursory glance at the field work time-table indicates that longer periods were spent in forts as opposed to the larger centres such as Yellowknife or Hay River. This is due primarily to the fact that the writer used methods which were less applicable to larger as compared to smaller settlements. This fact should be kept in mind when evaluating the material presented in the body of the report.

The basic method used was that of observation, with the addition of some direct participation in local life and some interviewing. The writer established contacts with Euro-Canadians, Indians and Métis in all communities where this was possible. It was difficult to do so in the urban centres where time was limited. Euro-Canadian contacts resulted from the fact that the writer was staying in the teacherage in each settlement, although attempts were made to talk to as many of the representatives of outside agencies as possible. Sometimes this was arranged informally as a result of invitations given to the writer to come to their homes, sometimes more formally, by asking for an interview. In the latter case a notebook was used in the presence of the person. For Euro-Canadians it did not (surprisingly) seem to make too much difference whether the interview was conducted formally or informally in terms of the information elicited. However this may be due to the fact that formal interviews were allowed to stretch on for as long as the informant wished, and the notebook was used only for gross statements of policy and statistics. In all cases, but one, Euro-Canadians were very cooperative, and quite willing to discuss any topic, except the bureaucratic workings of their own agencies. In the latter case, some data were collected through informal chats, but the sampling of such agencies is sketchy.

Various techniques for data gathering were employed in working with the Indians and Métis.[1] At the very beginning of the trip a rough interview schedule was worked out in cooperation with an interpreter, and administered to six household heads. The interpreter was able to give advice on the kinds of questions that might give offence. Thus, he accepted questions about church attendance, but after the first interview he suggested that questions about confession be deleted because such talk had given offence to the informant who felt that he was being admonished to attend confession more often. This interviewing was continued in every fort with numbers varying between four and eight household heads per town. Attempted interviews were somewhat greater in number, but friendly relations were always considered more important than numbers of people interviewed so that resistance to questions always led to the use of more informal techniques. These latter included going to Indian and Métis homes and talking about anything that seemed to interest the informant, or just observing the daily life.

The writer found that a role was defined for him which stemmed partly from his own statements about himself and the interpretation placed on his remarks by others. The statement was always made that work was being carried out for the Department of Northern Affairs concerning the way of life of the people, and that in the winter the writer was a professor or teacher. This led invariably to an assessment of the writer as an investigator or troubleshooter who had come to

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[1] In census enumerations, Métis are usually included under "Whites".

discover injustice and list complaints. People were always ready to come forward with long series of real or imagined ills and comment on the way in which Government could redress these.

Other methods used were evening visits to drink home-made brew and trips on the river to visit camps. Although the Indians are not easy to contact, the writer feels that their oft-referred to mistrust and laconic conversational qualities have been over-stated in both the anthropological literature and by local Euro-Canadians. In one (Osgoode 1932 v. 14) fort an att empt was made to expand the sample of interviews by purposely moving from house to house. Whether this was the direct reason or not, certainly friendly relations in this town were more strained than in any other. The writer is now convinced that traditional methods of participant observation carried on in a permissive manner are the least threatening, and will in the long run bring in the truest and richest picture of social life in these small settlements. On the other hand, attempting to get answers to the innumerable anthropologists, often brings answers like the following; "I don't know, " or "It all depends, " or "It's up to you (or him), " and so on.

Several terms have been adopted and are used consistently throughout the entire report. "White" refers to Canadians or others who are originally of European ancestry. "Non-Whites" refers to Indians and to Métis, or to those who consider themselves to belong to either of these groups.[1] These terms are adopted rather than Indian and non-Indian, because this latter terminology groups Métis with Euro-Canadians by connotation, and the writer believes that the reverse is true for this region. The term "region" is used to describe the entire Mackenzie District, while the term "area" is more circumscribed in context.

Basic assumptions underlying the methods and data stem from the writer's understanding of Government policy and from his own particular viewpoint as an anthropologist. It is assumed that the Canadian Government wishes to develop the North and to raise standards of living and education in the region as a whole, as well as to bring about the greater participation by all residents in their local government. The Deputy Minister of Northern Affairs and National Resources is reported to have said that development of the region is feasible and advisable, and that

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[1] In the Mackenzie delta, Eskimos are included under "Non-Whites, " and, because of the limited time spent in Aklavik-Inuvik, no attempt has been made to distinguish this ethnic group from the Indians living in this area.

> "We hope in a few years to see a region where race lines are unknown and where the North will be run by its own people, standing on their own feet and doing the job better than we from the South could do it." (Toronto Globe and Mail, Feb. 18, 1961)

The writer also assumes that a programme of research which is designed to elicit information to aid such a Government policy as that outlined above should not concentrate all its efforts on any one ethnic group in particular, but should view the population of the region as a whole, albeit a segmented whole.

Most of the Mackenzie-Slave Lake region is formed from a northern extension of the broad geosyncline or downfold of southern Canada, flanked on the west by mountains, and on the east by the Canadian shield. With the exception of the more northerly portions, the region is predominantly flat, and the forest cover is comparable from Slave Lake to Aklavik. Coniferous trees prevail, and among them white spruce is dominant with generous mixtures of aspen, balsam, poplar, Alaska white birch, and some jack pine. On some of the better drained land there are stands of balsam poplar, while the more poorly drained areas support shallow black spruce and tamarack swamps, as well as large open areas of willow scrub and wild hay. (Dawson 1947: 46)

The important animals of the region are the western moose, the barren ground and the mountain caribou, muskrat, beaver, porcupine, hare, lynx, red fox, cross fox, marten, ermine, mink, and squirrel.[1] The region provides a variety of fish in the rivers and certain well known lakes, usually referred to as "fish lakes." These include whitefish, grayling, trout, northern pike, and inconnu. Birds are not taken often but occasionally mallard, old squaw, and Canada goose are shot as well as ptarmigan and spruce partridge.

The climate is characterized by long cold winters with snow on the ground from about October to April. Summers are short and

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1 See Dawson, (1947: 133-153) for an excellent regional analysis of the fur trade up to the early 1940's.

moderately warm with light amounts of precipitation. Mean temperatures from December to February range between -11°F. and -21°F., while the means for June to August are between 52°F. and 58°F.

The population of the Mackenzie District was recorded as 12, 492 in 1956 (Canada 1956), and the population growth can be seen from the following figures on the Northwest Territories as a whole:

1901	1911	1921	1931	1941	1951	1956
20, 129	6, 507	8, 143	9, 316	12, 028	16, 004	19, 313

Wherret (Source 1956 Census) has broken down the 1941 census material and estimated the numbers of people "living in, or adjacent to the settlements" of the Mackenzie District at that time. He calculates that there are (as of 1941) 841 Whites, 4, 090 Indians, about 280 Metis, and 379 Eskimo in the region. (Wherret in Dawson 1947: 230)

Aboriginally the cultures of the region can be classified into Eskimo on the northern coast, and to some extent in the Mackenzie Delta; an interior "Arctic drainage" culture of the Mackenzie-Slave Lake area, and the Kutchin who are a weak representative of the more complex and richer cultures of the Pacific drainage. The dominant (Osgoode 1936 v. 7: 21) aboriginal culture of the region was that of the Arctic drainage. This was a nomadic hunting and gathering group of bands with bilateral kinship, shamanism, and very little social organization beyond that of a loose affiliation of each family unit to a band. Marriage was probably matri-patrilocal with economic convenience overriding any considerations of tradition. Subsistence came from hunting and fishing supplemented by only minor amounts of gathering. Clothing was made from animal skins, and traits such as the toboggan, the snowshoe, the birch bark canoe, and conical tent houses diffused over from Siberia. [1]

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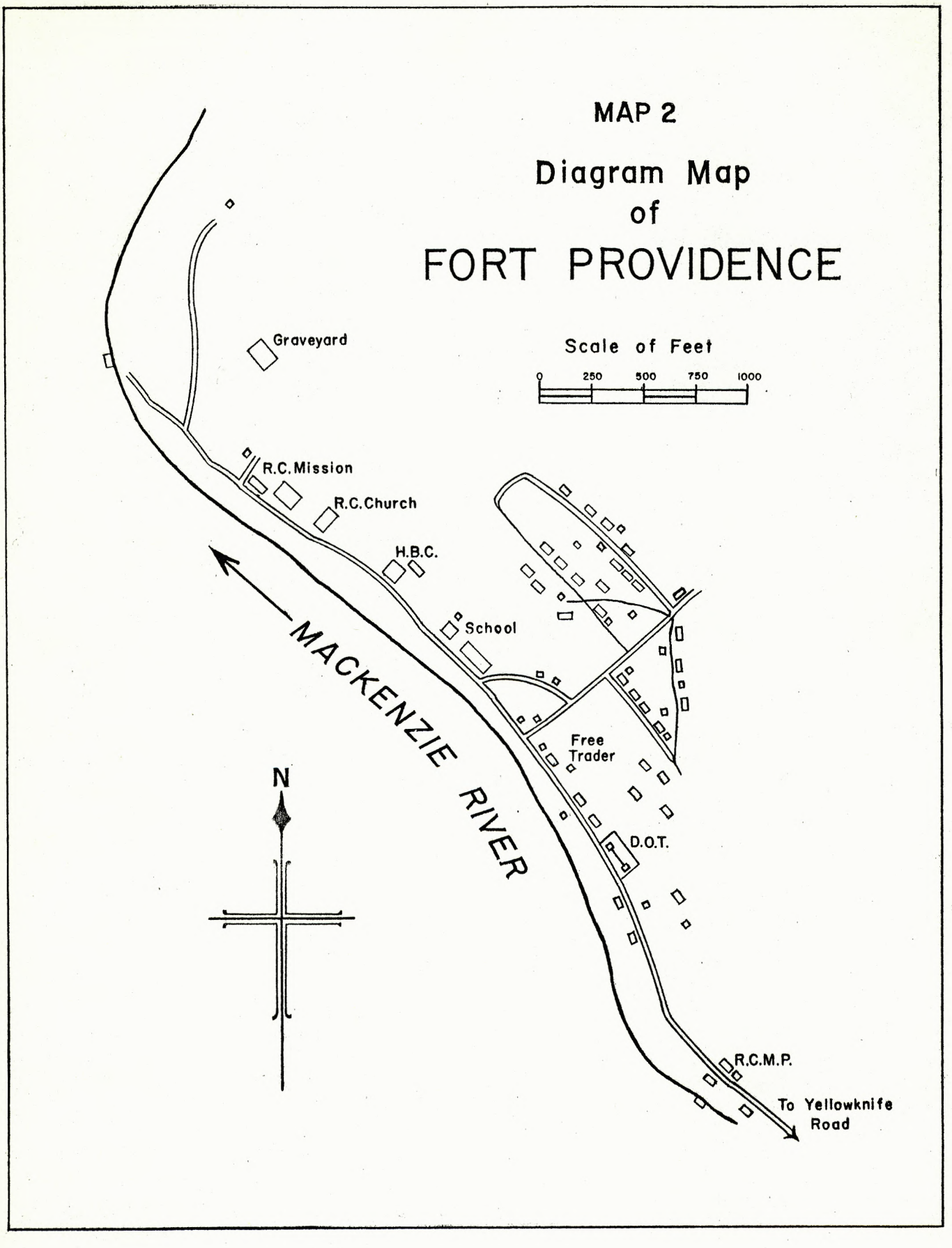
1 I am indebted to Dr. June Helm MacNeish for the ideas underlying the above statements on aboriginal social organization. Kroeber (1947: 101) comments on the Siberian origins of Athabascan traits.

Except for the slightly more acculturated character, and distinctive language of the Kutchin, the writer feels that today the Indian people of this region have more in common with one another than they have to distinguish them as separate bands or sub-cultures. Therefore for purposes of this report it is assumed that ethnic differences among Indians is of a much smaller order than the gross differences between Whites and non-Whites. Further investigations may prove that ethnic variations among Indiansis of crucial significance to an understanding of the contemporary communities of the region; however present indications are to the contrary.

The report is in three parts. The first chapter gives a brief description of the places visited for any length of time during the trip. Methods varied somewhat from place to place with the reception given to the writer by community members, and thus data are not always strictly comparable. However each fort is described in terms of its setting, population and settlement patterns, economic organization, social organization, and acculturation. The second chapter is a discussion and analysis of the data presented in the first. Material is also presented in this section which in the writer's opinion is essential, but which he feels should be kept anonymous as to person or place. The third chapter is a summary of the conclusions reached on the basis of a first, short, but interesting and instructive summer in the region.

CHAPTER I

THE SETTLEMENTS


MAP 2
Diagram Map
of
FORT PROVIDENCE
Scale of Feet
0 250 500 750 1000
Graveyard
R.C.Mission
R.C.Church
H.B.C.
School
MACKENZIE RIVER
Free
Trader
D.O.T.
R.C.M.P.
To Yellowknife
Road
N

THE SETTLEMENTS

For purposes of a brief description, each of the towns visited during the survey can be grouped into two categories. First the fort towns -- Providence, Simpson, Norman, Good Hope, and McPherson, and secondly, the larger centres -- Yellowknife, Hay River, Aklavik, and Inuvik.

The settlements are described as they were at the time of the writer's visit.

FORT PROVIDENCE

Setting

Fort Providence stretches for about one mile along the east shore of the Mackenzie and about 500 yards inland from the river atop a thirty to forty foot bank. As shown in the map, White settlement stretches along the river on a gravel road, while Indian and, to some extent, Metis dwellings form a rough semi-circle behind the riverside road. Streets are being laid out by the Indian Agent and the town, according to several informants, is slowly growing. At least eight new Indian houses can be seen, while the new federal day school and its gleaming teacherage give an impression of progress and modernity to an otherwise pioneer setting.

Communication with other settlements is maintained by water, air, road, and radio. The Department of Transport runs a wireless station in the settlement just as they do in most of the Mackenzie towns. Mail gets in and out regularly except during freeze-up and break-up while heavier materials move in by boat and in the winter by truck. There is an airstrip to the south of the town which is still used sporadically although there is no scheduled run into the settlement. During the summer however, two or three chartered float planes land each week at the settlement on private business. The road out of Fort Providence joins onto the Hay River-Yellowknife highway.[1] One Métis in town goes into Hay River by truck every week during the summer but he keeps his truck on the west side of the river.

Services provided by outside agencies are as follows: a Roman Catholic mission and Church, a Roman Catholic residence for school children, run by Grey Nuns (one of whom is a nurse who is also the public health nurse for the fort), a Hudson's Bay store, a federal day school, a Department of Transport station, an R.C.M.P. establishment, and a fire ranger station. All these establishments are provided with electricity and running water. Finally there is a force of approximately

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1 The Hay River-Yellowknife road was opened for traffic in the fall of 1960; a ferry across the Mackenzie is also in operation in the summer.

twenty to fifty men available for wage labour among the Indians and Métis, especially in the summer.

Housing in Fort Providence varies with ethnic identification. Whites live in relatively large, centrally heated multi-roomed dwellings comparable to middle class housing in southern Canada. The few Métis families live in log cabins which are generally speaking older than the Indian houses. Three of these houses have four rooms on the ground floor -- a sitting room, two bedrooms, and a kitchen at the back. There is also a loft above and a small cellar. Walls are log exterior; interiors are plyboard, gyprock, and cardboard cartons, or a combination of all these. Floors are plank or plyboard. Furnishing is bare, but there is always a table in the sitting room and in the kitchen, two have sofas, and one has a chesterfield chair of considerable antiquity. Indian housing is more varied. Some of the cabins have been put up with the aid of the Government. These are newer, with neatly milled window sashes and all-plyboard interiors. Furniture is made of left-over materials so that most of it is plyboard. The same kind of cabin built without Government aid is usually older, and can sometimes be distinguished by the use of cardboard, or gyprock, on the inside. The Government has built three pre-fabricated houses for elderly widows which are to be occupied in the winter of 1960-61. Finally there are a few families living in tents: this increases greatly at annual festivals such as treaty time or Christmas, when people living in the outlying settlements come into the settlement for a short time.

Population and Settlement Patterns

Counting wives and children there are about thirty Whites in Fort Providence, and five Métis families. The Indian population has to be viewed in a different way because of its mobility of the people. The Roman Catholic mission records given below are for the entire parish of Fort Providence, which includes all the Indians who are registered by birth, marriage and death at the Providence mission. The priest has also supplied figures on births and deaths from 1939 to 1959. When figures on births and deaths from 1939 to 1959 are analysed they give an annual net increase of births over deaths of 5.4 (S.D., 8.5). Although this mean has a wide variation from year to year, it is still reasonable to conclude that there is a slow but steady Indian emigration from the Fort Providence area, which roughly balances the natural increase in the population. This is indicated in Table 1 below in which the population

is seen to be fairly constant for the last twelve years.

Table 1

Indian Population of Fort Providence Parish

Year	Population
1948	303
1949	296
1950	296
1951	304
1952	303
1953	311
1954	315
1955	?
1956	326
1957	328
1959	313
1960	326

Whites in Fort Providence are sedentary for the term of their stay in the town, and their work and leisure time activities are for the most part connected with the social life of the settlement. They are, however, periodically mobile. Thus at Fort Providence this summer (1960) the parish priest moved to Fort Simpson, all three male teachers are not returning for the fall term, the Hudson's Bay clerk has been transferred to Inuvik, the junior telegraph operator has been replaced, and the junior R.C.M.P. constable has been moved to Fort Reliance.

Métis, like Whites, seem to be based primarily in the settlement. The free trader, Joe Bouvier, has lived and worked there for forty years. He feels that there have always been about five Métis families, and they have always done a little trapping, hunting, and fishing, while being the group most likely to take advantage of wage labour. Of the six steady jobs in town only one is filled by a Métis. Several of the men of the Métis families are away working in Yellowknife or on boats in the summer. There are no Métis men living in any of the outlying settlements of the parish.

An estimated forty to fifty Indian families use the settlement as a base camp. The men except for a few steady wage earners, trap, hunt, and fish, but always return to their more permanent cabins in the town

after short subsistence excursions to the bush are completed. Some of these families have moved in only recently, and the former cabin in the bush is used as a camp while the man, with or without his family, is out of the settlement. Informants in town report that, since the Government gives new housing only to settlement Indians, it is encouraging more people to come and settle in the town. On the other hand several people told the writer that they are staying in town only because their children are at school, and that they intend to return to the bush as soon as possible.

Another twenty to twenty-five families are spread out among the two major bush settlements, and several minor ones. The writer was told that there are ten to fifteen families at Kakisa Lake, six families at the mouth of Redknife River, and a few spread out near the mouth of Horn River and at La Shamiya (near the upstream end of Mills Lake, on the east shore). The Horn River and La Shamiya areas were uninhabited in mid-June, (1960). It is these in particular which informants referred to when speaking of returning, or not returning, to bush from the settlement. Residents at Kakisa Lake and the Redknife River are spoken of as the "Kakisa people" or the "Kakisa bunch", or the "Redknife people", or "Johnny Gargon's bunch" (referring to the band councillor from the Redknife group). People at the settlement speak of these two groups as units having both a geographic and a social identity.

Four families from Fort Providence were living in tents at a fish camp about five miles down river from town in mid-June. Several other families had gone across the river and set up smaller fish camps. But all were preparing to come to the settlement for treaty day, and did so before the end of June.

Economy

For a majority of the residents of Fort Providence, economic life centres around hunting, fishing and trapping, with wage labour providing an occasional source of income; a minority live on salaries. Exceptions to this generalization are the unpaid mission personnel and two entrepreneurs. A substantial part of the diet of Indians and Metis comes from the land itself, although everyone requires tea, sugar, flour and the ingredients of home-brew from the store as well as clothing and other imported necessities. There is little berry picking, and no local gardens besides that of the

mission, the Hudson's Bay manager, and one of the Métis. Cash incomes are derived from trapping, family allowance, occasional labour, with a few families benefiting from old age pensions. Welfare payments are the only stable source of cash income for non-salaried residents. The priest estimates that last winter's fur sales averaged about $150.00 per man, with a few getting as high as $500.00.

The following cases illustrate this local hunting-trapping economy more graphically:

Case #1

GM is thirty-nine years old, is married and has seven children, two of whom have gone to live in Hay River. His father's older brother's son has a young son who lives with GM here in town. He has lived in this house for two years. Before that time he lived down river at La Shamiya, but he wanted to come here to live so that he could be near his children who are in school.

GM has not worked for wages in the last five years. He feels that it would be good to work but would like to do it only part of the time, and trap and hunt the rest of the year. He reports that he got twenty-two mink last year, six lynx, no marten, nineteen beaver, and no muskrats (the latter were too low in price). He claims to have given away very little of the meat, and to have sold none. He has a net in the river in spring and summer, and gets about six fish a day in the spring. This catch decreases to about three in late summer. He trades only with H.B.C., although he used to go to the free trader. He bought his canoe and motor from a Métis about nine years ago; otherwise he has very little to do with this group.

GM reports that he receives two family allowance cheques regularly, and three more in the summer. In the winter, three of his cheques go to the mission because his children are in school. At least, this is what he believes.

Case #2

WM is thirty-five years old, and lives with his wife and seven children aged two to fifteen. His brother-in-law spends part of the year in Hay River and part with them. A sister of WM's

is visiting from Jean Marie River. WM likes living in town although he goes out for several weeks in early summer (July) to a fish camp. He has worked on road construction, and last summer stayed in town to work on the new school building. The road job (three years ago) lasted for two months and paid him $1.45 an hour. He received $1.60 an hour for working one month and a half on the school. If there is work he would rather stay in town all year round, than continue to hunt and trap. Last year he put up about 1,000 fish for his dogs. (After mentioning this WM changed his mind about wage labour and said that he could not work full time because he would then have to buy his dog food. "If there were jobs here (in the fort) then people could work off and on...it would be good that way".)

Last winter trapping was "very tough". On several trips WM got thirty-eight mink, seven lynx, no marten, and in the spring he got twelve beaver and thirty-eight muskrats. He bagged five moose last winter and shared most of it with other Indians. He sold some to Metis, but seems to have kept most of the meat within the Indian section of the community. He put his nets in the river for the first time around June 11 and has dried fifty fish in these first two weeks. Last March he hauled two loads of wood for the H.B.C. manager at $2.00 a load. He bought his outboard from a Metis three summers ago, and his canoe from the H.B.C. about fifteen years ago. WM receives family allowance for three children in the winter, and for seven in the summer. He believes that the mission obtains the allowance that he does not receive in the winter.

Case #3

CS lives with his wife and three children. He lived with his wife's people down near Fort Simpson when he first married her then came back here to live near his father and brother. CS worked on road construction three years ago, for Imperial Oil out at the town airstrip, and for the mission as a nightwatchman. Last winter he took a heavy equipment course in Yellowknife and this spring worked for one week on a caterpillar for the Indian Agent. With that one exception, he has had no heavy equipment work since his course. CS wants very much to work for wages and to do so all the time. He is the only person to have been interviewed in English. He has not trapped for five years although he does hunt and fish. His nets are in the slough near the mission. He has no boat or motor, but does have dogs, and has used them to cut and haul wood for the H.B.C. at $10.00 a cord. He receives three family allowance cheques from the government (his children are not yet in school). Unlike GM and WM above, he feels that Fort Providence is a dull place with no activities.

Six non-Whites are permanently employed in the fort. As the case material suggests, wage labour for the Indians on a wider scale beyond these few steady jobs is sporadic. Other work not mentioned in the cases includes unloading boats in the summer, guiding an occasional White down river, and a little part-time interpreter work at band council meetings. This work brings a small trickle of money into the community, but it is neither steady nor predictable. One Métis is a pilot on a river boat, and sends money back to the fort during the summer.

There is a Métis free trader in town who sells his furs to an auction company in Edmonton. It is reported that he pays slightly higher prices than the H. B. C. manager, but his consumer supplies are low. This keeps most of the trade moving into H. B. C. A Cree Métis keeps a truck on the west side of the river and runs a regular service from Fort Providence to Hay River. He is hoping to build a pool hall in town, and to expand his commercial operations. Several of the Indians have obtained nets, floats, and money from the Indian Agent in order to set themselves up in commercial fishing on Great Slave Lake. Attitudes to this work seem negative. This is reflected in the following statement by a man who had done some fishing in this way--"It's hard work you know, and besides there's risk in it, you can lose--so they got to guarantee us some money--it's not like wages--you can lost."

