

Tipití: Journal of the Society for the Anthropology of Lowland South America

ISSN: 2572-3626 (online)

Volume 5 | Issue 1

Article 3

June 2007

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Recommended Citation

Crocker, William H. (2007). "The Canela Diaries: Their Nature, Uses, and Future," *Tipití: Journal of the Society for the Anthropology of Lowland South America*: Vol. 5: Iss. 1, Article 3.

Available at: <https://digitalcommons.trinity.edu/tipiti/vol5/iss1/3>

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The Canela Diaries: Their Nature, Uses, and Future

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INTRODUCTION

The Canela of the *cerrado* of the state of Maranhão, Brazil, were more hunter-gatherers than settled farmers before their pacification in 1814, though they cultivated garden foods for about twenty percent of their subsistence. After their pacification in 1814 and their resettlement around 1840 on five percent of their former lands (Nimuendajú 1946:64), they had to learn the more intensive slash-and-burn farming of the Brazilian backlanders. Curt Nimuendajú, who did field research among the Canela (also known as the Ramkokamekra) between 1929 and 1936, published his master monograph on them, *The Eastern Timbira*, in 1946. I started my restudy of Nimuendajú's monograph in the field in 1957 and published my monograph in 1990. After 74 months of research among the two Canela tribes,¹ I can hope to publish a monograph covering 100 years of Canela culture change. Diaries written or recorded by Canela individuals will be invaluable research instruments for much of this volume, as they have been for maintaining continuity when I have not been in the field. This essay is largely about the history of this diary program among the Canela.

ORIGINS OF THE CANELA DIARY PROGRAM

In 1960, I asked my three closest Canela research assistants, Francisco, Marcelino, and Raimundo Roberto, to write the stories of their lives. I cannot remember what inspired me to do this, but it may have been an attempt to repeat the excitement I experienced during the writing of my master's thesis in cultural anthropology, "A Systematic Approach to the Study of Innovators, Deviants, and Conformers through the Use of Personal Documents" (Crocker 1953). I wrote most of the thesis in a

small house rented with two others in an apricot orchard, in what is now Silicon Valley, from March into the middle of August, 1953. My Stanford professor, George Spindler, was gone for the summer, leaving me on my own to complete the thesis and to get it accepted by the Graduate School. I felt trusted but alone; he was too far away to be consulted easily.

Fortunately, I was fascinated by the material I was working on. I became engrossed in the writing, and I rejoiced in the total immersion in the problems of indigenous persons, some of whom were going through transitions such as my own into anthropology. I had chosen the particular individuals of the study, or rather the literature on them, because they were deviators, innovators, or conformists. I favored the innovators, because I thought that I was one too, rather than a deviator or a conformist. The research and crafting of the thesis helped me define my own identity, a need characteristic of that stage of my life.

The methodology of the study used two approaches to obtain similar results, that of the case study (qualitative) and that of the actuarial (quantitative). I was looking into the life histories of these individuals to see what factors contributed to their deviating, innovating, or remaining conformists. I was comparing the results I obtained from these two quite different approaches. I distinctly preferred the qualitative approach and had a bias against the quantitative one. I enjoyed the challenge of showing where the results of the quantitative approach were invalid or spurious whenever the data allowed me to do so.

With Francisco Pù?tô,² Marcelino Hàwpù, and Raimundo Roberto Kaapêl-tùk, I think that I was hoping to enter a similar world of close relationships by going through the procedures I had used in my master's thesis. However, the demands of doctoral field research took precedence. Asking the research assistants to write their stories had to wait. My doctoral research with the Canela, which I completed in the fall of 1960, turned out to center on developing a method for abstracting themes or generalities from Canela Indian festival materials (Crocker 1962).

During July of 1963, the Canela were attacked by backland ranchers for stealing too many of the ranchers' cattle during their messianic movement (see Crocker 1967). Their principal village was burned, but most of the Canela escaped. Marcelino, though I had not requested him to do so, had continued writing a diary, which was burned in the village fire. When I returned for two weeks in 1963, he told me about the loss. What if his account of the messianic movement and the ranchers' attack on his people had survived the fire? What remarkable primary data his account would have been for anthropology. When I returned again for five months during 1964, I remembered this incalculable loss. I realized that diaries could be

a valuable source of primary data for me in my work in anthropology and for those who would come after me.

THE PROGRAM'S EARLY YEARS

The Canela diary program started in earnest in 1966 with Francisco and Marcelino writing in Canela and Raimundo Roberto translating into Portuguese what he wrote in Canela.³ These Canela were three of a group of six youths who, around 1946, had been inspired by a good teacher to learn to write. Their writing was quite limited, however, since they used it only for passing notes, to give orders, or to obtain food. They could write only in a very rudimentary way when I first encouraged them to do so for my purposes.

