

CULTURE LOSS AND CULTURE CHANGE AMONG THE MICMAC
OF THE CANADIAN MARITIME PROVINCES
1912-1950

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Probably every young anthropologist at the end of his first field work, breaking reluctantly an identification, however illusory, with a people and a place he feels are now in a sense his own, resolves to return in, say, twenty-five years and see how life has turned out at his particular jungle, desert, or coast. Twenty-five years seems to him a good span to pick; it approximates his current age, has the impressive sound of quarter-century, and is the farthest durability that he can conceive for the capacity to function normally as scientist and as man.

One of the present writers did not make his return journey at the end of the first quarter-century; but in June 1950, after an absence of 38 years, he went back to study the Micmac in the Canadian Maritime Provinces (2). In 1911 and 1912 the entire summers had been spent in collecting data for a complete ethnological study at practically all Reserves in the three Provinces—Cape Breton excepted—with extensive visits at Burnt Church (New Brunswick), Pictou Landing and Shubenacadie (Nova Scotia), and Lenox Island (Prince Edward Island) (3).

The aim of the 1950 field trip was three-fold: to discover how extensive had been the loss of Micmac culture in the 38-year interval; to add, if possible, to descriptions of the old culture and folktales gathered in the 1911-1912 study; to observe and assess some of the changes in material life, orientation, drives, and motivation.

Because three weeks only could be spent in the field, two Reserves were selected, Burnt Church, N. B., where the major work of the earlier study had been carried out, and Shubenacadie, N. S., where, under the Centralization Plan of the Indian Affairs Branch, Canadian Government, a small Reserve of 105 population had recently been expanded to a town of over 600.

Early Acculturation of the Micmac

The Micmac, an Algonquin-speaking people of Eastern Woodland culture, are the dominant Indian group of the Maritimes. Along the St. John River in New Brunswick there are also about 1000 Maliseet closely related in language and culture. According to the Canadian Indian Census of 1949, the total Micmac population is 5000. Of these 1054 live within the Miramichi Agency, New Brunswick, which includes Burnt Church; 1058 on both sides of the Baie des Chaleurs belong to the Restigouche Agency, Quebec.

All Indians of Nova Scotia (2,641) and of Prince Edward Island (273) are Micmac.

The most casual observation on a Reserve today establishes two facts: the continued use of the native language, and the Micmac's awareness of themselves as a people distinct from all others, Indian or White. The retention of these traits implies a basic toughness and pride. For four hundred years persons and forces have blindly or consciously worked to change the Micmac. Inevitably, in most fields, they were successful. Traders, settlers, missionaries, who instilled a desire for European goods which stimulated a simple hunting-fishing people to bring in the furs, (thereby destroying the once abundant supply of game), cut down the forest, took the land, and killed many Micmac as enemies or allies in eighty years of English-French warfare, until in the mid-eighteenth century, the semi-nomadic savages had become sedentary Roman Catholic Christians, mainly without occupation.

At various points in the long history of acculturation we have documentary evidence of European traits introduced, adopted, or rejected. In 1606 Lescarbot, lawyer and traveller, described the Indians around Port Royal. Other accounts include those of: the Jesuits, Biard at Port Royal and at the St. John River (1611-1613), and André Richard at Miscou in 1645 and 1646; Nicolas Denys, trader and official, who published in 1672 the results of his 40-years contact with the Micmac from Baie Chaleur to Cape Breton; the Recollet priest Le Clercq, 1691; the Sieur de Dièreville, 1708; the final brief word in the autobiography of the Abbé Le Loutre, (1737), last missionary to be sent from France. The description of acculturation is fragmentary, widely separated in time and place, concerned mainly with material things, and selected according to the particular interest of the writer; but in the history of the following 175 years, the anthropologist would be grateful for half as much.

During the seventy years between their glimpse of Jacques Cartier (1534) and the founding of the first French agricultural settlement at Port Royal (1605), the Micmac had maintained enough contact with European fishermen who dried their catch along the shores of the Gulf of St. Lawrence, and with traders settled on Newfoundland, to establish standards of value for goods given or received. Soon after the establishment of Port Royal, a chief, hearing that the French king was unmarried, stated that if the king should condescend to marry the chief's daughter, he would consider the following as "handsome presents" to himself as father-in-law: four or five barrels of bread, three of peas or beans, one of tobacco, four or five cloaks worth one hundred sous apiece, bows, arrows, harpoons, and other similar articles (4).

Also from Port Royal comes the earliest account of a trait unacceptable to the Micmac. They "never wanted any bread." Grinding of grain on handmills was a tough job which the French tried to turn over to the savages employed around the fort, a task steadily refused, although they were offered half of the grinding for their own use (5). Here, as in most instances, we do not know by what steps bread eventually became a basic food.

Acculturation by contact with traders and settlers was a casual process. Missionaries, however, had a definite policy of introducing French traits, inspired in part by the belief that civilization and Christianity must advance together, in part because with nomadic bands it was impossible to maintain the steady contact necessary to lasting conversion. "If they are savages," wrote Father Biard in 1611, "it is to domesticate and civilize them that people come here" (6). We learn of an attempt twenty-five years later at literal domestication, when Father André Richard, from the lonely mission of St. Charles at Miscou, sent the good word to Paris that three families of converts had agreed to settle near the mission in separate houses built for them "in the French fashion." "We have induced them," is how he puts it. There was also a fourth house, a sort of Cabin of Charity founded inadvertently. The Fathers had rescued a sick Eskimo slave about to be executed by his Micmac master, an act which led the Indians to dump several aged and crippled persons on the mission doorstep. Probably, Father Richard concludes ruefully, "they will be more constant to us than all the others" (7). We do not know how long these first house dwellers remained at Miscou, how many joined them, if and how the trait spread.

Certainly while the woods covered most of New Brunswick and the game was followed according to season, the old way of living remained. The wigwam was still the typical dwelling in 1700 (8) and 200 years later most men and women could construct them, and did so on hunting expeditions, although on the Reserves they lived in frame houses.

From one 17th century observer, however, we have a record of certain traits discarded by the Micmac, and other traits persisting, after seventy years of contact with Whites. In 1672, Nicolas Denys, in his Natural History, devoted a chapter to "the difference that there is between the ancient customs of the [Micmac] Indians, and those of the present."

During those seven decades there had been frequent contact with Europeans or their descendants. Denys, who had lived in Acadia for forty of these years, states that the Micmac still practised "their ancient form of burial in every respect, except that they no longer place anything in their graves, for of this they are entirely disabused. They have abandoned also those offerings, so frequent and usual, which they made as homage to their manitou in passing places in which there was some risk to be taken, or where indeed there had happened some misfortune... They are also cured of other little superstitions which they had, such as a taboo on giving bones to the Dogs, roasting Eels, and many others of that sort which are entirely abolished... They practise still all the same methods of hunting, with this difference, however, that in place of arming their arrows and spears with the bones of animals, pointed and sharpened, they arm them today with iron, which is made expressly for sale to them. Their spears now are made of a ~~sword~~ sword fixed at the end of a shaft of seven or eight feet in length... They are also furnished with iron harpoons... The musket is used by them more than all other weapons, in their hunting..., both for animals and birds... As for their festivals, they make these as they did formerly. The women do not take part in

them; and those who have their monthlies are always separate. They always make speeches there, and dances; but the outcome is not the same. Since they have taken to drinking wine and brandy they are subject to fighting. Their quarrelling comes ordinarily from their condition; for, being drunk, they say they are all great chiefs, which engenders quarrels between them. At first it needed little wine or brandy to make them drunk. But at present, and since they have frequented the fishing vessels, they drink in quite another fashion" (9).

Burnt Church, N. B.

The Indian Reserve of Burnt Church, on Miramichi Bay, where, 230 years after the foregoing observations, our study of acculturation began, is the site of an aboriginal Micmac settlement and an early meeting-place of Indians and Whites. These circumstances are important factors in the social solidarity of the people today: the belief that they live in their own self-chosen home, and the existence of a long history and process of acculturation which they share with the White Canadians who are literally their neighbors.

The Miramichi, at least from the day in 1534 when canoes so crowded round Cartier's ship that he christened the spot "The Bay of Boats," has been a focus of Micmac activity. Here they set up a seasonal fishing-camp, and here as early as 1605 they must have encountered Frenchmen who put in to shore to dry their cod fish (10). Up the bay and along the many-forked river to which it leads, paddled French priests from St. Charles on Miscou Island, to hold missions, in 1646 and 1684, perhaps in many years between. In 1688 Richard Denys, son of Nicolas, in his fort newly built at the forks, wrote that five hundred Indians were living in eighty wigwams on the river. Richard did not stay long on the Miramichi, and for many years thereafter a few Frenchmen came and went, until 1755 when 3500 Acadian refugees settled at various points on both sides of the twelve-mile wide bay. Two of the groups chose on the north shore a spot near the Indian village and mission of Eskinwobudich, soon to be renamed Burnt Church.

