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Source: *American Anthropologist*, Apr. - Jun., 1951, New Series, Vol. 53, No. 2 (Apr. - Jun., 1951), pp. 220-231

Published by: Wiley on behalf of the American Anthropological Association

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ACCULTURATION AT CAUGHNAWAGA:
A NOTE ON THE NATIVE-MODIFIED GROUP¹

By FRED VOGET

STUDIES in acculturation increasingly have demonstrated that anthropologists can no longer treat native societies in process of change *as if* they were socially and culturally homogeneous units. The student is more often than not faced with divided communities in which two or more groups may be in conflict. The limited attention paid to these groupings in the past appears to have resulted from a theoretical preoccupation with an idealized description of the "total culture."² While this is an ultimate aim for the science of anthropology, it may be questioned whether a description of the "total culture" of a society which has felt the sustained impact of Euroamerican civilization can be essayed without taking full cognizance of the social and cultural groupings which seem to result.

The term "sociocultural group" is therefore used advisedly in this paper, because the basis for emergence lies in certain conceptions of the self and of the social and cultural situation rather than in simple political or religious factionalism. While the groups may or may not be politically organized and rent by factionalism, their importance seems to lie in the type of social and cultural organization which they support and the dynamic relations which develop not only between the several groups but also between the groups individually and collectively and the dominant society. A description of the cultural content of the sociocultural groups then will not only contribute to the delineation of the total culture of the society but will also throw into relief their respective cultural roles and so contribute to an understanding of culture change.

The above conceptualization grew out of an analysis of field data obtained during a stay with the Crow Indians of Montana. In order to lay an empirical basis for the emergence of groups, specific individuals were classified with reference to three criteria, viz., social (racial) identification, social participation, and cultural integration. Owing to the limited statistical data at hand, the sociocultural groupings identified among the Crow were put forward as sug-

¹ The field work upon which this paper is based was sponsored by the Canadian Social Science Research Council. The writer wishes to thank his friends at Caughnawaga for the material contribution which they have made to this study. He is also indebted to Mrs. Joan Jackson for editorial assistance.

² The differential acculturation of individual members of a particular society is implicit in studies of culture contact by anthropologists, but their collective significance usually has proceeded no farther than a noting of the presence of "conservatives and progressives" or "factions." Recently, however, an increasing awareness of the cultural role of the emergent groups has resulted in their special investigation (see, e.g., French, 1948).

gestive categorizations rather than demonstrable units. These groupings were four in number and were labeled "native," "native-modified," "American-modified," and "American-marginal."³

In brief, the *native* group comprised those individuals whose basic orientation was in terms of the unmodified aboriginal past. The *native-modified* members were nativist in orientation, but their formal education within the dominant society together with a limited participation in segments of American culture had led them to support modifications of native institutions and to inject new meanings into "native" ceremonial forms. Members of the *American-modified* category still thought of themselves as Indians and with some notable exceptions, maintained a limited social participation with the native-modified group, but their cultural integration basically was in terms of that of the dominant American society. Moreover, some members of this group manifested strong tendencies to participate in white society on a basis of equality, and their efforts in this wise led them into exploitative activities *vis-à-vis* the dominant society and the subordinate groups. The final social unit, *American-marginal*, was distinguished from the remainder by full identification with the dominant society and culture. The group apparently comprised mixed-bloods who had cut themselves off completely from social contacts with the other three groups. Their marginality derived in part from their own activities and from local discrimination by whites familiar with their ancestry.

The Caughnawaga Iroquois Reserve, situated near Montreal, Quebec, currently is being studied within the above conceptual framework.⁴ The community is especially appropriate for such investigation owing to the concentrated acculturation to which the inhabitants have been subject for almost three hundred years. Caughnawaga began as a Catholic mission settlement in 1667,⁵ but members early were drawn into activities based on the economic and political interests of the contacting European societies. Beginning with fur-trading and warring enterprises, the Caughnawaga male gradually emerged as a relatively skilled worker in a specialized segment of white economy, viz., steel-erection. Moreover, from its very inception, Caughnawaga was subject to dissensions which at times tore the community asunder and resulted in a segmentation of the population. The contemporary scene likewise is characterized by political dissensions of high intensity, which also are linked with religious differences.