Two Canela were added to the diary program in 1970, and by 1979 the group consisted of eleven men and one woman. From 1970 to the present, at least two Canela have spoken their diaries onto cassette tapes in Canela and at least two have translated their products into Portuguese. Since 1997, almost all the diaries have been spoken onto tape in Portuguese, though some diarists continued writing and speaking in Canela before translating their work. In 2006, ten Canela men and two women were involved, and through the four decades, twenty-two have contributed significantly and others in minor ways. The diarists' ages range from about twenty to seventy eight. In 1979, the diary program was canceled by an official of the Brazilian military government who probably thought it was subversive. I reinstated the program in 1991. The collection comprises about 150,000 manuscript pages⁴ and 2,000 hours on tape.⁵

Administrators at the Smithsonian, where I began my employment in 1962, questioned the research value of the Canela diaries. One stated that he did not see how scientific results could be derived from such data. I was discouraged, but remembered how, in my master's thesis, I had found the case study materials more meaningful than similar data derived quantitatively. In 1966, the visiting Claude Lévi-Strauss made one point in a lecture that I believed vindicated my collection of Canela personal documents. I cannot quote him exactly, but his point was that personal documents made by indigenous people would be available to researchers for many generations to come as primary data on vanished peoples, or at least on vanishing cultures. He told his audience that we could not know the problems that anthropologists would be trying to resolve a hundred years from now, but that they would have these primary data available to work on if they were collected while it was still possible to do so. Since

then, I have not doubted the worth of my Canela diaries.

Maybe the expression “*my* Canela diaries” gives away another reason why I wanted to continue to obtain them. The match between the personality of an ethnographer and the culture of “his” or “her” people often involves friction and tension, even though the ethnographer perseveres and returns again and again. In my case, the match was close. The Canela and I got along very well. They had adopted me, given me a family, through an adoptive sister, and bestowed on me a special name which gave me certain rights and honorary privileges. Brazilian ethnologists, after listening to me talk about the Canela, used to tease me during the 1960s about my having become a Canela. With this close match of personality types, it should not be surprising that I wanted a Canela presence in my life, even when I could not be with them. The diaries filled this personal need very well.

I will never forget sitting in my office at the National Museum of Natural History around 1968, reading Francisco’s account in Canela of how he had escaped death in an anaconda’s grip in a stream by killing it with his machete. I did not take this near death talk of his seriously because I knew that the anacondas of the small Canela streams were not large enough to be a serious threat to a healthy, adult human being. Moreover, I knew from long experience with him that Francisco was fanciful and expansive by nature.

The assessment of such primary data fascinated me. I had wanted to justify a qualitative approach to appraising data since my early graduate school days. The usual quantitative approach often misinterpreted data as far as I had observed, or it did not bring the material out fully. I thought that a quantitatively oriented analyst would describe this occurrence in the following manner: that an anaconda almost killed Francisco, but that he escaped death by killing it with his machete. Nevertheless, I thought that I knew better than the quantitative analyst could know about what really happened, because of my long (thirty months at that time) involvement with the Canela and especially because of my relationships with certain Canela individuals like Francisco, my uncle by adoption. Because I knew that anacondas there are small and that Francisco tends to exaggerate, I judged that I could improve a quantitative assessor’s statement with my interpretation. I would say that Francisco struggled with an anaconda before killing it with his machete, and that he brought parts of it home to feed his family. I would ignore the near-death aspect of the account, and I would add some context that I was sure would follow the killing of the anaconda. I knew that the Canela ate anacondas and I was certain that Francisco would chop it up and take part of it home in little palm straw baskets to his family. I had seen this happen to game many times.

Giving this occurrence a more valid and full interpretation is what intrigued and pleased me. In any case, it was making the best use of my field experience as a long-term research ethnographer. It was enabling me to use my ethnographic skills in their best way. Yet, to make such interpretations valid, I knew that I had to recognize and make adjustments for my subjective bias for each occurrence. It helped that a principal aspect of my doctoral dissertation had been developing a method for reducing and recognizing my subjectivity while carrying out the procedures I had evolved for abstracting cultural generalizations from festival materials (Crocker 1962:61). It was not a matter of eliminating a researcher's subjectivity, but of trying to recognize it and thereby accounting for it, if only partially. I was trained to be well aware of subjective bias and was oriented to trying to reduce it to the extent possible.