"It was our church that they burned," the Micmac tell you today. "The White village got its name from ours." This is historic fact (September 17, 1758) and the source of two legends. One, still current among some Whites, attributes the destruction to the crew of a ship bearing General Wolfe's body, which put in for water at Eskinwobudich and were refused it; the other a Micmac version, accuses "Yankoo sailors" of stealing a solid gold altar worth a million dollars. Actually the fire was set by an expedition sent out by Wolfe from Louisburg to destroy all Acadian settlements, and which accomplished only the demolition of houses and wigwams in a single village, the theft of livestock and three hogs-heads of beaver skins, and, as Murray, the commander, reported to Wolfe, "the Church...a very handsome one built with stone, did not escape" (11).

In other ways than in priority of name and in history and legend, the church is a pregnant symbol to the community. All Micmac are Catholic;

and at Burnt Church was the first Catholic cemetery on the Miramichi; for years all Indians and many French and English were brought there for burial. There on St. Anne's Day groups from other Reserves gather as they are believed to have gathered for hundreds of years before their annual festival had received Christian acculturation, although not perhaps from so far away or in quite such large numbers as it now seems to those local old men who say, "Burnt Church is the Micmac capital."

Early and lasting conversion to a single faith has spared this and every Micmac community the disunion and strife of sectarianism. Burnt Church, for those without an automobile, is a somewhat isolated spot. (In 1950 only one Micmac resident owned a car.) Five miles to the northeast, the small French village of Neguac offers a few services not locally available; Newcastle, a town of more than 3,000, is twenty-five miles southwest.

Of the four main Reserves of the Miramichi Indian Agency (12), Burnt Church has long been second in population: in 1949 there were 303 inhabitants; in 1911, 223, each figure about thirty per cent of the Agency's totals. The character of the population seems essentially the same in the two periods. About 1901, stabilization and concentration took place when individuals moved in from Pokemouche and Tabusintac, and some 40 left the Reserve and settled along the Intercolonial Railway. "Beggars and makers of Indian wares," an agent commented in 1901, "have left permanently." In addition to about 10,000 acres of woodland on the two abandoned Reserves, the Burnt Church band owns 2058 acres on the main Reserve, 250 acres occupied, the rest in woodland (13).

Today 70 families live in about 50 houses at Church Point and another 20 or so across the covered bridge over an inlet. The small frame houses are set along two roads, the Back Road with woods behind, and the Front Road along Miramichi Bay, each continuous with the main roads of the White village of Burnt Church. Three gravel roads lead from town and Reserve to a paved highway. The White town extends from the fish pier, canning factory and store along one side of the Front Road. Year-round houses with farms, and many summer cottages, form an unbroken line almost to the first house of the Reserve. Farther on in the Reserve, houses are on both sides of the Front Road; and there is what might be called the Civic Centre of Burnt Church: most conspicuous, the white, tall-spired church; next it, the neat, two-room school and the teacherage, with the unused jail in the front yard; across the road the dilapidated Council house, rough boards, broken windows partly boarded up, where are held the Sunday afternoon Bingo games and the dances following weddings and festivals. Between the road and the shore of Miramichi Bay two crosses rise from the flat fields to mark a cemetery, and a shrine opened only on St. Anne's Day.

In 1912 the school was new, the church not finished; there was a teacher, absent for the summer, and a visiting priest. Conditions in 1950 were not quantitatively very different. The superintendent, who lived some 40 miles away, made fortnightly visits, as did the priest, and

a visiting nurse came once a week. No nuns were in residence. The two teachers recorded vital statistics and dispensed simple drugs, and a quiet little Micmac constable performed the sole function of telephoning the mountie whenever a racket got too loud.

Eel Ground

In 1950 certain items of acculturation were checked briefly at Eel Ground (population 243), on the Northwest Miramichi river, the Reserve nearest to Burnt Church, and six or seven miles by direct bus to Newcastle. The less isolated situation and the frequent contacts with Burnt Church suggested the possibility of significant contrasts.

Shubenacadie, N. S.

In geographic situation, history, and present physical, social, and economic conditions, the Reserve at Shubenacadie (P. O. Micmac) is an almost complete contrast to Burnt Church. The people are not essentially different. All are Catholic Micmac; many are related by blood or inter-marriage to other Miramichi groups, and visiting with members of other settlements in typical Micmac fashion is frequent. In recent years their life, however, has been radically altered, and not by themselves.

Shubenacadie, a town of 1800, in the river valley of that name, lies halfway between Truro (10,000) and the great port of Halifax. Micmac in the valley or at the old Indian Brook Reserve, four miles from town, have been acquainted with large cities most of their lives; for poor economic possibilities have forced them into casual itinerant labor or the home manufacture and roadside or door-to-door vending of so-called "Indian wares."

In the early days of European settlement in what is now Nova Scotia, many Micmac had as early and probably closer, contacts with the French as did the Miramichi peoples. By 1689, 703 Europeans were settled in three Acadian towns, and there was a sprinkling of a few hundred through the hinterland. Shubenacadie first appears in history in 1699, and curiously, in view of its present condition, as the proposed site of a resettlement scheme. The missionary, Father Louis-Pierre Thury, perhaps doubting the possibility of Christianization while the Indians continued their semi-nomadic life, proposed to the French government that he try to collect all the Micmac of Acadia into one settlement between Shubenacadie and Halifax. The King approved, and ordered that money and provisions be sent, but Father Thury did not live to carry out his social experiment (14). In 1700, when the Sieur de Dièreville met a group of Micmac on the shores of Chobucto (Halifax) Bay, they displayed such signs of acculturation as muskets and hatchets, rosaries and reliquaries; all of them had been baptized by Father Thury (15). Thirty-eight years later, a more practical missionary, though in the end perhaps not a more fortunate one (16), the Abbé Le Loutre built at Shubenacadie a church and a presbytery, at which the wandering hunting-peoples could assemble for the feasts of Easter, Pentecost, and All Saints. This mission ended in 1745.

After British victory in Acadia, the old Cape Breton missionary, Abbé Mailliard, was pensioned and allowed to live in Halifax, where Micmac visited his Mass House (17).

Unlike the significant early history of Burnt Church, these White contacts in relation to the later Indian Reserves at Shubenacadie seem an almost complete non sequitur. In 1912 when one of us, with horse and buggy, drove over the four-mile road from the town of Shubenacadie to the Reserve then known as Indian Brook, he found a group of 76, of whom 32 were school-age children. A school, closed for some years from lack of attendance was reopened that year, but only nine of the children were registered. By 1916 the population had increased to 243, but interest in education remained low; school enrollment 17, average daily attendance 7. In 1930 the school again was closed. Population had decreased to 105 in 1937. Then came a sudden upswing: 1944, 200; 1949, 620. The change in these last two years marks the development and zenith of the Government's Centralization policy for the Micmac of Nova Scotia, begun in 1941-42. The goal was self-support for the Indians who, at 20 small Reserves ineffectively administered by 20 part-time agents, were all on relief. Similar conditions existed in Prince Edward Island. Sufficient land was purchased, it was thought, to move all those in Nova Scotia to two Reserves: Eskasoni, in the Bras D'Or region of Cape Breton, and Shubenacadie. Logs were cut and lumber fashioned in sawmills by the Indians; by 1945, 60 houses had been built at the two sites, and the migration started toward the goal of self-support for the Micmac.

Two years later, the new houses totalled 118. At Shubenacadie the old Indian Brook houses were repaired, a six-room day school was ready, a handsome white church was on the way. And the Indian Service reported that so poor were chances for employment in the region that only the construction of housing kept the men busy. More houses were built, and more families were moved in (18).

"Shubenacadie," a Micmac basket-seller on the highway said to us, "that's a real little Indian city." In June 1950 there was an air of bustle and movement about the place. The sawmill was booming in the middle of the long road lined with new frame houses and in the yards were cars, bicycles, children's wagons, store-bought swings. At the top of the hill the road became a street between the buildings of Church and State: the church itself, finished in 1949, a home for the priests, and a convent, Agency offices, Agency store, the homes of agent, clerk, and storekeeper. Beyond were more Indian homes, and a Band house. Up and down the street passed the cars of Mounted Police and other Agency visitors, of Indians and of tourists, and at noon, the big Agency trucks bringing the sawmill-workers home for dinner. Young mothers in bright shortie coats pushing baby-buggies, and an Indian constable in blue uniform, swinging his nightstick, old men, and crowds of children around the store, all these made lively movement on a Reserve of which the Indian Affairs department reported, that year, "Welfare projects and land clearing continued to be the chief source of work." In 1953 population had fallen to 500, and the rate of enlistment in the armed forces was particularly high.