From a preliminary survey at Caughnawaga, three sociocultural groups were identified tentatively, viz., *native-modified*, *Euroamerican-modified*, and

³ Voget, MS.

⁴ Traditionally Caughnawagans consider themselves to be "Mohawks," but their ancestry reveals much mixture, both white and native.

⁵ The initial settlement, apparently comprising Huron captives adopted by the Mohawks, was made at LaPrairie. The present site, the fourth in number, was selected about 1719 (see Devine, 1922).

Euroamerican-marginal. To date only the first has been investigated in detail and the present aim is limited to a description of the structure of the group; the basic premises by which the membership operates, and the type of social and cultural organization which is supported. Detailed membership, historic, and culture content are omitted as these will be presented in a subsequent paper.

GROUP STRUCTURE

The native-modified group numbers a high proportion of Christian apostates, few of whom can be considered active supporters of the church to which they formerly belonged. Structurally speaking the membership is divided into two subgroups, the one including individuals devoted to the worship originated by Handsome Lake, the Seneca prophet, the other comprising individuals who maintain the weakest of ties, if any, with a Christian church, principally Catholic or United (Methodist). The Handsome Lake or "Long-House" membership is further subdivided into three factions. The largest number of worshippers by far are affiliated politically with the Iroquois situated on the Grand River Reserve in Ontario. The second faction is affiliated with the Onondaga of New York State. The third has no external political affiliation at the moment and may be viewed as a withered branch, although it was the original source from which these other politico-religious factions sprang. With respect to religion, all factions are affiliates of the head church situated at the Tonawanda Seneca Reservation, New York State.

The ties which bind the two main subgroups are based on a shared nativism which involves certain basic conceptions of the self and of the sociocultural situation. As indicated above, their distinction is based upon the respective type of religious and political participation; one group follows a modification of aboriginal belief and adheres to the constitution of the Five (Six) Nations Confederacy,⁶ whereas the other maintains a marginal interest in Christian worship and functions under the political organization established by the Canadian Indian Act. Both groups, however, seek the destruction of the Indian Act as an administrative instrument, and desire the reestablishment of an autonomy based on the aboriginal political model.

Inter-group interaction is minimal and wholly political in nature. Cooperation occurs for the most part when the security of the whole is threatened, as currently obtains owing to the imminent passage of a revised Indian Act (Bill 267) by the Canadian parliament. Members of the politically active segment have endeavored repeatedly to induce electoral participation by the Long-House membership but to date all attempts have been refused, since such activity does not conform to the confederate constitution. Joint political action may be taken in formal protests to the administration, but even here

⁶ See Parker (1916) for a general description of the model political organization.

a separate action may be followed by the two major subgroups. On the other hand, the Long House segment is engaged in a program of proselytizing, which, although unorganized, has gradually increased the membership to nearly 300, principally adults—approximately 10 per cent of the total population. No membership estimate can as yet be given for the politically active segment.

BASIC CONCEPTIONS

One of the most fundamental conceptions which the native-modified group holds relates to their ancestry. Members assert their Indian descent and are determined to maintain this distinction for their children. In consequence, intermarriage with whites and other racial lines is condemned, but at the same time no formal controls are exercised over the selection of mates. The lack of formal controls derives from an acceptance of the Euroamerican pattern with its emphasis upon romantic attachment. However, support for the maintenance of the distinctiveness of the several races is found in their religious teaching, wherein it is argued that God wishes the races to remain separate as He created them. Moreover, there is a vague fear that God will punish those who do not follow the laws which He has established.⁷

The above conception extends beyond the borders of Caughnawaga and links the group with their Iroquois brethren situated on reservations in both Canada and the United States, and to a markedly lesser extent with Indians generally. No attempt is made to identify themselves with the Canadian and American societies established upon their former lands. On the contrary, they emphasize that their Indianness raises them above national governments and allows them to pass readily from one country to another. Moreover the important historic role of the Iroquois has awakened a national consciousness based on their original autonomy and structured according to the traditional organization of the League of the Five (or Six) Nations.

