

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL COMPLEXITY ON THE EAST COAST:
THE MICMAC CASE

Virginia P. Miller

The Micmac people of eastern Maritime Canada have been classified by anthropologists in the Sub-arctic culture area of North America (Driver 1969:Map 2). And indeed, to early anthropologists, the Micmac did display a number of Sub-arctic characteristics: traditionally they were hunters and gatherers, their population seemed to be sparse and dispersed, their sociopolitical organization was apparently characterized by a loose band structure, and, following contact with Europeans, they became intensively involved in the fur trade.

But what the early anthropologists studying the Micmac didn't take into account was that they were collecting information on a culture more than 400 years after that culture had come into contact with Europeans and had undergone great culture change. The result, needless to say, was that the anthropologists got quite a distorted impression of aboriginal Micmac culture. Recently some of these distortions concerning aboriginal population have been corrected through study of primary source materials dating from the seventeenth century -- material recorded by intelligent and reasonable, albeit untrained, observers only 100 years following Micmac contact with Europeans (Miller 1976, 1980a). But another distortion which remains to be corrected concerns the traditional view of Micmac social and political organization. When reconstructed from seventeenth century accounts, this turns out to be considerably more elaborate than the loose aggregation of egalitarian bands described

Virginia P. Miller, Department of Sociology and Social Anthropology,
Dalhousie University, Halifax, N.S. B3H 1T2.

by Wallis and Wallis in their classic ethnography (1955:171), or, more recently, by Bock (1978:116). This paper re-examines Micmac social and political organization according to the scale presented in Appendix A; this scale is taken from the work of Sahlins (1968) and Service (1962, 1963), and incorporates the six significant attributes of basic structure, integration, specialization, leadership, polity, and stratification for the cultural levels of band, tribe, and chiefdom.

BASIC STRUCTURE

Nuclear families among the Micmac were grouped into living units of bilaterally extended families, with a tendency for these family units to be patrilocal. As an early seventeenth century Jesuit priest in Nova Scotia described them:

There is the Sagamore, who is the eldest son of some powerful family, and consequently its chief and leader. All the young people of the family are at his table and in his retinue; ... The young people flatter him, hunt, and serve their apprenticeship under him, not being allowed to have anything before they are married, for then only can they have a dog and a bag; that is, have something of their own, and do for themselves. Nevertheless they continue to live under the authority of the Sagamore, and very often in his company; as also do several others who have no relations, or those who of their own free will place themselves under his protection and guidance, being themselves weak and without a following.

(Biard in Thwaites 1896 III:87)

Sometimes the sagamores who headed these groups practiced polygyny, giving two reasons for this:

One is, in order to retain their authority and power by having a number of children; for in that lies the strength of the house, in the great number of allies and connections; the second reason is their entertainment and service, which is great and laborious, since they have large families and a great number of followers, and therefore require a number of servants and housewives...

(Biard in Thwaites 1896 III:100-101)

From these accounts, it is apparent that Micmac social organization was based on groups of kin extended bilaterally with other unrelated individuals who might choose to ally themselves with

a particular sagamore. Hoffman has termed this type of grouping one of bilocally extended families (1955:590).

No specific citations of the size of these bilocally extended families exist in the seventeenth century sources, but from statements such as "they have large families and a great number of followers (Biard in Thwaites 1896 III:101), and from one partial list of a family group, we may make some deductions. When the great sagamore Membertou and his family were baptized in the Catholic faith in 1610, the list of those baptized totaled 21 individuals (Lescarbot in Thwaites 1896 I:77) and was incomplete at that. Other unrelated individuals in Membertou's following may have been away or may have chosen not to be baptized. Support for fairly sizable groups also comes from the fact that each family unit formed a village for summer occupancy (Speck 1915a:303). One recent source (Bock 1978:109) baldly states that these summer aggregations totaled "200 or more." Conservatively then, one of these family living units probably consisted of 30 or 40 members as a minimum.