Of those in residence many were young veteran families with attractive homes and tiers of small children. Many more were the old people, moved willingly or not, to a place where they would be well-cared for, who remembered the old days at Pictou and did not much like "that bunch from Truro" or elsewhere, while a minority consisting of old Shubenacadie inhabitants sat somewhat apart and also remembered the past.

The Obvious Changes, Housing, Dress, Amusements

In the 38-year period between our field-trips, there had been many changes in the Micmac world, some of them evident to any visitor. The old ramshackle huts that dotted the settlement at Burnt Church were gone and in their place were story-and-a-half frame houses. Gray, weathered shingles and boards predominated, with here and there new homes covered with asphalt siding in brick red or blue-gray. Although the houses varied in age, size, and stability, few were old shacks, and the surrounding land, barren of trees and with few shrubs and flowers, were remarkably tidy. Whites in the settlement said that in the spring every Micmac family cleaned up the winter accumulation in his yard. In contrast to 1912, most families now have an outhouse.

Superficially favorable as this appears, the Superintendent of the Miramichi Agency, Mr. E. J. Blakoy, considered improvement of housing the most important job for the Indian Service. All of the Department's limited resources are now being used to build good weather-tight houses that will afford privacy as well as greater comfort, primarily for old people, those with unusual handicaps from illness, and those with large families. The change in the character and appearance of the houses since 1912, the new means of acquiring houses, and the present attitude of the Micmac, are evidences of changes occurring in other phases of their life. Until recently each man built, or provided for the building of his house, kept it in repair, or let it fall to pieces. Annual government reports from 1912 to 1944, which do not specify Reserves, frequently describe the New Brunswick and Nova Scotia houses as small frame structures, badly built and providing poor protection against the cold. In 1938, however, the New Brunswick situation was said to have improved; houses of more solid construction, with squared timbers and white-washed shingles, apparently were built by the Indians themselves—probably by very few of them.

However, there are now other ways of obtaining housing, and the Micmac are well aware of them. As an illustration of this awareness: on an 11-sheet map of Burnt Church drawn for us in 1950 by a thirteen-year-old Micmac girl, 50 of the Reserve's 70 houses are depicted, each labelled with the owner's name, and in six cases an additional identification; examples are: (4) "Mr. William Metellic, Vederan" and (2) "Welfare House." Our first interpretation was great local pride in the veterans, of which we had some evidence, and a feeling of superiority, or at least apartness, from families on relief, an attitude counter to Micmac democracy. The actual meaning, as we later learned, was very different.

By the Veteran's Land Act of 1945, a maximum grant of \$2320 is made to any Indian veteran of World War II who settles on a Reserve. The sum, for which no repayment to the Veteran's Bureau is required, may be used to buy equipment for forestry, fishing, farming, or trapping, for clearing land, or for the cost of building-material or construction. The four veteran houses at Burnt Church, and others at Eel Ground, were considered good units with cement foundations and brick chimneys, gray-shingled walls and pleasing blue roofs.

The "Welfare House" has about as long a history. Since 1944, as a function of the Welfare Division of the Indian Affairs Branch, house-building has been undertaken for the groups above mentioned. Portable sawmills are brought to Reserves, lumber cut there, and in all processes "Indians are employed wherever feasible." At Shubenacadie, a large number of otherwise jobless men were so employed in erecting a small town, but at Burnt Church, White carpenters were working on two houses in the summer of 1950 while one of the prospective owners carried on his job of commercial fishing, and the other sat importantly all day in the yard. We were told that the Indians had been offered work if they would report with their tools. No one appeared.

When one compares the old shacks and the apathetic dependence of 1912 with the improved housing of 1950 (in part acquired before 1945, through Micmac efforts) and the awareness that better housing can be obtained, and how, the greater vitality of the present society is apparent. But, as in other problems of Reserve life, the dependence remains, accompanied in this later more vigorous period by informed demand.

In what might be called grooming and adornment, houses at Burnt Church, Eel Ground, and Shubenacadie display varied degrees of owner interest and care. There are a few flower gardens and picket fences painted white. Many windows are softened with draw-shades or hanging curtains, and now and then a plant. In other houses, the minority, broken glass is not replaced.

The front door is important, perhaps particularly to the older people. The sole old woman left at the Millbank Reserve in Truro after the evacuation of the aged to Shubenacadie could not bear to leave her "good front door." On each of two Reserves a man of some self-importance has, in these face-to-face social groups, a large metal name-plate on his heavy-panelled port. The six-year-old son of one of these households anxiously asked his teacher to tell us that the spatter of tiny oblongs which he had drawn in the picture of his house represented the sun-porch, the only one on the Reserve.

For the interior of the Micmac home, government agencies supply nothing, and never have done so, not even a stove. Household equipment, therefore, expresses individual industry and taste. All households are those of a very low income group, but there is considerable range in comfort and in number and kind of small luxuries. Only a very general comparison with 1912 interiors is possible; at that date the counting of pots

and pans was not anthropologically fashionable. To observe household interiors one must go into the dwelling; and not every Indian is hospitable. Of the fourteen houses which time and owners permitted us to visit in 1950, only one, that of an old man neglected by the relatives who were paid to care for him, approached the dirt and squalor seen in many houses in 1911 and 1912.

The present Micmac two-story, or story-and-a-half, houses are divided on the ground floor into from two to three or (rarely) four rooms; the upper story usually is not partitioned. Curtains of thin material are hung across first-floor bedroom doors. The first impression made on a White visitor is bareness and cleanness. There is almost total absence of things characteristic of the average White house: heavy drapes, lamps, coffee tables, ash trays, cushions. Old wooden chairs and tables are not repainted; there is almost no color. The worn floors, the shabby linoleums, are brown-gray. But in nearly every house they are scrubbed often. In contrast to the Whites' conception of the filthy Indian home, the Micmac house is clean, and for that reason probably seems cleaner than it actually is. Standard in nearly every house, in addition to the stove, beds, chairs, and table, is a small battery radio; not quite so common is a kitchen pump. A holy picture hangs close to the ceiling, and family photographs (grouped snapshots, or a heavily framed enlargement of a photograph of a past generation, or a father in the uniform of World War I) usually are supplementary ornaments. Nearly every house has also one or more prized possessions: at the bottom of the scale this is an uncushioned rocking chair; at the top, a modern veneered bureau with round unframed mirror or, more rarely, a sofa. Families of unusual industry and thrift own a sewing-machine and/or a good white-enameled wood-burning stove. Prominent in many houses is a triple-functioning baby-buggy, which serves for transport, baby-bed, and a plaything for all children of the household.

Our observations received a partial check from the list of objects most frequently depicted by 20 Burnt Church school children (9-14 years of age) who on request drew "The Inside of My House." They show: table, 17; stove, 15; stairs, 13; bed, 12; chairs, 11; radio, 9; pump, 8 (very carefully drawn and labelled "pomp" or "bump"); cupboard, 6; mirror, 3; box or toolbox, 4; dishes, 3; sewing-machines, 2; flour barrel, 2; wash-stand, 2; clock, 1; sofa, 1; bookcase, 1 (19).

As the following paired descriptions indicate, age does not determine the degree of acculturation reflected in house furnishings:

Old Couples. Each man, over 70, is still an active fisherman.

- A. Bare, gray, clean. Two old wooden chairs. Old cook-stove in main room has on the shelf above it a set of pastel pottery dishes, placed so that each piece can be seen.
- B. Braided rugs on floor, foliage plants in windows, ornamental clock on a shelf, nicknacks, curtains hanging at doors of bedrooms at right and left. Hand-made quilts on the

beds, made with fine stitches in elaborate patterns. Large wooden bedstead in "master bedroom" with framed picture hanging over it of a daughter and her Veteran husband. From a low hook, three dainty, starched dresses of a young grand-daughter, each garment on small hangers.

Young Couples.

- A. Husband, early thirties, a Veteran and a community leader. An energetic lobster fisherman. New Veteran house. Fresh ruffled curtains at upper and at lower windows. Good kitchen sink and stove. In living-room, a set of new and attractive furniture, including a glass-fronted wardrobe.
- B. This man, early thirties, is also a leader. He does not use the rather expensive lobster-fishing equipment with which the Government has supplied him, and the family lives entirely on relief.