Related to the above is another basic conception, that God, in creating the Indian distinct from the white, also gave him a way of life which was distinct. He told the Indians of the possible arrival of other people and warned them to follow the established ways or suffer punishment. The present state of the Indians is traceable to the dominant whites who not only destroyed the basis for the aboriginal culture but also forced them, on pain of death, to accept Christianity.

A final conception derives from their inferior position in relation to the dominant society. When they look back upon their past, they see themselves, the lords of the "two islands" (the Americas), dispossessed by force and fraud

⁷ Current revisions of the Canadian Indian Act project the enfranchisement of all persons possessing one-quarter Indian blood or less. Certain leaders of the Long-House movement considered this no injustice, for such persons had brought punishment upon themselves through intermarriage with Europeans.

of their rights to the land. Moreover, the whites are bent on crushing them completely—they are seeking to submerge them in the population at large in order that they may destroy the small heritage which yet remains.

The above conceptions are important in two respects; first, they lay the basis for the type of social, political, and religious organization which the group supports, and second, they determine much of the response of the group to change.

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

The family of the native-modified group is the basic conjugal unit formulated on the Euroamerican bases of romantic love and economic independence. The male role is accepted as more important in some respects than the female, for his subsistence activities are thought to entitle him to greater authority in the family than his spouse. Moreover, the primary statuses and roles with respect to religion and politics pertain to the man. This authority, however, is tempered by the sociological role of the woman, who carries the "root" whereby the basic social status of the children is determined; for sib membership is determined through the female line. Moreover, a man is expected to be kind to his family and devoted to their welfare. A steady provider who does not waste his pay on liquor and who contributes to the stability of the home by maintaining proper relations with his wife, free of quarreling and extra-marital flirtations, is greatly admired, and for those who assume political and religious roles such ideal behavior is enjoined. A woman is esteemed for her capabilities as a home-maker, and her success likewise is judged according to her products. She must not only be able to cook and sew, but also be capable of producing children with sib status and of training them properly. Most women also supplement the family income either through bead work, sale of canned or specially prepared foods, domestic service, or other seasonal labor.

However, the distinctive social organization of the native-modified group is not to be found in the basic family unit, but rather in the emphasis upon "aboriginal" social and political forms. Membership in a sib is a prerequisite for status and full role activity, and, in theory at least, the group holds that sib members should not intermarry.

The political organization is based on a conception of sovereignty traceable to the historic role of the Iroquois Confederacy. Those individuals who are active in the worship of the Long House maintain that they are not bound by the laws of the Indian Act and therefore do not participate in community elections as determined by this act.⁸ On the contrary, they assert an allegiance

⁸ Political participation in an election established under the Indian Act would be tantamount to admitting a sovereignty other than that of the Five Nations Confederacy. Moreover, persons submitting "to laws of foreign nations shall forfeit all birthrights and claims on the Five Nations Confederacy and territory" and they shall be referred to as "They [who] have alienated themselves." (Parker, 1916, p. 45).

to the grand councils of the Five (or Six) Nations situated at the Grand River Reserve, Ontario, and at Onondaga Reservation, New York State.⁹ Their community is governed by "life chiefs" who function in council in the manner of chiefs under the old league. While a chief holds his position for life, barring bad behavior, succession is not entailed in a particular family line as was aboriginally the case.¹⁰ In theory, each of the six sibs (Turtle, Bear, Wolf, Deer, Rock, and Snipe) should possess three chiefs and three "clan mothers," but the ideal organization has yet to be achieved. The segment which functions under the Indian Act participates in an electoral system which has divided the community into six districts, two councillors being elected from each subdivision. A mayor, chosen by the assembled councillors, heads the community political structure. However, the local Agent is the ex-officio Chairman of the council.