LEADERSHIP AND POLITY

The bilocally extended family units which formed the base of Micmac society are not inconsistent with the basic social structure of Sub-artic groups generally. But let us go further to consider the structure of Micmac leadership and polity.

The account cited earlier of a sagamore and his following describes what may be called a "local chief," or that of the lowest level. The territory governed by a local chief was the area surrounding his summer village site; this area was occupied and used by his followers (Hoffman 1955:516). Duties of a local chief included settling disputes among his followers, planning seasonal movements of his group, delegating tasks among members of his group, ensuring that there were dogs and equipment for hunting, planning and organizing feasts, seeing that there were adequate food reserves, looking after widows and orphans, and presiding over the council of elders (various; Thwaites 1896 III:87ff). This council of elders, which included the adult male heads of families within the village, assisted and advised the chief in decision making. Unanimity was required from the council before a local chief was empowered to act in a given situation; others in the village followed "without question" decisions of the chief and council (Hoffman 1955:516).

The next level above the local level was that of the district. Seventeenth century Jesuit priests' accounts reveal that the priests

were aware of the Indians' political districts and how they were governed (Thwaites 1896 III:89), but it remained for a nineteenth century observer to record the specifics: "They [the Micmac] divided it (their territory) into seven districts, each district having its own chief, but the chief of Cape Breton, which comprised one district, was looked upon as head of the whole (Rand 1875:81). This latter Cape Breton residence requirement for the grand chief apparently was not an invariant rule, however. The seven districts were named, and each of them contained a number of summer villages and local chiefs. Overseeing the smooth functioning of each district was the district chief, who could also have been one of the local chiefs in the district. Duties of the district chief generally included directing the local chiefs in planning their seasonal movements and ensuring that district affairs functioned smoothly. Like the local chief, the district chief had a council to assist him. The council consisted of all the local chiefs in the district plus respected shamans. All were free to voice their opinions and all received equal weight in the decision-making processes (Thwaites 1896 III:91). District councils of chiefs met several times a year and, aside from providing chiefs the opportunity to renew acquaintances and discuss matters of common concern, they seem to have had two principal political and economic functions. First, in conjunction with the council of chiefs, the district chief each year re-assigned hunting territories to heads of families, and the Indians are said to have obeyed strictly the boundaries of their assigned territories (LeClercq 1910:237). The second important function of the district chief and council of chiefs was to make decisions regarding war and peace (LeClercq 1910:234). When an important matter such as war was to be considered, messengers were dispatched to other districts to summon additional chiefs for consultation (Thwaites 1896 III:91; Lescarbot 1914:264). Decisions made by the council of chiefs had to be unanimous, and, once made, could not be rescinded (Lallement in Thwaites 1896 XLV:239). Chiefs and their councils were so highly respected that their decisions were said to be observed "with much submission and fidelity" (LeClercq 1910:234).

At the head of the entire Micmac nation was a single "grand chief." In the early seventeenth century, when the French first settled at Port Royal in western Nova Scotia, the grand chief Membertou resided in that district. Membertou became a close and loyal friend of the French, and their descriptions of him portray a truly outstanding individual. Physically, Membertou

... was the greatest, most renowned and most formidable savage within the memory of man; of splendid physique, taller and larger-limbed than is usual among them; bearded

like a Frenchman, although scarcely any of the others have hair upon the chin; grave and reserved; feeling a proper sense of dignity for his position as commander.

(Biard in Thwaites 1896 II:23)

Continuing,

He is at least a hundred years old, and may in the course of nature live more than fifty years longer. He has under him a number of families whom he rules [Membertou was a local chief and probably a district chief as well], not with so much authority as does our (French) King over his subjects, but with sufficient power to harangue, advise, and lead them to war, to render justice to one who has a grievance, and like matters. He does not impose taxes upon the people, but if there are any profits from the chase he has a share of them, without being obliged to take part in it ... his reputation is far above that of all the other Sagamores of the country, he having been since his youth a great Captain, and also having exercised the offices of Soothsayer and Medicine-man, which are the three things most efficacious to the well-being of man, and necessary to this human life.