Front room: kitchen table. Two straight old wooden chairs. One rocker without cushion. Small radio. Big wood cook-stove. Two pictures hung at top of wall (holy picture and enlargement of a young child deceased).

Large back room: rocker with broken-arm, a pump, small table, with wash basin.

Side room: a chest of drawers, baby-buggy.

The taste of Micmac women as expressed in their house furnishing and ornamentation closely follows that of the White homes in Burnt Church. The handwork—braided rugs, quilts—is the same and the occasional large plastic or pottery animal from Eaton's, crouched on a Micmac bureau is found in herds and flocks in a White village parlor, where family snapshots stare at you from beneath the glass of a coffee table; in the uncluttered Micmac home snapshots are similarly displayed under glass, but hang on the wall. That the Indians are ready to consume all of the materials they can buy is illustrated by the immediate reaction to the introduction of electricity to Burnt Church in July 1950, a month after we left the Reserve. In response to a letter asking a woman what electrical equipment she was going to buy, the informant wrote in August: "I don't bother Electric washer. Too much for poor woman like me. Iron is enough and toaster. Maybe when I get old, not able to do my washing, I try and get." Many people were planning to install lights after their return from potato-picking in Maine, which they evidently did; a high proportion of school children's Draw-a-Man tests in March 1952, show the man standing outside a house with prominently attached electric wires.

Probably the trait in which the Micmac differ least from the Whites is dress. On the whole this was true in 1912, but quality and grooming have greatly improved; and all traces of the old costumes are disappearing.

Forty years ago the men ordinarily wore the clothes of a Canadian workman, but on special tribal occasions, for example, St. Anne's Day, they donned knee-length coats of blue wool heavily beaded at shoulder, wrist, and hemline, and on bands down the front that had been traditional for at least a hundred years. A "chief's coat" was more elaborate. Men of all ages wore such decorated coats; a young man about to be photographed with a shirtsleeved partner in a dice (wal'tes) game insisted on first fetching his ceremonial coat. None of these coats existed at Burnt Church in 1950, and at Shubenacadie, when two old men recently resettled on the Reserve showed us photographs taken in Halifax "when I went to see the King [George VI]", they proudly pointed to the Plains headdresses supplied for the occasion.

Dark clothing is worn by the older men, black suits for Sunday, and khaki or other plain colored work-clothes throughout the week. Young men may appear on festive occasions or for trips to Newcastle or to Halifax in white shirts open at the neck, bright blue trousers and a plain dark suit-coat. The felt hat is characteristic of the old or the middle-aged man; young men and boys go bareheaded or wear cloth caps with long visors jauntily turned up, a feature copied by little boys and reproduced in the drawings of school children. Shirts of boys and the youngest men are gay (plaids, and Hawaiian and cowboy prints), also the choice of White males of their age groups.

The change in women's dress is more marked than in the men's. In 1912 the older women, the most conservative portion of the tribe, covered the head with tight scarfs, often of figured material, and with a shawl fastened and draped from the crown of the head. On festive days they wore the traditional beaded cloth cap which came down to the lower angle of the jaw, bodice with beaded tabs, full dark skirt with embroidered and beaded bands, and ropelike bead necklaces. In 1950 no Burnt Church women owned an item of this costume, but black cloth skirt, bodice and headdress heavy with beads are owned by a few old women at Shubenacadie, and are brought out on St. Anne's Day, although they say that now the young people laugh at them. Even there, although they own the charming old squaw caps, they prefer to be seen and photographed in the beaded headband with one cocky feather, inspired by pictures of Plains Indians. "I feel all shut in in that cap," an old woman rationalized, while insisting on being photographed in "my Indian costume" or not at all. A second old lady is proud that visiting White women want to be photographed in her outfit, and has a collection of such pictures. These two women were for several years basket-sellers in contact with Whites, and know what the Whites think Indians should be. A Burnt Church woman sixty years of age who had visited Shubenacadie on St. Anne's Day commented on the artificial character of this survival in dress: "It isn't real Indian [meaning Micmac]. It's more like a show."

Age and degree of conservatism can be inferred at a Sunday morning Mass, but it is the conservatism of a White rural congregation. Grandmothers at Burnt Church wore plain black coats over light or dark print rayon dresses and added a gay feather or flower to black felt hats.

Teen-age girls wore a babushka and a red or a green coat; their mothers and little sisters, berets. Sunday hairdos were produced as elsewhere by pin-curls, rags, and permanents from the Neguac beauty shop. A mother explained the extremely curly hair of her small son: "I wanted a permanent so bad before he was born that I marked him." It is the children who are most obviously and proudly dressed, as their mother's say, "like White," in part because they are the offspring of the younger, more acculturated group; in part under the stimulus of the Family Allowance (discussed below). Also clothes in small sizes cost comparatively little. Pink silk ruffled bonnets and matching smocked dresses are standard for baby girls; and the boy of the only pair of twins at Burnt Church has the equivalent in pale blue.

A change immediately evident to the returning anthropologist was the manner of his reception. In 1912 most Micmac seemed to shy away from Whites. At Burnt Church in 1950 old men greeted a visitor to their house with "come up and be seated," (up'tcila's'it tcim'Ana, that is, take the seat back of the fire, the freest from draughts and the most comfortable in the wigwam), and appeared glad to see a White newcomer. The change to an easier social manner was especially apparent in the women. In 1912 seldom would a woman in the household of an informant converse with the anthropologist. In 1950 the women treated him in about the same way as would women in a group of Whites. In 1912 he was in the twenties; in 1950 he was in the sixties; he had moved into the group of old men. But he thinks this is only a small part of the explanation of the changed attitude toward this visitor. Because of greater use of English, shared work, and to some extent shared amusements, the Micmac are more at home in the White world, better acquainted with their neighbors in village and country. Baseball was adopted at least as early as 1890. An old informant stated in 1950 that it was taught the Micmac by Yankee fishermen who came into Miramichi Bay. Now almost every Reserve has a team, and the nearby White community shares the pride in its performance. "Those fellers are sports," declared a truck-owner frequently hired by one team to take them to matches away from the home Reserve. "They always pay me back." Baseball contributes in two respects to the rather meager recreations of both the White and the Indian communities at Burnt Church. Not only are there games to attend; good feature-pictures are brought weekly during the summer resort season to the hall in the White village by the priest who serves the Micmac church, and with the proceeds he buys equipment for the team and pays their transportation to other Reserves. Both Indians and Whites attend these movies.

In the past forty years most White holidays have been taken over, and observance of them is increasing. About 1935 Micmac at Burnt Church began to put up Christmas trees in the home. Now every house has one, decorated with tinsel, bells, stars, and artificial snow, from the dime store in Newcastle or the mail order house. Every child believes in Santa Claus. Stockings are hung up on Christmas Eve. Many ask Santa for the things they want—clothes, toys, and so forth. A child is told "If you are good, Santa will bring them; if you are not good, he will not bring them."

In 1912 the old women used to say, "Don't let the children know about Christmas." "But," said a grandmother born in 1886, "you can't keep it from them now. They read it in the paper, they hear it on the radio." The early mailing of the December family allowance check ("because the mail grows so heavy at Christmas time") (20) is additional stimulus to buying for children. Some adults also receive presents; not uncommonly members of the family join in the purchase of a gift for father. Women like to send Christmas cards. (We receive also each year valentines from a family with which we correspond.)

Birthdays and parents' days are recent celebrations. Nowadays a man or woman of any age receives a birthday cake; children blow out the birthday candles according to White custom. Mother's Day reached Burnt Church two or three years ago, and in 1950 few families honored it. The suitable gift is a cake. A mother of sixty-four years of age, photographed by her daughter-in-law, the donor, holds a handsome decorated cake from a city bakery, and a greeting card. The suitable gift for Father's Day is a pipe.

The preeminent Micmac holiday is July 26th and days—formerly weeks—thereafter. St. Anne's Day is a modernization, with priestly assistance, of an old tribal gathering held annually at about that date and called, according to an old informant in 1950, Mabuktso, (Protection). Traditional descriptions of its celebration at Burnt Church and at Pictou, Nova Scotia, were obtained in 1912 and in 1950, and in the latter year, information about the current celebration. One of us attended the celebrations in 1911 in New Brunswick, and in 1912 in Nova Scotia, but without notebook in hand. Burnt Church, traditionally through the ages, and historically since at least 1891, has been the central gathering-place for Micmac from the Miramichi region and perhaps from much farther (21). The modern adaptation, as of 1950, of the old ceremonious arrival of canoe-loads from Eel Ground, Big Cove, and Red Bank is described by a Micmac woman:

Oh we have a poor picnic this year. Rainy all day. Could not do anything. Buses and cars and trucks all loaded with peoples. But could not get off, so they turn back. My, we were sorry and priest, too, because it's Saint Anne's Day. Every Indian celebrates that. But we couldn't. Maybe next year will be a kind day on that day.