In summary, what motivated me to continue the diary program was first, the gratification obtained through reading personal documents that were bringing the Canela home to me, and second, the pleasure derived from interpreting reported events qualitatively. Beneath it all, additionally, was a strong predilection for being involved in personal rather than in stereotypic experiences, a preference which was derived from still earlier experiences.

INTERPRETING THE DIARIES

The following treatment of an event related recently by Canela diarists serves to demonstrate a qualitative interpretation of their reports. Near the end of January, 2006, a young Canela male killed a Brazilian, Old João of the backland community called Vila. This was an extraordinary event because, according to my careful study of their history, the peaceful and problem-solving Canela (Schechter and Crocker 1999) had not initiated the killing of a local "white" since they were resettled in about 1840. By examining the diaries sent me from February through May, 2006, and from my own background knowledge, I have assembled the following account of the events of the killing. Information that I have added from knowing the Canela scene is in italics.

Old João was returning home from Escalvado, *the Canela's principle village*, to where he lived in Vila, *a small backland community of about 800 farmers*, when Nonato,⁶ a sixteen-year-old Canela male, killed him. It was around 6:30 in the morning, *with the sun already rising*, when Nonato, waiting and sitting in the middle of *the tire-track road cut through the cerrado countryside* near the Raposa stream, met Old João directly. Letting him pass, Nonato struck him

down from behind with a stick recently cut from a cerrado tree. Old João had been riding a donkey, and after his fall from it, Nonato dragged his body off the road into the shrubbery to club him to death. Old João's companion, his grandson, the seven-year-old Eduardo, fled in fear but spread the news of the killing in Vila. Old João's relatives came to fetch his corpse.

Old João had been bringing food for many years from Vila to sell in Escalvado only 40 kilometers to the west. He loaded his donkey with goods such as manioc flour, rice, brown sugar blocks, salted meat, coffee, and biscuits. He and his grandson had spent the night in the house of a Canela political leader, having sold all of the goods the day before. Rising early to take advantage of the cool of the morning, Old João could not possibly have anticipated his coming demise. Nonato's father, with Nonato as a boy, had stayed in Old João's house in Vila as guests many times over the years. They were family friends.

I first heard about this disaster for the Canela during my monthly telephone call with my Brazilian research representative at the end of January, 2006. Julio Tavares lives in the city of Barra do Corda, 70 kilometers to the north of Escalvado. I was shocked at the news, but Julio Tavares assured me that the situation's dangers would soon pass. He had no details to give me.

After putting down the phone, I could think only of the attack on the Canela in 1963, when ranchers from the same area had ransacked and burned the Canela village, killing five and wounding six Canela. Relations between the backlanders and the Canela had been bitter. Backlanders had declared that they wanted to kill certain Canela individuals, especially my future diarist Raimundo Roberto. Thus, I was concerned about a new period of hateful and distant relations developing between the backland communities and the Canela.

Most of my diarists reported that they were afraid that the young male relatives of Old João would kill any Canela they met. This did not occur, but they would have killed Nonato, if the mayor in Barra do Corda had not protected him (he was temporarily being kept there in jail). The worst anti-Canela act was the announcement by the local radio that the Canela tribal council had decided to order the killing of Old João, which simply was not true according to my diarists.

The above report is a straightforward account of what happened, with some context added. My diarists had reported a great deal of detail on their own in their tapes of January, February, and March. Nevertheless, near the end of April, I sent a questionnaire to them through Julio Tavares. He received it and gave each one of them a copy. These questions helped them focus more directly on certain points of interest to me that they had not reported on, or had not sufficiently covered, in their earlier tapes.

Most of the accounts are consistent with each other on the major aspects of the occurrence. I have selected one aspect of the event—the motivation for the killing—about which the opinions of the diarists are quite varied. The qualitative interpretive challenge here is to assess what

aspects of the reports are most likely to be valid, depending on what the diarists say, as well as on what I know about them, about the Canela culture, and about life in that part of the world.

The first of the twelve questions that I sent them was: *Now that nearly three months have passed, what do you think may have been the reason why Nonato killed Old João of Vila?*

A senior, male diarist responded:

The reason why Nonato ... killed Old João of Vila was because he wanted to do so. It was done on his own account, only.

I interpret this response to mean only Nonato was responsible for the killing.

Another senior, male diarist commented:

It is too bad that Nonato did this to Old João of Vila, but he killed him just to steal from him, and no one told him to do it. The motive was just to rob him [for his money], so that is why he did it.

I interpret this response to mean again that only Nonato was responsible. It adds the important detail that he did it just for money.