(Lescarbot in Thwaites 1896 I:75-77)

Membertou had a fourth quality respected by the Micmac: "He has been a very great and cruel warrior in his youth and during his life" (Lescarbot 1911:354-355). For all these reasons, Membertou was "greatly dreaded" by his enemies (Biard in Thwaites 1896 III:91).

Like the local and district chiefs, the grand chief was assisted by a "grand council" of all lower chiefs and respected men. No accounts of grand council meetings remain from the seventeenth century, except for a priest's reference late in the century to "those large assemblies in the form of councils" (LeClercq 1910:234). But a report exists of a grand council meeting held in the late eighteenth century and provides an example of the type of situation which would convene the grand council.

A great alarm was excited here [in Pictou, Nova Scotia] in 1779 by a large gathering of Indians from Miramichi (New Brunswick) to Cape Breton, probably a grand council of the whole Micmac tribe. In that year some Indians of the former place having plundered the inhabitants, in the American interest, a British man-of-war seized sixteen of them, of whom twelve were carried to Quebec as hostages and afterwards brought to Halifax. This is what led to

this grand gathering. For several days they were assembled to the number of several hundred, and the design of the meeting was believed to be, to consult on the question of joining in the war against the English. The settlers were much alarmed, but the Indians dispersed quietly....

(quoted in Hoffman 1955:548-49)

Some of the perquisites of chieftainship have already been mentioned. Aside from respect and deference from other Micmac, chiefs were presented with a share of the game and pelts taken, were given places of honor at feasts, were served first and given the choicest foods. As stated previously, they were frequently accompanied by retainers of young men and, after the Micmac got guns in trade, chiefs expected to be saluted with gunshots or even cannonshots when approaching trade posts or other villages (LeClercq 1910:246).

How did chiefs succeed to their positions? The answer comes from a seventeenth century source. "The captains among them take their rank by inheritance ... provided always that the son of a Sagamos imitates the virtues of his father, and is of suitable age ..." (Lescarbot 1914:265). Two factors were thus important in determining who would be a chief. The first was kinship affiliation. Chieftainships were customarily passed down from father to son in families; in fact, after examining known historical chiefs and their known relatives, Hoffman has suggested that there might have been just two or three "chiefly families" (1955:573). As recently as 1915, Speck found corroboration for this among the Cape Breton Micmac (1915b:506).

But more than birth into a chiefly family was required for an individual to become a chief. The second requirement cited by Lescarbot (above) hinged on an individual's personal qualities. Hoffman (1955:515) has suggested qualities which were especially emphasized here:

1. leadership ability;
2. superior intelligence;
3. a dignified manner;
4. generosity toward others (some chiefs deliberately made it a point to be the worst dressed among all their people, freely giving away their food and clothing in order to command love, respect, and loyalty from their followers);

5. courage and aggressiveness in war (Membertou had been "a very great and cruel warrior" who was still leading successful war parties at the age of 100!); and
6. superior ability in hunting (even though chiefs may not have been required to hunt in their chiefly positions).

The eldest sons of chiefs were trained from their childhood to develop these qualities. If a boy in training did not show promise, a second son or other close male relative of the incumbent chief would be chosen and trained in his place. As Hoffman points out, it is worth noting that even though it was thus theoretically possible for a boy from a non-chiefly family to become a chief, it was highly improbable that this would happen because of the training involved. And Hoffman adds that this is confirmed in historic times by the presence of the few "chiefly families" (1955:574).