It is advisable at this point to elaborate on the economic role of the Indian Agent and the special status of the Indian, since the activities of this branch of Government are referred to continually throughout this report. The Indians of the region have a treaty with the Canadian Government (Treaty No. 11, 1921) in which they have ceded their rights to all lands in the region in return for the services which are administered by the Indian Affairs Branch of the Department of Citizenship and Immigration. Under the treaty agreement, the Indians are organized into bands under chiefs and councillors. Band meetings are held at least once a year, usually around the end of June or beginning of July. At this time the treaty money is given out, and each Indian receives $5.00. The band chief gets $25.00 and the councillors $15.00.

Indian Affairs Branch assists Indians by providing them with fish nets, small amounts of ammunition, and sometimes by advancing money to individuals who wish to outfit themselves for the winter trapping season. Help is also offered for house construction. If a man indicates that he is willing to cut logs, the Indian Agent is empowered to supply him with roofing, lumber, plywood for interiors, windows, doors, paint, insulation, etc. In most towns Indian Affairs Branch also maintains a freezing and cold storage unit so that both meat and fish can be kept for long periods of time. For needy persons, rations are also provided on a monthly basis, usually by setting up credit at the store, although direct dispensation of food by the Indian Agent is not unknown.

A final and interesting sector of the local economy is the intra-community trade. Indian informants report that sharing patterns are still strong, especially when a moose is killed. However, one Métis complained that things have changed and he now has to buy moose meat, where in the 'old days' he would have been given some as a community member. This same man and Indian informants remarked that home-brew could be obtained for two dollars a bottle. Dogs, canoes, and outboard motors seem to be other items that are commonly bought and sold outside the trading structure of the trapper-trader relationship.

Social Organization

Fort Providence has two fields of social relations. First there are the local representatives of agencies whose hierarchical organization extends far beyond the town itself. These include missionaries, teachers, R.C.M.P., wireless operators, the fire ranger, and the H.B.C. personnel. There is no obligatory social structure that joins the local personnel of these agencies to one another within the community. The second field of social relations is that of the Indians and Metis. These people are organized formally into three overlapping but not necessarily identical groupings based upon kinship, residential unity, and temporary units associated with productivity, such as fish camps, hunting parties, etc.

From the three genealogies collected at Fort Providence it is evident that kinship is shallow in depth and widely ranging, and ego feels related by descent as well as by marriage to a large number of people spread over a wide territory. These include living persons in Yellowknife, Fort Smith, Hay River, Fort Simpson, and of course, Fort Providence. Descent is bilateral and the residence patterns are not uniform. Some, like case #3 above, report matrilocal then patrilocal or neolocal residence, others report neolocal. Divorce is low although the parish priest reports that in his estimation the number of 'separations' has been increasing in the last few years.

The most evident social unit is the household containing a man, his wife, and their children. In several households there is a relative or two of the husband and wife, as well as one or more adopted children. Groups of households are linked by kinship and contiguity which is expressed in constant visiting back and forth among the members, although these can expand, especially for drinking and dancing. For example, an interpreter took the writer round the town to meet and talk to "Indians".(1) He went first to his brother's house, then to more distant relations, all of whom lived close by. He did not seem inclined to go to the southern section of town. He said that he did not go over there very much--but he was over there on a Saturday night when people were drinking.

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(1)He refused, without being asked, to interview Métis. My original question referred to the 'people of Fort Providence', and he took this to mean Métis and Indians.

Temporary or seasonal groupings containing from two to thirty or forty people who come together for economic purposes such as hunting, fishing, and trapping, are present, but the writer did not observe these personally.

Informal social relations are structured primarily by ethnicity and age. By and large each of the three ethnic categories have more interaction within their own group than across ethnic lines. This is especially true of whites, and slightly less the case for Indians and Métis. Thus practically all White visiting is with other Whites and interaction between Whites and other ethnic groups is framed within the formal functions of the Whites in the community. On the other hand, although there is some distance between Indians and Métis, there is also intermarriage and much intermingling at dances and drinking parties. People are non-commital about such marriages--"It's up to them" is the usual answer. Differences between the two groups rest primarily on their different legal status, with some cultural and physical factors giving additional impetus to the distinction. Thus Métis in town speak French, and one family uses it in the home, whereas Indians use Slavey in the home. Although many of the Métis look 'Indian', several do not, and quite a number of the Metis children are decidedly Caucasian, (blonde and blue eyed). A teacher told of a young Indian girl who tried to cut the eyelids of a Métis girl with a pair of scissors so that the lids would be like those of Indian children.

Ethnic differences are ameliorated by age. Thus the young teachers had some of the local musicians over to the teacherage to play and spend the evening. They also went to local dances, and had younger people in to visit them. The adolescent H. B. C. clerk, who has no one of his own age group among the Whites, soon found several friends with mutual interests among the adolescent Indians and Métis. Adolescents in general seem to form an informal social grouping, much as they do everywhere in Canada.

Religion is not a factor in interaction. Only a few Whites are not Roman Catholic, and their ethnic membership is much more important than any religious differences among them.

The community as a whole has no permanent organization in which all members are involved either through representatives or as an audience. There are no regular meetings; regular dances at the school have been tried but discontinued, and there are no regular movies. The only permanent community-wide activity takes place at annual religious festivals, Sports Day(July 1), and at Treaty time at the end of June. These activities require that some or all of the inhabitants of the Fort Providence area and its environs gather and participate in a primarily White organized activity. Even a Tea

Dance held before Treaty time was attended by White authorities, one of whom looked at his watch at 12:30 p.m. and said "Well that's about it, eh?" to one of the Indian leaders who acquiesced, and the dance ended.

There is a community club which appears to have only White members and operates only sporadically to organize events such as Sports Day. Métis look to the free trader for a minimum of leadership, but seem to act mostly as individuals. Indians questioned about their allegiance to chiefs found this line of interrogation meaningless. However, everyone agreed that a chief should "speak for the people", i.e., he should tell the Indian Agent and other officials about the complaints and wishes of the people. He is not, however, viewed as a leader who can influence behaviour. Whites expressed the belief that the Providence chief kept the Kakisa Lake people, among whom he lives, "in line".

Acculturation

In Fort Providence the writer used an interpreter because many middle-aged men could not speak English, and most of the pre-school children speak only Slavey, which is the language used by all Indians to communicate with one another. Metis understand it, but Whites, with the possible exception of the priest, do not. Indian men and women wear moccasins rather than shoes, and one woman, Bella Bonnet Rouge, makes very good moccasins and mukluks ornamented with clipped caribou fur designs. Several Indians told the writer that shoes hurt their feet. Other items of dress are almost entirely obtained from the store. In religion the priest feels that although there are many 'superstitions' in the area, Catholicism has taken root. Church attendance, plus the expressed importance of baptism and church weddings, bear this out. Evidence of medicine man activity and of aboriginal beliefs about the dead has been obtained--although how widespread such beliefs and practices are remains to be discovered. Economically the town is a traditional fort. There is at present no large White settlement, and no steady wage labour. This forces the non-salaried people to rely on hunting, fishing, trapping and welfare, or to emigrate. Contact with the culture of the wider Canadian world comes from trips to Hay River and Yellowknife which many of the young men make periodically. Contact is also derived from the radio, phonograph, and from interaction and observation of local Whites. In Fort Providence there are very few movies, language is a barrier, as is the economy. Most of the contact with outside culture comes to local Indians from their formalized interactions with local Whites, and from those who have been "outside". One man told a group, including the writer, about the delights of hotel life in Edmonton, painting a lurid picture of the city as he saw it.

FORT SIMPSON

Setting

The town is set on the riverside of a sliver-shaped island located near the west shore of the Mackenzie on the downriver side of the confluence of the Liard and Mackenzie rivers. The two large radio towers at the northern end of the island, the new school buildings, the hospital, the several aeroplanes, and many boats parked on the shore, as well as the roads and cars all give Simpson an atmosphere of activity and bustle. On the shore side, the island still has some tree cover while the main settlement is strung out along the river. The total length is two and one-quarter miles, and the island is three-fifths of a mile wide, with an area of some 650 acres.

Communication with the outside is similar to that at Fort Providence except that Simpson has no all-weather road in and out, and does have scheduled air passenger and freight service. During this last summer a Piper Cub flew into the fort from Hay River every day. There is also a post office, which is not the case at Fort Providence. Other services available in the town include a Roman Catholic mission, church, and hospital, a federal day school, which is to have a much larger plant in the autumn of 1960 including an Anglican and a Catholic hostel for resident pupils, as well as a number of new teacherages, a private hotel, three free traders, a community hall, an Anglican mission and church, a Pentecostal missionary who also runs one of the two local taxis, an H.B.C. store, an R.C.M.P. establishment, Department of Transport wireless station, a Government agricultural experimental farm, an Indian Agency, a doctor, a fire ranger, a game warden, an electrical power station, and very shortly, a water system and a skating rink, owned and operated by the Roman Catholic mission. Electricity is used primarily by Whites.

Housing varies with ethnic identification and/or occupation. The same divisions by ethnic group apply at Simpson as at Providence, with some additional factors involved. Thus one Métis works as a wireless operator for the Department of Transport, and lives in a staff house provided by the Government for its personnel. There is also a bunk house for seventy White workmen behind the hotel, and the hostels provide a special residence for out-of-town pupils. The Government has put up a number of prefabricated houses for Indians at either end of the island.

Thus out of twenty-nine dwellings at the south end of the island on the lowland called the 'flats', eleven are new houses, nine log cabins, nine tents, and one boat that sleeps four men. There are a few Métis families at the southern end of the island and one lives down on the flats with the Indians, but most of these people live at the north end of the river road, and behind it. At the extreme northern end of the island there are sixteen tents and one cabin. All of these house Indians. Furnishings are much like those at Providence except that store-bought items like radios are more in evidence.

Population and Settlement Patterns

Table 2 gives a picture of the population of Simpson during the last half century, although it should be remembered that 'Indian' refers to the parish not the town because a great many of the people are semi-nomadic. The reader should note the relative numbers of Catholic to Protestant Whites which may help to explain the religious conflicts over education that this community has had recently. In the summer of 1960 there were about 150 Whites in the settlement. Death records are unavailable at present, so that population increase can only be estimated in terms of baptisms. Using Catholic baptisms expressed as a percentage of all Catholics (i.e., 2/3rds of the Simpson population) there is a gross increase of 5.0% per year from 1903 to 1957 (S.D., 1.6).

White settlement patterns in Fort Simpson are similar to those at Fort Providence with some notable exceptions. The three free traders, who are White, the recently deceased head of the Government farm, and the owner of the hotel, have all been residents of the town for at least thirteen years. The Superior of the Catholic mission and the H.B.C. trader have been in town for over five years. There are also stories of White trappers who have lived out in bush in the Simpson area for many years, and one White has a farm and a sawmill upriver from the fort.

Métis are settled permanently in the town. They are for the most part wage labourers and live with their families. As in Providence their houses are older than those of the Indians, and are spread along the river front on lots that are not occupied by Whites. One Métis lives with his son and married daughter down on the flats at the south end of the settlement with the Indians. Several Métis spoken to had been hunters and trappers in the past, but none seemed to live in this way to-day, although they do fish, hunt, and snare rabbits as a part-time activity.

Indians are more varied in their settlement patterns. It is difficult to gauge the numbers correctly because of the present employment boom in town, but it is estimated that there are between fifty and seventy families who make the settlement their base camp. However, many families have moved in because of the jobs, and as a result of having their children in school. No one reported coming to town because the Government has built them a new house. There are an unknown number of families living in small bush settlements in the area who come into the settlement periodically. The Indian Affairs Branch reports a relatively large number of settlements within the two, three and eight Slave Indian bands administered from the Fort Simpson agency. The writer has met and talked to people at Fort Simpson who camp for the winter in cabins at the following places: (a) upriver from the settlement at the mouths of the Trout and the Jean Marie Rivers, and the mouth of the Rabbitskin River, (b) down river from the settlement, at Two Islands and at the mouth of the Willow River. A detailed study of one of these settlements has been made by an anthropologist. (MacNeish, 1958) One man and his family live up the Liard River about eighteen miles from the settlement, but he moved in this year because his children were in school. Either the writer did not meet people from places like Trout Lake, or these people have coalesced with groups already mentioned above. The general pattern of settlement for these people is to winter in their settlements which are used as, and thought of, as 'home' and come to Fort Simpson at the end of June for a period of two weeks to two months. All of the groups have some form of fall fishing in which fish "sticks" are put up for the winter (ten fish to a stick). Christmas and Easter may find some of them coming into the settlement for supplies and church services, but this is not a universally practised custom.

Economy

Two important factors, one permanent, one temporary, make Fort Simpson different from other settlement towns. First, the greater number of Whites and outside agencies create more steady jobs. Secondly, the recent spate of building has attracted many Indians to the settlement for wage labour. With expanded services there will be even more permanent jobs in the future, but the imminent completion of construction projects means that a relatively large number of persons will be out of work in the near future. Despite these differences there is still a sub-stratum of hunting, fishing, and trapping which underlies the local economy. Thus many of those who are working on construction are also tending their nets in the evening, and quite a number told the writer that they intended to set traps this winter.

Métis seem to be separated from the trapping economy by a long history of wage employment in the town. They hunt a little and the women set rabbit snares, but no cash income of any appreciable amount is obtained from the land. On the other hand, one locally born Métis works as a telegraph operator at the wireless station and flies his own plane, another tends the diesels for the school, and another runs a local taxi.

Whites spend more money locally than in other settlements, according to one of the free traders, and there are more of them. However, most of this spending is done through the expenditures of agencies rather than those of private individuals spending their incomes on locally produced goods and services.

Almost everyone in Fort Simpson has a garden. Of the 650 acres on the island, 120 acres has been under cultivation at one time or another in 1959.(1) This has been expanded at the south end of the island which now has a community garden as well as individual plots behind many of the houses. Crops include potatoes, (mainly), cabbages, carrots, cauliflower, turnips, onions, peas, lettuce, and radishes. Informants living down in the flats said they liked to work on the gardens. They claimed it gave them something to do later in the long evenings. However, children have pulled up and trampled many of the small house gardens. Several were completely ruined by these depredations.

The following cases give some indication in depth of local subsistence and income patterns among the Indians:

Case #1

> JC is forty-five and has three children, all in school, and a wife, originally from Fort Providence, who has been in the hospital for about a year and a half with T.B. He has two cabins, one on each side of the Liard, about eighteen miles upriver from the Fort. At present he is living in a shack of logs at the end of the flats at the south end of the island; this shack belongs to his brother, who is also in hospital with T.B. JC does not have a house of his own in town. He has spent a winter here in Simpson while his children attended the day school here during his wife's absence. Usually the children attend the hostel in Fort Providence, and he and his wife live in the bush, and put a tent up near the Fort when he comes in for supplies.

(1) See F.S. Nowasad: Report to B.G. Sivertz, Dept. of Northern Affairs and National Resources, Oct. 8, 1959.

He has a garden on both sides of the Liard in the bush, that has been cultivated for about twelve years, except for this last winter. This year he returned from the spring hunt too late, and his allotted plot in the community garden was taken by someone else. However, he "got Styra (the Indian Agent) to clear a new piece of land and plow it" for him. He then borrowed 150 lbs. of "spuds" from the mission and planted them. He feels that last year was a bad growing year, and that he will get a good crop this year.

JC finished school at the age of nine and started trapping when he was ten. Unlike most of the other persons spoken to, JC feels that trapping is improving. He caught twenty mink last year which brought on the average between $15.00 and $20.00 per pelt. His whole winter fur receipts come to about $500.00 he says, and would be much higher if local traders didn't "fix" the prices.

JC bagged only two moose last winter, which he claims is low. He is confident that given a rifle and shells he can always get a moose. His fishing enterprise is more complex. Last summer he bought a scow, because his previous one crashed into some rocks up the Liard. He bought a boat from a White who worked at the wireless station. It cost $150.00 including the inboard engine. This fell into disrepair over the winter, and he has built himself another boat this summer. This has cost him $75.00 for lumber and $ 25.00 for paint. He built it in two weeks by working in the evenings, after his ten-hour day with the construction project, i.e., when rushed, JC works fifteen hours a day. He usually fishes upriver at Mills Lake in the summer and the fall, and stores about one ton of fish for the winter. He has done no fishing here in Fort Simpson this summer because he is too busy on his boat. He hopes to get a barge and go down to Great Slave Lake this year as LN does in his big boat, and then come back and sell some of the fish here in the settlement at $2.50 to $3.00 a stick (ten fish).

JC listed his employment record as follows: a long time ago he worked for the army engineers for two months and cannot now remember the pay: five years ago he worked for a month helping to build the game warden's shack: (He has forgotten the wage). Last summer he worked for Sheldon Lumber here in town, for one and a half months, and for Goodall (free trader) for the same length of time. This summer he has been working for Edmonton Construction for $1.60 an hour. Sometimes Northern

Canada Power Commission employs him part-time, but never permanently. He likes part-time work because he can get some cash, and still go to the bush which is the life he claims to prefer.

Case #2

GS lives in town with his wife and their four children aged nine months to nine years. He built the house himself in 1955 and finished it in its present form in 1957. It has a loft, two rooms on the ground floor and a small storage cellar. The government gave him five windows, another window and a door for the winter porch, 1,000' of board lumber for the roof, the roofing material, and bought the log siding for the house for $3.60 a hewed log (untrimmed). GS found himself about four or five logs short for the job and so cut, hewed, and trimmed four more in addition to the fifty the Government provided. The house has board siding now over the logs. The Indian Agent asked GS if he wanted his house to look nice like the other new prefabricated ones recently erected--GS agreed and took the siding.

In 1953 GS started growing potatoes which he had obtained from Browning the farmer upriver. He has only a small plot and has tried to expand it to the front of his house, but the children destroyed this new plot.

He trapped last in 1958, going on a spring hunt for beaver with a canoe. His last real trapline was set in 1950. Since then he has been in hospital with T.B., pneumonia, and had an "operation on his chest". When he left to go into hospital he loaned out his traps and dogs and sled, and these are now irretrievably gone. However, he has just obtained two dogs, and vacillates between saying he may go out on the trapline sometimes and claiming that he will never go out again.

He hunted last in a serious way in 1950, and remembers that he bagged two moose that winter. He still sets snares like everyone else, and if he can get to them, is assured of three or four rabbits a day. He has no nets in the water (July 8) but did have one three years ago. Usually, he buys a few sticks from the outfits that go down to Great Slave Lake in the fall. If he has money, that is, and if not, he buys it indirectly from the H.B.C. who buy in quantity from the outfits. During the summer he does some fishing on Sundays with a hook and line, and in the early part of the season claims to catch about ten to forty fish a day

using this method. He gives some of the catch to his wife's uncles, some to his dogs and has some with his own family. He goes out in his canoe and outboard engine which he purchased last year from the H.B.C. store. Up to that time he used a small canoe.

He obtained his first job in 1940 at Fort Providence, fishing for the mission for one month for a salary of $75.00. From 1944 to 1946 he worked in the summer for survey teams cutting a meridian line along the Mackenzie. In 1946 he started working for the present owner of the hotel on a sawmill, since closed down. He worked there until 1950 at 60¢ an hour, but only part-time, because the hotel owner used to let his workers off for trapping and hunting. He was in the hospital from 1950 to 1952 in Edmonton and learned leathercraft. He has had odd jobs ever since, including interpreter work for an anthropologist. In 1959 he was hired with many others by Edmonton Construction, and is now getting $1.70 an hour. However, he had pneumonia about a year ago, and has a large debt at the store which must be paid off so that he is only drawing about ten to twenty dollars a week of his $17.00 per day salary - the rest must go towards his debt.

Trade between community members is centred primarily around expensive consumer items like radios, boats and outboard or inboard engines. Indian informants for the most part espoused the belief that sharing patterns are still practised, but several Indians and a number of Whites vehemently denied this. The writer observed fish being shared among a group of relatives that included those of the fisherman's wife. Several groups, but most notably one from Jean Marie River, travel upriver to Great Slave Lake in the autumn and bring back fish, some of which is stored by the group members for their own winter needs, while the rest is sold in Fort Simpson, either directly to consumers, or to the traders who then retail it later in the winter at a profit.

Social Organization

The organization of social life on the island is complex. The residents of Fort Simpson are broadly divided into the usual White, Métis, and Indian categories, but there are a number of segments within each of these and interrelations between the various segments.

The agencies of the larger outside society are almost all staffed by Whites and there is no formal organization co-ordinating these agencies

within the community. As a result, Whites are segmented informally by occupation, religion, age, and ethnic origin. Occupational ranking and association is much the same as it is in the larger society, except for the complications resulting from isolation and smaller numbers. Thus the medical doctor has high status, but he finds himself, at times, in the hotel eating and talking to a third-class engineer who tends boilers. His only other choice would be to sit at the counter with Indians and Metis. Religion has been the basis for some recent conflict in the community between local Whites. (Lesage 1958) Personnel in both the Anglican and the Catholic missions told the writer that their own denominations had been the first to come to the island. Both of these older groups tend to denigrate the presence of the Pentacostal mission. However, the so-called religious conflict (actually a competitive struggle over the control of education) has been ameliorated greatly by the presence of a wise and diplomatic school principal who has worked out a modus vivendi between the contending forces. Age is an important criterion for grouping Whites in Fort Simpson, in that it reflects the culture changes that have occurred in Canadian society as a whole during the last twenty-five years. Thus among the residents of forty-five and over, religion and socio-economic background strongly differentiate the Whites. With the expansion of middle-class values and culture in general, the younger people find they have more in common with one another than with any other group on the island, no matter what their occupational, religious, or even ethnic differences. Combined with other factors like religion (for the Catholic priests) and/or age, (as in the case of the Danish hotel owner), ethnic differences keep White members of the community apart from one another.

Metis are organized into household grouping based on kinship and marriage. Many have jobs in the settlement and none seem to be actively engaged in trapping and hunting as full time activities. Kinship is a primary criterion for inter-household relations, but this is modified by age, occupation, and residential contiguity. This is especially true when everyone is working. Thus two unrelated Métis groups who work on the construction job are constantly together, even during mealtime, since they both buy many of their meals at the hotel.

The Indian group is organized along the same lines as that at Fort Providence, except that people who winter in settlements outside Fort Simpson camp in tents, or stay with friends on the end

of the island nearest their settlement. This fairly old pattern is breaking down as a result of the town-planning concepts of the Indian Agent whose goal is to build new Indian houses at the north end of the island, and give the houses out on the basis of need. There is a formal band organization among the Indians, and a few expressed some interest in it, especially the chief, who sees himself as a potential leader, not only of Fort Simpson, but of the Northwest Territories. On the other hand, most people spoken to on the subject utilized the band organization as a conversational vehicle to complain about the Government, the Whites, the church, and the traders. One Métis who lives on the flats near the Indians commented that the Indians always complained of their band meetings, and gossiped about the chief after the meetings are over. He feels that there should be a caucus before band council meetings so that everyone would have a chance to speak his mind. Then the chief could represent public opinion more ably than in the present situation where people are too "shy" to speak.

Marriage residence is very similar to that at Fort Providence. Métis are more typically not matrilocal at the inception of marriage, while five Indian men admitted that they had lived with in-laws at the beginning of their marriage, and often for a period before the marriage was formalized. One Metis man and his wife have a White son-in-law living with them in a shack behind the old people's cabin. Both the old people receive pensions. Indians at the south end of the island are married to women from all settlements trading into Fort Simpson.

Relations between Whites and other groups on the island are based primarily on formal patterns. This is easily seen at church, at the store, at a band council meeting, at a movie, indeed almost anywhere that members of these groups meet. On the other hand, Métis and Indians marry one another, dance together, and on occasion drink together. The community as a whole is supposedly organized by the community club. This organization runs regular movies and dances in the community hall, and arranges the annual Sports Day festival on July 1st. In reality, this organization is run by a group of politically conscious Whites, who meet regularly to decide upon matters affecting the community as a whole. Several of its members remarked that Indians would be welcome into the organization, but one of the senior White citizens stated that it is extremely difficult to conduct a proper meeting with Indians present because they "slow things down". No Indian has, in fact, attended community club meetings except the chief, and he only came twice and subsequently stopped appearing. However, the movies and dances run by the community club are occasions when large sections of the community

can gather and meet one another, although only younger Whites and the school principal attend the dances regularly. Other Whites in the community have recently formed a "social club" and rent the community hall for their more exclusive group parties. Other formal occasions when people foregather are provided by the Home and School Association and its Catholic counterpart, by the Anglican Church Women's Association, and by the Pentacostal church meetings. These are reported to be fairly unrelaxed groupings in which Whites are usually left, by the silence of the Metis and Indians, to search for some mode of communication between themselves and the non-Whites. Indians visit one another constantly, and have week-end parties, which only on occasion includes Métis. No Indians or Métis were observed visiting or drinking with Whites in White houses.