A middle-aged male diarist concluded:

It was because of envy, because Nonato had seen that the late João of Vila was carrying a lot of money out of the village. And when he saw this, he got envious. So, he ran after him and killed Old João of Vila in the middle of the road. Nonato was a very disobedient boy ... and badly brought up. He did this because he did not have respect for his parents.

This response echoes the previous one, but adds a few more reasons. In addition to killing for money he also did it because his parents did not care for him properly as well as because he was envious.

A middle-aged female diarist said the following:

Do you know why Nonato did such a bad thing? It is because the agent of the [Indian service] post ... is not taking care of his own people, because our representative to our municipality [a branch of the Brazilian government] ... should be taking care of us, but he is not, and neither is our Secretary of Indigenous Affairs, our Major, or our chief of the tribe. [All of these five male leaders are Canela.] The Major and the chief must talk and counsel the youths, and the youths must obey them, but they do not. Moreover, Nonato's mother and father have not taken good care of him, and that is why this has occurred at this time.

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This answer points to the problem that Canela authorities at all levels were not taking proper care of their people in addition to Nonato's parents not caring for him properly.

A middle-aged male diarist responded:

It was for 68.65 reais [about US\$30] that Nonato killed the late João of Vila. [Nonato's aunt had a grudge against Old João. She told Nonato that Old João was bad, and she said the following:] "Look Nonato, I think that you are going to kill that old man, because he does not want to do business with me. I want to buy soap from him, but he does not want to sell it on credit." Nonato was not even thinking of killing Old João of Vila. That afternoon [the one before the killing] she spoke to him again: "Look, Nonato, if you have courage, you are going to kill Old João of Vila, but you are not a man." Thus, his aunt did so much to encourage Nonato that it was because of her that Nonato killed old João of Vila. And it was because of alcoholic drinks as well.

Nonato is again said to have done it for the money, but also because his aunt dared and shamed him into doing it as well as because of alcohol.

A middle-aged, male diarist responded:

It was just for money that Nonato killed Old João. Nonato was having sex with two [Canela] women who are prostitutes, and these two women demanded that Nonato provide money.

Again, Nonato did it for money, but from this man's perspective it was because he was pressed by women to pay them for sex.

A young, male diarist said:

Because he is ... an adolescent, when he got some alcohol and got drunk, he killed Old João of Vila ... There is an Indian woman who was his lover who said to him the following, "Listen, Nonato, if you kill this man, we will get married ... but only if you kill him" ... He believed ... and got drunk ... and killed him.

According to this respondent, Nonato did it to win a woman who dared him to do it. Alcohol was also a principal factor.

A young, male diarist responded:

It is for this reason [the lack of disciplining] that a very serious matter occurred among the Canela, [the killing of Old João] by Nonato. He is 16 years old, and he will participate in the graduation of the I?kre-re-kām Festival [of warriors for the formation of adolescents]. He began to participate in this

festival from the beginning, but ... he prepared nothing for himself. [Through self-restraint measures against food and sex, he could have developed careers for himself, such as hunting or being a shaman, but he did not.] He did not learn how to behave. He did not learn how to respect the troop leader ... It is for this reason that a very bad thing occurred in the village, [the killing].

Here, it was because of not being able to accept discipline that Nonato killed Old João.

A young, female diarist concluded:

In my opinion, the reason was for money. He himself confessed that he had killed the Old João ... for money. But I think that it was not only for money, because ... his neighbors say ... that his mother ... made Nonato very angry. He had been fighting [continuously] with his [younger] brother ... hitting him [repeatedly]. So, his mother said to him, "My son, if you want to kill someone, go and kill Senhor João who has just left." Nonato was indeed in a rage just then. Moreover, he was drunk and drugged. So, I think that it was the alcohol and drugs that made up his mind so that he killed Senhor Old João of Vila. Also, the people commented that he killed Old João, not because he wanted to, and not because he was drunk ... but because his mother put him into such a rage. She had said that he was not a real man, and that if he were a real man, he would have killed someone, a white, to reduce his rage so that he would not keep on hitting his brother. If she had not said this to Nonato, it is certain that he would not have done such a stupid thing, but he followed his mother's bad advice. But I really think that he did it for the money. I do not understand how his mother could have done this ... In truth, I do not really know.

Nonato is once more said to have done it for the money, but alcohol and marijuana were principal factors as well as his mother's comments which shamed and dared him into doing it.