STRATIFICATION

Aboriginal Micmac society was ranked. At the top of the ranks were the chiefs. We have already mentioned the existence of "chiefly families." Such families took pride in their position by reciting their genealogies on public occasions and at feasts (Denys 1908:410). An eighteenth century source corroborates the existence of high-ranking families as opposed to other families, by relating an instance when the Micmac went to war against the Malecite over the treatment the Malecite accorded some young Micmac women who had been given them as wives in a demonstration of peace and friendship. The Micmac asserted that the Malecite had abused "these girls of the most distinguished rank" (Maillard 1758:23), adding that "our resentment would not have been so extreme with respect to girls of more common birth, and the rank of whose fathers had not a right to make such an impression on us" (Ibid.:24). Doubtless in this case, "high ranking" is synonymous with chiefly families. Finally, and interestingly, the archaeological record has provided some evidence suggestive of Micmac ranking. One of the very few Micmac burial sites excavated in Nova Scotia, at Pictou in eastern Nova Scotia, contained the remains of at least half a dozen individuals buried at different times, but probably all during the first half of the seventeenth century. Buried with them was an extensive assortment of grave goods, including native goods (birchbark containers, mats, bits of wampum and leather) and trade goods (copper kettles, swords, knives, axes, beads). The quantity and variety of the goods suggest that the individuals interred there were of some prominence in the area (Harper 1957).

Sometimes equal to, and certainly close behind, the chiefs in rank were the shamans. Curing the sick, controlling natural forces, directing hunters in the game quest, and divining the future were some of their functions. Shamans acquired their power in several ways, but the principal way was by inheritance. Membertou's oldest son, for example, expected to follow his father as a shaman as well as chief (Lescarbot 1914:111). Good shamans were powerful people who held great influence among the other Micmac. As we have seen, they participated in the district councils of chiefs with equal voice to that of the chiefs. And successful shamans could become so wealthy through the gifts they received for their services that they no longer hunted or fished for themselves. One disapproving seventeenth century source stated that:

... medicine men were lazy old fellows who would no longer go hunting, and who received from others everything they needed. If there were any fine robes, or other rarity in a wigwam, that was for Monsieur the Medicine-man. When animals were killed, all the best parts were sent to him. When they had cured three or four persons, they never lacked anything more.

(Denys 1908:418)

Most of the Micmac people were of a ranking which can best be termed "commoners." This group included family members and relatives within local districts, who followed the directives of their local chief and who organized their daily lives along the lines of a sexual division of labor. Commoner males spent their time fishing, hunting, or participating in war raids, while females prepared and preserved the fish and game, dressed the skins, collected the odd plant foods, took care of the children, and did other tasks around the wigwam. If a commoner male was a good hunter and warrior, with age he would accrue respect and prestige, and receive the satisfaction of having some influence in the village council of elders. Women commoners, too, might gain respect as they got older, either as the wife of a good hunter or warrior, or perhaps in their own right as an herbal curer or for some other quality which made them outstanding and valuable persons in their villages.

At the bottom of the Micmac social order were the slaves. The source of slaves was war, although not all war captives became slaves. Adult male captives were frequently killed on the field of battle, but some may have been taken home and given to the women to torture in revenge for past injuries and insults (LeClercq 1910:271). Some adult male captives were kept as slaves and made to do menial tasks, usually helping women with their domestic chores

(Lescarbot 1914:200). Women and children war captives, however, were often adopted into the tribe and treated humanely despite their status as slaves (Lescarbot 1914:269, 271). One notable case has been recorded of an Inuit woman slave in Cape Breton (Nova Scotia), who was "ransomed" by Jesuit priests and converted to Catholicism (Thwaites 1896 XLV:69). Death was the penalty for slaves who attempted to escape and were apprehended.

SPECIALIZATION

Most likely there were no recognized positions for full-time specialists, either in religion or production. Some of the shamans apparently were amply supported by gifts of food and furs so that they did not have to hunt (Denys 1908:418). Less successful and prominent shamans may well have done some of their own fishing and hunting.

There were no specialists in production. Each family provided its own fish and game, giving selected portions of the game and some pelts to their chief and their shaman, and sharing with other families in time of hardship. Young unmarried men living in the family group turned over all their products of the chase to the chief, who in turn fed and provisioned them (Thwaites 1896 III:87-89).