Acculturation

There is a large number of English speakers among the Indians at Fort Simpson in all age groupings, although the Two Islands and Willow River people at the north end speak very little of anything except Slavey. On the other hand, one Indian informant remarked that he had learned Slavey only later in life after having been raised in an Anglican mission. It is probable that a full range between these two extremes can be found. Generally speaking, Slavey is the language used in the home. There are a few exceptions such as the informant above, and the chief who speaks English poorly but wants his children to speak it well. Metis use English as their home language although most of them can speak Slavey. Whites speak English, except for the French or French Canadian priests who speak French, English and some Slavey. Church attendance is generally low, and one priest remarked that the Indians are very friendly to him as long as he does not speak to them about religion. Many of the aboriginal beliefs about "bush men", ghosts, and witchcraft, can be obtained from the older men, and one young man in his late twenties spent several hours talking about the supernatural beliefs "of the old days". How much credence is placed in these beliefs is difficult to gauge at present. One older Metis pointed out an Indian who has had a bullet removed from his back by a medicine man. The person rumoured to be the local medicine man is also prominent in the community in other respects. Any attempt to discuss this subject meets with silence and anxiety.

Economically, Fort Simpson is heterogenous. There is enough wage labour at present for a relatively large number of families to remain in town. However, many Indians think that the hunting and

trapping economy still forms the basis of their income producing activity. Thus even men who have not trapped for several years keep their dogs and their traps. When the present construction period is over, many who are now on wage labour will return to trapping and quite a number told the writer that this is what they intend to do.

House gardens and a community garden at the south end of the island for Indians have now become an institutionalized part of local life. Schooling for children is considered important, and was stated to be so by many. One man felt that his children had to learn about hunting and trapping too, or they would be incapable of earning their livelihood in the country. Judging by the remarks made at Fort Providence and Fort Simpson, it is possible that the new school with its hostels may bring people into town to stay near their children. With the decline in jobs this may pose welfare problems for the Government.

The wages resulting from a construction boom have brought a momentary prosperity to the island which has produced a spurt in material acculturation. Wrist watches, shoes, leather jackets, women's clothing, radios, new outboard engines, roads, taxis, cars, etc., all conspire to give the town an urbanized appearance. When the construction jobs are finished, and several seasons have gone by, the social, cultural, and economic effects of the present boom and its aftermath in terms of new services, will be available for study.

Table 2 Population of Fort Simpson Area* Fort Simpson.

* Adapted from data gathered by Father S. Lesage O.M.I., formerly Superior at Sacred Heart Mission,

** No satisfactory explanation can be given for the atypical increase of White Catholics for this year.

	CATHOLICS				PROTESTANTS				FORT SIMPSON TOTALS			
Year	Indian	Métis	White	Total	Indian	Métis	White	Total	Indian	Métis	White	Total
1894	135								300	13?	15?	328
1903	100	7	3	110			15				18	
1929		56	25				74				99	
1931	161	48	20	229	81	9	61	151	242	57	81	380
1932	168	54	25	247	82	10	59	151	250	64	84	398
1933	175	53	26	254	86	9	62	157	261	62	88	411
1934	176	56	25	257	88	10	70	168	264	66	95	425
1935	177	60	26	263	87	11	69	167	264	71	95	430
1936	228	60	36	324	80	9	50	139	308	69	86	463
1942	246	80	28	354	81		62		327			
1947	193	63	129**	385	75							
1949	191	88	25	304	68		92		259		117	
1950	177	134	27	338	43		86		220		113	
1951	189	119	31	339	52		108		241		139	
1952	285	34	28	347	61		92		346		120	
1953	255	44	37	336	63		101		318		138	
1954	270	46	70	386	65		130		335		200	
1955	287	50	68	405	67		142		354		210	
1956	293	51	58	402	70		120		363		178	
1957	309	80	30	419	80	27	74	181	389	107	104	600

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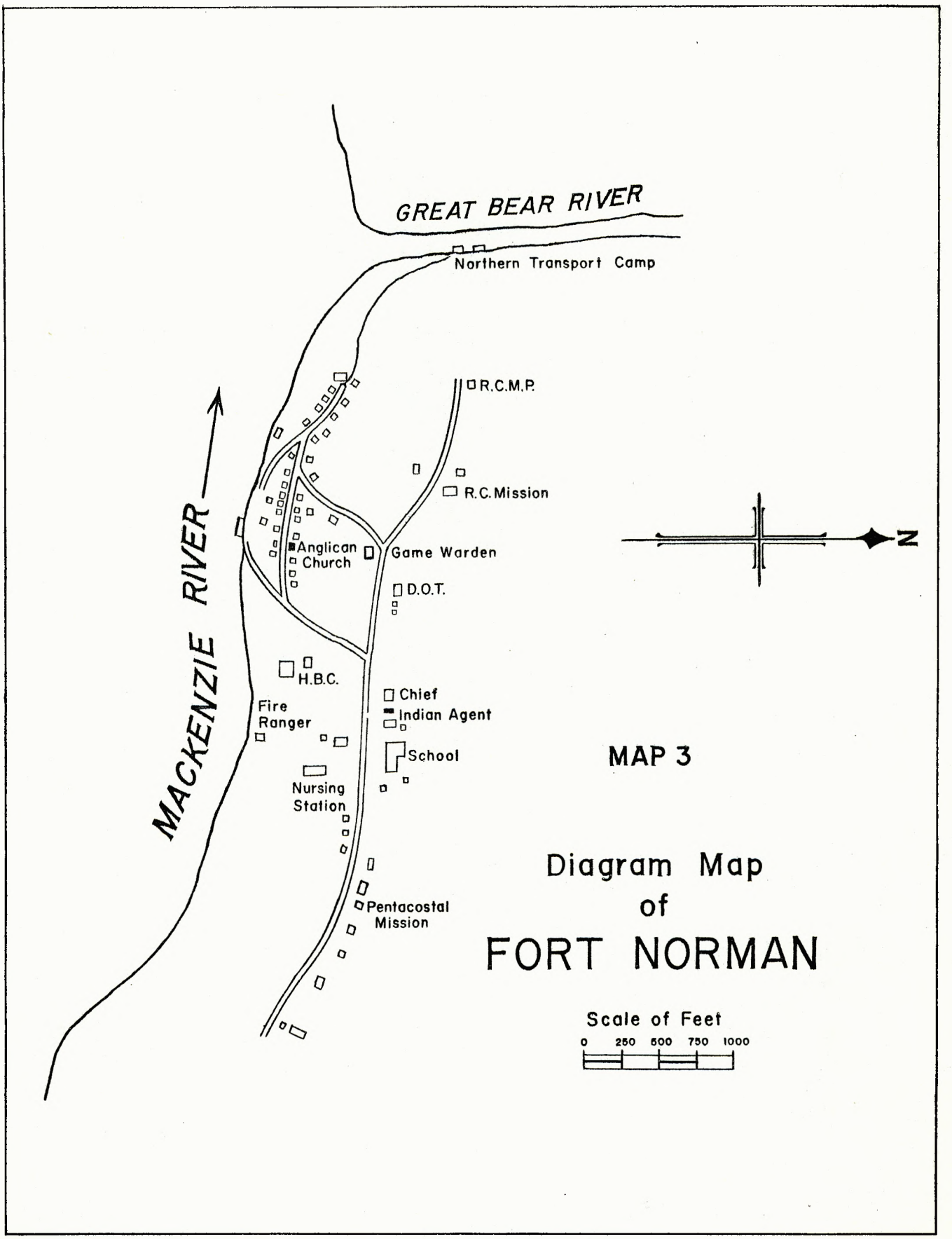

GREAT BEAR RIVER
Northern Transport Camp
R.C.M.P.
R.C. Mission
MACKENZIE RIVER
Anglican Church
Game Warden
D.O.T.
H.B.C.
Chief
Indian Agent
Fire Ranger
School
Nursing Station
Pentacostal Mission
N
MAP 3
Diagram Map of FORT NORMAN
Scale of Feet
0 250 500 750 1000

FORT NORMAN

Setting

The town is situated on the east side of the Mackenzie at its confluence with the Bear River. A plan is given in the accompanying map. The H.B.C. is on the highest point of land and the R.C.M.P., Roman Catholic mission, and other White agencies are on the "hill" with a few houses stretching out to the east of them. There are twenty-eight houses at the west end of town that are at a lower level physiographically and this area is called "the town".

Communications are similar to other fort towns already mentioned. Air service is every two weeks by Pacific Western Airlines Otter, except during freeze-up and break-up. Services in the town include the R.C.M.P., Roman Catholic mission, a game warden, the Department of Transport for wireless services, a fire ranger (during the summer), a paid interpreter, who is also the band chief, an Indian Agent, a two classroom federal day school, a public health nurse, a Pentacostal mission, and a White handyman who runs two caterpillar tractors. Postal services are handled by H.B.C., and there is a "Freezer" (refrigerator) in the charge of the Indian Agent. Running water is installed for most of the White households as is electricity. The band chief in his capacity as interpreter lives in a house previously used by the Indian Agent.

Housing varies with ethnic identification except for a very few cases. Whites live in houses provided by outside agencies with only three exceptions - the handyman, the Pentacostal missionary, and a White trapper. Métis who are not steady wage earners live in dilapidated log cabins, while those who are working have comfortable three and four room houses which approach middle class rural standards in southern Canada. Most of the Indians live in the new Government-sponsored houses, while a few live in older cabins. Three Indians have gone off the rolls, and are socially in the same position as Métis. The chief has built a substantial house at the north end of town that has been purchased by a Métis because the chief now lives "up on the hill".

Population and Settlement Patterns

The total population of Fort Norman as of August, 1960 is 223.(1) The breakdown on these figures is by age and sex, not by religion or ethnic identity. The following table gives the age and sex distribution of the present inhabitants:

Table 3

Age and Sex Distribution of Fort Norman

Age	Male	Female	Total
86-90	-	2	2
81-85	-	1	1
76-80	1	2	3
71-75	1	2	3
66-70	2	2	4
61-65	-	2	2
56-60	10	3	13
51-55	5	6	11
46-50	6	4	10
41-45	6	2	8
36-40	3	5	8
31-35	3	4	7
26-30	9	7	16
21-25	5	8	13
16-20	14	8	22
11-15	20	15	35
6-10	18	14	32
0-5	13	20	33
Totals	116	107	223

Ethnic proportions can be calculated roughly on the basis of field data. There are ten non-White, non-Treaty households (34 persons). The eleven White households contain in the neighbourhood of thirty-three people. This puts the number of treaty Indians around one hundred and fifty-six. The following table compares Government statistics on population for Fort Norman and Fort Franklin, and field data on the same population.

(1) From the Roman Catholic mission at Fort Norman.

Table 4

Figures on the Population of
Fort Norman and Fort Franklin

(August 1960)

Origin of Statistics	Fort Norman	Fort Franklin
Total Population		
R.C. mission	223	242
Indian Population		
Calculated from field work	156	?
Canadian Government	128 (Indian)	249 (Total)

On the basis of informants' statements, and because the Franklin Indian population is larger on Government rolls than on calculations made from field data plus the more recent mission records, it is likely that an emigration has taken place from Fort Franklin to Fort Norman involving about 14% of the total population, and 22% of the Indians of Fort Norman. Missionary officials also claim that the age range 0-16 is strongly over-represented at Fort Franklin, (122 out of 242) and suggest that this may be due to a rise in the birth rate. It is more likely that our hypothesis of an emigration out of Fort Franklin takes care of this peculiarity as well, and that the emigration is taking place at the post-adolescent age levels. This view is strengthened when it is realized that the mean annual net increase in population, taken from births and deaths in 1955 and in 1960 is 3.4% for Fort Norman and the public health nurse feels that births are not significantly higher in Fort Franklin. Finally it should be noted that from 1945 to 1960 child deaths (under 10 years of age) have accounted for 35 - 50% of all (Catholic) deaths in the area. In other words it seems unlikely that over-representation of the 0-16 range is due to increased birth rates, but rather to emigration out of Fort Franklin to Fort Norman.

Settlement patterns are easily discernible on the diagram map of the village. It should be noted that poorer housing is located at the western end of town. The itinerant researcher is told immediately that Whites used to live "down in the town" but are now all up on the

hill and referred to as the "four-ten" viz. 410, (an allusion to the social register). Indians agree that the housing of non-Whites at the eastern end of town is "better" materially, but expressed ambivalence about the social characteristics of such housing. Although housing there is "better", it is far away from "town" and one cannot visit friends as easily.

Land in the settlement-towns is divided into two categories: that held by the crown which can be utilized for, and by, Treaty Indians with no costs attached, and that held privately by corporate groups, such as the missions, the trading companies, or by private persons. Anyone, including a Treaty Indian, may if he wishes purchase privately held land. In Fort Norman land at the east end of town has been obtained from a private owner who is one of the residents.

Settlements at other places seem scarce. Many people go to several of the local fish lakes and may camp there from a few days to a month. However, definite villages such as those that surround other settlements have not been noted. Instead people speak of going to Fort Franklin to stay with relatives, or to Norman Wells for a job, or to get liquor, or to hunting camps in the mountains. This latter practice has led to a persistence of the moose skin boat which is still useful to hunting groups when they wish to descend to the Mackenzie after break-up from a winter camp. This boat had a wide distribution in the Mackenzie area at one time, but ecological and technical conditions have maintained its use at Fort Norman, and replaced it elsewhere.

Economy

The economy of Fort Norman is traditional by default. There are ten steady jobs held by non-Whites in town. The rest of the non-Whites have a hunting, trapping, and fishing economy and/or try to get jobs elsewhere. Whites, except for the handyman and the White trapper, are representative of outside agencies and their consumption products are practically all imported from outside, so that they spend very little locally from personal incomes. Metis hold four of the ten steady jobs. The rest hunt, trap, and fish, and in summer several of them try to get jobs in Norman Wells. Six of the steady jobs are held by Indians: one of these is a woman, and one has an amputated leg and no wife and children of his own. Almost everyone fishes and hunts, and the game warden claims that trapping is fairly extensive, so that only a few of the permanent residents in town do not receive

some cash income from fur. The ecology is somewhat different. As we have said there are no outlying settlements, and fish camps along the river seem to be scarce as well. Instead periodic trips are made from the Fort to fish lakes for large loads of fish and some summer hunting is carried on. During a ten-day period three of these trips were observed coming or going from the settlement, and one man came to the Indian Agent to discuss his plans for making such an excursion, and to ask for help with his equipment and supplies. This keeps the refrigerator busy, and makes the food quest more periodic than constant as it is in summer elsewhere on the river.

The following case illustrates local economic practices:

Case #1

MW is a middle-aged married woman whose husband is away every summer working at Norman Wells. She married him when she was eighteen and he went to hospital with T. B. when she was nineteen. During his four and a half years in the hospital she worked in Aklavik at an assortment of jobs. They both returned to Fort Norman when her husband was released from hospital. They have two children, both adopted, and there is a young mental defective who lives with them and feeds the dogs when her husband is away. They live in a Government built house at the south end of town and MW claims to have painted it all by herself. Land for the house was purchased from a Métis woman for $100.00.

Her husband sends money home by mail every two weeks in the summer, and sometimes comes home for the week-end. He comes back in the fall for fish, and hunts in the winter. He didn't trap last year, she says, because their little baby was too young. However, they did go away and join a hunting party in the mountains. In her own words she said to her husband, "I've been married to you for twelve years, and you come from the mountains, and I've never seen them. I was working at the time over at the school, and I phoned and told them there is no phone in her house) I would be gone for a couple of weeks and would then come back. We took a plane out to the camp with our dogs and gear and had a lot of fun. There were about three families there, and we're all related

and it's free, and there's food---I didn't taste anything but fresh meat all the time we stayed there. Instead of staying only two weeks, you know we stayed three and a half months, and then came down in skin boats after break-up. Gosh it was good living up there".

MW receives family allowance for both of the children, and they appear to be clean and neat as does her house. The striking thing about her interior furnishing is the gasoline-run washing machine that enables her to keep the family looking clean, in contrast to many others whose clothes are not washed or changed regularly.

Social Organization

The small population and the emerging social distinctions make Fort Norman an interesting place for social research. With two exceptions, the Whites are all representative of outside agencies. There is no formal organization co-ordinating these services. The informal social life of the Whites is quite intensive with a high amount of interaction that includes the Pentacostal missionary, but excludes the White trapper, the handyman, and the fire ranger. The writer was invited out to dinner, and to 'evenings' more often here than anywhere else on the river. This is probably due to the fact that the wives of the Hudson's Bay man, the Game Warden, the Indian Agent, and also the Nurse, are culturally very similar, whereas in other places factors of age, religion, class background and marital status tend to divide rather than unite White women.

The Métis group has added to it the non-treaty Indian group at Norman in terms of residential location and legal status. The non-treaty Indians live at the extreme south and north ends of town with the Métis. Socially, they are not so easy to type. Two of the three maintain contacts with both Indians and Métis, and are wage earners, and the third mixes only with Indians and is not a wage earner at present. Two of the three claim that they went off treaty years ago so that they could drink, and the one who is not working regrets his action. Métis generally live in older somewhat dilapidated houses and seem strongly oriented towards wage labour. At the east (or 'better') end of the settlement two Métis, a man and his unmarried sister, live in separate well-appointed houses. Both are wage earners.

Indians for the most part live in a dense little area called "the town" and social organization is based on age, kinship, and marriage, and sex. Except for one adopted person, genealogies are broad in range and narrow in depth, and include people from Fort Franklin, Fort Good Hope, and several of the urban centres of the

north, especially Aklavik. Among the older Indians from about middle age onwards, there is some meaningful distinction placed upon having originally been a Mountain or a Franklin (Great Bear Lake) Indian. Younger people seem to discount the distinction.

The chief of the Fort Norman band lives by himself with his family among the White households in a house built by the Government for the Indian Agent. The present agent now lives in the old Superintendent's house since the latter's move to Inuvik. The chief comes from Fort Franklin and has been a wage earner in Fort Norman ever since his arrival in 1946. He has not hunted or trapped for approximately ten years, and feels that he is a leader of his people, but would like more power so that his leadership can be strengthened. Besides his formal relationship with the Indian Agent, his major social contact, as observed, is with the other Indian wage earner in town who is also married.

Almost all Whites, except the White trapper, are members of the community club, as are several of the wage earning Métis and Indians, including the chief. Movies are run regularly for the community in the school, and people are encouraged to join the club although membership is not expanding. Private showing of movies for members and their children is one of the privileges of membership, and Whites claim that this provides an incentive for others to join the club. As in other settlements community wide events like Sports Days (of which there are several in Fort Norman) are run by the community club. Although most of the permanent residents of town are not members, club functions are well attended.

Under the direction of the Indian Agent and the chief, a large log hall for Indians is being constructed so that community dancing, meetings, and perhaps movies can be conducted in a special place rather than the school where all these things take place at present. In practice, the hall is being built by the chief himself and by one or two helpers.

A wedding during the writer's stay permitted observation of inter-ethnic social relations. The bride was dressed on the wedding morning by White women in a dress loaned by one of the Whites. The Catholic service was attended mostly by Indian Women and a few men; most Whites in town are Protestant. Wedding pictures were taken at

the mission by the priest, and the couple then visited all the houses in town regardless of ethnic composition. The visit included a cup of tea for the new couple, silence on their parts, handshaking all round, and especially in the case of the Whites, some presents for the newlyweds. There was no observable difference in behaviour by the couple at houses because of ethnic make-up of the household. At night a dance was held in the school attended by all ethnic groups and a great deal of drinking took place in the town. Very young children were sent home early and music was provided by a tape recorder and a phonograph machine. On the next night a traditional drum dance was held in one of the larger Indian houses in "the town". There was practically no drinking, and only three Whites attended including the anthropologist (and his hosts in Fort Norman). Children no matter what their age remained at the dance as long as their parents. Both dances did not start until eleven or twelve p.m., and ended about 5 a.m. the next day.

It seems that the community is "integrated" enough in terms of social relations to speak of it as a unit rather than to think of it as an Indian town, with some Whites who form a small but separate group.

Finally, it should be noted that most of the Indians are nominally Catholics to-day, although a few old time Protestants now attend the Pentacostal church, while two or three attend both. These latter are Catholic women married to Protestant men. Métis are either Catholics or non-church goers, and Whites are for the most part non-church goers, except for the Catholic school teacher and his family. The Christian religion does not seem to divide the community or unite it in any easily observable manner.

Acculturation

Many of the middle aged and older Indians and their wives cannot speak English. At the east or 'better' end of town all the male householders and most of the women, no matter what their ethnic group, speak English. Métis know the vernacular, although they speak English normally, and this is true of the White handyman and the White trapper.

Church attendance is low and composed mostly of women, older men, and the school teacher's wife. Aboriginal beliefs are spoken of

in the past tense, but the local medicine practitioner can be observed curing nightly. One man who claimed that he had been a medicine man at one time kept remarking darkly of someone he did not like that "maybe something going to happen to him."

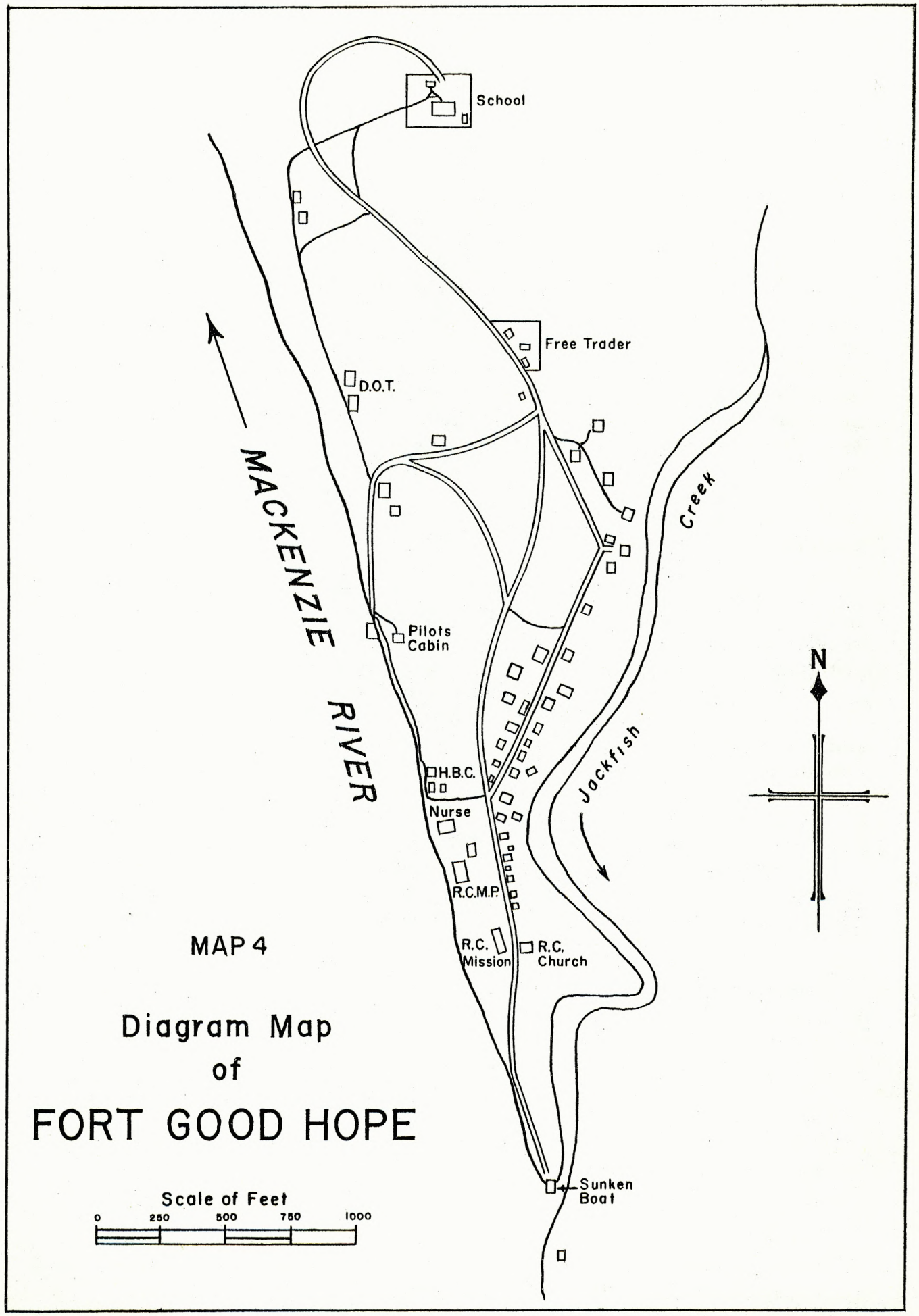
As mentioned above, Fort Norman has a traditional economy by default. All persons spoken to wanted wage labour if possible, with no reference to time off for hunting, fishing or trapping. However, opportunities in town are rare, and as we have seen, the old hunting pattern maintains its desirability so that people may even leave a job to go to the mountains. Thus people claim they want jobs and would not leave work to hunt, etc., but in practice they are ambivalent about it. One man came back from Norman Wells for the week-end on a chartered plane and refused to go back to work on Monday when the plane returned. The town itself seems to have a value for its inhabitants that keeps them from going far afield to seek jobs and keep them. As one person remarked who had walked off a job at Aklavik to return to Fort Norman, "I wanted to come back here; it is my nation here, you know...all my friends and relatives are here..."