The political organization and programs which the native-modified membership supports are integrally related to feelings of security and insecurity, sociocultural identity, and religious beliefs. The reservation is, in effect, a symbol of their peculiar status in Canadian society—it is the most tangible object they have, the maintenance of which will ensure the perpetuation of their social and cultural identity. Moreover, the reserve, together with freedom and sovereignty, were guaranteed by treaties which should endure as "long as the sun shines, the grass grows, and the rivers flow."¹¹ The threat of periodic change to which the Indian Act is now subject has induced a further insecurity, especially in the politically active segment, for the revisions suggested confirm a suspicion that the ultimate aim is to make the Indian over in the image of the white man and to strip him of certain special privileges which he now enjoys as a noncitizen and ward of the government. In exchange for the relative freedom from taxation, free medical care, and free education, which are assumed to be guaranteed by treaty, the native-modified member sees only a loss in "rights" in connection with the forced assumption of citizenship with its dubious electoral privilege. Hence, the treaty, as a document in perpetuity, has become the ultimate symbol of security. Indian rights are treaty rights, and the identification with the Six Nations has led the group to quote from documents which bore no direct relation to them.¹²

The maintenance of the reserve is so surcharged with an emotional tone

⁹ The Chiefs of the two major factions have been "crowned" by representatives of the Canadian and New York State Iroquois respectively. The split reflects a major rift among the Iroquois as to the current locus of confederate power.

¹⁰ Aboriginally succession to a chiefly title and status was hereditary in a specific matrilineal line. (Goldenweiser, 1914, pp. 368–370; also, 1922, pp. 77–79.)

¹¹ The quotation (or variants thereof) is of frequent occurrence, but does not occur in agreements involving the Caughnawaga Iroquois and the dominant societies.

¹² A favorite reference is to the "Treaty of Peace and Friendship of 1784" which relates to the New York Iroquois and the Thirteen States.

that attitudes have become rigid and uncompromising toward any sort of change. The settlement of French and other nationalities in Caughnawaga is opposed, although housing may be available and rentals are desired by property owners who do not share the fears of their fellows.¹³ Strong protests have been lodged with the administration over its policy of allowing the settlement of whites, and pressure has been exerted to mobilize the Indian population behind a program of nonrental to "strangers." A modern sewage system is opposed because it would mean community taxation, exemption from which is guaranteed by treaty. The introduction of liquor and stores for its sale are opposed because this would be a step in the direction of a Canadian community; and, moreover, the open sale of liquor on the reserve would not be in accord with treaty regulations. The infiltration of white business interests in any guise is closely watched and opposed, for it means that "he'll be going over our heads before you know it." Again, the introduction of full individual land ownership is fought because this would lead to individual sale of land and a breakup of the reserve through white penetration. Such benefits as family allowance, state or federal old-age pensions and related programs are viewed as traps which will ultimately result in the loss of their birthrights. With each projected change, and indeed, with each new settlement of white families in Caughnawaga, the native-modified group sees a new threat to their existence; for they envision a time when the whites will be in the majority. When that happens, they expect the preponderant group to make arrangements that will allow a voting of the incorporation of the village.¹⁴

RELIGION

The core of the native-modified membership follows the religion of Handsome Lake, the Seneca prophet of the early 19th century.¹⁵ The worship is a compound of native and Christian forms, functions, meanings, and principles.¹⁶ There is a basic emphasis upon fertility and dancing in order to show happiness and to demonstrate gratitude to the Creator for benefits received. Much of the ceremony also is concerned with the ethical teachings of the prophet, which emphasize moral precepts comparable to those found in Christianity. God or the Creator is invoked in prayer, and while the teaching may emphasize the special relation of the Creator to the Iroquois, there is no serious attempt to establish separate deities for the two races. Informed leaders of this worship

¹³ A severe housing shortage which developed during the war, coupled with the availability of dwelling units at Caughnawaga owing to extended employment in the United States on the part of some residents, has stimulated a policy of indefinite rental to Caucasians, particularly French-Canadians.