The closest to a full-time political specialist would have been the grand chief. We have seen that grand chiefs were greatly honored and accorded much respect from others; in their capacity as grand chief, they enjoyed numerous perquisites. While they were expected to have a reputation as outstanding hunters, in all likelihood they were not expected to go hunting often, but had their needs supplied through the gifts of their followers, thus freeing their time for chiefly activities. District chiefs probably did not do much hunting, either. Local chiefs were probably most involved in the quest for food as they directed the movements of their group.

INTEGRATION

There were no pan-tribal sodalities such as age-grade or secret societies among the Micmac. As stated previously, the basic structure of Micmac society was the bilocal extended family unit consisting of a chief and his related and unrelated followers. According to an early priest, these units did not have "ties and bonds of union, since they are scattered and wandering" (Thwaites 1896 III:87), but were largely self-sufficient economically, coming

together several times a year for councils and feasts. Bonds between bilocal extended family groups were forged by marriage, creating a "great number of allies and connections" with other bands for each chief (Thwaites 1896 III:101). The periodic meetings of chiefs within each district and across the districts, with their requirements for unanimous decisions on topics, served to integrate the Micmac people at a higher level.

DISCUSSION

Where does all this put the Micmac on our scale (Appendix A) of social and political organization among bands, tribes, and chiefdoms? Let us examine how Micmac organization fits into the scheme.

Basic Structure

The bilocal extended family groups which characterized Micmac culture would seem to be closest to Service's tribe, "corporate residential units ... largely self-sufficient economically, generally equivalent in size and organization, autonomous in large measure." Certainly the Micmac groupings of related and unrelated persons under the guidance of a chief are more cohesive than "an association of family residential units ... loosely allied by marriage ties," which characterizes bands. In any case, the differences between the basic structure of bands vs. tribes is one of degree rather than kind, and the Micmac seem to fall closer to tribes on the continuum.

Specialization

Again, in specialization (or the lack of it), there is little difference between bands and tribes. Simply put, neither has economic or religious specialists creating mutual dependence among groups. Specialization is a characteristic only of chiefdoms. The Micmac, then, fall somewhere on the band-tribe continuum, probably closer to tribe than band since Micmac society was wealthy enough to support some full-time shamans and chiefs.

Integration

On this characteristic, we see that "kinship ties ... are the integrating mechanism" for bands, while pan-tribal sodalities serve to integrate tribes. The Micmac did not have pan-tribal sodalities

in aboriginal times; instead, their three-tiered political organization with its local chiefs coming together periodically for district meetings, and district chiefs coming together periodically for grand councils was the effective integrating mechanism. Since they had such an integrative mechanism while no such mechanisms are found in band societies, we would have to classify the Micmac more with tribes than with bands.

Leadership and Polity

On the criteria for leadership and polity, we see a shift away from band and tribe. According to our scheme, informal leadership provided by family heads and ephemeral leaders typifies bands and tribes. As we have seen in this paper, leadership among the Micmac was neither informal nor ephemeral; instead, the Micmac had three different levels or "offices" of chief, each with its own respective duties. Moreover, these three "offices" of chiefs were organized into a definite hierarchy governing minor and major subdivisions of the tribe. Micmac political organization was indeed established above and beyond the community level. These qualities conform more to the characteristics of a chiefdom level of leadership and polity, as specified by Service and Sahlins in our scheme.

Stratification

According to our scheme, egalitarianism characterizes both bands and tribes. We have seen that Micmac society was a ranked one, with ranks ranging from chiefs down through commoners and slaves. Ranked society is one of the characteristics of chiefdoms.

An overall review of Micmac social and political organization, then, places the Micmac about midway between the levels of tribe and chiefdom: on the attributes of basic structure, integration, and specialization, the Micmac are closer to a tribal level, while on the attributes of leadership, polity, and stratification, the Micmac are closer to the chiefdom level. But beyond quibbling over terminology or levels of organization, there is a larger point to be made here: such a complex political organization as that found among the Micmac is quite unusual for a non-horticultural people.