Fort Norman residents consider themselves more acculturated than Fort Franklin people who are always referred to as much more traditional. Thus one couple in the 40 - 50 age range who came to Fort Norman last winter for a long visit returned to Fort Franklin and have now returned to Fort Norman to settle. People at Fort Franklin told the couple that they had become "proud" and "stuck-up" since their trip to Fort Norman. It was looked upon with disfavour that the woman had cut her hair rather than leaving it at shoulder (or longer) length.

One interesting aspect of acculturation is a local belief that there "is gold in the hills". Several of the men in town believe strongly that if they only knew how, they could make a fortune. As friendship grows with a White stranger, he is felt out about whether he is interested in financing a trip into the mountains to look for gold.

In summary there seems to be a mixture of the old and the new at Fort Norman that is more dramatic than at other fort towns. Medicine curing, drum dancing, skin boats, and hunting and trapping, combine with outboard motors, radios, inter-ethnic mixing, movies, desire for money, a knowledge of sanitation, [1] and the fact that all school-aged children attend school.

(1) There has been a particularly efficient, friendly and hard working nurse in Norman with a like-minded assistant during the past months, and the people are more aware of the facts of public health than elsewhere.



MAP 4

Diagram Map
of
FORT GOOD HOPE

FORT GOOD HOPE

Setting

The town is situated on a triangular strip of land formed by the confluence of Jackfish Creek and the Mackenzie. The diagram map shows the layout of the town but fails to indicate its rather hilly nature. The school, the wireless station, and the southern end of town including the H.B.C., the nursing station, the Police barracks, and the Catholic mission, are on three separate heights of land with lower portions in between. The Creek affords an easy access into town, and is used as a harbour by most of the residents.

Communications are similar to other settlement towns already described. Fort Good Hope is serviced every two weeks by Pacific Western Airlines on the same day as Fort Norman. Since flights originate at Norman Wells, passengers wishing to take scheduled runs anywhere else but Fort Norman, must go back to Norman Wells and pick up the 'mainliner'. In addition a small bush airline has posted a Beaver at Fort Good Hope which flies on charter to surrounding settlements including Norman Wells, Inuvik, Aklavik, Fort McPherson, Arctic Red River, and to several bush camps run by the oil companies. The senior man at the wireless station claims that he has ordered a small plane (Cessna 180), and it will be in the settlement in the near future.

Other services in town include a two-room federal day school, a Department of Transport wireless station, a free trader who has two caterpillar tractors and runs a small gravel pit, the H.B.C., a nursing station, an R.C.M.P. station, and a Catholic mission. The H.B.C. manager is also the postmaster, and the R.C.M.P. constable looks after relief payments and the "Freezer" (refrigerator for meat storage). There is a Pentacostal missionary living about one-quarter of a mile north of town in a tent, but he conducts no services at present. There is a fire ranger for the summer months, but the game warden for the area is stationed at Fort McPherson, and the Indian Agent at Fort Norman. Running water is supplied to Whites, and they are the only users of electricity.

Housing varies with ethnic identification, and in three cases with occupation rather than ethnic origin. Whites live in houses provided by

outside agencies with the exception of the free trader, who has built himself a very comfortable log house. Métis are in no way a separate group at Fort Good Hope, except for their legal status. The Indian Agency has supplied material for one new log house for an Indian family, and there are plans afoot for approximately six more. The remainder of the houses in town are from twenty to forty years old. All are log, and almost all have several rooms (two or three) on the ground floor, and a loft above. One has hardwood floors. The majority of the houses have small log caches near the owner's cabin, built five or six feet off the ground on log stilts. The large number of older log houses and these caches give the settlement a characteristic appearance. One Métis from Fort Smith married to an Indian girl from town lives in the fire ranger's cabin up on the wireless station hill, and a local resident (Indian) who is the special police assistant, has moved into a former policeman's house, now that there is a new house for the constable. Six persons were living in three tents in town at the time of the field visit.

Population and Settlement Patterns

The total population of the Fort Good Hope area is 355 as of 1959. This includes twenty-one Whites who live in the settlement by reason of their connection through kinship or employment to outside agencies. The White trader is a permanent resident of the town. The following table indicates the population figures for permanent residents in recent years. A figure from mission documents which had been obtained originally from the H. B. C. (London) on a population count made by an early H. B. C. factor is given for comparison. Government records claim 279 Treaty Indians in the Fort Good Hope area as of 1960. If this figure is taken to be approximately reliable for 1959, then we may estimate the non-treaty permanent residents to be around fifty for the area.

Table 5

Population of Fort Good Hope Area

Year	Men	Women	Total
1827	177	124	301
1955	156	145	301
1957	180	152	332
1958	176	157	333
1959	176	159	335

Birth records are available from 1866 to the present. However, accurate figures on deaths begin only in 1951 at the mission. Averaging the periods 1951-55 and 1956-60, the net increase of births over deaths is 3.0% of the population per year. (1)

Even with these scanty population data it is possible to make some tentative statements. Given the very early population figure obtained in 1827 it seems as if population has been exceptionally stable over the past century with a slight growth in the past few years. The same mission documents indicate that the Fort Good Hope area has been decimated several times by famine, and then built up to its original numbers. This suggests that there is some basis for putting the critical density (2) of Fort Good Hope at circa 300. Given no radical changes in technology or the basic extractive economy, and the continued surplus of births over deaths, it seems probable that some form of emigration out of the area can be expected as a pattern of local life.

Settlement patterns in the area seem more traditional than at other fort towns. About one-third to one-half of the cabins were unoccupied during the first ten days of August. Informants claim that this is the normal state of affairs except for the periods of the annual festivals. On the other hand fish camps dot the horizon of the Mackenzie shore in both directions from town as far as the eye can see. Visiting fish camps on Sunday is an institutionalized local practice that even the Catholic priest has adopted. People in the camps come into town for a day or so during the summer, in family groups, stay in their town cabins and then go back to camp. In the fall, again about half (more according to one informant, somewhat less according to several others) go to their winter camps. Several of these are on the Mackenzie at the mouths of small tributaries, but the biggest winter camp (and it seems to be growing) is at Colville Lake 100 miles northwest of the fort. Several informants referred to this group as the Lodge People.

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(1) This is a rough estimate based on a rounded population figure of 300 for the period 1951-55 and 330 for the period 1956-60. Because of the small distribution of numbers no standard deviation is given.

(2) Critical density is the optimum population in an area given the natural resources and the present techniques of obtaining a livelihood.

A core of families remain in the settlement all winter for one or more of a variety of reasons. They may have work in town; they may be sick or convalescing; they have children in school; or they have negative attitudes towards bush life and try to get by on welfare payments, gambling, and the more meagre resources of the land around the town.

In the settlement itself as the diagram map indicates, White settlement is scattered thinly across the entire town. There is no separate area where Métis live, but the usual pattern is of Whites along the river and permanent residents behind them, although the creek and its usefulness as a harbour, gives some rationale to this characteristic town plan.

In the fish camps, each family unit has one tent, sometimes two if there are older children. Tents open to the river, and the dogs are usually kept behind in the brush at the edge of the beach. Drying racks for fish and meat are set up in front of the tent in the form of a teepee with cross sticks for hanging the meat. At one camp of six tents, one had floor boards and the rest used spruce bows for flooring. There is a pattern of seating and sleeping within the tent. The owner and wife sleep at the head of the tent. Post-pubertal women, including old ladies, sleep up front near the flap, and boys over puberty can sleep and sit in the sides nearest the back. Young children sleep with their parents. Honoured visitors sit at the back. How general this pattern is for the whole Mackenzie region is not known.

Economy

As suggested above the economy of the area is primarily centred on hunting, fishing, and trapping. Almost all non-White households have one or more nets in the Mackenzie and this forms the major source of food in the summer diet. Women snare rabbits, and now and then a moose is shot. Berries are not gathered regularly or with a real food quest in mind by anyone except a few Whites, even though the berries seem to be exceptionally plentiful around Fort Good Hope. For large game like moose, traditional sharing patterns are still practised. Thus when a moose was shot during our stay in town, the hunter immediately cut it up and gave most away. One woman who got none asked a man, who had, for a share of his portion and received nearly half. Except for some Whites, and the mission in particular which has a series of large plots, only one Indian woman has a garden. Non-White informants usually laughed when asked whether they had ever gardened or intended to do so in the future.

Winter trapping and hunting as well as spring hunting for beaver are carried on by all non-Whites except those on steady jobs, and of these, one said he does some spring hunting and reports that several other wage earners do the same.

Wage employment is scarce. There are about ten steady jobs in the settlement around the White agencies, some part-time summer work unloading boats, and work on construction. Twelve men were hired for school repairs this summer. Two of the men in town are river pilots, but one is out of work. A gravel pit opened by the free trader employs two townsmen, the Pentacostal missionary, and the Métis sons of the trader. Other than these sources, men and women wanting wage labour must emigrate to Inuvik or Aklavik, the large centres in the Delta. Last year a log cutting project sponsored by Northern Affairs brought extra income into the community.

The following cases illustrate some of these points:

Case #1

JC is fifty-five and married for the second time. He has two unmarried sons aged fifteen and thirty from his first marriage. His house in town is almost always unoccupied and looks as if it is more of an overnight shack than a home. Most of his summer in this area is spent at a fish camp, although he says that he comes into town about once a week to get supplies and visit friends and relatives. He bought this town house about ten years ago (it is thirty years old) for $450.00. Prior to that he used to stay in a tent when he came into town. Now he can come into town and just open up the house, leaving his tent set up at the fish camp. He claims that he has a 'good' house at Colville Lake where he spends the winter.

He has four nets in the water at present (August 6th), and gets about fifty fish a day, sometimes more, sometimes a good deal less. He has put together three bales of dried fish (120 fish to the bale) and given these to the free trader for $10.00 each, plus some credit. He wanted us to know most particularly that this was the first time in his life he had ever 'given away' his fish. (The free trader described these same bales as collateral against loans). Last year he shot one moose and five caribou, and gave away much more

of the meat than he kept. He has no meat in the "Freezer", and has never kept any there in the past, and he has never gardened in his life. (He laughed at this question). Last year he came to town at Christmas time with fifty pelts from his traps, and the free trader gave him $500.00 for the lot, mostly marten. He gave some of the money to the H.B.C. manager for his debt, and used the rest to buy supplies. At Easter he brought only twenty pelts to the settlement and received $120.00 for them, again from the free trader. At that time he cut 180 logs for the Government and got some money, (he would not say how much) while he was in town.

His main attitude to the local way of life can be summed up as a negative reaction to the settlement where things are "tough" and people are not kind, and a positive reaction to Colville Lake where everyone is friendly, where there is no interference, and where there is lots of food.

Other assets that he has besides his houses, his tools, traps, guns, etc., are his large canoe and outboard motor, purchased from a White several years ago, and the labour of his two unmarried sons who help him all year round.

Case #2

PC is 50, married, and has six children. He speaks practically no English, but still manages to get some work from Whites now and then, but such occasions are rare. His house is neat and clean with a new linoleum floor on the three downstairs rooms, and a stainless steel sink in the kitchen. He makes some money by building and repairing local houses. This netted him about $800.00 last year. The Northern Affairs logging scheme added to his income, although he was unwilling to say just how much. His entire season of trapping brought in seven marten and in the spring he bagged twelve beaver. He has two nets in the river from which he gets about fifteen fish a day, some of which he dries for storage. This lot, plus a somewhat more concentrated

effort he makes in the fall to dry fish, gives him enough dog food to last until Christmas. It is obvious that his trapping activities do not give him enough income for annual cash needs. All but two of his children, who are too old, attend school, so that his cash income from family allowance is almost negligible. PC likes living in the settlement and says so. He also stays here because of the school, and because many of his relatives are in town.

Each of these cases is by no means extreme, but is is important to note that at Fort Good Hope much variability exists with respect to general categories such as fort Indian or bush Indian. This is discussed below under social organization.

Social Organization

Most Whites are present in the community because of their linkage to outside agencies, and there is no formal organization of these agencies within the community. Social interaction among the Whites is much less intensive than at Fort Norman. Some of the Whites do not even see one another for several weeks at a time. This is related to the fact that the Whites are spread out throughout the entire town, and visiting patterns are not well developed. The priest and the school teacher (principal) have a close relationship based on their common interest in the Catholic religion, and in community development. These interests are not shared by the other Whites, who are more oriented towards their jobs and their personal affairs. The free trader is married to a Metis woman, and is not included in any of the informal White groupings in town. This is true, as well, for the Pentacostal missionary who lives by himself in a tent. Relations between Whites and other residents of the settlement are for the most part carried on through the formal channels represented by the various services in town.

Indians and Metis are organized primarily on the basis of marriage and descent. Thus the Métis from Fort Smith who works as a fire ranger in town lives up near the Whites and has married a local girl. A large proportion of his local social contacts are now prescribed by this affinal link. Residential groupings are important as well, so that people can be seen borrowing from neighbours whether or not these neighbours are close kin. There is a definite grouping of preteen-agers and teen-agers into two groups, with the latter cut partially in half on sex lines. These groups, or parts of them can be seen together at almost any time of day or night during the summer.

Steady wage earners, by virtue of their superior cash incomes, have potential positions of influence and prestige. Thus one of these persons was able to assemble a majority of the non-White segment of town in a half hour when asked to do so. It could be that people would have assembled for anyone, but experience in other settlement towns tends to belie this. It could also be that Fort Good Hope is a more cohesive social unit than other towns. Several Whites who claim to know the town suggest, however, that the steady wage earners are influential. The local band chief receives no more prestige than others his age, and his ignorance of English forms a barrier to his effectiveness in the minds of many of the Indians.

Genealogies are narrow in depth and have a fairly broad range. They include mostly people in the area of the fort, as well as a few from Norman Wells, Fort Norman, Aklavik, Arctic Red River, Inuvik and Yellowknife.

The priest and the school teacher are active in their relations with the non-White residents. The teacher runs dances, slide shows, box-lunch socials for the young people, and so on, while the priest gives hoards of presents to children and counsels adults. The church is well attended and services are held every day.

In Fort Good Hope the distinction between 'bush' and 'settlement' Indians is not so easily perceived. (C.F. MacNeish 1956:171) As we have seen in the case material cited above, some people are committed to either the settlement or the bush. However, there is a great deal of movement across these lines. Settlement residents like to visit the fish camps and do so regularly. Marriage and descent lines cross the bush-settlement division linking people together. Much more importantly, some so-called 'settlement' Indians who have not trapped extensively for several years claim they are going to spend the coming winter in bush at Colville Lake, and live off the land. This may be due to the fact that a trading post is to be set up there. On the other hand it may be that economic conditions both in and out of the settlement are similar enough so that people in the area have a more common set of values than bush and settlement Indians elsewhere.

There is a community club which has only White members and deals with few community interests. Whites are divided as to whether the club should be "social" or "welfare" oriented. "Social" refers to its functions

in the area of leisure time activities, such as movies, dances, and the organization of the annual sports day. "Welfare" refers to general functions in relation to community development and the inception and acceptance of Western values. At present, the group supporting the "social" functions are in the majority.

Acculturation

Knowledge of English among Indians is not very widespread at Fort Good Hope. Not many people past middle age can speak English, and it is common to find young people of all ages who speak only the vernacular. Related to this is the low record of school attendance. When contrasted to Fort Norman where 100% of the school age children are in attendance regularly, the figures are striking. As elsewhere, but to a greater extent, the annual spring hunt empties the local school. The teacher remarked that several times this last spring there were only three or four children in school. It should be noticed that, however, for Fort Good Hope even in the best month (December) there is only a 70% attendance record. It is safe to conclude that education in a Western sense has not yet become a value that all people are willing to enforce upon their children. This is closely associated with the persistence of the traditional economy and its value to the permanent residents of the area. One young woman dressed in silk stockings, and stylish urban dress, with a modern home permanent wave in her hair, spoke in good English, and with obvious relish, of her own hunting experience and the life she and her young husband lead in the bush. Her language and dress would have fitted in anywhere in Canada, including the T. B. sanitorium where she had learned a great deal, but her attitudes to getting a living are derived from a hunting and trapping economy which in turn is derived from the early days of contact between the Whites and the Indians of the Canadian Northwest.

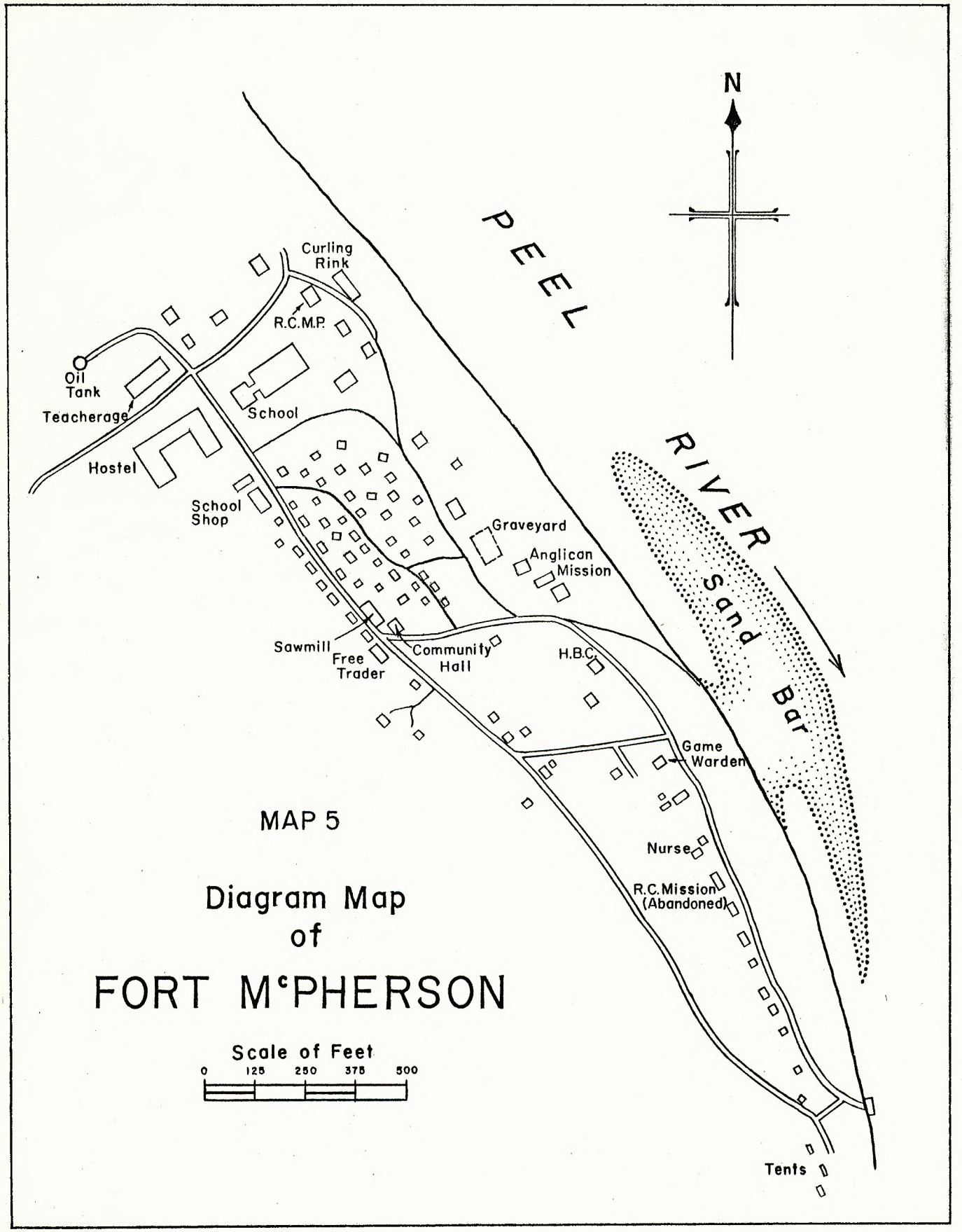
Table 6

School Attendance at Fort Good Hope 1959-60

Month	Number Registered	Missed less than 5 days	Attended less than 5 days	In bush all month
Sept.	50	19	9	5
Oct.	51	30	12	7
Nov.	51	31	12	9
Dec.	50	35	12	11
Jan.	48	21	27	13
Feb.	37	14	17	15
Mar.	32	18	10	12
Apr.	32	22	14	12
May	33	13	19	18
June	33	15	15	12

* During this period, fifteen children were sent to Inuvik to residential school, and two left for hospital. This accounts for the drop in registration.

All non-Whites are Catholics and when they are in town many go to church every day, and a large crowd attends on Sunday. The priest visits the fish camps, and intends this winter to make at least one trip to Colville Lake. He warned the writer that there are many 'superstitions' still extant and that it would be unwise to break any local taboos. Indian informants spoke of 'bush men' and several gave the name of the local medicine man, plus a few stories of his past successes. How active he still is, or how profound is the belief in his power, cannot be judged at present.


N
PEEL
RIVER
Sand Bar
Curling Rink
R.C.M.P.
Oil Tank
Teacherage
School
Hostel
School Shop
Graveyard
Anglican Mission
Sawmill
Free Trader
Community Hall
H.B.C.
Game Warden
Nurse
R.C.Mission (Abandoned)
Tents
MAP 5
Diagram Map of
FORT McPHERSON
Scale of Feet
0 125 250 375 500

FORT McPHERSON

Setting

The town is on the east bank of the Peel River approximately twenty-five miles from its juncture with the Mackenzie. The diagram map indicates the general layout of the town with its concentration of population at the centre, and more sparsely settled north and south ends. Communication with the outside is the same as in the other settlements, with the omission of a wireless station. (The Pacific Airlines agent runs a two way radio). Air service is on a weekly basis from Inuvik, and there are several small charter planes based at the settlement that service oil company camps in the vicinity. In addition several small transport boats haul freight from Inuvik and Aklavik into McPherson during the summer months.

Other services in town include a nursing station, a game warden, an Anglican mission, the H. B. C. store, a free trader who runs a store and a restaurant, a ten-room federal day school, and an Anglican hostel (residence) for the school children whose parents do not live in town, an electrical power station, an R. C. M. P. establishment, a community hall, a sawmill (in August 1960), and--in the near future--a curling rink. Postal services are handled by the H. B. C. manager. Electricity is supplied to employees of outside agencies and to the community hall. Drinking water is obtained from the river, and from ice stored through the summer.

Housing is much the same as in other settlement towns with the usual differences between White and non-Whites. There are sixty-one log houses in town ranging from small shacks to fairly substantial five-room houses with two floors. Generally speaking Metis houses are larger and better built than those of the Indians, and many of the Indian houses are unoccupied, including four of the new ones whose materials have been supplied by Indian Affairs. As of the end of August 1960, there were twelve family units living in tents in the town. One non-White family lives in a government-built house because of the household head's job as an assistant to the R. C. M. P. constable.

Population and Settlement Patterns

Data on population at Fort McPherson are not so readily available as in those towns having Catholic missions. Slobodin (1959) reports 375

Indians in the area in 1947-48, and government records put this figure at 404 in 1960. If we add approximately thirty to forty Whites, and twenty-five to thirty Métis, the present population of the area can be estimated at 450-460.