Degrees of acculturation in ceremonies at marriage and at death at three Reserves with different history and contacts were briefly described. Weddings are held in a Catholic church. At relatively isolated and conservative Burnt Church the service is in the Reserve church. Everyone is invited to it and to dinner and supper at the girl's parents' home. In the evening quadrilles are danced in the Band house to the accompaniment of fiddle and guitar. Recent features include, occasionally, the wearing of a bridal veil and the ordering of an artificial bouquet from Eaton's. Some of the guests bring presents to the bride and groom. At Eel Ground, the Reserve nearest to Burnt Church, on a highway and a bus line, a few miles from Newcastle, all who can afford it are married not in their own church but in the White's church in the town.

The contrast between 1950 weddings at the resettlement at Shubenacadie and some years ago at neighboring and now almost deserted Truro (Millbrook Reserve) was described by a woman aged sixty-four. In the old days every one came to a wedding. Enough food was served at the girl's home to feed a regiment; meat, potatoes, turnips, cakes. Now only those who were invited attend. A church wedding often is a double one, to save expense, and only sandwiches and cake are served. After the wedding there is dancing throughout the night, quadrilles and modern dances ("people about forty years of age are good at reels, but young people are no good.").

The old neighborly cooperation at time of death is modified today. A woman aged 85, living in 1950 at Shubenacadie, who spent her youth and middle age in various parts of Nova Scotia, says; "When someone died, each person in the settlement gave 25 cents or 10 cents. We made the coffin and a shroud. Men and women had brown shrouds; children and young girls had white. A woman's shroud was a gown. The man had pants, too. We buried the corpse, and then we auctioned off whatever the dead person owned—a few clothes and dishes—and gave the money to the priest for Masses."

At Burnt Church in 1950, friends carry the coffin to the church on their shoulders, or by the handles, and from the church to the graveyard, across the road. An undertaker is employed only if the person died in the hospital. In accord with the prestige that the White culture of Newcastle exerts on Eel Ground weddings, all except the poorest families on that Reserve send to town for an undertaker and a hearse, although their settlement is smaller than is Burnt Church. Much of the funeral responsibility at Shubenacadie, where an agent resides, seems to have shifted from neighbors to officials. According to the chief clerk, the agency arranges with an undertaker to fetch the body and bring it back to the Reserve in a coffin. If the corpse looks too badly, he improves the appearance, but does not embalm. The undertaker has given the Indians an old hearse to which the Micmac hitch some of their horses for the trip from Church to graveyard.

Making a Living

On our first walk through the Burnt Church Reserve in 1950 the most surprising sight was two Indian stores. As establishments or as sources of solid income they were not impressive, but to one remembering the spiritless, despondent Micmac of 1912, these modest enterprises were striking. Each was attached to the owner's house; one occupied an ell of the largest house in the settlement and employed a bright eighteen-year-old girl as clerk. The owner, a former chief, was the only man in Burnt Church who owned cows, a horse, and a car. The smaller store, made by enclosing a porch, employed no outside help, had a small stock of canned goods, notebooks, pencils, bread, doughnuts and cookies from a Newcastle bakery, fruit, candy, and pop. The larger store did not offer much else. In Burnt Church village a mile away were two stores, one large, both extensively patronized by Indians. In July 1950 after electric power was installed at the Reserve the owner of the smaller store immediately bought a cooler, to supply the blueberry-pickers who each day left by boat from the shore behind the store. Small children picked for a reward of ice cream and pop; and the owner's wife packed lunches, and morning and evening "ran like a cat," to make the most of the seasonal rush. On Sundays, when the Whites' stores were closed, people from the summer cottages came for ice cream.

The storekeeper's family has engaged in an occupation recently introduced to the Micmac. In 1940 families from New Brunswick and Nova Scotia went by train to Houlton, Maine, to pick potatoes. Thereafter arrangements have been made each year between a Maine farmer and a Micmac family. Each picker pays his share of the cost of the food; in 1949, in three weeks a girl of eleven might net up to \$60.

The storekeeper barbers in his kitchen; and his wife washes for a few Whites. His main occupation is fishing for lobsters and herring.

Whatever the Maritime Indians do for a living, that living is small and frequently must be supplemented by relief funds. The Superintendent of the Miramichi stated that an energetic family could bring back about a thousand dollars from Maine, and that this would last them until nearly spring. Good stoves, bicycles, and warm clothing for adults are likely to be purchases from these earnings. Micmac in the Shubenacadie area, in addition to potato-picking, also leave the Reserves in the spring when families go singly into the woods to pick mayflowers which they ship for sale in the cities. Blueberry-picking on Portage Island, in Miramichi Bay, and cutting Christmas trees engage men, women, and small boys, and supplement the income. A few women and girls obtain seasonal work in a lobster-canning factory or in a fish-pickling plant. A few do housework, particularly at Eel Ground, which is near a town. Few of the Micmac's White neighbors are able to employ domestic help. In the government store at Shubenacadie, Indian men and women work as clerks.

A very few have a (free) high school education and have entered the white-collar ranks. The school at resettled Eskasoni, N. S., had Indian teachers, and at least one Micmac teacher has been employed on Prince Edward Island. Two girls at Eel Ground have finished the Commercial course at a Newcastle convent, and in 1950 one of these was about to enter a government office.

The main occupations are those of 1912. Men at Burnt Church fish, work at lumbering and at sawmills, and as laborers, sometimes in distant towns, perhaps in the States for short periods, all at seasonal or temporary work, dependent on a changing market. In the summer of 1950 men at Eel Ground were thrown out or work at the nearby mill when Britain altered its policy of pulp buying. At Burnt Church two men, father and son, recently have joined the local White cooperative herring fishing. Industrious Micmac lobster fishermen row out to their traps in heavy dories, with perhaps a boy to help; White men own large power-driven boats. Two such boats, costing \$1100 each, purchased by the Miramichi Superintendent, presumably under the Veteran's Act, were shortly afterward found in the hands of White purchasers who had obtained them at a greatly reduced price. They were promptly impounded by the Indian Affairs Branch, thus ending one phase of an attempt at economic acculturation.

Near Shubenacadie, men classified as farmers in 1912 and later, raised a few crops and worked at odd jobs in the neighborhood. Throughout the Maritimes for at least sixty years a small income has been earned by the home manufacture of so-called Indian wares: potato-baskets, churns, butter- and wash-tubs, handles for axes, picks, and peaveys; and hockey-sticks

and snow-shoes. By 1916 wood near the Reserves, suitable for these goods, had sharply decreased. During the recent war only the handicapped and the aged carried on the handicraft. Demand exceeded production. Meanwhile the able and willing found steady work in a steel-mill, or in lumbering or farm-work. But in 1947 the Indian Affairs reports again list handles and potato-baskets among the few sources of income in Nova Scotia; and during the following year the government bought and shipped handicraft material to the Reserves. Of handicrafts and professions with a continuous history from aboriginal days, a few old women at Shubenacadie still can do skillful porcupine-quill work on birch bark; one of them has saturated her single market, a New England museum. Blight has destroyed nearly all of the birch trees in Nova Scotia, resulting in a further decrease of a vanishing art. Some women earn a little as midwives and herbalists, and at Shubenacadie an "Indian Doctor," as his door-plate describes him, a guide for one of us in 1912, drives about the countryside in an old car and sells medicines to Whites.

Probably the greatest change in home economy since 1912 is the increase in the number of families which make gardens, and of gardens which grow vegetables other than potatoes. Canning, under the stimulus of the visiting nurse, is gaining at Burnt Church. Some women sew, and the few sewing-machines on a Reserve are loaned to friends of the owner. The tendency to buy most of the clothing and to purchase prepared food-stuffs seems to be general, and has perhaps been augmented by the introduction of the Family Allowance. Diet has improved, as has that of neighboring Whites. This is evident particularly in the greater use of milk in the non-dairy area of New Brunswick. This means for Indians and Whites what the Micmac call "C'nation" (Carnation).