The outstanding questions are: (1) whether Nonato did the killing for the money, (2) whether he did it on his own, and (3) whether other factors were involved. If other factors were involved, they are: (3a) were alcohol and drugs essential factors contributing to the killing, (3b) were women daring him to kill or (3c) demanding his money for sex, and (3d) was Nonato's failure to be disciplined, essential to his carrying out the killing? I am leaving out the matter of envy, which I do not believe could have been an essential contributing factor. Most of the Canela were surely envious of Old João and his money.

With nine diarists participating, five of them stated that the motive was robbery for money (question 1), two diarists said that Nonato did it on his own volition, implying there were no other factors (question 2), and seven diarists involved other factors (question 3). Considering

other contributing factors, three diarists emphasized the role of alcohol and drugs (3a), three diarists said women urged Nonato to kill Old João (3b), one diarist said two women demanded money for sex (3c), and three diarists emphasized Nonato's lack of discipline (3d).

A quantitative assessment might conclude that the principal motive was money (5/9), but that the influence of women was important too (4/9), and that alcohol (3/9) and discipline (3/9) were also factors, but less important ones. However, knowing what I know about the culture and the individuals, I would agree that the need for money was the principal motive, but that alcohol, together with drugs, was the only other essential contributing factor. Contrasting the quantitative approach above, I would conclude, qualitatively, that the motivational contributing factors of the four women were not essential in causing the killing, and that the lack of discipline was general and not unique to Nonato. Thus, I would reason, it could not be considered an essential factor in causing the killing.

On question 3b, I know that the Canela often talk about killing someone, but they do not really mean it. It amounts to slang-like swearing to be emphatic. Without alcohol and drugs, Nonato would not have taken such comments seriously. Moreover, these three accounts were unsubstantiated rumors, and so may, or may not, have occurred. The urging of the two prostitutes is more believable, because the two younger diarists provide supporting information in their answers to other questions. These two diarists were close to Nonato.

From the diarists I know that Nonato had been married, but that he had left his wife when their daughter was born. The elders could not get him to go back to his wife, and his family would not pay for a divorce. For sex, he relied on occasional "friends" and on the Canela prostitutes who charged high prices. One diarist describes how Nonato's friends, male and female, were leaving him as his behavior was getting worse, as he was getting more and more into drinking *cachaça* (sugarcane alcohol) and smoking marijuana. Since he was sixteen, single, and had a strong sex drive (one diarist implies), he had to rely on prostitutes.⁷ They were less expensive in the Canela village than in the communities of the whites, where he got on very well, spent much time, and was well known.

My qualitative assessment is that, while his aunt and his mother may have taunted and challenged Nonato, it is more likely that the two Canela prostitutes *were*, in fact, withholding their services for back payments. This had to frustrate Nonato, so when drunk and drugged, he acted by killing for money to pay the prostitutes. One of them, probably jokingly, may have promised him marriage, despite being much older than him. Nevertheless, I maintain that nothing would have happened if he had not

been drunk and using marijuana. Thus I conclude that substance abuse was an essential factor for making the killing possible.

No matter what actually contributed to the final outcome, the broad range of explanations from the diarists is ethnographically important because it includes the elements Canela people see as most likely to be significant. A qualitatively oriented interpretation of materials is helpful therefore for providing ethnographic understanding. Usually such materials can be obtained only while in the field, but with a team of experienced diarists, the ethnographer, while at home, can obtain and assess relevant data over a much wider time frame. Obviously, the numbers involved here are too low to make this study a reliable one or statistically valid. Also, I recognize that a quantitatively oriented assessment may be necessary for a study when the materials are numerous.

VARIOUS USES OF THE DIARY MATERIALS

Undoubtedly, the Canela diaries provide a potentially important source of data for the ethnographer. As I see it, the data from the diaries serve me as an ethnographer both when I am at home and when I am in the field.

While at Home. The program has brought me timely news of the tribe so that when I returned, I knew better what to ask. I could catch up more easily with the events that had taken place between my trips. This advantage was very important for the earlier visits during the 1950s through the 1970s, before some of my Canela research assistants had attended Brazilian schooling and had become more familiar with Western genres of documentation and reporting. In those days, it took considerable patching together of pieces of events from different helpers, or from the same assistant on different occasions, to reconstruct significant events into an understandable chronology for my more complete comprehension. If I had received several diary reports on an event, and had assimilated the data at home, the reconstruction of the event was already partly done.