The complex Micmac political structure was not the result of contact with Europeans, as one might suggest. There was certainly much cultural change among the Micmac following contact, but the very early cultural change affected tangible aspects of the culture: material culture and diet changed very quickly following

contact and the development of the fur trade (Bailey 1969:8ff; Burley 1981a). Even before the first written accounts were made, the material culture had changed significantly. This did not happen with the non-material culture, e.g., the political organization. The main reason for this was that for most of the early period, circa A.D. 1500 - 1600, contact and trade with fishermen took place offshore in Micmac territory. Fishing ships practiced what is called the "wet fishery" in the area (salting the fish and packing it away immediately to be cured later in Europe), rather than the "dry fishery" (landing and drying the catch onshore and then packing it for transport back to Europe). The wet fishery was practiced for two reasons: the fishing banks were relatively far offshore, and, the frequent summer fogs around Nova Scotia made impractical a satisfactory drying of fish (Hoffman 1961:198). Moreover, it was the practice for fishing ships to take on supplies and fresh water in St. John's, Newfoundland, before proceeding to the fishing grounds, thus further reducing the need to land in Nova Scotia. The result of all this was that Europeans rarely came ashore in Nova Scotia, while the Indians paddled out to the ships in their canoes to trade. Once settlement and more intensive contact commenced after A.D. 1600, not much time elapsed before Micmac non-material culture, including political structure, started to change rapidly. By the late seventeenth century, a priest who had spent many years among the New Brunswick Micmac lamented the demise of government:

One sees no more among these people those large assemblies in the form of councils, nor that supreme authority of the heads of families, elders, and chiefs, who regulated civil and criminal affairs, and in the last resort decided upon war and upon peace, giving such orders as they thought absolutely essential, and enforcing the observance thereof with much submission and fidelity.

(LeClercq 1910:234)

If Micmac political structure was not post-contact, then how may it be explained? It shows obvious affinities with Eastern Woodlands groups. The famous League of the Iroquois comes to mind when we consider the neat Micmac hierarchy with its district and grand council meetings called for matters of importance. Micmac political structure could have been the natural pre-contact result of a dense Micmac population (Miller 1976, 1980a) organizing itself to cope with the pressures of war from the Iroquois and New England groups. The whole idea of a Micmac political hierarchy might indeed have diffused from these other groups. Admittedly, such is speculation at this point, but interesting speculation which may well justify further pursuit.

What we have done in this paper is demonstrate the surprising complexity of political organization among a people previously thought to have a simple band type of structure, and who have been classified with Sub-arctic groups because of this. The paper has show that the Micmac share some important affinities with the Eastern Woodlands groups. Now that we are starting to gain an appreciation of the complexity of Micmac culture and political organization, some time might next be spent profitably comparing Micmac political structure and other aspects of Micmac culture to that of groups of the western maritime area of North America. Other aspects of culture to compare might include warfare and slavery practices and economic and redistribution systems of the two areas. It could well be that a number of unsuspected similarities between the Northeast Coast and the Northwest Coast remain to be uncovered. When this is done, we may be able to formulate some generalizations concerning maritime environments and the cultures which develop in them.

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Finally, it should be mentioned that Bernard Hoffman in 1955 completed an exhaustive ethnography of Micmac, in which he also reconstructed the aboriginal social and political organization. Unfortunately, this ethnography has never been published and consequently is of benefit to only a few scholars. My own scheme of Micmac social and political organization presented in this paper has been reconstructed independently by researching primary source material in the process of writing an ethnohistory of the Nova Scotia Micmac. The sources are so explicit that it would be virtually impossible not to develop the scheme that I have presented here and Hoffman developed in 1955. I have continued the use of Hoffman's terminology and have incorporated some of his interpretations into this paper, as cited.