One home-manufactured product might be classified as recreation, or, as a culturally approved release for aggression against the in-group (22). This is Micmac home-brewed beer. Although this most generally used form of alcohol does not lead to family homicides, murders, or suicides, as described by Le Clercq in the 17th century, it does occasion household quarrels and wife-beating, with loud shouts from the habitually quiet Micmac. The Indian constable at Shubenacadie specified drunken family fights as the chief disturbance on the Reserve. Although at Burnt Church they are confined to the Reserve and do not annoy the Whites, if severe injury is threatened the timid constable phones the Mountie in a nearby town. The only aggression there against Whites by a drunken Indian was charged against a peeper into the window of a teacher who, it was said, was generally unpopular. The ingredients of the beer were described by a Micmac constable as "seeds," and by two Harvard students as "molasses and yeast cakes;" which suggests a very old acculturation. In 1700 Dièrville wrote of French Acadia: "only Beer, made from the tips of Fir trees is brewd there; a strong decoction is put into a cask with Yeast and Molasses...all this ferments together for two or three days; when the fermentation is over the substance settles, and the light coloured Liquor, which is not unpleasant, is drunk" (23). In July 1950 a sign in the government store at Shubenacadie proclaimed: "No molasses sold to people on relief."

Lost Traits of Micmac Culture

Attempts to obtain information about aboriginal culture were an almost complete failure. With old people the topics from technology to folklore were broached. Data difficult to secure in 1912 were impossible to find in 1950. In 1912 canoe-making was practised by a few experts at Burnt Church. Fifteen birch bark canoes were in use there, although there were few on other Reserves. In 1950 there was probably not a single such canoe in use in the entire Micmac country; and very few men who knew how to make one.

In 1912 at any larger settlement many informants could give a detailed description of the birch bark wigwam, its construction, furnishings, and the names of its various parts. In 1950 possibly no one could do so. Occasionally, after a native name was volunteered by the ethnologist, a Micmac would recognize the reference.

They still make and use snow-shoes. A few use figure-four traps, and set snares for small game. Birch bark household vessels, common in 1912, are now rarely seen, in part because of the scarcity of this bark.

In 1912 everywhere one went one was likely to see men, or men and women, playing wal'tes, the aboriginal gambling game in which bone "dice" with designs incised on one side are tossed up in a large bowl made from a burl of a maple tree. In 1950 we did not see this game played anywhere; only a few old people now know how to score the game, and both dice and bowl are a rarity; indeed in most settlements are not to be found (24).

The old beliefs in magic power, ghosts, and small beings, universally expressed in 1912, had disappeared in 1950, or at least had gone under-cover, as a result of priestly disapproval, or in shamefacedness. In 1911-12 everybody believed in kes'kamzīt, magic good luck which gave power to do unusual deeds or bestowed superhuman skills. In almost every house there were one or more objects that had brought kes'kamzīt: stones suggesting bird or animal, fungus growth resembling a baby. Very few of these objects exist today. An old man who brought out such a stone and presented it to us, said "Do you know what this is?" When we replied, "Kes'kamzīt" he nodded, a bit sheepishly. Probably younger people attach no importance to this magic luck; children who served as informants had not heard of it. Older men are inclined to interpret it as "a gift from God, given especially to those who obey their parents." Even so, one of these old men also told of an instance in which a young boy picking blueberries had an experience which implied the aboriginal kes'kamzīt.

Questions about a belief in ghosts, skadē'gAmūtē, the soul after it has left the body (and also the will-o'-the-wisp), were evaded in 1950 by old women at Burnt Church, and were denied by an old woman at Shubenacadie because she said the priest forbade it. Two children, however, one at each Reserve told freely of a grandfather's recent meeting with the phenomenon and of hearing that the soul of a dead woman had been seen, that week, standing at the window of her house. The same boy, at Burnt Church,

told of his grandfather's acquaintance with a pugula'tAmūtc, one of a human race of tiny beings well-known in 1912, but admitted to reluctantly by an old man in 1950, who after recounting his own experience with one, added that they had now all gone to Nova Scotia.

The almost complete disappearance of folktales and of good storytellers was a disappointment after the comparative riches of 1912. A few old people could tell one or two good stories, or remembered fragments of the rabbit cycle heard as a child and repeated to their own children. Most stories were at best synoptic variants of long accounts recorded in 1912.

Changed Orientation

In 1911-12 the senior writer attempted to obtain a knowledge of Micmac orientation. With allowance for differences in personalities encountered in the two periods, this relationship to the world had in four decades become something very different. The Micmac world in 1911, as it was conceived by the old people—and the old still set the tribal tone—was small, looking backward to the Good Old Days, with little room for Canadian actuality, crowded with supernatural creatures vital to their well-being. Any man thirty years of age or older knew something about the pre-White type of life and its values when men were taller, lived longer, and because of finer medicine were never lame. Glūskap, the culture hero, if not actually around, had not gone so far away that his help could not be summoned in time of need, and at hand were various mythic strong men and little people to warn of danger or—just be there. The government was Our King who made a treaty with our chiefs. Of other Indians, except Maliseet and Penobscot, the Micmac knew little and cared less. With one marked exception: in 1911 they still lived in fear of the Bil'wedg, the Mohawk, traditional enemies and eighteenth-century allies of the British when the Micmac aided the French. Some fifty of our typewritten pages contain accounts of Mohawk depredations against Micmac, current on most Reserves in 1911-1912. For former apprehension there is corroboration on a tablet gratefully raised in 1938 at Annapolis Royal: "Site of fort built in 1712 by Mohawk Indians under Major Livingston, employed as allies by the British to intimidate the Micmac." However, two hundred years is a long time to cherish such anxieties as are illustrated by the following incident which occurred on the first visit of the senior writer to Burnt Church, and was recorded thus in his manuscript:

On a Reserve about thirty miles away I had been taking head and body measurements, and I had hoped to take similar measurements at Burnt Church. After my arrival there a Malecite Indian from the St. John River, accompanied by a friend of the writer, came to Burnt Church. The Malecite, to assist me (so he later said), went from house to house and told the people how necessary it was that they should be measured; that from these measurements I could make statues which would be so life-like that one would not be able to distinguish between them and the persons they represented; that by this means one

could ascertain the difference between a Micmac, a Malecite, or any other Indian. His efforts bore fruit in an increasing suspicion by the Micmac of my motives. A meeting of men on the Reserve was held, and they decided that I might not take measurements there. I had connived with the Malecite to send these measurements to the Mohawk, who could then distinguish between the two tribes and would sweep down and exterminate the Micmac. The men wrote to Reserves at Pic-tou, Nova Scotia, Prince Edward Island, and Richibucto, New Brunswick, to forewarn the Micmac on those Reserves of my sinister designs. The incident placed me under suspicion that remained in the minds of influential men, and undoubtedly was a considerable handicap in winning their confidence. The younger men laughed at the idea; but often one of the older men would recount to me the fighting abilities of the Micmac, the aid they would get from Gluskap in time of trouble and so on, in a strain that suggested they knew the danger and meant to show themselves capable of countering it.

In 1950 the Mohawk had no part in the Micmac world. When presented with the word Bil'wedj some of the old men did not recognize it; some said it meant any Indian other than a Micmac. Only one Mohawk tale was related and in that they were called Caughnawags. Today a Micmac sees himself as a part of all Indian groups; his knowledge of them may be somewhat vague, but his interest in them is great. An old man 82 years of age recited a long sentence and added, "That is Kickapoo, but I don't know what it means." A man of thirty, presenting a gift-handkerchief printed with a Plains Indian in war-bonnet regretted that "the Micmac have no customs." Women passed photographs of Chippewa and Dakota from one to another, saying, "Yes, Indians are the same everywhere." When told about recent Chippewa use of the menstrual hut, they exclaimed, ignorant of their own pre-White practice, "Those must be wild Indians. Like Eskimo." In the 17th century Eskimo were enemies of the Micmac and captive Eskimo sometimes were enslaved. Traditional descriptions of Eskimo culture were occasionally mentioned in 1911.

At Shubenacadie a man seventy years of age gave one of us a copy of The Native Voice: Official Organ of the Native Brotherhood of British Columbia; a monthly journal to which he subscribed. This copy, of April 1950, contains an article, AND THEY CALLED US SAVAGES, which depicts, in acknowledged extracts from various books, the treatment which the Whites have meted out to the Indians.

One of these extracts, taken from a book published in London in 1912, describes the fate of the Beothuk, and states: "The French, when they occupied the south coast of Newfoundland, brought over Mikmak [Micmac] Indians to chase and kill the Beothuk's or 'Red Indians.'"