Settlement patterns are similar in outline to those described by Slobodin for the area in the late forties. He notes the cabins on both sides of the mouth of the Peel and tents pitched near them. He also describes the tents here and there on the shore on the way up the river, and a group of cabins and tents at the confluence of the Husky and Peel Rivers. In 1960 the scene from the mouth of the Peel, viewed from the air, is almost identical. The Catholic mission in the settlement has been abandoned and it is claimed by local informants that fewer people reside at the mouth of the Peel than formerly. Several informants spoke of having winter cabins in the delta, not far from other cabins whose owners came from Fort McPherson and Aklavik. There are also temporary groupings in the bush, during the winter, when people gather for a hunt, or smaller groupings of one or two families for smaller hunts or trappings. There are a group of ex-Fort McPherson families living in Aklavik and movement back and forth between the two centres is fairly constant, especially among the young men.

Settlement patterns within the town reflect social distinctions and historical growth. Metis live at the north end of town, although several Métis live near the free trader in the centre of town. Some of the older White houses, i.e. the nursing station, the game warden's house, the H.B.C. post, and the mission are spread out in a line just south of the Metis section, on the river. Whites also occupy a clump of houses and large institutions at the extreme south, or new, end of town. In the middle are the cabins of the Indians and the community hall. The game warden is moving to a new house at the south end, and the curling rink is also planned for this part of the settlement.

Economy

The hunting and trapping economy of Fort McPherson seems to be in a somewhat unstable position at present. As elsewhere all Whites hold salaried positions with the exception of the free trader. Métis are permanent residents of the settlement and either have steady jobs, or look for casual labour in the town. They also hunt and fish, but do little trapping. Indians are engaged for the most part in traditional hunting, fishing and trapping, but the game warden, who keeps records on the number of fur bearing animals trapped and hunted per year, claims that the numbers

caught per year are declining. (He excepts mink which have been rising in supply in the delta region).

The reason for the instability lies in the local wage labour situation. There has been a large building programme in the settlement over the last few years, as well as the well-known construction of the new town of Inuvik. Besides the ten to twelve steady jobs available locally to non-Whites with the outside agencies (four of these are for women), there are about twenty to twenty-five men at work on construction projects in the settlement. The presence of such work over the last few years, and its five to seven months duration has tended to undercut the necessity of traditional subsistence techniques for a substantial number of families.

In the late forties, Slobodin (1959:148) predicted that the greatest change among the Peel River people would come about as a result of air travel and its general use. To some extent he has been proven correct. The cheap and regular air service takes job seekers to the larger towns of the delta whenever they wish, to look for work. The government building programme in Fort McPherson itself, as well as the rest of the delta, has turned many people in the area towards wage labour. However, this should not be taken too far. The Indians still hunt, fish, and trap; hunting parties still go out to the mountains in the winter, and sharing patterns for the meat of large game still obtain--but cash income from wage labour is regarded by many as being more readily available, and more desirable than fur, which is at present thought to be too low in price.

Unlike trapping, which is a form of hunting, and therefore can be integrated into the subsistence patterns of the local economy, wage labour can bring conflicts. And when the work is only part-time the wage earner often faces the dilemma of choosing between the possibility of cash income in return for his services, and the necessities of getting a living. The following case illustrates this dilemma:

> CW is working with the Department of Public Works, helping to build the new warehouse and manual training centre for the school. His family are down river at a fish camp with another family, but it is now time (end of August) to move them to his winter cabin at the mouth of the Peel and get settled for the winter.

> This means, most importantly, drying a large supply of fish for his dogs for the winter. The boss on the job wants him to stay in the settlement to lay linoleum in the building with another man because the two of them had learned to do it on a previous job. Ideally he would like to take his family down to the winter cabin in his inboard powered barge, get his fish put up for winter and then come back to work. He feels he cannot trust wage labour. The last time he worked on a job the boss told him it would last until Christmas and he stayed in town throughout October and in early November the boss told him that the job was closing down. CW was caught with practically no savings and no fish for the winter. After telling this story he seemed to have decided not to stay on the job and repeated several times that it was better to hunt and fish for a living. However, three days later he had changed his mind and had decided to stay on the job and bring his family to town. The boss had assured him that this job would certainly last until the new year.

Trade in and out of the community is handled almost entirely by the trading companies, as it is elsewhere. But the proximity of other delta towns and the easy transportation means that prices at Fort McPherson must be competitive or people will obtain goods from the other towns. Large items such as canoes, barges, boat motors, and houses are bought and sold among the settlement dwellers themselves.

It is unknown to what extent welfare payments affect the economic organization. Local Whites claim it to be a large portion of the local cash economy, and that relief payments have been comparatively high in the recent past. Certainly no one spoken to failed to mention the desirability of the Government sponsored logging scheme last winter and its positive results on family incomes.

Social Organization

Except for the free trader, Whites are local functionaries for outside agencies. There is no formal organization co-ordinating these

agencies in the settlement. Informally White social organization seems to be in flux because of the recent replacement of the school principal by a new man. The former principal was a community leader who advised and directed much of the local social life with the help of a group of people from all ethnic categories who shared his views on community development. His departure left a vacuum and an unstable situation has developed which has crystallized around the community club. This is summarized below.

Indians and Métis are to some extent separate groups. Residence patterns in town are separate, and visiting patterns seem to be more frequent within each group than between them. At the movies, Métis men sit together. House furnishings are somewhat more elaborate among Métis, as is the case elsewhere. On the other hand young unmarried persons of all ethnic groups mix freely, and a local leader of the non-White population is a Métis. Both groups are organized primarily along lines of marriage and descent, and household membership, as well as location of the winter residence. Several of these latter are in "bunches". There is a Blake "bunch" at the mouth of the Husky River and a Bonnet Plume "bunch" on the Bonnet Plume River. The group at the mouth of the Peel do not have a "bunch" name. These local groups can and do break up for hunting, fishing and for annual festivals which bring them into the settlement. Slobodin (1959) also suggests that calamity or misfortune serves as a stimulus for gathering at the settlement. Thus any epidemic disease brings everyone into Fort McPherson which is unfortunate since the increase in population density increases the possibility of spreading the disease.

Whites have organized a curling club with sharehold membership to which all residents of the town are welcome as members. So far there are only White shareholders. The building is expected to be ready this winter, and it is hoped by the members that curling will become a popular local sport.

Except for an annual hunt led by the chief, this office does not seem to be a position of active leadership in the community. Informants laugh at the idea of taking orders of any kind from him. His role as spokesman at treaty time however is accepted. In terms of local community organization, one of the Métis has assumed a position of leadership in his capacity as president of the community club. He

contacts Whites, writes letters to his M.P., and hopes that community-wide organization can emerge in the settlement with the participation of all ethnic groups. In speaking of these goals he refers continually to the ex-principal of the school, and to the one White left from former times who is a strong supporter of the ex-principal's views.

While the former principal lived in the settlement, the community club was the hub of almost all community-wide activities. Segments of the town, especially among the Whites, may have disagreed with the principal's ideas, but his organization was too strong to be opposed. The principal's departure saw the immediate development of a conflict between the free trader and the community club over the showing of movies, which the free trader wishes to see carried on commercially as one of his enterprises. The conflict is not yet resolved and new Whites coming into the community are shying away from active participation in community club affairs since it also means participation in an intra-community conflict. Thus the curling club is being established quite separately from the community club. This is somewhat unfortunate since Fort McPherson is the only settlement visited in which non-Whites are taking an active part in community affairs, yet the non-participation of almost all Whites in the club means that local non-Whites, most of whom are inexperienced in operations of modern community organization, must carry on alone. The club is now floundering badly trying to keep a few activities going, and the leaders wonder whether it will continue into the future.

Acculturation

Both the writer and his wife were struck by the comparative amount of Westernization at Fort McPherson. It appears first in language. The majority of the inhabitants speak English, including many of the older people, and a number of the younger generation claim that they cannot speak Loucheux, the local vernacular. In 1948, Slobodin noticed that the Peel River inhabitants had knowledge of and curiosity about the outside world that was often surprising for such an isolated community. This is still true and in contrast to all but exceptional residents of other settlement towns. Trapping is not mentioned as often in conversation as in other places, and when it is there is a constant reference to reasons why people do not trap, rather than to its persistence. Several young women told us that they would never marry a trapper no matter whether or not he made a lot of money, or whether or not his bush cabin was big and comfortable. They explained that life in the bush "is hell". Such a direct and wholly negative reference to bush life had not been elicited elsewhere, although

comments about hardship are often interspersed with more positive remarks.

Another indication of acculturation is the dearth of aboriginal religious beliefs. Most of the community is Protestant, and church attendance is regular but not very large. Unlike other settlement towns, it was impossible to find a trace of any traditional medicine practices and even folk-stories of older religious beliefs were hard to find.

This more advanced degree of acculturation has its roots in a complex of forces that have affected Fort McPherson. It is known from Slobodin's work that gold rush days brought many new influences to the Peel River area much earlier than to other Mackenzie River settlements. The easy access to Aklavik, and now to the new town of Inuvik, plus the extended opportunities for wage labour in the settlement itself have helped to maintain a steady pace of change in Fort McPherson. It should also be noted that the work of Mr. Hancock, the former principal, in fostering community organization and development, has also been a potent factor in the degree of acculturation observable in the town. With the expansion of educational facilities, and the resulting increase in school attendance, as well as the increase in government services and concern with the north in general, it is obvious that the changes away from traditional life that have taken place in Fort McPherson will persist into the future.

THE URBAN CENTRES

The writer spent only a very brief period in each of the urban type settlements in the region, and just a few hours in one (Fort Smith). For this reason the description and comments on Yellowknife, Hay River, and Inuvik-Aklavik are of necessity brief.

Yellowknife

This is the largest urban centre in the Territories with a population of approximately 4-5000. Local services are much the same as those in any northern mining town. There is a H. B. C. supermarket, a cinema, a good airport, taxi service, good hotels, churches, a local newspaper, a municipal organization, electricity and running water, garbage disposal, and a wide range of voluntary associations.

Geographically the town is divided into two major segments. The new town is mostly White. It houses most of the miners and their families, the churches, schools, the supermarket, the government offices, the two large hotels, the police, the cinema, etc. The old town is mostly non-White, with the addition of Whites who are not connected with government or with large organizations such as the two gold mines. The charter aircraft companies are in the old town, as is the local boathouse, where one can rent small outboards. A federal high school, with its associated teacherages, is located off to one side of the new town.

In addition to these major settlements, there is a small Indian village about four or five miles by water from the old town. Here there are fifteen to twenty households, no store, an abandoned church, no community hall, and mostly log cabins. The people were so decidedly unfriendly that a visit intended to take a whole afternoon was cut to an hour and a half.

Whites and non-Whites are both transient and permanent. Members of all groups in Yellowknife have decided for a variety of reasons to come to town for a period, and then return or move on to some other section of the country. People in all groups also report having been in Yellowknife five or more years with no present intentions of ever going anywhere else. The mobile non-Whites seem to talk more of returning to settlements in other parts of the Territories, and it is true that every fort

town visited had its complement of persons who had spent some time in Yellowknife. Some, presumably a smaller group move from Yellowknife to the "outside", i.e. to the urban centres of Canada. This usually means Edmonton as a start. Whites more often finish their period of work in the north, and go back to the more populous sections of the country. These generalizations require much more stringent documentation than that received through the use of casual conversation, but they can form a working set of hypotheses around which to fix further research.

Hay River

Up to and including this summer, Hay River has been the terminal of road transportation into the Territories. The large numbers of tractor trailers moving in and out attest to the importance of this function. The town has about 1500 people of whom 1100 to 1200 are White. Non-Whites live at the north end of town near the fishing establishments and on a small strip of land across the Hay River referred to locally as the "Indian Village". Indians live a highly segregated social life and the only contacts between ethnic groups are as follows; (a) in employer-employee relations, (b) in the school, and, (c) at the beer hall in the hotel.

Local stereotypes are clear and well-defined concerning Indians in the work situation. With the exception of Government employees who are more familiar with attitudes engendered by social science research and application, most local Whites spoken to easily and clearly defined the Indian as "lazy", "unreliable", and morally degraded, especially in relation to illegitimacy in childbirth. The researcher simply has to say he is up north to learn about the Indians, and Whites are quick and ingenuous in reporting what they know.

In the local school a real problem exists because of the large number of White children whose parents, and indeed whose entire culture, places an emphasis on education in a formal sense. Indian children are in the minority, and have a decidedly different cultural background in which there is no emphasis on punctuality or on formal schooling. The result is much absenteeism on the part of Indian children and poorer grades, and a dilemma for the teachers. The teacher has to keep the work moving forward in the classroom, and make believe that they are teaching the whole class the same material. If they slow down for the Indian children, White children get bored and

the parents complain.

In the hotel Indians and Whites do not mix freely, but there is some drinking together. The writer was told several times by Whites to be careful of drinking with Indians because they would take advantage of his kindness and "take you for a sucker". It should be noted that Indians drinking in bars, in all larger towns, are generally well-behaved, and if drunk, do not cause much more fuss than any group of public drinkers in other parts of the country.

Hay River is strongly reminiscent of the now immense body of literature on the North American Indian in transition. Here is a frontier town growing and developing with a dominant White majority, and an Indian minority whose socio-economic status maintains and widens the gap between the two groups as time goes on. This can easily become the fate of many of the northern communities unless steps are taken to the contrary.

Aklavik-Inuvik

Aklavik and Inuvik are treated together because of the close links between each of these towns in the delta. People in one of the towns speak of "going over" or of someone who is "coming back", referring to travel between the two towns. This may be only temporary although it should be noted that most Mackenzie settlements are farther away from one another than these two, and that among non-Whites kinship and marriage links will maintain relations between the two towns for some time to come. Functionally, however, the settlements are quite different, indeed even complementary. Aklavik is economically a hunting, trapping, fishing, and trading centre, whose administrative offices are now all being moved to Inuvik, and the latter town is becoming more and more a regional administrative capital for the northern Mackenzie and western arctic.

The biggest contrast, outside of the functional one mentioned above, is that of settlement pattern. Aklavik is a town that has grown like "Topsy" according to no well conceived plan. Whites and non-Whites are mixed cheek by jowl with one another, and close social links across ethnic lines is possible. It is customary in Aklavik to say "hello" to everyone on the street; this is not the practice at Inuvik. There are, of course, enclaves here and there of settlement in Aklavik,

such as along the river, or at the west end of town where similar ethnic groups tend to live. But these are only tendencies and not rules. Inuvik on the other hand is the result of planning. Segments of society which are usually analysed into categories by a social scientist have been separated into segments and zones of the towns, often represented by differences in architecture. Since this planning reflects the values of Euro-Canadian society, Inuvik stands out as a town that represents the dominant Canadian culture in the Arctic. Its school, its suburbia, its supermarket, its five o'clock rush hour, and many other of its decidedly urban and modern qualities will serve as model of life that up until now could only be seen in magazines or movies by people living in the delta area.

Both Aklavik and Inuvik have one quality that sets them off as a unit from the rest of the region. This is a core group of hard-working, highly intelligent administrators who have decided to use every skill at their command and every ounce of their energy for the welfare of the people of the area. These may sound like trite platitudes, but the author is convinced after talking to almost all officials of the Mackenzie District that there is something quite different about the delta. This does not mean that the writer agrees with all the plans and proposals he discussed at length with the delta officials, indeed it is obvious that many of them do not agree with one another on the mechanics of community development. However the idea of development, and of popular participation in that development, is a fixture of White culture in the delta to such an extent that it is a different social world from that of the remainder of the Mackenzie valley.

agency factors

One further word on Aklavik-Inuvik. It is probably late in the day to discuss the matter, but it seems to be a cause celebre in the area to discuss the fate of Aklavik. Aklavik residents say "We have never been so alive now that we're dead." This may be melodramatic, but it has a serious side. The writer has been told that housing improvements are not being pushed forward for Aklavik because the town is supposed to move over to Inuvik. Aklavik is not moving, nor will it, nor indeed can it. If there are not enough jobs in Inuvik to absorb all of the productive members of Aklavik society, people must return, or remain in the west delta for hunting, fishing and trapping. As we have mentioned, Inuvik is a bright shining picture of the outside world that has come into the northern midst. It serves both as a job and administrative centre and as a focus of acculturation. Both towns have their functions and both will survive.

CHAPTER II

ANALYSIS AND COMPARISON

ANALYSIS AND COMPARISON

SETTING

In all cases the settlement towns have a strip of White settlement along the river and a clump of non-White housing behind. Usually there are a few Metis living along the river as well. When the towns begin to grow, as in the case of Fort Simpson or Fort McPherson, this original pattern begins to change, and White settlement moves into the vicinity of the larger institutions, usually schools.

All forts, indeed nearly the whole valley is on good soil, although active gardening by large numbers of townspeople is practised in only one town - Fort Simpson - which houses the Government agricultural station for the area.

Services are comparable for the entire area. Air and water travel are the most common in the summer and the dog-team replaces the canoe in winter. Hay River and now Fort Providence, Fort Rae, and Yellowknife, are in contact with southern Canada by motor road. This means that freeze-up and break-up still isolate most of the towns of the region. All towns visited have school facilities, some electricity, some garbage disposal, some postal service, some wireless contact with the outside world, either one, two, or three mission establishments, and one to several trading posts. Most towns have some kind of running water available for the houses of salaried employees of outside agencies. All of these vary in quality, scale, and time. Thus, Fort Simpson which had very little running water this last summer (1960) is to have a running water supply for the new school and hostel, including as well a number of the other houses in the vicinity of the school.

Housing varies at present primarily with occupation and ethnic membership. Local representatives of outside agencies live in houses whose standard is that of middle class urban Canadian culture. Self-employed or casual workers who make up most of the population live in cabins made of log, or in the case of some Indians, of materials supplied by the Government. Aside from those for which Government materials have been supplied, cabins vary in quality with family income, and the length of time spent in the house per year. Thus people who

spend only a short time in the fort town during the year need no more than a rainproof way-station in the trading centre.

Because of the high correlation between occupation and ethnic membership, housing reflects first and foremost White and non-White distinctions, and secondly, to a much lesser extent Metis/Indian differences. In only a few isolated cases are Whites to be observed living in log cabins or in tents. This reflects the higher income occupations of Whites. Metis live for the most part in log cabins, usually older than Indian cabins, with three to four rooms on the ground floor, a loft above, and a small cellar beneath the main room. They are also more town-based than Indians and rely less on hunting and trapping for their income. Only one case of a Metis who intends to live for this coming winter in a small bush settlement, rather than remain in the settlement has been observed for the whole valley. Indians live in log cabins, lumber and asphalt sided houses (Government supplied materials), and tents. It should be noted that Indian housing is improving rapidly, especially in towns that house Indian Agents. Thus the greatest amount of improvement in Indian housing can be seen at Fort Simpson and Fort Norman where Indian Agents live all year round, while Fort Providence, Fort Good Hope, and Fort McPherson have fewer of the new houses for Indians. Aklavik has the worst housing for non-Whites in the region. Some of these people claim that they are confused as to whether or not they are going to be relocated to Inuvik, and are thus waiting to see what happens before improving their own houses, which they say have already been assessed. One informant felt that any improvements that people make will not be absorbed into the value of their houses and he claimed that it is better for the people to wait and see what the Government is going to do before doing anything themselves.

In summary, housing varies fundamentally with occupation and income, and these factors reflect the ethnic make-up of these communities. Therefore, as occupations and incomes diversify among non-Whites, so will housing.

POPULATION AND SETTLEMENT PATTERNS

Good population data are more easily obtained where Roman Catholic missions have been permanently established, while comparative

data for early periods can be obtained from reports by H. B. C. factors. Since genealogies are not very deep in the region as a whole, historical work on population trends will in the main be dependent upon these sources.

The population of the fort town areas including members of all ethnic groups is as follows: (to two-figure accuracy)

Fort Providence	380
Fort Simpson	650
Fort Norman	220
Fort Franklin	250
Fort Good Hope	360
Fort McPherson	450

Where records are available there is a net surplus of births over deaths, and also a stable population density per settlement area, except for Fort Simpson which has grown steadily in population since its inception. This means that some emigration out of most of the settlement town areas is taking place. Because of the stable population history in many places, it is probable that many of the settlement town areas have achieved an approximation to their critical densities. When new ecological patterns enter the region, as in the case of Inuvik, or as a result of the new jobs that are to be permanently available in Fort Simpson with the establishment of the new hostel and enlarged facilities, then new densities become possible.

The survey has revealed four basic types of settlement patterning in the area. Although each of these varies within itself, there is enough discontinuity in sociological characteristics between types so that categories of settlement can be described.

(1) Urban centres - These are settlements in excess of 700 to 1, 000 people, containing more than 100 Whites. Services include some kind of running water in many houses, and a school with more than two classrooms and facilities for education higher than grade IX. At least 50% of the local inhabitants are not engaged in activities connected

with hunting, trapping, and fishing. Politically, some form of municipal Government is evolving, or has already developed.

(2) Settlement towns or trading centres - These are towns which develop around a trading post and/or a mission station. Three to six hundred people utilize these services, although a variable percentage of this number live in small groups or camps in the surrounding area during most of the year. From ten to fifty Whites and as many Metis live in the town all year round, along with those Indians who have steady jobs, old people on Government assistance, and others who use the settlement as their home base. Contacts with the outside world may be regular or sporadic, but are significantly less frequent than those in urban towns. Facilities include a small school with classes up to grade IX. Electricity and running water are arranged for by out side agencies for their local personnel, and there is no municipal organization. Between fifty and eighty per cent of the population is directly involved in some hunting, trapping, and fishing.

(3) Local groups - These are small settlements of fifteen to one hundred Indians who are closely tied by trade, marriage, descent, and legal "band" status to a particular settlement town. The group usually has one or several names, and constituent families often have cabins in the fort into which this group habitually trades. Their presence can easily be detected by the sudden appearance of tents in the settlement just before annual treaty payments, and at annual religious festivals. Members of local groups think of the locus of their particular group as "home", and invariably spend the winter there. There are no Whites in such settlements, and no running water, electricity, or wage labour. All members of the group are involved in hunting, fishing, and trapping. Major contacts with the outside world are obtained by radio receiver, and through periodic visits to the settlement.

(4) Camps - These are temporary groupings of five to fifty people who have permanent cabins in settlement towns and/or local groups. They most often use tents, or empty cabins (if such exist in the vicinity), and congregate for the express purpose of hunting or fishing. In two places, Fort Norman and Fort McPherson, at least one annual camp, under a specific camp leader is a traditional part of local life.

All classifications of social phenomena leave something to be desired, and this is certainly true of the one proposed above. However, it does serve to bring together a large amount of material and helps to present it clearly in what is to follow. The types are also rough guides to the dynamics of social change in the area, since they direct attention to those factors which produce exceptions and border line cases. These factors and their effects will be discussed later after a more detailed comparison of social life has been given.

ECONOMY

The economy of the region is tied closely to extractive industries, plus construction, maintenance, and trade. Within the gamut of extractive products, fur, (which produces a large portion of the cash incomes in the non-urban areas), is a small income producer compared to other extractive enterprises handled mostly by Whites. For non-Whites, hunting and fishing are important sources of food, and much of the material for shelter and fuel comes from the land itself. The following table indicates the disparity of Territorial income produced by fur, as opposed to other income sources.

Table 7

Values for Basic Commodities in N. W. T. in 000's of Dollars* .

Year	Fur	Minerals	Lumber (at $2.00 per bd. ft.)	Fish (f. o. b. Hay River)
1953-4	757	26, 401	-	-
1954-5	1,167	25, 584	13, 694	-
1955-6	806	22, 949	12, 434	1, 433
1956-7	733	21, 401	22, 254	1, 486
1957-8	735	24, 792	25, 152	1, 255

* Adapted by the author from data supplied by the Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources.

It is difficult to get an accurate record of the ethnic make-up of workers in the various industries. However, very few jobs that require Euro-Canadian training of any kind are held by non-Whites in the area. Exceptions, such as Chipweyan Game Warden, a Métis wireless operator who pilots his own plane, a Métis power station operator, indicate that such jobs can be handled by non-Whites, given the proper incentives and training.

The economy of urban centres is based primarily on wage labour and entrepreneurial activity. This does not mean that there are no hunters and trappers among urban dwellers. However, it does mean that the gross income of the total community depends to only a minor extent on trapping, fishing, and hunting. The higher incomes generated by such an economy produce better services, so that telephones, doctors, supermarkets, voluntary associations, and other characteristic features of the outside society are present to an ever-increasing degree.