Appendix A

ATTRIBUTE	BAND	TRIBE/SEGMENTARY TRIBE	CHIEFDOM
<u>INTEGRATION</u>	"lacks special integrative mechanisms excepting those common to all human societies. ...kinship ties...are the integrating mechanism" (Service 1963)	Pan-tribal sodalities are not supplemented by other integrative means as in chiefdoms. They do the whole job in tribal society. E.g., clans, age-grade assns., kindreds, secret societies (Service 1963)	"Clans, secret societies, warrior and curing societies, and the like become less significant in well-developed and stable chiefdoms than in tribes simply because their integrative functions, and even their special purposes, often have been rendered less necessary by the solidary organic nature of chiefdoms." (Service 1962)
<u>STRATIFICATION</u>	egalitarian in that no one of the families or residential groups is politically superior or more powerful in rank than any other (Service 1963)	egalitarian in that no one of the families or residential groups is politically superior or more powerful in hereditary rank than any other (Service 1963)	Non-egalitarian. Differences in hereditary rank. Social, but not economic, classes may exist. Have marked social stratification but no true socio-economic classes (Service 1963) Ranked society (but not class society). (Sahlins 1968).
<u>SPECIALIZATION</u>	no special economic groups or special production units (Service 1962) corporate residential units are like one another, largely self-sufficient economically, generally equivalent in size and organization, and autonomous in large measure (Service 1963)	No full economic specialization. No full-time religious specialists. "Advanced over bands in multiplication of parts and in integration of parts, but they are not so strikingly advanced in specialization of parts" (Service 1963) Not integrated by localized division of labour and the exchange of complementary goods (Sahlins 1968)	Labour specialization. Contribution not directly related to reward. Whole families, even districts, specialized (Service 1963) Greater specialization of labour evolved. Economy comparatively organic. "Division of labour <u>within</u> a chiefdom may be as great as that between adjacent segmentary tribes." (Sahlins 1968)
<u>LEADERSHIP</u>	"modest informal authority of family heads and ephemeral leaders" (Service 1962)	Charismatic, based solely upon the qualities of the particular person who rises to lead some specific enterprise (Service 1963) Confined in scope to primary community. May be big men or petty chieftains. Big men must use artful means to accumulate wealth (Sahlins 1968)	An "office" of chief. "A position in a socio-political structure that has ascribed functions and conventionalized attributes no matter who occupies it" (Service 1962). Chief directs activity of a chiefdom's interdependent parts. Centralized leadership (Service 1963) Regulations separate the chief from all others; sanctify or otherwise legitimize him; codify his rights, privileges, duties; prescribe the form of succession. Sumptuary rules or taboos set aside the chiefly persons into a special category (Service 1962) Official authority is considerable. "Not just greater chiefs but a system of chieftainship." A hierarchy of major and minor authorities holding forth over major and minor subdivisions of the tribe (Sahlins 1968)

ATTRIBUTE	BAND	TRIBE/SEGMENTARY TRIBE	CHIEFDOM
<u>POLITY</u>	<p>"no separate political life and no government or legal system above the modest informal authority of family heads and ephemeral leaders" (Service 1962)</p>	<p>No group dominant over another (Service 1963) Politically equal communities - no structural subordination (Sahlins 1968) "Each group, exploiting like environmental opportunities, underwrites, by its ecological completeness, its political autonomy" (Sahlins 1968) Sharply divided into independent local communities (Sahlins 1968) No separate bodies of political control (Service 1963)</p>	<p>Local community a political subdivision. Political organization is established above and beyond the community level (Sahlins 1968)</p>
<u>BASIC STRUCTURE</u>	<p>"a few associated bands made up of related nuclear families" (Service 1962) "every person is one or the other kind of consanguinal or affinal relative (Service 1963) "an association of family residential units...which ordinarily include only from 20 - 60 people loosely allied by marriage ties" (Service 1963)</p>	<p>Segmental. Corporate residential units are like one another, largely self-sufficient economically, generally equivalent in size and organization, autonomous in large measure (Service 1963) Structural and functional equivalency of the primary segments (Sahlins 1968)</p>	<p>Organismic. Differentiated and specialized parts (Service 1963)</p>