This interest in other tribes of Indians does not, it seems, intensify interest in Micmac groups other than one's own. There is and has always been a considerable amount of inter-settlement visiting and inter-marriage, particularly between settlements which are close to one another. Every adult Micmac knows the location of other Micmac groups in the Province

of Quebec, the Maritime Provinces, and Newfoundland, and, it was said in 1950, the Magdalen Islands. But there is no Micmac nationalism. Ability to speak the language is recognized as a tie that binds, or, more precisely, makes visiting among strangers easy.

In one respect the present social world has shrunk. Men, except possibly the aged, no longer are universally aware of where they stand in relation to those peoples who seemed to be almost a part of their Reserves in 1911: Halfway People, Pūgūla'tamūtc, Mi'gamawe'sū. Only a giraffe should stick his neck out so far as to conclude that they have departed forever; but certainly they have gone underground, perhaps literally; and possibly they are no more vital part of present day Micmac consciousness than of the folk superstitions of White neighbors.

As for their relation to the Canadian government, while references to Our King continued and we were frequently shown copies of the treaty with George III, they are also well aware of Ottawa from which some things come and others, allegedly promised, do not.

Pride in ancestry, the strength and the land-wealth of the old Micmac, was expressed by young men; but only the aged suggested that wigwams were healthier than were houses. Certainly as regards material culture, the attitude was: The Good Old Days!—S. What!

There has been a marked reorientation of age groups. At the time of the earlier visits to Reserves a few middle-aged chiefs were encountered; but most affairs were firmly in the hands of the elders. In 1950, chiefs ranged from young to early middle age. At a settlement with a population of over 300, the chief was 32 years of age, and his councilors were of about the same age. The attitude of old men toward their own deposition seemed to be determined mainly by the faction in Reserve politics to which they adhered. Since 1912 Micmac veterans have returned from two World Wars. At each Reserve visited in 1950 Indians asserted that these men by their experiences in other parts of Canada, in Europe, or in Japan, had stirred the imaginations of those who remained at home and who previously had had little interest in things beyond the borders of the Maritime Provinces. The new houses recently given by the Veteran's Administration has further enhanced the prestige of these young men.

Another age group which receives enhanced status is the children. This, too, can be attributed partly to the receipt of government largesse. To the Indian on a Reserve, who pays no taxes except on money earned elsewhere, the Canadian Family Allowance is clear gain. The monthly payments from birth and from six to sixteen if a child is attending school, are interpreted by many Micmac in a way very personal to the child. Although checks are made out to the mother, the common remark is, "Margaret Rose [aged three] got her family allowance today, so she got a new dress." A teacher was convinced that a child's prestige had definitely increased after 1945, when these grants began. She said, "I've seen a boy of 13 with the eight dollars in cash in his own hands. Parents are very nice to a child just before the Allowance check is due."

As against this explanation for the regard for children, it should be remembered that even among Indian groups the Micmac continually, from the 17th century on, have been considered extremely affectionate to their children and to have considered them capable of making decisions from a very early age. Socially the children are much more evident than they were in 1911 when it was considered improper for a child old enough to run about to stay around older people. Toddlers were very shy with us. Five-year-old cowboys did not shoot us on the first visit to their homes; they waited until the second day. The assertion that the Family Allowance is an inducement to adopt children or to keep illegitimate children in the home of a relative, as some Whites allege, we are not inclined to accept. A wide-spread feature of the childless or the elderly Micmac home has long been the nigwena'delnūtċwātċl', the "raising-up child." In 1950 we knew personally many such between five and six years of age, none of whom at the time of adoption promised any benefit to the foster home. This is an enduring Micmac custom (25).

Although old people have slipped in status, they receive respect, and they continue to hand on to their grandchildren what they believe are important tribal, though not aboriginal, skills and knowledge. They now receive old-age pensions, and these are regarded by many with pride: "We got them the same time the Whites did." A few old people, it is true, deplore this substitutions for individual arrangements for their care by relatives which might in certain instances result in cash kick-backs.

Grandparents live in close contacts with grandchildren; sons or foster sons usually live in houses adjacent to that of aged parents. In the words of several old women, "The kids are over here before we're up in the morning." Instability of marriages, deaths of young mothers, and illegitimate births, bring small children into the household. Grandfathers teach boys to make "Indian wares" and tell them about Old Times, which means not pre-White days, but the early hunting and fishing adventures of themselves or their fathers. Grandmothers teach household arts to the girls and tell them stories, "mostly about prayers." In this era of rapid change, the oldest generation is a social channel for stimulating tribal consciousness and pride.

Between 1912 and 1950, although women have gained in freedom of social manner and in manipulation of modern household material, their position in relation to the men has perhaps not greatly altered. Basically woman has always shared most of the economic pursuits of the male, fished with him from the same canoe, which she had assisted to build, and in warfare carried arrows as ammunition for the fighters, and even taken shots at the enemy. Folktales of abandoned women who overcame all obstacles were told in 1911 and again in 1950 with the concluding comment, "In the old days anything a man could do a woman could do." Day schools have been the rule in the Maritimes, and therefore daughters were not sent away from home earlier, and for their protection kept at boarding-school longer than the sons; a tendency in many groups which results in more years of education for women than for men.

Agencies of Acculturation

Ways by which various White culture traits have been introduced and accepted have been implicit throughout this paper. Certain institutions and programs have more or less successfully attempted changes in Micmac life, and some of these were evident in 1950. The introduction, under the Indian Act, of an elected chief and council was an innovation in democracy which fitted comfortably with old, and probably aboriginal, patterns. In pre-White days each settlement had a chief and perhaps a council. Each chief had an assistant with supernatural powers to be used only in a crisis. In 1911 each band had an assistant-chief called "captain." It was said at Burnt Church that if trouble came to the settlement, the assistant with supernatural power would assert himself "although none of us know who he would be. One is certainly here."

The Indian Act of 1951 provides for a chief, and one councillor for every one hundred members of the band, to be elected biannually by a majority of the voters (men and women over 21). The Agency Superintendent, who is present at the election, may not suggest candidates, but has a veto power over the band's choice. On at least one Reserve in 1950 the chief was no favorite of the Superintendent but the latter had not blocked his election. The powers of the council are mainly supervisor. With the right combination of chief, Reserve, and Superintendent, this system can be an effective means of cooperation and solidarity. We did not learn much about the present functioning of the councils. Amusing evidences of associated acculturation may be mentioned. At one Reserve, the chief had campaigned on a platform advocating the obviously impossible—things outside his powers; and by offering free taxi-rides to the polls, it is said, increased his chances of election.

A sudden abandonment of old traits for new has followed contact with a health program. At Burnt Church in 1951 all births took place in the hospital at Newcastle (26). This was a new procedure. Accounts of child-birth practices given in 1950 by women of 66 and 24 years of age differed in no detail. All children under the age of three had been born at the Reserve. Suddenly, none were. Hospitalization obviously is free to Indians. Another surprising change is the end of breast-feeding and the substitution of canned milk. "All my family were raised on C'nation," said a young mother, resisting the visiting nurse's prescription of powdered milk for premature twins. Under the influence, otherwise accepted, of this nurse who was attached to the Miramichi Agency in October 1948, and this Micmac mother who could follow a schedule, these twins are now at age two-and-a-half years, the only pair ever to have survived at Burnt Church. We find it difficult to interpret the end of breast-feeding as sudden rejection of the child. The bottle-and C'nation babies observed were the recipients of much fondling by their mothers and of rivalry among siblings over feeding them.

The health of Canadian Indians is the concern of the Indian Health Services, Department of National Welfare and Health, which took it over from the Indian Affairs Branch in 1948. It is battling with small funds,

but increasing success, the long terrible sufferings and subsequent deaths from tuberculosis. One agency of acculturation in many Micmac lives is undoubtedly the t.b. sanitarium. On the envelopes of Christmas cards we received from Miramichi are tuberculosis seals of the Canadian Red Cross, bought by families all of which have had at least one victim of the disease.