In the settlement towns the economy is roughly correlated with permanent or non-permanent residence in the town. The more permanent the residence, the less traditional the economic activities, although this is modified to some extent by job status among salaried persons. Thus the senior positions such as R.C.M.P. constable, nurse, H.B.C. manager, school teacher, etc., may involve some mobility from year to year, although several Whites have remained in one town for periods of a dozen or more years. Junior status salaried persons are the most stable potentially. School janitors, special police assistants, H.B.C. handymen, may hold their jobs for life. In any event, these junior status salaried jobs keep a core group of non-Whites, plus their dependents, in the settlement at all times. They may do some hunting, some fishing, but rarely are they actively engaged in trapping.

It is difficult to make any accurate statements about the proportions of the population of each settlement area that remain in the settlement all year round. Whites in the same town may vary widely in their estimation of how many people stay in the settlement and why. There is a widespread belief held by Whites and non-Whites that a group of ne'er-do-wells stay in the settlement all year and live in winter on the receipts of gambling and/or welfare payments. It is obvious from the reports of residents that ecological and economic factors such

as the availability of wage labour, the price and supply of fur, and the supply of game determine how many people stay in the fort. However, this is not the whole story. Many claimed they stay in town because they wish to be near their children who are in school. Several informants in widely dispersed towns said that they had "quit" jobs because they wanted to return to the "people", or to their "nation".

Jobs are not in large supply around the settlement towns, but when construction and/or maintenance work expands, there is no dearth of applicants. Almost everyone agrees that wage labour is, generally speaking, more attractive today than traditional economic activity. However, the insecurity of this source of income for all but a few, means that dependence upon older productive techniques has not ended. Thus quite a number of men who have worked for years on salary keep dogs and set nets, and some mention the possibility of total future dependence on such practices as one of the reasons for its persistence.

Vocational training increases the number of jobs available to non-Whites. However, the changeover from school training to the work situation has been haphazard. In several towns we met heavy equipment operators who had come back to their home towns with no use for their new skills, or in another case, a man returned to a town in which the local White leaders agreed that "X knows how to run the thing, but he doesn't understand the theory of machines", and so X is not allowed near it. In another town, the White in charge of a job claimed, with much supporting evidence, that the non-White skilled workers could not be relied on to be on the job at necessary times. In a few cases, a White had seen that the person coming from the school situation needed help. One nurse explained that her young Indian nurse's aide had reported complete ignorance of the job when she first arrived from her training course. The nurse slowly re-introduced the aide to her training, but introduced the new factor of responsibility slowly and over a period of time. The young aide is now doing well, and wants to stay on the job for a while, but hopes to save enough money to go on with her training. In general, it is safe to generalize that most Whites with whom the matter was discussed in the forts are highly suspicious of non-White capabilities in skilled and semi-skilled wage labour. This is a part of the culture of the area and is a force to be reckoned with in any attempt to increase the skills of non-Whites.

An estimated 50% to 80% of the population of the settlement town areas is dependent to a large part on hunting, fishing, and trapping for their livelihood. This is a semi-nomadic and semi-self-sufficient way of life. It is semi-nomadic because they are away from their base camp (whether this is the settlement or a local group within the settlement town area) for economic reasons some time during the year. This can include a yearly round of little to much movement in which people live in some or all of the following places: a summer fish camp, (not too far from the trading post or settlement), a fall fish camp which may be the same or different in location from the summer one, trips into the settlement for trading and some visiting, winter camp with a "bunch" at a local grouping, winter meat camps, especially in areas where there are herds of caribou, spring hunts on the river for muskrat and to a lesser extent, beaver, camping out on the trapline.

Non-Whites are semi-self-sufficient in that they can obtain from the land a large proportion of their diet, they can build their own houses, mostly of local materials, and get their own fuel. They do not, however, use local materials to make tea, sugar, canvas tents, clothing, guns, ammunition, fish nets, flashlights, and a host of other material goods, all of which are considered essential to normal living. Cash is needed, therefore, so that this expanding list of important commodities can be purchased. Today, individual cash incomes are derived from three major and two minor sources: fur, wage labour, welfare payments, and to a lesser extent from gambling and internal trade.

On the basis of a small sample of three to seven household heads in each settlement town, plus the statements of game wardens and one H. B. C. manager, who was willing to discuss the matter, it is estimated that income from the hunting and trapping of saleable fur varies from $200.00 to $600.00 per year for most trappers. (Van Stone 1961) Many spoken to gave lower figures and a few are reported by others, especially in the Aklavik area, to have obtained receipts ranging up as high as $2,000.00. This latter area has been experiencing an increase in its mink population in the last few years according to the local game warden. In terms of the region as a whole, there is a fluctuating but downward trend in numbers of pelts brought in for sale. The following table gives some data on major fur-bearing animals.

Table 8

Numbers of Pelts Exported From NWT of a Selected* Variety of Furs**

Variety	1953-4	1954-5	1955-6	1956-7	1957-8
Beaver	1, 760	11, 434	7, 294	7, 824	7, 390
Ermine	9, 218	5, 728	8, 654	7, 276	2, 742
White Fox	27, 178	60, 483	27, 720	24, 049	28, 939
Lynx	1, 244	1, 382	602	616	617
Marten	4, 863	4, 490	5, 169	3, 231	3, 856
Mink	4, 477	3, 463	3, 174	2, 697	2, 940
Muskrat	321, 760	345, 866	280, 291	184, 458	182, 880
Squirrel	38, 116	41, 974	31, 642	25, 414	25, 908

* Minor quantities have been omitted.

** Adapted from data supplied by the Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources.

Underlying the fluctuation indicated in the table above and the general downward trend of pelts taken, is the individual trapper and those factors that help to determine his income from trapping. This income varies with the type and abundance of fur in his area, the price and local marketing procedures, and the individual's motivation for engaging in traditional economic pursuits. Except for beaver (controlled for conservation purposes), variations in the number and distribution of each variety except the very cheap ones, such as squirrel, certainly affect local income. At Aklavik, informants are all aware of the local rise in the mink supply. Again, at Fort Good Hope household heads spoke of the abundance of fur that would be drawing people into trapping in the Colville Lake area in the near future. Figures for the 1953-8 period indicate a rough correlation between prices and numbers of pelts obtained in the Territories as a whole, although prices, as one would expect, fluctuate more readily than the quantity of fur brought in for sale. On the individual level trappers never fail to mention that prices quoted are always higher before the man leaves for his trapline as compared to the time of sale. One trader reported that he does this purposely to encourage the men

to go out to their traps. It is believed among trappers that one trader in a town has the effect of lowering the market price. In one town feeling on this point was so high that four of the men spoken to vowed that they would take their furs this next season down river to the next settlement where there are several traders. On the other hand, trappers in one town that has three traders claim that there is collusion among the traders on fur prices per pelt for each variety. In this latter town and in others as well, trappers reported selling fur by the packet. A man takes his bundle of fur round to the different traders, and gets a price for the lot rather than by the pelt, although the numbers of pelts per packet are known to the trapper. This is believed to increase the chances of competition. Whether or not this is in fact true is open to doubt. However, this procedure probably increases the risk to the buyer, since he gets a poorer chance to see what it is that he is buying, and the final receipts to the trapper are probably lower. Evidence for this last point comes from three settlement towns. In town A where fur is reported to be sold by the packet, the game warden is very keen on having people send their fur outside the Territories. He has definite evidence of higher receipts running thirty to forty per cent higher per packet when outside prices are compared to local ones. His explanation for this difference is the ignorance of the local fur buyers. He claims that the buyers cannot risk good prices because they cannot recognize good fur. However, in towns B and C where fur prices are reported by the pelt, trappers and the game warden are not nearly so keen on sending fur outside, and feel that cash returns although better do not warrant the long wait for payment. It should be noted that there is a tariff on furs sent out of the Territories which must be paid immediately upon shipment of the goods. There is no organized arrangement for sending furs outside the Territories for marketing. Only sporadic cases have been reported to us, and no one who had actually sent his furs out was encountered. Most trappers remark that they cannot wait so long for their money. It is the usual custom to buy supplies at the settlement when the furs have been sold, and pay off some of the debt incurred during the past months.

There seems to be widespread agreement that trapping is a "hard life", and the amount of commitment to such an occupation certainly varies from person to person. The brisk trade in beaver seals which allow some people to get more than their Government allotted share of beaver indicates that some would rather sell their

trapping privileges and take a lower cash reward, than do the trapping themselves. By and large, it seems plausible to suggest that the more time a family head stays away from the settlement, the more committed he is to trapping as against other forms of cash income production. There seem to be quite a number of persons who trap simply because it is the only way they can obtain cash, i.e., their personal commitment to trapping is fundamentally economic rather than cultural or emotional. Informants often alluded to hunting with pleasure, and even prefer to leave a job in order to take part in a hunt. However, with the exception of the spring hunt, which is not strictly speaking trapping, even though muskrat and beaver are taken, informants always speak of trapping as the necessary means of securing cash.

In analytical terms the social relationships involved in hunting and trapping serve to separate the two activities. Hunting is done either alone or in groups. The groups are still organized in a traditional manner under camp leaders who are reputed to have superior hunting abilities and knowledge of the area. Whether gathered alone or in a group, the proceeds of hunting are to some extent shared. Although many individual hunters in the settlement towns put meat in the community refrigerator, sharing patterns still obtain in all settlements from the settlement towns down to the camps. Hunting is set into a non-White context of social relationships and thus many aboriginal socio-cultural characteristics may persist. The rewards both material and cultural which accrue to the individual because of his hunting pursuits are in no way dependent upon anything but his skills and his non-White social relations. On the other hand, as suggested above, trapping is centred around the need for cash and the White man's goods. It is usually carried on individually or in pairs, and of great importance to the activity is the relationship of trapper to trader. The latter controls the prices, to some extent, and the credit that may enable the trapper to carry on his activities, and finally the trader controls many of the goods that the contact situation has made essential. Therefore, trapping not only involves a traditional bush life, but is inlaid with cultural and interpersonal features which are quite different compared to hunting.

As a source of stable cash income, wage labour affects an unknown number of people in the urban centres and a very small

number outside of the Whites in the forts. Elsewhere it is not a factor. Usually there are handymen around the mission, the store, the nursing station, and a janitor in the school, a special police assistant, an assistant to the game warden, and a few other handyman jobs connected to other agencies represented locally. Women work as clerks in the stores, as nurse's aides, and as charladies for Whites. All of these usually speak some English. Turnover at these jobs does not seem high. Commonly, the observer is told that "X is an institution around here" meaning that this particular employee is an unchanging part of the local agency. On few occasions, the White employer would remark that he had hired Y because the man who was here on the job on his arrival was "impossible". In one town, much hostility was directed towards job holders by others. Non-Whites complained that single women, cripples, and one single man with no dependents did not "need" jobs as much as others with large families. When asked what a cripple would do without a job, the informants shrug and say, "Don't know", or "They'd get by".

All adult males spoken to have worked for wages, and are usually able to go into minute description about the pay, the work, and the time spent on the job. All claim they like to work for wages but only a few, notably at Fort Simpson, expressed a desire to work for wages full time. More often people say "part of the time". When questioned more closely about this, those who would discuss the matter claimed that they did not like the regular hours of wage labour and being "bossed" all the time. One man put it this way, "If I don't show up once for work, I can lose the job, but if I don't get a moose to-day, maybe I'll get one tomorrow".

Welfare payments are a significant portion of cash income in the area. Children's allowance provides some interesting conversation with Indian residents. It is almost universally believed that the residential schools obtain the "baby bonus" cheques that are withheld if a child is in residence. This may possibly be one of the reasons for parents moving into town to live near their children in school. Old age assistance has increased the importance of old people. In two cases we saw young couples living with the old parents (of the husband in both cases) and obviously being supported partially by the old folks. Relief payments are not usually in cash, but either in the form of credits in the local store, or in kind. The ease and frequency of relief payments varies from

place to place. In one town an Indian was granted meat upon request, and very little interrogation seemed to go on. The Indian agent remarked afterward that he knew that this particular person had been having a very hard time of it. In another town, an Indian came to see the agent three times and asked him for some meat each time, finally he was given thirty pounds and told to set more fish nets, and to try to get a job on the local construction project. The Indian told the writer afterwards that he would starve before going back to that Agent again. In some towns the R.C.M.P. handle relief and criteria for its dispensation vary a great deal. There does not seem to be much standardization as to what constitutes a proper amount of need for relief.

It is a widespread belief among Whites that relief payments produce dependency and breaks down Indian abilities to become self-reliant. It is claimed that welfare payments are used for gambling and "home brew" rather than subsistence. No factual evidence to prove or disprove this point was obtained. The impression is also gained that those Whites who are strong in their beliefs about the detrimental effects of welfare also subscribe most strongly to the belief that "bush" life is best and happiest for the Indian. Indians also subscribe to this view, but also describe it as hard and tough; some call it "hell". This puts a more realistic tone onto a somewhat oversimplified picture of happy hardihood painted by some of the Whites.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

The major social distinctions in the region are those between Whites on the one hand, and Métis and Indians on the other. As we have seen Métis and Indians live somewhat similar lives and may be more or less separated from one another as groups. Métis generally know the native vernacular and Whites do not. Métis/Indian intermarriage is not uncommon, while White/non-White intermarriage is much less frequent. Finally and most importantly, White/non-White social distinctions are closely correlated with occupation.

Although interaction does take place between Whites and non-Whites, much of it is done with the aid of, in the presence of, or only

with, intermediaries who are in most cases the holders of the steady jobs in the settlement. These have more occasion to meet the Whites, and the Whites rely on them for information about non-Whites. Thus the Whites often answered questions by saying, "You should speak to X (his non-White employee) about that..." Invariably, it was one of these intermediaries who took the writer around the settlement to speak to other non-Whites. On the other hand, White/non-White interaction, no matter how formal it is, represents the major contact that Indians and Métis have with the dominant North American culture. In the following brief descriptions of White/non-White interaction are given for each of the major institutionalized White roles in the region.

The Missionary

Missionaries connected with either the Anglican or the Roman Catholic missions have prescribed duties concerned with church services, marriages, deaths, baptisms, maintenance of buildings and supplies, and other tasks connected with the running of the station. These older missions are less interested in making converts than in servicing those who are members of their faith. Urban centres have representatives of both churches, but Fort Simpson is the only settlement town in which both still carry on services. The Anglican church at Fort Norman has been abandoned, and the Catholic church at Fort McPherson is not in operation. In contrast to this, the Pentacostal missionaries are moving into all settlement towns, and actively converting where and when they can. Pentacostals have less organizational matters, and much smaller mission establishments, than the older churches, and the missionaries of this church spend much more time interacting and contacting the non-Whites than is usual among the other Christian denominations.

Church traditions and ethnic origins tend also to flavour the interaction between the missionary and his parishioners. Thus the strong tradition of W.A. (Women's Associations) among the Anglicans is readily apparent in women's teas, and in meetings in Fort Simpson and Inuvik. The strong emphasis on singing is easily apparent in the Pentacostal services, as is the rural Canadian background of their missionaries. The French speaking background of the Roman Catholic missions is a factor that may have an effect on the local people, but this is as yet unknown.

Set within the church traditions and within the particular history of relations between non-Whites, and the mission in any one place, are the personality and attitudes of the missionary himself towards his work. One missionary has a hobby that is very time consuming. This means that people often intrude upon his favourite activity, and local people agreed that he does not like being disturbed. Another missionary seems completely absorbed in local church history, and bores his Indian visitors with the historical minutiae of a time past and forgotten. Another told the writer that he enjoyed the lonely life up in the north, and that he was intending to go into a monastery after another few years to study. Yet another is interested in community development which he hopes can involve non-Whites. As a consequence, he visits and talks with many of the people of his parish and they bring many of their problems to him. One missionary combined maintenance with interaction by baking bread for his mission and selling (sometimes giving) the surplus to non-Whites.

In response to the missions, non-Whites know that the missionaries are against medicine practices and aboriginal beliefs. Indeed, informants use the missions as an explanation for the passing of old beliefs. It is difficult to assess the depth of theological penetration of the Christian faith, however. It should be mentioned that quite a number of informants spoke of "sin" in connection with "my religion" (Catholic or Protestant). Finally, non-Whites respond to the missionary as an individual operating albeit within a stereotyped tradition. Thus people speak of missions in general and compare them so that one man could tell us that the Catholic mission wants all your money, while the "Protestant" (Pentacostal) takes anything. But missionaries as persons are known and discussed so that the nature of their role in the community is always to some extent their own doing.

The Trader

In the urban centres, stores are becoming more and more impersonal, so that the trader role is overlaid by the complexity of the supermarket type of enterprise. In such a system most purchases are made by cash, and with employed clerks rather than with the "trader". In the fort towns, the relationship between the trader and

the customer is an important factor in the purchasing power of the customer. This is a result of the fact that a large portion of the trade is done by accounting rather than by cash across the counter. Credit can be obtained on the basis of past trapping records, or as a result of some wage labour that the individual has managed to obtain. Wage labour is the more favoured form of collateral, since there is less risk attached to the final receipts.

As in the case of the missionaries, the trader who has more bureaucratic responsibilities to an organization, i.e., the "Bay man", has less contact with the people. No matter what the ethnic background of the free trader he always has more interaction with the non-Whites in the fort towns. He is usually a permanent resident of the town, and in many cases he knows the local vernacular. This is less true of the urban centres where the White free trader is absorbed by the larger White community. In the settlements, the H.B.C. stores are run on a day to day basis by the clerks, with the manager in his office looking after the administrative features of accounting and merchandising. The "cracker barrel" type of friendly general store atmosphere is not present. Instead, customers are usually quiet and seem even more than usually restrained. Conversations between a group of young men carried on in a normal voice are observed to stop or continue in a whisper upon entry into the store. The following instance is typical. One of the men may want to speak to the manager about credit. He tells the clerk, a young Indian boy, who in turn informs the manager after he has finished writing out the bill of another customer. Three or four minutes later the man, hat in hand, goes into the manager's office. His friends wait for him quietly looking at the goods arranged at tables, and the whole group leave the store together. The strains of their conversation in Slavey can be heard as they leave the front steps. Such scenes are less applicable to the free traders who more often than not act as their own clerks and, therefore, contact the person entering the store in a more immediate way.

In general, traders rarely expressed any views at all to the writer. Outside of the usual personality stereotypes (lazy, childlike, degraded) the following attitudes were expressed by three traders. The Government is ruining the Indians with welfare; they should get out to bush and work; the agencies that provide outside rations and supplies for their local representatives are not concerned with the economic well-being of these frontier communities,

or they would force people to buy locally; trade in the Territories is mostly merchandising, not fur; the Indian will not buy cheap goods anymore, he wants "good stuff".

Complaints against traders of all varieties are widespread, but it is difficult to sort out legitimate from mistaken claims. Given the fact that traders hold in their power a large proportion of the goods necessary to life, and a desirable standard of living, it is no wonder that complaints, antagonism and veiled threats against them are common. One Indian kept making statements about the local H. B. C.man's tight credit policy which bordered on witchcraft. He would describe the stinginess of the trader and then say, "One day something going to happen to him." or "He won't be rich like that all the time". On the other hand, in one community the H. B. C. manager is viewed as a local champion by the non-Whites in their attempt to obtain some kind of community organization.

On the whole, however, the personality of the trader is less of a factor in defining his interaction with the people of the fort area than is the case with the missionary. Except for the Anglicans who use catechists, there are more direct contact situations available to the missionary if he wishes to use them. Besides this, a trader must make a profit, and to do so he must not accede to the constant demand of his customers for more credit unless such demands are economically feasible.

In summary it should be emphasized that the interaction between the trader and the non-White is usually minimal, even in the forts in the usual relation of customer and trader-as-retailer. The trader emerges as an interacting individual when credit is required and furs are being sold. In such situations he is in a dominant position because of his control over valued goods. This superior/subordinate relation can, of course, be ameliorated by personality distinctions, but it is a persistent feature of the trader non-White relationship.

The Nurse

The nurse runs the local dispensary and is responsible for improving local customs of hygiene and preventive medicine.

People come to her when they are sick, or she visits them. Some nurses run classes for pregnant mothers, and all nurses give vaccinations.

Interaction takes place most often in the dispensary. Nurses either use the handyman or a nurse's aide as interpreter when the patient cannot speak English. Otherwise contact is direct and in all observed cases but one, brief and to the point. In one case of a nurse who visits homes regularly, there is a stream of conversation from the nurse to the patient during the dispensary hours. Non-White attitudes towards nurses are not easily encountered. One informant during the entire trip replied with the term "terrific" rather than the usual terse "O.K." when asked about the nurse.

The actual amount of day to day interaction between the nurse and the non-White people of the fort is largely varied by her attitudes to home visits. If she believes that sick people must bring their illness to the nursing station for diagnosis and treatment, her interaction is less than if she believes that the nurse must make rounds. Only one town visited had a nurse who made regular rounds. In other towns the nurse might go to a non-White house, if called, although several claimed they always asked that the patient come to the nursing station. Public health functions, such as talks and classes for pregnant mothers, and baby care classes for young women, increase the interaction. In the case of the nurse's personality, this seems to be less important in determining the amount of interaction than in almost any other official position in the north. The major factor associated with high interaction is dedication to nursing and its goals. Most nurses spoken to seemed to have a more objective and less stereotyped view of non-White behaviour than other Whites. However, it requires not just understanding, but energy and a strongly dedicated individual to make rounds and conduct extra classes after a strenuous morning of visitors to the clinic.

The Indian Agent

The Indian Agent's role results from the treaty arrangements between "Indians" on the one hand and the Government on the other. The Indian Act sets up the specialized relations which exist between the Indian Affairs Branch and the Indians. All Indians registered on band lists come under the jurisdiction of the Act, and the local Indian Agent is responsible for its day to day administration. He

is in turn responsible to a regional superintendent at Fort Smith, who is in turn responsible to the central office in Ottawa. The Act deals with land holdings and transfer, inheritance, trade, the definition of Indian status, band organization, and so on. It should be noted that no particular legislation congeals the relationship between the Government and the Eskimo, which means that Government departments dealing with Indians are much more circumscribed in their relations to Indians as compared to those dealing with the Eskimo.

Indian Agents are at present stationed at Yellowknife, Fort Simpson, Fort Norman, Inuvik, with an assistant to the Yellowknife agent posted at Hay River. It should be noted that a few Indians are non-treaty by choice and do not have the special relationship with the Government through the Indian Agent. In the words of one senior official, the Indian Agent is there to help the Indian to "help himself". He also felt that the Indian Agent is the only person especially appointed to look after the welfare of the Indian. The ultimate goal of the Indian Agent should be, he said, to do himself out of a job. On the local scene the Indian Agent advises the "band" (a group roughly correlated with fort areas), and he administers Government welfare projects such as housing improvement, and also gives out relief to Indians. No Indian Agent in the Territories to whom I spoke has had any specialized training in welfare work, or in the development of group leadership, although this is claimed to be a central part of their work.

Indian Agents are generally aware of the contemporary view of Indians, and of their eventual integration into Canadian society, held by the hierarchy in their own organization and it is difficult on short notice to obtain anything but the "official" view of their job in the field when talking to them. There is reason to believe, however, that the norm of getting a job done, for purposes of official reports and so on, often conflicts with the norm of democratic decision-making by Indians themselves. In answer to a whole series of questions, one Indian Agent replied that the band council met and voted on such issues, and this gave the impression of a large measure of local autonomy on the part of the local band group. When asked about the very same decisions, Indians in the settlement reported to a man that such things are handled by the Indian Agent. He

decides when and how things are to be done, and then organizes the work force so that the job is executed. Other Whites in the community corroborated this view in casual conversation.

The amount of interaction between Indian Agents and non-Whites does not in general seem high, and in one case an intermediary is used as a regular part of the interaction. Agents appear at band meetings, on treaty day to hand out the treaty money, or they are asked to assist in a trip to bush, or to give mechanical help such as the use of a tractor. Outside of these formal interactive situations it is rare to see any daily meeting of the Agent and the Indian. (It was rumoured of one agent that his interaction with Indians was extremely high, but the writer saw no indication of this while in this particular settlement).