More recently diarists have reported on unusual events, such as when two Canela won an international tribal culture preservation contest in Germany in 1993. One of them spoke of being robbed in his hotel room there. Two other Canela attended a meeting in Washington, DC in 1995. They spoke on tape about their impressions of downtown New York City and of Native Americans on the Cherokee Reservation in North Carolina. They wondered how Indians "could have become so white." While I could not go to the Canela reservation during the 1980s, the Summer Institute

of Linguistics missionary obtained about eighteen cassettes of news made for me by one of my long-term diarists. These tapes helped immeasurably with my month-long reconstruction, during my 1993 visit, of events of the 1980s such as how and why the chief of the tribe was deposed in 1981 or 1982.

During the earlier years, I did not use this source of information to supplement publications, but in 1998, for the writing of an article on multiple paternity, I sought to update my field data with current Canela use of several terms by sending my diary writers a questionnaire to answer during their next month's taping for me. As I expected, the classification of a "contributing father" had changed from what it had been in the late 1950s, a "primary" father, to a position more in keeping with the current social practices, a "secondary" one (Crocker 2002:88). For a 2003 paper on vengeance, my diarists provided their definitions of vengeance along with examples of situations that might, or might not, call for vengeance. For our 2004 case study, my wife and I published four excerpts of opinions on the nature and demise of the Canela extramarital sex system. Here is what a middle-aged female diarist said:

Trysts were good. There are a few who still have trysts. They always made for joy and created courage to help people work. But it is something else today. Trysts serve to hurt spouses. Why? Because jealousy is created, you are not going to like it. You will be disgusted and [the chance for] the same tryst will never appear again (Crocker and Crocker 2004:127).

In a book chapter, we published four Canela commentaries on intercultural personal experiences with "whites." Here is an excerpt of what a young female diarist said about how life in two cultures was causing her grief. The topic is plucking eye-lashes and eye-brows as a hallmark of being Canela:

And plucking out eye-lashes, I have no way of doing this, because, Professor, when I pluck my eye-lashes, I become feverish. And when I cut the hair of my head [the Canela way] I come down with a fever, also. A person may think that I am lying ... However, I am speaking the truth, Professor (Crocker and Crocker 2007:46).

While in the Field. Having a group of diarists making monthly reports to me also has its advantages when I am in the field. The Canela do everything in groups, whether in age classes or within one of their five moieties. Having my own group (of diarists, albeit a unique group for the Canela community) gives me recognition and prestige. Members of

my group speak for me in the tribal council, explaining my purposes and projects, getting them understood and approved. Since some of them have become chiefs of the tribe and council members, I am seen by most tribal members as being at their level. Nevertheless, on the single occasion that there was a political problem in 1997,⁸ not all of them sided with me. They had not given up their independence.

Another field advantage is that on the day of my arrivals since 1993, a group of my research assistant diarists would be waiting and willing to work for me immediately. No time was lost in having to summon or chose them. A selected number of them formed what I called my research assistant council, the composition of which changed depending on the topic being studied and the expertise of the assistants. This group debated various subjects I gave them, but while I could catch the general meaning in the Canela language well enough, I still had those who were the most fluent in Portuguese make me a final statement. I believe that having a continuous month-to-month relationship with them, even while away, helped sustain good rapport and enhanced the reliability of their information.

Since the diarists' monthly commentaries to me were often quite personal—all about their troubles and hopes—I got to know some of them very well. Consequently, they became very willing to provide me with reliable information about what was going on, information that they knew I needed for my research purposes. For instance, in 1999, during a festival in which extramarital sex traditionally used to take place for token presents, one of the members of my council told me that this ceremony was occurring not far from the village. I walked out to it, but was told that no women were there. The men complained that the women had become stingy. That afternoon when I returned to my research council, one of the men told me that a woman had indeed been hidden out there. The difference from earlier times was that one age class of men paid the woman so that only their members could have her. My helpers told me exactly how much—a considerable amount—she was paid.

There were several benefits from the diary program for the Canela. First, the diarists were paid, that is, I bought their diaries. To know how much to pay a diarist, I found out how much a worker in the field of a backland farm owner was paid daily. I then doubled this amount, because I believed my writers were doing work requiring greater skills. Fixing the rate for speaking diaries on tape was harder to do, but it was set in a corresponding way. It had to be worth their while not to sell their recorders when hungry, which happened several times. I was paying for responsibility and to make membership in the program worthwhile.

Second, by working for me continuously, some of my diarists learned

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certain skills. Two of them typed their diaries for me, so I used this skill to have them type and translate the soundtrack of the films taken in 1975 and 1979 by a Smithsonian-supported cinematographer. In 1997, one diarist, who had been translating since the late 1970s, simultaneously translated filmed sessions that later became part of a video (Schechter and Crocker 1999). In 2005, he simultaneously translated debates of his people that contributed to their gaining a grant from the Inter-American Foundation in 2006.