The role of the Roman Catholic Church in the 17th century as a means of deliberate acculturation has been stated. Conversion is complete and partial: no Protestant missionary has had a chance of success among the Micmac; and each Catholic Micmac retains some remnants of the old beliefs. In addition to the comfort which the faith brings to many, the Church has had certain definite successes. Micmac are married in the sight of God and man. They are not divorced, although marriages are perhaps no more stable than in aboriginal days. Priests and nuns can be, and often are, sympathetic friends and counsellors who, if they are native to the countryside, as many are, understand the Indian and his problems. The Church contributes to social life, through encouraging the Sunday afternoon Bingo games at the Band-house to raise money for its support—another push toward acculturation. The following notes made after a Mass held at Burnt Church in 1950 illustrate the sensible way the Church approaches its Micmac members:

The priest read notices covering the following topics:

1. First reading of wedding banns.
2. Priest will bring a show (the movie, "Green Dolphin Street") to the White town-hall on Friday night. Don't schedule a big baseball game for every one to go to as you did last Friday. (It is from the proceeds of these shows that the priest buys equipment for the Micmac baseball team and pays their travelling expenses for games away from home.)
3. Announcement of a Bingo game at the Catholic church in a nearby town. All are welcome; door prize of \$50. If you can't come, send 40 cents and your name, and you will be eligible for the \$50.
4. A lawyer will be at the store at Neguac every Wednesday afternoon. If you need to see a lawyer, see this man and don't waste time and money on taxis to take you to Newcastle.
5. Stop peeking in the teacher's windows after dark. It isn't nice or polite. This is the first time there has been such a complaint.
6. Be sure to bring all of your babies which are over six months of age to the clinic at the school-house on Wednesday, to be inoculated and immunized against smallpox, whooping cough, and diphtheria.

On nearly every Reserve, next door to the church stands the day school. Before Canadian Confederation (1867) there were no Indian schools in the Maritimes; in 1893 there were seven. Burnt Church and Eel Ground got theirs by 1898, but Big Cove, the largest of the Miramichi Reserves, until 1989 refused to put up a building. The Indian Affairs Reports

states; attendance poor; great difficulty in maintaining school attendance after the third grade; "the fondness for their offspring which is so admirable a characteristic of Indian parents prevents the exercise of firmness which...is necessary even to compel children more or less prepared by heredity to undergo confinement and school discipline." In 1911 the more conservative Micmac expressed much opposition to White education. The "natural way," they said, is the Indian's way. Education leads to disharmony; formerly, when one man spoke, all others gave assent; now, each has a different opinion. A man who could read and write was more likely to be distrusted than respected by his fellows.

In 1950 more respect, at least verbal, was given to the school. Compulsory attendance for Indians between the ages of seven and sixteen was established in 1920; and the Family Allowance instituted in 1945 is stopped if a child does not attend school. Nevertheless, neither enrollment nor attendance attains the level in White schools. Like most laws that run counter to cultural sanctions, the truancy laws are not greatly enforced. Children may be absent for a period not exceeding six weeks per term to "assist in husbandry or...necessary household duties." For many Micmac these include the annual potato-picking in Maine and the Shubenacadie mayflower-gathering. The falling off between the first and the second grade is marked: in 1949-50 it was for all Canada a decrease of 57%; for Nova Scotia, 46%; New Brunswick, 43%; Burnt Church Reserve, 62.5%. The older people say that at first the children like to go to school, then they don't, and we can't make them; that is, they can not force the young to follow a course, particularly one in which the elders do not entirely believe; for to compel is not the Micmac way. Many boys and girls leave school at twelve or thirteen years of age, in spite of the loss of the \$8 monthly Allowance.

The favorite school subjects, according to both teachers and children, are most often drawing and arithmetic. Neither of these requires the use of much English; and instruction conducted in English is a handicap to those who come from homes which are predominantly Micmac-speaking (27).

Despite these drawbacks, the school has been a strong agent for acculturation. In 1950 nearly all Micmac between the ages of forty and fifty could read and write some English, and probably all adults who were not more than thirty years of age could do so; only a few very old people could not speak English, and many were fluent speakers. On all Reserves some subscribe to newspapers from nearby towns or from Halifax or St. John, and make some use of the information thus obtained. For instance, a woman in the Miramichi obtained her adopted son by reading about babies of Indian girls and White air force men offered for adoption through a St. John maternity hospital. Micmac women, like Whites, pour over Eaton's "wish book" and send mail orders. They correspond with friends away from the Reserves. Other probable ramifications of the educational process and the consequent modifications of personality escape short-time observation.

Micmac of 1950

The greatest change between the Micmac of 1911-12 and those of 1950 was their attitude toward life. Vitality and drive have to some extent replaced general lassitude and despair. They now want the material things of White culture. They are ready and eager to consume all of the goods they can obtain. But their idea of the method of securing them is almost entirely the hope for greater munificence from a paternalistic government which owes them everything. Because of their isolation on Reserves and of segregation in schools they have little realization of how the Whites around them obtain the things both groups desire. They live for the most part in a poor economic environment; and many Whites move away; but Micmac stay and, thanks to help from the Government, will not starve. In many instances intelligent Micmac are so habituated to their culture and its presuppositions that they are blind to the fundamental viewpoints and factual situations of White culture.

To cite an example: at one Reserve the chief, a man in the early thirties, spoke to us while we were walking through the settlement on the evening of our arrival, and briefly passed the time of day. His attitude was cordial and open. Almost immediately, however, he embarked on an oration, carried on in conversational tones, the import, if not the exact words, of which was as follows: "The Micmac are a great people and used to own all of this Province [New Brunswick].

"The Indians used to own all of North America. What they gave to the Whites was worth millions, perhaps billions, of dollars. Do you know any Micmac down in the States?

"Well, they came from the States. The Government there owes them millions of dollars. Other Indians have been trying to get this money; but they can not get it, for the Government in the States is holding it for the Micmac and will not give it to any other Indians. Some day we will get it."

We were told that this man's campaign for election to the chieftainship was carried on in terms of great benefits he would obtain for the Micmac from the Government.

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If acculturation is to succeed to the full—whether it is desirable is another matter—the individual must become a member of the larger community of the Maritimes, of Canada, and of the modern world. The Micmac have not achieved that status. (28).

ENDNOTES

1. RSW joined WDW in the 1950 field work and in the preparation of this article.
2. The visit in 1950 was made possible by grants from the Anthropology Department and from the Graduate School Research Fund, University of Minnesota.
3. The manuscript of the 1911-1912 field trips, with additions of 1950 material is now in preparation for publication.
4. Biard, in Jesuit Relations, vol. I, 177. Biard tells this story not to illustrate the adoption of European foods but to complain of Micmac presumption. A further cause of dissatisfaction with the savages which he relates to his Provincial in Paris is their extreme incompetence as language teachers to the French.
5. Lescarbot, 57.
6. Jesuit Relations, vol. I, 141, 1611.
7. Jesuit Relations, vol. 30, 127-143.
8. Dierèville.
9. Denys, vol. 2, 442-444.
10. Lescarbot, 59.
11. Wright. Several Micmac accounts of the burning of the church and of the Great Fire of 1825, recorded in 1911-12, are in Wallis' manuscript.
12. Big Cove, Burnt Church, Eel Ground, Red Bank.
13. Canada, Indian Reports.
14. Dierèville, 78, footnote.
15. Dierèville, 76-77.
16. Captured by the British in 1755 as a secret agent. He was a prisoner for eight years.
17. Le Loutre.
18. Canada, Indian Reports, 1896-1950.
19. The last mentioned by a boy, age 14. His sister, 10, drew a toolbox in the same place.

20. You and Your Family, Information Services Division, Department of National Health & Welfare, Ottawa, Canada, 13.
21. 1891. "At their great festival of Ste. Anne they have a number of visitors and all work is suspended for a week's celebration."
1893. "This is one of those Reserves where they celebrate the festival of Ste. Ann during which term they ignore work." Indian Affairs Reports.
22. Hallowell, 255.
23. Dieréville, 9.
24. An old lady at Shubenacadie recalled the great contests in which she had defeated "Frank Smith" (Frank Speck).
25. The Family Allowance was not introduced until 1945. RSW plans to continue in 1953 the study of adopted children in Micmac society begun in 1950.
26. E. J. Blakey, Superintendent, Miramichi Indian Agency. Communication to RSW.
27. Further material about the Micmac schools will be presented elsewhere in papers now in preparation; studies of drawings in cooperation with Professor Dale B. Harris, and of child training by Ruth Wallis.
28. We are deeply indebted to the cooperation and kindness in 1950, of the following agencies and individuals: the Canadian Department of Citizenship and Immigration, Indian Affairs Branch, for permission to do field-work in the Maritime Provinces, and for patient answers to our inquires; to Mr. E. J. Blakey, Superintendent, Miramichi Indian Agency, and to Mr. H. C. Rice, Superintendent at Shubenacadie, for time and information granted us during our visits; to Miss Gilberte Allain and Miss Delphine Murphy, understanding teachers in Miramichi schools; to Agency personnel and Sisters of Charity, most helpful to us at Shubenacadie; to the late William Martin and to William Sayres, then students in the Department of Social Relations, Harvard University, who generously shared with us their findings at Shubenacadie; and to many Micmac friends in the Maritime Provinces.

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