¹⁴ While the political action described above applies to the segment which still functions under the Indian Act, similar views are held by members of the Long-House.

¹⁵ See Parker, 1913; also Morgan, 1904, Vol. 1, pp. 217-248.

¹⁶ For the use of these terms, see Linton, 1936, pp. 402-421; also, Barnett, 1940 and 1942.

consider the Indian—and by this they mean the Iroquois for the most part—a special creation of God and the Mohawk a “chosen” or favored people.¹⁷ The history which such informants impart traces the religious, social and political institutions of the Iroquois to God, who appeared to them first as Dekanawida.¹⁸ Later the Creator sent four messengers to Handsome Lake, whose teachings, in one instance, were compared to a “New Testament” for the Indian. Moreover, the Creator warned them against acceptance and practice of Christianity. It was only because the French forced them at the peril of their very lives that the Iroquois of the contact period accepted Christianity. Since this acceptance of Christianity meant a turning “from the way God fixed for the Indian,” evil days have fallen on the Iroquois. They have not only lost their hunting lands and been deprived of their “Indian rights” by the white man but also been forced to work in the manner of the latter.¹⁹ They also have been punished with a loss in physical power which has rendered them shorter in stature and more subject to disease. It is further maintained that contact with Christianity has served to debase the Iroquois, for Christian leaders, despite their protests of love for their fellow men and teachings of peace, stimulated the “Mohawks” at Caughnawaga to war upon their own brethren.²⁰

The return of the Iroquois to the “aboriginal” faith thus is associated with the return of the people to the Creator’s favor and also with the return of “rights” to the Indian in much the same way in which some Christians look

¹⁷ A basis for this belief is found in Dekanawida’s selection of the Mohawks as his initial proselytes. (See Parker, 1916, pp. 14–30.) The belief also has been stimulated by contact with Jewish traders, a number of whom were reported to have learned the Mohawk language, as well as by knowledge of biblical tradition. A number of informants have compared their relation to God with that of the “Jewish people,” and one observed that the only “true religions” were the “Jewish and the Indian.”

¹⁸ Dekanawida has been referred to as a manifestation of God to the Indians, a “supreme being,” a “messenger of God,” and has also been compared to and identified with Christ.

¹⁹ A number of informants have complained that the Indian was not supposed to work “by his/own/sweat,” probably an indirect reference to God’s punishment of Adam, the ancestor of the white man, for the “original sin.” There is a manifest tendency to idealize the aboriginal life, which one Euroamerican-modified informant likened to a year-round “vacation,” for the Indian engaged in hunting and fishing activities which are a part of the white man’s formalized pattern of relaxation. This informant could see no reason for “feeling grateful” to the white man for the benefits which he presumably had conferred upon the Indian. In order to point up the “benefits” which contact with Europeans had brought to the Indian, a native-modified leader cited the tale of the young preacher who trafficked with the Devil and received five things, “a flask of rum, a pack of cards, a handful of coins, a violin and a decayed leg bone.” Bundles of these “five things” were “spread . . . to all the men of the great earth island,” and so much “havoc and misery” were wrought by this work that the “devil himself lament/ed/ that his evil had been so great.” (See Parker, 1913, pp. 16–19.)

