Reviews


This is a careful, descriptive monograph, which is doubly welcome because it deals with an area that has not been described in recent times, except in R. W. Dunning’s 1959 work on the Pikangikum Ojibwa. The Round Lake Ojibwa live in Ontario nearly 200 miles north of Sioux Lookout on several of the major southern tributaries of the Severn River. As one of the most recently acculturated groups in the eastern subarctic, the group has added significance. Fieldwork was carried out for 12 months in 1958-9, which constitutes the present time of the book. Data on the natural environment, economics, and material culture were gathered largely in the Ojibwa language (detailed terms are reported in a 15-page glossary and many tables). Data on social organization and religion were gathered by means of interpreters — a procedure made necessary by the limited time available.

The author pays close attention to ecology, natural and human; and his book will be of use to biologists as well as anthropologists. Various features of the natural environment make this area resemble that inhabited by Ojibwa elsewhere to a greater extent than might be supposed. So also do the small number of caribou, the increasing moose population, the importance of beaver and hare, and the reliance upon fishing. The latter has apparently been characteristic since aboriginal times. The author estimates that the group uses 50,000 lbs. of fish a year for subsistence, and shipped about 100,000 lbs. commercially. However, the author’s data indicate that more men still trap than fish (Fig. 14), despite a preference for fishing (p. C-15) and overcrowding of trapping lands. This inconsistency...
requires explanation. The described trends would lead one to predict the virtual abandonment of trapping for fishing within a short time. This has indeed happened in other Northern Ojibwa communities.

As a result of recent population increase and concentration in the village, some trapping lands are becoming overcrowded. The population of the area (5000 square miles) increased by 25 percent during a decade to a total of 268 in 1959. The population pyramid is one indicative of great potential growth. It also illustrates very well the age-sex imbalance which, as Dunning suggests, probably accounts for much of the band inter-marriage among Ojibwa in the past.

Historical circumstances have had a profound effect upon settlement patterns and social organization. In 1900 there were at least four bands, numbering 25-75 persons each, in the area. These bands gathered only during the summer, or after freeze-up; generally for religious ceremonies. Life was lived most of the year in the company of several or a dozen people. Now most people reside all year around at the village; fewer than half set up winter camp in the bush. Many men leave their families in the village when they do go to trap. There is a tendency for trappers to exploit areas nearer the village (hence the overcrowding), and even to fail to examine their traps because of a desire to spend more time in the village. The major reason for these changes has been the payment of welfare by the Government, beginning in 1945. Commercial fishing, wage labour, and a fulltime trading post since 1949 have also played a part. There are no longer recognizable bands in the community. The term for band leader, once the most powerful person in the society, is now reserved for the manager of the trading post. (A similar development occurred hundreds of years earlier in the south.) One half of the wives used to come from another band, but now they come almost exclusively from within the community, as Dunning has likewise noted at Pikangikum.

There are some interesting differences of social organization between Round Lake and Pikangikum. For one thing, the Round Lake Ojibwa appear to have a much less firm definition of individual rights in trapping territories. Such a difference is, of course, consistent with the greater pressure of population on land resources observed at Pikangikum. The most fascinating differences, however, appear in kinship. Dunning maintains that the patrilateral extended kin group has increased its function of protecting rights in trapping territories from encroachment in a competitive situation by stressing the solidarity of brothers against the wife's family and outsiders. Such solidarity is expressed when brothers trap together, share goods, engage in uninhibited interaction, and support one another in fights. It is increased by emphasizing traditional joking with a cross-cousin of the same sex, i.e., wife's brother. No such picture emerges from Rogers' study. To the contrary: "the relationship between brothers-in-law (=cross-cousins) is in many ways similar to that between brothers." "The reciprocal duties and obligations are of the same nature." This applies particularly to trapping together, and borrowing property without payment. Specifically contradicting the dominant tendency described by Dunning are the statements: "the actual operation of the brother-in-law relationship tends to come into existence only when a man is without appropriate patri-kin as... trapping partner" and "brothers rarely operate together as an economic unit either in hunting, trapping, commercial fishing, or any other endeavour."

Is this difference real? There are others which are completely consistent. Thus, the patri-kin group described by Rogers "does not appear to come into operation very frequently at the present time" and "fewer members... are involved today than in the past." Moreover, in direct contrast to Dunning's data, members of the patri-kin group "are quite frequently living in different winter camps, and owning cabins in widely separated parts of the village."
Only exactly comparable observations in the two communities could validate the apparent differences. But I am inclined to think that the differences under discussion are neither artifacts nor accidental. There has been greater pressure on trapping lands at Pikangikum as a result of greater population density. (In 1955 there was approximately one person per 12 square miles at Pikangikum and one per 18 at Round Lake.) This has resulted in greater restriction upon the individual use of trapping lands at Pikangikum. Is it not also likely that this pressure has resulted in a strengthening of the functions of patri-kin groups there? Such a development may not have been stimulated at Round Lake without conflict resulting from scarcity of trapping lands. It is thus significant that overcrowding of some trapping grounds at Round Lake can still lead to sharing of lands with brothers-in-law, whereas the same thing may no longer be possible at Pikangikum.

There are other data of considerable significance in Rogers' study, such as the breakdown in authority patterns within the Round Lake group, and the impasse in self-confidence resulting from competing religious ideologies. This is described in considerable detail, and the description is particularly useful because it focuses upon the tangle of actual present beliefs, and is not limited to a discussion of the survivals of aboriginal belief.

To the reviewer, however, one of the most significant features of the present study is the clear portrayal of the consequences of a radical shift in the ecology-technology equation in a hunting-gathering group. Increasing involvement in a cash economy, the removal of restrictions on subsistence brought about by Government subsidy, and population increase have resulted in a radical change in settlement patterns and in relations between bands, patri-kin groups, and nuclear families within the community. At Round Lake, however, unlike Pikangikum, there has been no strengthening of patri-kin groups, and no new forms of social organization have emerged to stabilize and give value to the "social facts" latent in the new arrangements. In most acculturation studies, such a result would be attributed to greater acculturative pressures. But the facts in the present case belie any such explanation. Acculturative pressures have not been any greater at Round Lake. As the author says, the change "has in many ways been quite superficial," and the people have not "even moved in the direction" of becoming like Euro-Canadians. Moreover, the author makes clear that there has been very little opportunity for acculturation through contact with Euro-Canadians at Round Lake. Rather, the explanation of the differences, if they are real, would appear to lie in slight variations of the ecological circumstances, and the cultural reaction to them. Such a conclusion points up the importance of ecological factors in cultural change.

Stephen T. Boggs


For over a century biologists have been aware of marked resemblances between European and American arctic and subarctic plants and animals. Detailed studies have directed attention to problems of Pleistocene history, evolutionary rates and other fields on which biogeography impinges. This symposium, appropriately held at the centre of the North Atlantic dispersal arc, provides a stimulating review of firm results, divergent hypotheses, and unsolved problems.

The papers are grouped mainly about