In March of 2006, I sent Julio Tavares a page of questions to be given to each diarist to elicit points of view of the diary program. The following are some of their responses.

A young man who is a recent high school graduate said:

The diary manuscripts are very important for me, because in the future these manuscripts are going to serve ... for learning our history ... Since we, the younger men, do not know how our festivals were originally performed, we are losing our traditions and our culture. So, where are we going to find our original festivals? ... We are going to find them in the manuscripts [which will help us] teach them to the adolescents.

A young man who is a Brazilian-trained nurse's assistant commented:

My uncle William Croque already has ... collected many manuscripts and tapes ... [H]e surely will pass them on ... to other persons ... who will organize them ... so that the young can study them to learn ... and understand their traditions and culture.

The current Canela representative to the Brazilian municipal government started his diary in 1978. Now middle-aged, he is the most recent ex-chief of the tribe.

This man said the following:

I like to speak on tape each month, and this is not just to earn money, but to learn more things ... Through this diary, I might [learn to] speak Portuguese very clearly. I never practiced speaking Portuguese before, but ... [I am] learning to do so through this speaking onto tape.

The first male diarist, who is now very old said:

I have a right to speak out about my taping and my manuscript writing, about what I wrote long ago. I do not make decisions [about them, however,] for better or for worse. I am under his directions. I delivered my work to help Senhor Croque. I do not tell him what to do; he knows ... [Maybe he will]

make a book. I want to keep earning money from the tapes and manuscripts ... I can only help by continuing to deliver my manuscripts and tapes about the news of the Indians of the village of Escalvado.

The man who teaches the first four grades in the Canela village school also spoke about the project. He is a man who spent several months in Germany learning dentistry during the early 1990s and two weeks in the USA, attending a workshop of the National Museum of the American Indian in 1995.

He made the following comments:

In every sense speaking on tape does me good. This is something that we are learning, becoming accustomed to doing ... things [that] have compensation ... We all know that you [Crocker] are doing these things. It is not that you are robbing us. You are working, wanting an exchange. You are doing this activity, researching for results. It is for this reason, Doctor, that I am speaking openly. I never felt any difficulty. I never got angry. Since I was a child, I thought that one day I would ... work for you, and finally I succeeded. I began with manuscripts and then tapes. I do not have any difficulty. I do not feel anything bad when I am taping. I am earning money, and this is a help to me. That is all.

A middle-aged woman who joined the diarists in 1979 (as the only woman who could write) commented:

Doutor Croque ... the month, the day, the time that I spend speaking on tape, I always enjoy ... [During the] year, 2003, [I had] epilepsy with high blood pressure. I was in Teresina in the hospital for only a week ... I remember ... continuously thinking and imagining at that time that I was ... a long [way] from my work pouch which was in the village. [I was] very worried about my tape recorder [which was in the pouch], that I would lose it. But thanks to God there was one daughter who took good care of what I had in my little pouch ... People asked why I did [the taping]. [I answered that] I am a good friend of Uncle Croque ... The service of taping always helps. I like to earn a little money all the time, every month.

One of the most helpful contributions of my group of diarists took place in 2005, when I needed to gather material for an essay I was preparing on marriage. I had each diarist give his or her marital history, and from these accounts we worked out a sequence of questions in their language that would enable an interviewer to collect certain aspects of the marital histories of other individuals. I then sent eight of the eleven diarists out to collect the data from their people. They said that they liked being anthropologists themselves.

PROCEDURES USED TO OBTAIN THE DIARIES

My instructions to each diarist were to write or speak about what was going on in the tribe and what was taking place in their lives. Because I saw the diaries as projective tests similar to Rorschachs, my directions really were not very limiting. I was convinced that if they were reporting on what they wanted to tell me, they would be more highly motivated to continue the task month after month and year after year. Technical instructions were to space the reporting, such as writing two or three pages every other day up to a certain number of pages per month. With respect to tape recording, I asked them to cover the same topics, but I was more flexible with respect to the length and number of their responses. The length of recording time per month has, for example, varied but was always set. I let them choose between taping every several days and reporting everything once at the end of the month. I have discouraged this single taping per month, but I also realized that it is more important to be flexible in order to maintain their motivation and morale. I have asked diarists to answer questionnaires on focused topics several times since 1998, but for the months after answering such questionnaires, the diarists have returned to their regular tribal and personal reporting.

It is clear to me that some of my diarists have become habituated to diary keeping. One of the oldest diarists tapes two hours a month, as they all used to do, but I have only wanted one hour a month in 2006. Julio Tavares tells me that he puts the speed of this diarist's recorder on "2.4" so that thirty minutes will be taped on each side of the sixty-minute cassette, but this diarist returns the speed knob to 1.2 on purpose, giving me two hours in all, although the second hour is not paid.