One unfortunate side of Indian Agent/Indian relations is the constantly reiterated complaint by Indians that the Agent makes promises and never keeps them. In tracing down several of these stories, it is discovered that the Agent has been asked to do something, then given a tentative answer dependent upon the consent of superiors in his own bureaucratic organization. Indians often seem to interpret such a probability statement as a promise to do something which will result in the granting of their request. If the request is then not granted, the Indian claims a promise has been broken.

R.C.M.P.

Interaction between R.C.M.P. and non-Whites is almost always regulatory, even when the duties are not primarily those of policing the area. Thus, one young constable who has the job of keeping the local community refrigerator, regulates the hours per week when the people may come and get their meat out of storage. If they are not there on time, they must wait until the next scheduled period to get their meat. This is not always the case when non-R.C.M.P. are responsible for the same task. Although a few stories are told of policemen who interact on other than regulatory grounds, none have been observed.

Generally speaking, the police are feared, respected, and hated by non-Whites throughout the area. Stories to substantiate such attitudes are easily elicited from non-Whites and Whites,

however, actual incidents are not easily observed. One R.C.M.P. constable claims that he has to break the law in order to keep it properly. He said that he must break into houses where he suspects "them" of drinking home-made brew. He also feels that to put a man in jail may bring hardship to his family, so that physical punishment for misdemeanours is often "kinder in the end". Indians claimed that this particular constable was worse than most, that he "had the town under his thumb", that he was a "dictator", and that he has "us in his pocket".

Stories about R.C.M.P. constables like the one described are rife in the area, although actual examples seem much rarer. Besides such stories which reflect local attitudes, the law enforcement role of the R.C.M.P. and the wide-spread use of illicit home-made brew keeps interaction between police and non-Whites at a minimum.

The Teacher

Formally, teachers interact with children in the classroom. They also relate non-Whites to the larger region by choosing students in the local community who are to study in residential schools, if such do not exist in the town itself. Teachers also interact with non-Whites at dances and movies held in the school, and at parent - teachers meetings (held in a few towns). Informally, their contacts seem widely ranging. One group of teachers has an informal arrangement with several of the young girls of the settlement. The girls come in, help with the dishes and then read the magazines and listen to the radio. The girls come irregularly whenever they wish and are admitted to the teacherage as a matter of course. One teacher came into a settlement town from a local group, in which there is a small school, in order to find jobs for the men of his community. In another town, a female teacher holds a weekly sewing circle for the women of her town. More than any other group as a whole, except children, teachers seem to interact with non-Whites outside the bounds of their formal functions in the town. The reasons for this are twofold. It is advised by the Education Division of the Department of Northern Affairs (according to the teachers) and the teachers themselves are not regarded in as stereotyped a fashion as other Whites, probably because of the role of federal, secular, teacher being more recent in the region. It is

significant that among the myriad of complaints against Whites voiced by residents in the area, none was ever raised against teachers in the federal day schools. On the other hand, complaints, and negative attitudes in general concerning mission schools can be elicited easily, in the same way that complaints emerge about all the older intrusive institutions in the region, while newer roles resulting from more enlightened and expanded Government interest in the area are more positively valued by non-Whites.

Although personality, age, and sex distinctions do seem to vary the interaction between teachers and non-Whites, the role of teacher, plus the northern programme in education, and perhaps the selection of teachers, seems to determine that teachers (secular) are viewed as friendly, potentially co-operative, and in several places as leaders.

Teachers generally report that they like their jobs. However, they report universally that they were given an unrealistic picture of the north by Department officials during their selection procedures. Without going into details which would point up individual rather than system characteristics, it should be noted that enough teachers to make it significant report a lack of support by their own bureaucratic hierarchy. If the teacher becomes involved in community affairs as a great many seem to do, and he is not given adequate and specific terms of reference and support by his superiors when community disputes arise, then job dissatisfaction results. Although much of the high turnover (approximately 30% according to officials at Fort Smith) of teachers is due to other factors, such as the peripheral nature of the north in relation to the wider society, there is still enough evidence based on teachers' statements to support the view that inadequate communication, terms of reference, and support by higher-ups have added to the loss of good staff.

Other Patterns of Interaction

The roles of bush pilot and wireless operator have been omitted from the above description because the occupants of these positions seem to interact almost entirely with Whites.

Children of Whites, on the other hand, mix freely with non-Whites in most cases. Little Indian and Métis children are in this way introduced to hi-fi sets, to educational toys, magazines, and many of the other paraphernalia of Euro-Canadian life. In line with the liberalizing of racial attitudes in the culture as a whole, even young adolescents who live with their parents during the summer interact with age-mates of all ethnic backgrounds on the basis of common age class interests such as rock and roll, movie magazines, etc.

Local Traditions of Interaction

The writer has been impressed by the local traditions of interaction in the region. In the urban centres of Yellowknife and Hay River the writer was told by Whites to "go and see the Indians" in much the same way as a tourist is told to view the local peculiarities of any strange place. On their home grounds, non-Whites seem to be very difficult to approach in the two centres mentioned above. On the other hand, many have learned the Euro-Canadian techniques of superficial friendliness, handshaking, and small talk, and use these behaviours in bars, in the supermarket, when waiting in line for a movie, and so on. That is to say, in a social setting that is predominantly White, the non-White picks up the modes of interaction, but this does not mean that he uses these in all situations.

In the Mackenzie delta area, including Fort McPherson there is a tradition of free and easy social intercourse which is in striking contrast to the rest of the region. This seems to be less true of Inuvik, and most true of Aklavik. Although this interaction is also superficial, it is somewhat more general than at Yellowknife. Thus the writer had no difficulty in entering Indian dwelling at Aklavik, and several Eskimos were observed at various times interacting with Whites on obviously friendly terms. More generally, people say "hello" to one another, stop to talk of the weather, local events, and the condition of the streets and the town, all of which is in sharp contrast to White/non-White relations in most of the fort towns.

White/non-White relations in the settlements are, as we have seen, mostly formal. Attempts to have other kinds of relations meet with some mistrust, at first. However, each settlement town has its own peculiarities. In one, relations have always been excessively distant between White and non-White. Local Whites tell the newcomer that "We don't have much to do with them." In the same place, one young White who had no one his own age except some of the Indians and Métis was under constant pressure and criticism from older Whites because of his "unfortunate" choice of friends. In another town with three heavy drinking Whites, and a local tradition of more than usual interaction between Whites and non-Whites, relations are constant and friendly especially, with those who drink with the non-Whites on a regular basis.

INTERNAL RELATIONS OF THE ETHNIC GROUPS

Because of the non-intensive character of the survey it is difficult to make any definitive statement about the social organization of the two major ethnic groupings. Whites and non-Whites. What is to follow should, therefore, be taken as a proposed guide or an outline for more intensive research into this aspect of life in the region.

Non-White

A distinctive feature of social organization in the area is the large consideration given to the household and kinship units as primary foci in social life. The household usually contains a nuclear family (father, mother, and children) with the possible addition of an older dependent or two. Children may be own or adopted. The father hunts, fishes, traps, cuts wood, works for wages, builds the house, helps train the children, especially the boys, carries water, runs the boat if there is one, i.e., he is the primary source of income in the household,who can be aided by other adult males in the house if there are any. The mother cooks, tends the children, carries water, gathers wood, snares rabbits, sometimes visits the nets with or without her husband, shops for food, sometimes works for wages,and makes moccasins, mukluks, parkas. Marriage is the major device for setting up

such units and traditional marriage practices still obtain for many of the people in the settlement towns and in the local groupings. Whether such is the case for the urban centres is unknown. Traditional marriage is to some unknown extent matri-virilocal, i.e., the man first lives with his father-in-law in the latter's settlement and should help his father-in-law to some extent, although many claim that they do not do this. Later, the man moves back to his own group. There seems to be no stipulated period of "bride service", and several men spoken to had lived, and were still living, with the group of their wife's parents. However, there is much variation, and this pattern is by no means universal, especially when the spouses come from the same settlement. Cousin marriage exists but is frowned upon by the church and results primarily from a paucity of mates rather than from any rule. Every genealogy taken turned up some intermarriage between Indians and Metis, but few White/non-White marriages. It is a widespread belief among Whites that illegitimacy is common among non-Whites, and that it carries with it no stigma. Figures are only available for one settlement town and they indicate twenty illegitimate births out of a total of 260, from 1939 to 1959/or 3.85 per 1,000 per year. Non-Whites adopt illegitimate children readily, but also claim that a girl who has illegitimate children has lessened her chances of finding a husband.

Genealogies are wide ranging and shallow in depth, and kinship is bilateral. That is to say, people trace many of their relatives laterally, and include quite a number, but cannot recall their ancestors beyond the grandparent generation. They also reckon ancestors of both their mothers' and fathers' as consanguineal kin. Under such conditions corporate groupings of peoples are practically impossible since both of these sociological conditions tend to be always associated with dispersed and unco-ordinated small social units. (Forde in Fried 1959:II:69) The antiquity of such a system is closely related to the history of human ecology in the region. If food supplies are not abundant, and not concentrated in any one place, as is the case in the Mackenzie-Great Slave Lake region, then there are good grounds for suggesting that people have been dispersed, and dependent upon the vagaries of the food supplies for some time. This means it is very doubtful whether any of the peoples in this region have ever had family, or lineage, hunting territories, or local groups organized under hereditary chiefs.

Another characteristic of the widely ranging genealogies is the large areal spread that people give to their kin groups. Throughout the area, people claim as relatives a wide number of others spread over many settlements throughout the region. Some of these families, such as the Laferte group, can be found all the way from Yellowknife to Fort Good Hope with representatives or in-laws in almost every settlement along the way. Beyond a sense of membership in a common kin group, there seem to be no strong bonds of mutual responsibilities between the constituent households in these dispersed units. Individuals do, however, feel less distant socially from these persons when visiting away from home. Thus when we were taken to a large fish camp by a guide we were brought to the tent of his relatives. The guide stayed with his kin when we went to see the other tents in the camp.

Outside of the household, the organization of the local non-White population in terms of every day association is in most cases a combination of the factors of age, sex, kinship, propinquity, and occupation. Ethnic origin is meaningful in many places as a divider of social relations between Indians and Metis. Only rarely did we ever see tribal groupings referred to, and then not in terms of association, but more in terms of an explanation for some kind of behaviour. Thus one informant would say that his neighbour drinks a lot because he is a Dogrib; this does not mean, however, that he does not drink with his neighbour. That these factors do determine the structure of visiting patterns, co-operation, and many community activities is easy to perceive. However, how they combine and relate to the various observable groupings such as fish camps, trapping partners, marriage, settlement patterning, etc., is not known in sufficient detail. It would, for example, be informative and useful to know what are the significant age grades within the culture of the region, and how much of the culture of each age grade moves up into the next grade with the incoming personnel. This would give us some indication of the rate of change. Other groupings, or identifications on a day to day basis which seem less important, are church denomination which sorts people out on

ritual occasions, and treaty and non-treaty status which is brought up in conversation with Whites and is resented by those who have left treaty status, especially now that treaty Indians can buy liquor as well as non-treaty Indians. This latter distinction seems to be mostly an imposed one, and does not separate the individual from any other local groupings. (It would be interesting to know if it affects marriage choices). However, the differential status vis-a-vis the Government makes the non-treaty Indian feel "different". It was from non-treaty Indians and Métis (with the exception of one band chief) that the comments usually came about "the residents of the Northwest Territories" who should all be treated alike rather than regarded as separate groups of Whites, Métis and Indians.

Leadership patterns in the region seemed to be a function of traditional as well as of contemporary factors. Traditional leadership was strongly rooted in individual characteristics and achievement, with some tendencies for it to be hereditary. A successful hunter and provider was automatically a claimant for the support of others, since his superior knowledge and experience in the food quest gave him a greater control over valued resources. Hereditary tendencies in this pattern emerged from the role of medicine man as a leader in the hunting parties. It was believed that his supernatural powers enabled him to know where the game was located and his knowledge of the taboos associated with the food quest gave him some measure of control over the behaviour of his fellow hunters. Conversely it is probable, and informants did suggest it, that persons who were leading hunters were empowered supernaturally. One informant told of never being able to shoot well when he was a young man. However, he never missed a shot when he used the gun of a relative of his who was also a medicine man. Furthermore, when that relative "made medicine" over the informant's gun he reports that his performance improved immeasurably. Since there seems to have been a tendency for medicine powers to travel down family lines (bilaterally in one case, patrilineally in two cases), this explains the tendency for leadership to become hereditary in the traditional era.

To-day leadership remains strongly based on individual achievement, but is located (in the fort areas) at definite points in the local social organization. At three fort towns the local medicine man or woman was certainly someone to whom people deferred, and to whom in one case they brought their sick. Most informants, although they might speak of the past achievements of medicine men in the curing field, denied that such things went on to-day. One explained that even the medicine man now went to see the nurse when he was sick. In one town the person reported by others to be the medicine man was also the band chief. The role of "chief" seems to be of recent vintage. According to older informants throughout the length of the valley, the first traders appointed one man, usually a local leader of hunting parties, to be the "chief." He alone could come into the settlement town and trade for his group, and he then distributed the trade goods received for pelts to the members of his group. This seems to have been the heyday of chiefly power which lasted until the Company decided that each man could trade into the settlement town individually. Several of the chiefs spoken to in the region told of this earlier system and recommended that it be restored with respect to relief payments by the Government. They felt that there would be much less difficulty with "rations" (relief) if the chief handled it rather than some White official. To-day the band chiefs serve primarily as intermediary persons whose role is that of spokesman for the Indian (treaty) to the White Government officials, usually on specified occasions such as treaty day, or at a special conference of some kind where Indian representatives are required. This does not mean that the chief has any power over the day to day affairs of the group as is the case, for example, in Africa. He operates only when his representative functions are called into being, and this usually has to do with Whites. The writer was continually being directed to the "chief" during his first few days in any settlement. At Yellowknife Indian village, the complete uncooperativeness of everyone was explained by one of the villagers to have resulted from the absence of the chief from town.

This intermediary role can bring anxiety to people who are not accustomed to it. One man who had been elected as a band representative to a fur trappers' conference kept saying over and over again the night before the meeting that he really

did not have to say anything at all, because everyone knows that band X wanted a group area rather than individually registered trap lines. When asked what would happen if he did not make a speech at the meeting he said that the people back home would not like it if they knew.

It has already been noted that besides the medicine man and the chief of the band, the non-White staff of the White agencies in the fort towns form an intermediary group in the overall social organization. The school janitor, the handyman at the nursing station, or the store, or at the game warden's, as well as the other paid employees, all form an economically better-off strata in the town. The exact details of their leadership positions in the town is not known. Its presence is unmistakable. It is members of this group who can afford store bought as against home-made brew, and the prestige they acquire by sharing such luxuries is easily seen. One young school janitor gathered together almost an entire town in the school (half a mile from town) in one hour after saying that he could do it. (C. F. Balikci 1960-61)

Thus leadership is still based to some extent on traditional factors, but wage labour, plus the need for intermediaries at official functions, have added new conditions to leadership qualifications, such as some knowledge of English which helps one to get a job.

Whites

The distinctive feature of internal White social organization in the region is the ubiquity of factions. Although little is known of the large urban centres, the smaller ones, and the settlement towns all have White groups that are cut up into segments that differ in regard to fundamental beliefs about life in the north, i.e., why are Whites there. They also differ in their estimation of non-White social and psychological characteristics and most importantly, in their concepts of community organization and the uses and distribution of community power. Although the relationships are not perfect, it is observed that factions are roughly correlated with one or more of the following features: age, religion, rural or urban backgrounds, education,

ethnic origins, and occupation. Three major types of factions can be isolated.

In terms of social scientific clarity, the following characterization of White factions is somewhat oversimplified. Although data on factions emerge from informants statements, these are attitudinal and do not reflect social behaviour itself, although behaviour is often observably based on such attitudes. They are rather syndromes of value orientation, so that in the real life situation although groups can be labelled as more traditionalist than anything else, or more reformer, or more apathetic, all groups manifest some awareness of the other values held by differing groups of Whites in the region.

(1) The Traditionalists

These people feel that the non-White is basically a good man in his natural habitat, the bush, but that Euro-Canadian culture is making him depraved. Things were better in the old days when new ideas about 'integration' had not yet become popular. In order that community life be run in an orderly and predictable fashion, local responsible Whites should make most of the major decisions because "they (the non-Whites) are just like children". These people argue that because the whole region is poor economically, the non-White must get his living from the bush, and any modernization that moves him away from such a life not only helps to undermine him morally, but is unkind because it deprives him of a livelihood, and turns him into a relief case.

(2) The Apathetics

These people are ego-centric. They often have liberal views about non-Whites, but are uncommitted to any policy of change or development in the region. They are pleasant, well-meaning, and are absorbed in their own jobs and social life, or do not intend to stay long in the North. They discuss northern problems but their views vary greatly about what is good and what is bad in the region, and they take practically no part in local affairs. Their main interests are the work situation, the home, and other White friends with whom they enjoy leisure time activities. The

uses of community power are talked of, but never in terms of "me" or "us", instead wielders of local power are referred to as "they".

(3) The New Reformers

These people have absorbed the ideals of modern democracy, and are convinced that their presence in the North means something in terms of human progress. Their personal viewpoint is the avowed policy of most senior civil servants in the area, although carriers of this viewpoint are rare at the local level. Several times this last summer the writer met these people at small outposts. They often feel isolated, frustrated, and, in one place, two of them were resigning their jobs. Those with more experience and calmer natures, who are willing to compromise with the traditionalists, form the core of the most valuable group of Whites in the region. Members of this kind of faction are interested in non-White participation in community affairs. They are willing to sacrifice efficiency and orderliness to a large extent, in order that non-Whites should be encouraged to take part in the decisions and activities of the community.

The best example of such behaviour was observed at the fur trappers' meeting at Lac la Martre. A White discussion leader, after explaining Government policy, asked for comments from band chiefs and special representatives. These latter then each took a turn listing the complaints of his group over a wide ranging number of matters, some of which had to do with trapping, much of which did not. The discussion leader thanked each commentator, and in turn he rephrased the man's remarks so that they could be related as a contribution to the matter at hand. In one of the settlement towns, a White leader told how he always asks non-Whites to local meetings, and, no matter how laborious the process is, makes a special point of asking non-Whites to comment so that they may feel themselves to be participants in the decision making.

Whites are also organized according to other criteria, especially in larger centres. Thus the Catholics at Inuvik have the hostel and the church and various voluntary associations

related to their common religious membership. However, the orientations which are posited by the above typology seem to the writer to be of major significance, at least in the smaller centres.

White factionalism, while it affects the frequency of interaction among Whites in their every day life, is most dramatically observed in the organization of the community clubs in those towns that have no formal municipal government. A very brief discussion of municipal politics in one small urban area with a municipal government indicated that intense factionalism is present here as well, although the issues are often more complex, involving a much larger range of subjects than White/non-White participation in local government.

In the settlement towns, community clubs are responsible for the organization of the annual Sports Day celebration, and for weekly or twice weekly movies usually held at the local school, unless there is a community hall as in Fort Simpson and Fort McPherson. In most cases, traditionalists among the Whites are in control of the clubs, and the dominant attitude towards club activities is conservative. Therefore, traditionalists generally carry out those functions such as Sports Day celebrations and make decisions which affect the entire community, but which do not fall under the aegis of any existing agency such as the Government, mission, or commercial enterprise in the town.

Sports Day is held as near to the first of July as possible. All or most of the non-Whites from local groups and camps are in the settlement and games, drinking, gambling, and general festivity are traditional. The Whites in control of the community club, plan the games, buy and distribute the food, and in one case made elaborate plans to control the drinking that could be done on the site of the festivities. Non-Whites are used to this and seem to accept it as part of their way of life, although "incidents" occur. Thus in one town an old woman refused to enter into the ladies' sack race. The young White in charge gave the baby in her arms to someone else, and helped her into the sack. His merriment was not shared by the non-White onlookers, and the incident was spoken of later that night with some bitterness by non-Whites.

Apathetic Whites usually try to stay away from Sports Day or come to take pictures. When questioned, they always emphasize that they have had nothing to do with planning the event. Reformers either participate hoping to change things eventually, or boycott the affair on ideological grounds. One reformer told the writer that he had nearly got his wife into the position of maintaining the booths for serving food and hoped to do so next year. If and when this occurred, he assured me then non-Whites would be asked to help and participate. At another Sports Day, reformers kept telling the writer that they would have nothing to do with it, because the Indians were simply being herded through the affair like "a bunch of sheep".

In terms of non-White participation in the community clubs, traditionalists feel, as one put it, "that they slow things down so's we can't get anything done". As a result, non-Whites are not encouraged to come to meetings. Apathetics do not usually attend community club meetings, and have no strong feelings one way or another about non-White participation. In talking to an anthropologist they tend to lean over to a position of eventual non-White integration into White society. Reformers try actively to orient the community club towards local community development and they view non-White participation in the club as a necessary step forward. In one case the reformers were trying to get such moves written into the club constitution. This puts traditionalists and reformers into competition for community power, and struggles between these groups are going on in all of the settlement towns, but one, which were visited.

In most cases non-Whites seem to have very little idea of what the clubs are all about. Thus when asked about local movies run by the community club, the almost universal response to the question, "Who gets the money?" is a simple recounting of the persons, usually White, who collected the entrance fee at the door. This is true when the person at the door is sometimes non-White, as occurs in two places. There is also a widespread belief that the Whites have "special movies" that they show on separate occasions for Whites only. In some towns movies are shown on occasion for club members only. It was explained that this is being done as an incentive to get non-Whites to join the club. Unfortunately, non-Whites often interpret such action as exclusiveness and a manifestation of privilege.

SOCIAL MOBILITY

In comparison to areas like Africa, where colonial contacts are much more recent than in the Canadian northland, social mobility is very low. One game warden, one wireless station operator, one or two clergy, a number of clerks, and a few others at the skilled and semi-skilled level form a tiny minority of non-Whites who have permanently acquired non-traditional occupations. Thus Whites who have trained outside the region are required for almost all technical tasks. Because of the insecurity of wage labour, and the consequent persistence of the traditional economy, it is difficult for non-Whites to commit themselves totally to a modern economic and social milieu. Indeed to do so would be folly. Thus habits of punctuality, of sobriety while working, of responsible commitment to the job situation, and other necessary rules of behaviour are not easily acquired. Adjustments are difficult on both sides. Non-Whites see Whites as unsympathetic, "stuck-up" and often cruel, while White employers often tend to see non-Whites as irresponsible, lazy, and unreliable. On the other hand, rapprochments can be worked out. One White who works as a foreman on a road gang, and whose vituperative statements about non-Whites flowed out in waves of profanity, felt on the basis of his own experience that productive work could be obtained from non-Whites if they are given the incentive of piece work, and if they are allowed to leave the job now and then to visit their families.

With education perhaps the situation will improve, but present prejudice against non-White capabilities, reinforced by the non-White practical inability to take on the culture of our wage economy, creates a vicious circle which decreases non-White opportunities for upward mobility. When almost every adult non-White in town is getting drunk, then the three or four steady wage earners are not only involved, but often supply the liquor. For the majority of the town it is not important to be punctual, and the wage earners may easily miss a day's work, or turn up drunk on the job. Many Whites conclude that to maintain a proper standard of performance on most jobs it is better to use Whites, and this is now customary in many places. Although mobility is slow as a consequence, it should be emphasized that with the generally low level of economic development in the region, job mobility is one of the few potentially fruitful avenues of economic advancement for the non-Whites.

ACCULTURATION

Alcohol

One aspect of the regional social life omitted in a direct manner up until this point is drinking. Since drinking has resulted from the introduction of alcoholic beverages and techniques for the manufacture of "home brew" by Whites, it is treated under acculturation, even though certain forms of drinking are now traditional or well-established traits in non-White society.

Generally speaking drinking seems to be regular and intensive during the summer months. Saturday night, and to a lesser extent Friday night, are regular weekly occasions for drinking. A visitor from an urban centre usually has a bottle, or more, of spirits and any special festivity such as treaty day, or a wedding, sets off a widespread drinking bout in the settlement communities. The writer drank in both mixed (as to sex) and unmixed (male) company with groups ranging in age from fifteen upwards. Whites claim that drinking is far less extensive in the winter months. However this may be due to the fewer numbers of non-Whites in the settlements. Indians often referred to the freedom to be found in the bush for liquor consumption.