²⁰ The stirring up of dissensions among the Iroquois, with special application to Caughnawaga, is a frequent accusation leveled at the early Catholic missionaries and their successors.

forward to the "millennium" when all Jews are gathered to their homeland. As one informant put it, in the event efforts to obtain restitution at the hands of Ottawa, Washington, and King George failed,

We will ask God if these governments won't do what the Indians want. He is our God, because our God from Heaven, He made those Indians. . . . God will answer these Indians by their own rights, because that's the way he made it. He says, "You've got to accept my word."

The functions of the religious institution, then, are inextricably entwined with the political, according to the followers of Handsome Lake.²¹ This integration is not recognized by the politically active segment of the native-modified group, for they are opposing the presumed encroachment of the Catholic Church into reservation politics. The Catholic Church is opposed vigorously because it is the largest numerically and the most militant of the several denominations represented. Moreover, a substantial number of the members seem to nourish a hostility based upon personal differences and serious disagreements over policy which led them initially to break off relations with the Church. The clergy are suspected of collaborating with the local Agent, a man who, like most of the clergy, is French, to force changes which will lead to the break up of the reservation and the ultimate establishment of a Canadian community. This means enfranchisement, and will result not only in the loss of all rights to which these Caughnawagans cling but also their ultimate dissolution as a social and cultural group.

They also oppose the Church's role in education, because it means that the children are taught to "disobey" their parents and to deviate from the Indian ways. Concern is expressed over the fact that the Indian children are not taught "their rights." Opposition to formal religious instruction is also verbalized in criticism of the curriculum, which, it is maintained, fails to prepare the graduates for competition in the world of the white man. Too much time is spent "parading in the road and praying." For these reasons the group has sponsored a program of education which would consolidate the schools, permit attendance irrespective of religious faith, and eliminate religious instruction.²²

²¹ The bond linking religion, law, and political organization has been emphasized by a number of the native-modified leaders. Recently, some individuals belonging to Christian churches have endeavored to join the Six Nations Confederacy without giving up their worship. Leaders of the Long House, however, have staunchly maintained that in order to be a "Six Nations Indian" one must repent and embrace anew the faith of his forefathers.

²² See the "brief" submitted to the "Special Joint Committee . . . appointed to continue . . . consideration of the Indian Act" by the "Council of Caughnawaga, members of the Six Nations Confederacy." (Minutes of Proceedings and Evidence, No. 33, Thursday, June 12, 1947, pp. 1707-1712.)

Just as membership in a Christian church is significant of one's identification with the Christian fellowship and a Euroamerican cultural integration, so membership in the Long House signalizes the ultimate identification with the "Indian" population at Caughnawaga and a native cultural integration. Derogation and condemnation have led the membership to restrict social interaction in large part to members of their own group, and insistence upon sib status as a necessary qualification for membership has acted as an effective screening device. Members tend to be highly suspicious of others and consider those whose activities set them off as highly acculturated to be "whites" in fact and betrayers of their own kind. Such have "alienated themselves," and to return to the protective fold of the Six Nations Confederacy they must repent on the wampum and renounce their Christian faith.²³ A pattern of withdrawal coupled with a high degree of group solidarity, then, is characteristic of the native-modified group. However, certain rivalries connected with the emergence of the Handsome Lake worship and the institution of the current political organization have resulted in internal dissension and the formation of factions.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

The ethnopsychological trend in anthropological investigation has not only focused attention upon the basic assumptions underlying "national character" but also involved studies on the cultural level in similar conceptions, as the use of the terms "overt" and "covert," "implicit" and "explicit," "pattern" and "configuration," and "unconscious system of meanings" and "underlying sanctions" demonstrate.²⁴ The initial efforts of Benedict were attempts to account for particular patterns of culture in terms of psychological configurations, and more recently Opler has asserted "that a limited number of dynamic affirmations . . . themes, can be identified in every culture and that the key to the character, structure, and direction of the specific culture is to be sought in the nature, expression and interrelationship of these themes."²⁵ A similar line of analysis, of course, has characterized the work of certain