Whites and non-Whites approve and disapprove of drinking at the same time. Members of both groups decry drinking, and also anticipate a drink-fest with great relish. For non-Whites drinking is, however, a powerful symbol of group membership. Years of illegality connected with drinking plus its sub rosa but widespread practice has made it an emotionally charged social act. The writer was continually being made to feel like some member of an underground movement during the elaborate preparations for secrecy and controlled (at the beginning of the evening) conviviality that surrounded much of the drinking of home brew. For the purposes of anthropological field work it is obvious that one of the major boundary characteristics of the non-White social world is the fellowship emerging from, and buttressed by, drinking illicit home brew.

Non-White drinking patterns are somewhat distinctive. Drinking alone is not practiced. One informant told of visiting a friend in an urban centre. The friend was jobless and the informant was on the way to his first day on a job. A bottle of liquor was

produced by the friend, and when the informant tried to leave after a couple of drinks the friend became abusive. The informant claims that his friend felt (a) that he (the informant) was asking his friend to drink alone because of his desire to leave, which is a bad thing, and (b) that it is customary to finish a bottle once it is started. It should be noted that it is quite customary to drink at one place for a while in the fort towns and then move on, sometimes waiting until the brew is finished, sometimes not. To refuse a drink when others are drinking is looked upon with disfavour.

Recently, treaty Indians have been allowed by law to buy liquor in stores and bars. Traditionalist Whites and even some reformers claim that this is a bad thing, and helps depress the Indian economically and morally. In one town the traditionalist Whites feel so strongly about this that it has been announced publicly that buying liquor outside the town and bringing it in for someone else is a punishable offense. No data are available on the proportion of income spent on alcoholic beverages by non-Whites, so that its effect on local living standards cannot be reckoned precisely at this time. Stories are rife in the region about particular individuals who have "wasted" their money on liquor. How widespread such activity is cannot be adequately gauged at present. In bars in the urban centres it is significant that non-Whites soon learn to control any excessive emotional outbreaks. This was attested to by bar attendants at three of the urban centres. It was also noticed that non-Whites in bars are not very different from Whites in their general behaviour. Thus bars can serve as instruments of integration in which non-Whites can learn to behave in ways more like those of the larger Euro-Canadian culture.

In light of this discussion, and of what has gone before, it can be hypothesized that changes in drinking patterns among non-Whites in the region are dependent upon (a) increases in the numbers of regularly employed persons, and (b) upon a change from drinking in private (and often in secret) to that of drinking in public. If this hypothesis is substantiated by further work in the region then it is probable that increased propaganda will have no effect on drinking patterns, given the present economic and social conditions.

Language

The native languages of the Mackenzie are still very much in evidence. In all settlement towns except Fort McPherson, the vernacular is being taught to children, and even at Fort McPerson some children observed talking in the vernacular to adults, although they seem to talk English to one another. Métis teach their children English first, [1] and only later do they learn the native tongue. In several places besides Fort McPherson, a few Indian parents are making an effort to teach both English and the vernacular. However, for most non-Whites, English is still thought of as something that is learned in school. Although Slavey is heard in Yellowknife and at Hay River, especially the latter, English is in widespread use in the urban centres. On the other hand, it is difficult to talk to people living in local groups and at fish camps along the river unless accompanied by an interpreter.

Ornament, Dress, and Music

Except for footwear, store-bought clothing is ubiquitous. As would be expected, shoes are common in urban centres, much less so in settlement towns, and were not observed at camps. Men's hair styles are universally Euro-Canadian, and young men have the swirling locks common elsewhere in Canada among the young rock and roll enthusiasts. Wrist watches are common and turn up on men even in the fish camps. Blue jeans, black leather jackets, and 'captain's hats' are popular with the younger men, while the older generation wear typically rural Canadian costume. Women, except for some of the younger ones and some in the urban centres wear old print dresses, no brassieres, and no jewellery. Slacks, 'slim jims' (narrow slacks), lipstick, and other modern dress and ornamentation are common among adolescent girls, especially those who have visited urban centres. The generations also diverge somewhat in their musical tastes. Although old style country music is popular with all age levels, the younger generation seem enamoured of rock and roll. Traditional Indian music was heard in only one settlement town. Radios are used widely. Several transistor type receiver sets were even observed in tents at a fish camp.

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(1) Two Métis households at Fort Providence have taught their children French.

Religion

Aboriginal religious beliefs exist alongside the newer Christian ones, for non-Whites. Stories of "bush men" who abduct people and live alone in the bush, reference to medicine men, and to food taboos are easily obtained. Food taboos refer to post curing and post-diagnostic prescriptions by medicine men, and a number of people pointed to friends and relations who could not eat this or that particular item of food. One informant said that one of his relatives would starve before he ate his particular food taboo. It should be noted that in all discussions of such subjects informants were men past middle age, except for one young man in his late twenties, and two young girls aged five and nine respectively. In one fort town on the upper Mackenzie informants spoke of abandoning houses after the death of an individual, and of throwing away or destroying the clothes and other possessions, except guns, traps, sleds, dogs, canoes, and outboard motors of a deceased person. In the case of clothes, it has occurred quite recently and this is also true of houses.

Everyone, except a few of the Whites, belongs to some Christian church. As suggested above, participation in church rituals is related to the activity of the missionary himself. It should be noted that conflicts between various Christian denominations are not noticeable on the part of non-Whites, several of whom were observed to be in attendance at more than one kind of church service. Thus competition and differentiation resulting from religious distinctions seem to be more a quality of White interaction than one involving non-Whites. One non-White who had been reprimanded several years previously for not sending his children to the Catholic school remarked that it (the reprimand) was not very important to him, and that the big fight between religious and non-religious groups over education had been a White man's affair.

Some form of church marriage, some form of baptism, and the annual Christmas and Easter festivals are the most widely accepted aspects of Christianity. People living together but not married in church are scorned in conversation, and no one would agree that it is not important to baptize infants. Christmas and Easter are not only important ritual occasions but also help to

regulate the yearly round. People come into the forts on these occasions for services, to sell furs, and to meet friends and relatives.

Education

One of the chief methods of social mobility for the non-Whites of the region is education. Attendance records, where available, point to a continual increase in school populations, and a slow but steady rise in the numbers staying longer in school. Parents are usually positive about education to the White stranger asking questions about the benefits of schooling, although the desire to send children to school is not universal by any means. Parents do not seem to have a very clear picture of the occupations they want for their children. Although they find it difficult to choose a definite occupation, they do mention that education "is good" because it will give their children a knowledge of English. This they believe will be of help in finding jobs.

Education in the region seems to be faced with a number of problems that are peculiar to the northern setting. First there is the problem of White and non-White pupils in the same classroom, given different attitudes towards education on the part of both groups. Whites are usually convinced of the social mobility functions of education, and see the future of their children as being closely bound up with it. They discuss their children's progress with the teachers, and some keep in fairly close touch with the child's curriculum and performance. Although non-Whites may be positively oriented to education, they keep no such close touch on the whole process. This can divide the class into two differentially attending groups, into different play groups in the schoolyard, and it can pose real problems for the teacher, especially when it is exacerbated, as it is, by cultural differences. One teacher claimed that she was really teaching two groups within the one class in such a situation.

Secondly, there is the problem of the large hostels or residences associated with some of the schools, and their effects on individuals. Some officials were quite outspoken in their belief that hostels are bad for young children who are uprooted from their homes and placed in a strange environment. There is some evidence of bed-wetting and night crying even on the part of older children to support such a view. On the other hand, many of the

youngsters observed in hostels seemed, outwardly at least, quite happy, and a number of adults, who seem no better or worse adjusted to their environment than others, claim to have spent large portions of their early lives in hostels. There is no doubt that hostels increase school attendance immeasurably, and may contribute to a higher proportion of youngsters staying on in school for more education. Hostels are staffed in a somewhat haphazard way so that the writer has been unable to find any regularity among the qualifications or training of hostel personnel. It should be remembered that the young people who live in these institutions spend most of their school year in the hostels, and not in the classroom. Finally it should be stated that the ultimate effects of such institutions on young people is a subject for research rather than for theorizing. The need for such research is pressing, since the numbers of hostels is increasing and the Government is placing more and more children under its own responsibility.

Thirdly, there is the problem of vocational training. As suggested above, there is no satisfactory arrangement made at present for the change-over from school training and direction to job responsibility. This fact, plus local White stereotypes about the incapabilities of non-Whites, makes for an unsatisfactory situation.

Fourthly, there is little or no adult educational programme in the region of any consequence.

COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION

The Whites in the region come from a society in which community organization and leadership is a common experience. Non-Whites have no such background and the semi-nomadic subsistence of many obviates the possibility of their continuous participation in local community affairs. Thus community organization is left up to Whites. When a certain number of Whites and a certain complexity of services are part of the local scene, some form of municipal organization emerges. This is true at Yellowknife, Hay River, and plans are being made at Inuvik. In the settlement towns overall community planning is left to the vagaries of White dispositions, outside the usual planning for sports days and movie nights, although in one settlement there are no regular movies.

The kind of organization that results depends upon the type of faction that is in ascendancy among the Whites. If traditionalists are in control, then a few Whites make most of the community-wide decisions, and if reformers are in control the town is the scene of a number of 'projects' such as the building of a community hall, community gardens, dances, small scale economic ventures; even garbage disposal was being discussed by a reformer group in one town. Apathetics or people who are more of this persuasion than any other control the community organization in one place, and they are attempting to use the local community structure to increase and make more regular the local visiting patterns among Whites. The result of such conditions is an unstructured community development, in which participation by all community members is difficult, and in which there may or may not be interest in social and economic development.

CHAPTER III

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Considering the preliminary nature of the survey, it is not the author's intention to go into great detail over the conclusions that can be drawn about social and economic conditions among the residents of the region. What follows is a resume of those conclusions that are deemed essential to the development of deeper and more detailed study, and some recommendations about the kind of research which should be carried on so that a comprehensive knowledge can be obtained of the factors producing change in the region. Finally a limited number of recommendations are put forward which the writer feels have grown out of this beginning work.

THE REGION AS A UNIT

Geographically, the Mackenzie watershed brings all the people of the Mackenzie-Slave Lake region into the context of possible association with one another. Air and water travel, winter roads, and now summer roads are tending to tie the different settlements of the area ever more tightly together. Culturally, in both aboriginal and contemporary times, despite so-called tribal differences between Slavey, Dogrib, Hare, Loucheux, etc., Indians, the non-Whites live very similar lives. Major variations in culture occur not as a result of any aboriginal traits, but rather as a result of White settlement in the region. Certainly skin boats at Fort Norman, spruce bark canoes at Fort Simpson, and cache houses up on stilts at Fort Good Hope indicate some apparent differences in the persistence of material culture items. But such traits are minor when compared with income, occupation, housing, social organization, religion and other gross characteristics of a similar nature. In these latter respects, given a similar White settlement, there are as a rule similar results in social and cultural conditions. Given no White settlement, the major social variations are those of settlement patterning reflected in the permanent housing of the local groupings, and the temporary shelters used at the camps.

THE FOUR SETTLEMENT TYPES

The settlements of the region which have resulted from differential White movement into various localities can be classified into four types; the Urban Centres, the Settlement Towns or Trading Posts, the Local Groupings, and the Camps. The first three are settled, usually named communities, while the last is a temporary grouping usually in tents. It is felt that this classification can prove useful in giving a comprehensive view of the Mackenzie Valley settlements, and can serve as well to focus attention on dynamic factors through the pin-pointing of border-line cases. The following table lists the major settlements in the area as to type (with the exception of the individual Camps).

Table 9

Settlements of the Mackenzie-Slave Lake Region

Settlement Type	Name of Settlement	White Population	Remarks
Urban	Yellowknife	over 100	
	Fort Smith	" "	
	Hay River	" "	
	Inuvik	" "	Much traditional subsistence
	Aklavik	" "	
	Fort Simpson	" "	very recent increase in Whites
	Fort Rae	under 100	Road connection to Yellowknife
Fort Town or Trading Post	Fort McPherson	" "	
	Fort Good Hope	" "	
	Fort Norman	" "	
	Fort Providence	" "	
	Fort Resolution	" "?	No first hand knowledge
	Arctic Red River	" "	Not visited
	Snowdrift	" "	See VanStone (1961)

Settlement Type	Name of Settlement	White Population	Remarks
Fort Town or Trading Post	Wrigley	" "	Not visited
	Fort Franklin	" "	" "
	Jean Marie River (FS)	one	School built recently
	Lac la Martre(FR)	one family	School
	Kakisa (FP & HR)	no Whites	Road into Hay River
	Colville Lake (FGH)	" "	Free trader starting winter 1960-61
Local Groups	Redknife River (FP)	" "	
	Horn River (FP)	" "	
	La Shamiya (FP)	" "	
	Trout River (FS)	" "	
	Rabbitskin River(FS)	" "	
	Two Islands (FS)	" "	
	Willow River (FS)		
	Mouth of the Peel (FM)	" "	
	Husky River (FM)	" "	

Note: The parantheses after each Local Group stand for the Fort town or Trading post into which the people of this particular settlement bring their furs, and from which they got their store goods. They are coded in the following manner: (FS)-Fort Simpson; (FR)-Fort Rae; (FP)-Fort Providence; (HR)-Hay River; (FGH)-Fort Good Hope; (FM)-Fort McPherson.

The table is not complete for the entire region. Thus, Rocher River, which is probably of the same order as Snowdrift, is so poorly known to the writer that it would be wiser to wait for others to enter it into the table. Norman Wells has been omitted for the same reason.

In the latter case it may be that this settlement could be entered between Aklavik and Fort Simpson, as a specialized variety of urban centre, viz. the company town. It should finally be noted that there has been an attempt made in classifying the settlements to place (approximately) the more complex groupings above the less complex ones on the table.

It should be emphasized that this typology of settlements in the region is not a classification of people, but rather of the kinds of groupings into which people congregate. Any one individual may, during the space of a few years, live in all four groupings for longer or shorter periods. Indeed a large number of informants have actually done so.

FACTORS AFFECTING CHANGE IN THE REGION (cf. Baker n.d.)

Facilitating Factors

The first factor to stimulate change in the region was the fur trade. It brought in the increasing amounts of the manufactured goods which all inhabitants now feel to be necessities of life. Such needs expand with time, and require some form of cash income producing activity. Today, not only clothing, guns, traps, utensils, tea, flour, sugar, and canoes are needed but people want to own radios, wrist watches, and record players. Within this framework, the instability of the fur market has created unpredictability in the now traditional source of cash income, making it much easier for people to move into other cash producing activities if such opportunities present themselves.

Education in Euro-Canadian schools has brought some proclivities for change, although early school leaving, infrequent attendance, and insufficient opportunities resulting from education have tended to restrain this factor from making a very significant impact on the region as yet.

For the region as a whole, probably the two most important factors have been the enlarged building and development programme of the government, and the development and expansion of urbanism.

The building programme has brought more jobs to each local settlement, on both a permanent and a part-time basis, and has drastically changed the physical appearance of the settlements. Children in modern hostels are now exposed to a plethora of technical devices usually associated with school residences elsewhere, and learn to live with these devices on a day to day basis. Urbanism has added to this change by bringing into the region the services usually associated with town life in the Euro-Canadian society. Movies, bars, supermarkets, taxi-cabs, voluntary associations, and newspapers are now familiar parts of everyday life in the urban centres. Maclean's magazine and the Reader's Digest are ubiquitous throughout the region, and teen-age magazines are in widespread use by the younger generation.

Restraining Factors

All of the above factors have tended to build up an acceleration of cultural diffusion from the outside into the region. However, changes in values, attitudes, aspirations, and social life in general require more than just needs, and the appearance of change, brought on by increased government expenditures on buildings and staff. It is now a fairly well-established premise in social science that cultural change, i.e. change in dress, language, material needs and other symbolic aspects of life require social change in settlement patterns, kinship organization, and occupation or income status, or both, in order that a really lasting step forward be made in living standards. Cultural change can bring new needs, but these needs require new social conditions for their achievement, unless the traditional income producing activities bring in constantly rising receipts, as has been the case in West Africa in the last fifteen years.

Several factors in the region seem to be operating to restrain further changes. Of primary significance is the lack of cash income sources on a wide enough scale to involve large numbers of people. This means that traditional subsistence practices are not simply valued for nostalgic reasons, but have a definite place in the annual sustenance of an "average" family. As we have seen, hunting does seem to be valued in and of itself, and people actually leave jobs to go on hunts. This seems to be much less true of trapping, which is viewed primarily as an activity which produces income or credit

at the store, and can therefore be replaced by other activities which provide for the same return. Pressures of day to day contact with the hunting-fishing-trapping milieu, and with others who have always lived this way also tend to make it difficult to obtain different kinds of aspirations. A young non-White high school student described his summer fishing trip as "really living", and refused his parents' request to change his bush clothes for a wedding. When the stereotype held by many Whites about non-Whites incapabilities is added to these internal social factors, the result is a fairly strong restraint on any change in the present subsistence arrangements in the region.

Finally there is the organization of the urban centres and the fort towns as communities. Non-White participation in the overall organization of these communities is very low, if not negligible. The nature of the communal organization is dependent upon the nature of White factionalism in the area, and the faction in power has a large measure of control over the nature and rate of change among non-Whites in any particular locality. Thus participation in segments of Canadian society that are in turn linked to other similar and other larger segments in the usual Euro-Canadian manner is often denied to the non-White residents. For the majority of them this is replaced by their direct links to the Federal Government embodied in their "treaty status." For a few non-treaty Indians and almost all Métis, it means lack of social participation in Canadian society, except through the Church, the economy, and the welfare services.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR RESEARCH

On the basis of a preliminary survey of this type, the writer feels that his greatest responsibility should be in the area of planning and outlining a programme of research which will enable a comprehensive and more detailed statement to be made about the Territories. Therefore, the following recommendations are primarily concerned with the programme of research which will enable such a detailed and reliable statement to be made. On the other hand, certain action programmes do seem feasible, and indeed urgent at this time, and they will be discussed as well.

The survey has brought to the surface the framework within which a regional research project must operate. First of all, communities should be treated as units of study within the region, and any ethnic divisions within these communities used only as a characteristic feature of the unit. Secondly, research must be planned so that a sample of all settlement types elicited by the survey are brought under study. Research already carried out in the area by MacNeish (1956, 1958) and Slobodin (1959) can be integrated into this sampling criterion. Thirdly, the typological distinctions made of the varying White factions should be utilized and perhaps modified (by urban studies) so that a proper assessment of community and regional political leadership emerges. Fourthly, studies must be devised to obtain detailed information on all settlement types, of the various factors facilitating and restraining socio-cultural change.

Putting this into practice will require the following projects:

(1) An isolated or semi-isolated community of the simple local group or very small settlement town type with very few Whites in it should be observed. VanStone's work at Snowdrift, and MacNeish's work at Jean Marie River and Lac la Martre may serve as the basis for generalization for such communities.

(2) A 'typical' fort town or trading centre on the Mackenzie River should come under study. This would include more Whites than those mentioned above in (1). The researcher would be responsible for obtaining information on local groups and on camps connected with his particular town.

(3) An urban centre must be thoroughly analysed so that its various segments and their relation to one another, and to the hinterland, can be fully understood.

These three kinds of projects outlined above should pay special attention to social organization, the processes of community and group leadership, the social characteristics of community economics, and the basic attitudes and religious beliefs of the community members. Special research problems dealing with

specific characteristics of change could be integrated into these three types of studies. Important examples of these are given below:

(4) A study of the life cycle of individuals with special attention given to the formative years, so that some assessment can be made of the flexibility or rigidity of present sectors of social and cultural life. Because of their growing importance in the life cycle of regional inhabitants, and their hoped for effects, a study of the school hostels should be undertaken as well.

(5) A study of labour migration and its effects on the social and cultural milieu of the region. This might easily be incorporated into an overall urban centre study.

(6) A study of labour relations in the region should be undertaken in order to ascertain the optimum conditions for expanding the occupational status of the present residents.

As mentioned above the goal of such a series of studies would be a final report encompassing a detailed but comprehensive view of socio-economic development in the Mackenzie-Slave Lake region of Canada.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR ACTION

The Whites

The settlements of the Territories and even the urban centres are relatively small when compared to communities in other parts of Canada. The impact of leading personalities in such situations, for the welfare or the stagnation of local development, is far greater than it is normally in the more densely populated and more highly organized regions of the country. Whether he wants to be or not, the outsider coming into these settlements is a force from whom emanates stimuli for change or for no change in contemporary conditions.

Many people today complain that they feel ineffectual in our highly complex society, and would like to participate more closely

in the affairs of the community and see such participation bear fruit. This point ought to be used as a basis of attraction to obtain community-minded persons who are willing to recognize that their responsibility to the community does not end with the limits of the service functions for which they have been specifically hired. It is recommended, therefore, that community participation and the goal of community organization involving all residents of any locality or at least representative of all segments, be made a definite part of the terms of reference given to any White who is going into the Territories, no matter what public or private agency he or she represents. The Government could accomplish this through a programme of public relations in which the various Government departments and private agencies dealing in the Territories were advised of the importance of sending representatives to the region who were willing to recognize their responsibilities as community leaders, and who were willing to work with non-Whites to develop local government, no matter how difficult such co-operation might be.

An Experimental Leadership Institute

Because there is no tradition of large scale social organization, long range planning, and bureaucratic procedures among the non-Whites, it is advisable that a start be made in the training of local non-Whites in community leadership. The objective here should not be simply to obtain representatives of the non-Whites who would act as middlemen between White and non-White society, but rather to develop a nucleus of local leadership, so that non-Whites could eventually begin to operate effectively in the area of community decision making and programming. Since our knowledge of the region is still at a preliminary stage, it is recommended that community leaders from Fort McPherson, which already has non-Whites on the executive of its community club, be brought together either in the fort itself, or at some convenient location for a leadership institute. To this institute would also come leaders from among the local Whites, such as the school principal, the H. B. C. manager, the Anglican priest, the Game Warden, the head of the R. C. M. P. detachment, and so on. These people would receive a stipend for their time in the institute, and hear lectures on community organization and development. They would also practice the running of meetings, keeping of minutes, and discuss long-range development projects, as well as the nature of their own community organization. The institute should be an annual meeting lasting one, or preferably two weeks. Experts on community development should lead the course.

Starting in a small way like this would give the government a chance to observe the effects of such an institute and also keep the group small, so that the maximum participation could be achieved in the day-to-day events of the course during this experimental phase. If such an institute proved successful, its membership could be expanded, so that other localities might take advantage of its services. If such a project were to be adopted in the near future, the research being planned by Mr. Paul Puritt, which is to be a re-study of Fort McPherson, could be utilized to measure its effects and advise on its future development.

The writer has observed such leadership institutes in Nigeria, in which local chiefs are brought into the urban centres and given annual courses in local self-government. They are also taught to understand the new national Government and the relationship of their own local government to the larger political organization of the State. Such courses leave much to be desired, but they do perform quite a number of useful functions, even if the chiefs reject the idea of democratic rule (which many of them do). Chiefs, i.e. local leaders,come to be much more knowledgeable about the structure of national government, and they also learn how to cope with many of the techniques of modern bureaucracy. These leadership courses also provide a place away from the immediacy of everyday problems where the different races or ethnic groups can learn to concentrate on community problems as a whole. The writer is convinced that such an institute is very badly needed in the North, and that it could easily supply the social forms through which community development could begin to operate.

Vocational Training

Because of the necessity for expanding the numbers and kinds of jobs open to non-Whites in the region, it is advisable that a smooth process of change-over be achieved from student status in vocational training to that of job occupant. To accomplish this objective it is recommended that the Education Division of the Department of Northern Affairs work in conjunction with various Government Department Divisions, especially that of Public Works

to devise means whereby projects could be utilized for an intermediary stage between vocational school training and employee status. These projects should emphasize progressively the independent responsibiluty of the trainee for his particular segment of the work. On the other hand, training in job skills should be continued in an on-the-job situation, so that the trainee can adjust more readily to the application of his own particular skills in a real rather than an artificial (school) environment.

Hostel Staff

Since the government has taken on a large responsibility in building hostels in which children and young boys and girls spend long periods of time, it is advisable that standards be set for staff qualifications in such institutions which are in accordance with the seriousness of the government's obligation. The author does not mean to cast any aspersions on present staff in these hostels. Indeed, given the lack of any adequate recruitment system for staffing hostels, it is a matter of good fortune rather than intent that the present staff are as excellent as many of them seem to be. This recommendation for minimum qualifications and some kind of previous experience in young people's group work is merely put forward so that the Government may have some assurance that life in these institutions is as pleasant and rewarding for these young people as it is humanly possible to make it.

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