²³ The reinstatement of individuals expelled from the Confederacy is not provided in the constitution as given by Parker (1916). It is probable that the functional linkage of the religious and political structures occurred initially among the Canadian Iroquois. Parker (*ibid.*, p. 13) noted that Canadian documents *in re* constitution made no reference to the "Long House of the Five Nations," because, according to some, "Handsome Lake . . . had successfully associated his religious teachings with the Long House." In a speech given by a Handsome Lake follower at Caughnawaga it was pointed out (with map) that the Iroquois in New York State were known as the "People of the Long House" as were the contemporary followers of Handsome Lake. This was used as a basis for arguing the renunciation of Christian affiliation before acceptance as a member in the Six Nations Confederacy.

²⁴ See, e.g., Sapir, 1927; Benedict, 1934; Kluckhohn, 1941 and 1943; Herskovits, 1948, pp. 221-226.

²⁵ Opler, 1945, p. 198.

sociologists and philosophers of history, to whom the above trend in anthropological theory in large part can be traced.²⁶

The Caughnawaga data presented above seem to confirm the emphasis upon the relationship of the basic values held by a group and the type of culture which is supported. Caughnawaga began as a Catholic mission settlement, and until the application of the Indian Act in 1890 a shadow of the aboriginal past was to be found in the system of hereditary chiefs. Within a generation of the application of this act, nativistic tendencies emerged. Emergent nativism involved a clear recognition of the separateness of Indian and white and of their respective roles. Moreover, the distinctive character of the Indian was reinforced by the cultivation of certain religious, political, and social institutions traceable to the historic past. The movement, at first hesitant, developed substantially in the face of an increasing threat to the social and cultural identity of the group implied by governmental and religious programs, and culminated in the establishment of a separate political and religious organization under the friendly guidance of Iroquois both in Canada and the United States. Although one segment of the native-modified group elected to remain under the jurisdiction of the Indian Act, at least temporarily, they developed a program which was in essential agreement with the values held by members of the Long House.

The data further suggest that, as conflicts arise and intensify, the assumptions, both implicit and explicit, by which a people order their life, are increasingly verbalized and objectified, and thus assume a greater role for the individual and the group.²⁷ In this process of verbalization, certain basic axes emerge which serve to integrate the whole. In the present instance these have revolved about the racial, social, and cultural identity of the group *vis-à-vis* the dominant society and culture. The study of nativistic as well as revolutionary move-

²⁶ See Benedict's remarks *in re* Dilthey and Splengler (1932 and 1934); also, cf. Kluckhohn, 1941, pp. 127-128. The emphasis upon value-attitudes permeates the sociological theory of Weber (see discussions by Parsons, 1937, Bendix, 1946, and Sorokin, 1937-1941).

²⁷ The emergence of these verbalizations is characteristic of revolutionary movements. Gottschalk (1944, pp. 607) includes a "popular program" as one of the prerequisites for a successful revolution. Nativistic movements, as Linton (1940) has indicated, are characterized by verbalizations of basic assumptions which may be objectified in ceremonial practices, such as the Ghost Dance of 1890. Also, compare the remarks of LaViolette (MS) with respect to stereotypes: "They are concepts which have been formed so as to simplify the world of experience and thus make it possible for individuals and groups to manage their world. As concepts, they not only consist of groups of traits but also evaluations, rationalizations and expectations which are intimately related to social organization. In their structural characteristics they are the foundation of beliefs; in their usages, they are not only causal determinants insofar as they are guides to action, but at the same time are justifications for actions. We can, for purposes of brevity, state that they are the foci of intergroup relations and as such are formed through group interaction over a period of time. When a crisis occurs they are selected for use. As new stereotypes rarely arise in such circumstances, in any given crisis, the already established ones must be relied upon."

ments allows new insights into the relationship between the system of values and the social structure.²⁸

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²⁸ Cf. Wirth, 1945, p. 354.