One diarist invariably begins every episode of taping by repetitiously informing me that she is telling me news of the tribe so that I can know all about it. She addresses me sometimes as "uncle" and at other times as "Doutor Croque." Another one frequently adds "as you already know" to his reporting about custom, recognizing that he knows that I know about that cultural practice. Another one was confessional at first, but now she is more informative about tribal life than about her personal activities. I want them to address me as they choose to, which is in keeping with my projective testing approach. However, when they call me *patrão*, I wince, because this term has such bad connotations throughout the Amazon. In the local city near the Canela, however, it can best be translated as "employer." Their most frequent term of address for me is one of kinship or simply "professor."

I used to spend about half an hour with each writing diarist near the

end of each trip in order to foster our personal relationship. It was also to encourage them to form their letters better, to use the accepted phonemic symbols correctly, and to ask them questions about some of their reporting. For the speaking diarists, since 1997, I have phoned Julio Tavares most months and have asked him to tell them to hold the tape recorder closer to their mouths, to speak more slowly, or to pronounce more distinctly, depending on the person and the particular problem. During each of my visits since 1997, we have been meeting more as a research group than as before with the personal interviews, which may not be as good for rapport. However, with the tradition well established so that the old diarists train the new ones as they join, the program moves on with its own momentum.

I have chosen all the diarists for their ability, age, and sex,⁹ as well as for their motivation and for how well they would fit into the group. In 2001, I held a contest for one position for which there were twenty-seven entrants.¹⁰ I have had to dismiss several diarists for various reasons, such as selling the tape recorder or typewriter, or not being able to hear their own phonemes correctly when writing.

It has been important to keep a certain distance from each diarist, as well as sufficient closeness, so as not to make them dependent, and so as not to influence them too much, thereby introducing more cultural change.

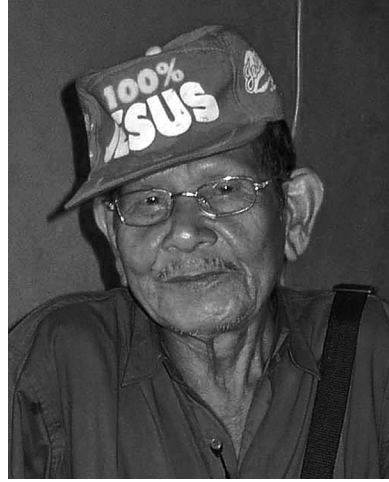


Figure 1. Raimundo Roberto is so accustomed to speaking his diary entries that he wants more time for his monthly taping. 2003. [photo by Bill Crocker]



Figure 2. Marcelino was the first diarist, but his writings were burned in a ranchers' attack on his village in 1963. 1995. [photo by Myles Crocker]



Figure 3.
Juliana's common sense talk provides facts
Bill Crocker can rely on. 2007. [photo by
Bill Crocker]



Figure 4.
Fabiana speaks fervently in her diary
entries about difficulties between Indians
and whites. 2003. [photo by Bill Crocker]

Distance is also necessary because they do not yet handle money in the way that Brazilians do in the city.¹¹ With more education they surely will. The Canela are in the middle of a transition from a society run by the commands of their leaders (without any money) to a society run largely by the power of money in individual hands. Their expectations, not yet being formed by Western concepts, are unlimited and cannot possibly be met. In their letters they always ask for money and more money.

Confidentiality and trust are important. When their manuscripts and tapes were in their language, only I could understand them. Now that they speak on tape mostly in Portuguese, Julio Tavares can understand them too. However, he knows that the diaries must remain confidential, and that he must not take any action based on what the diarists have said. I know that he rarely listens when he copies the microcassettes. Nevertheless, I must keep the trust of the diarists, as the following example illustrates. After the messianic movement of 1999, its leader, a prophet for a while, became discredited. The Canela had sold their animals and lost their crops because of his predictions, and therefore they experienced considerable hunger for two years. When I spoke to several of my diarists after interviewing the exprophet, they asked me what he had said about hearing voices. I answered that I could not reveal to one diarist what another diarist had told me, confirming an old understanding.

Julio Tavares buys the manuscripts and tapes from each diarist monthly. The diarists come into the city to deliver their manuscripts and tapes and receive their compensation. Julio looks their products over and accepts them unless they do not meet understood standards. Between 1966 and 1979, Julio's predecessor, Jaldo Pereira Santos performed this role. He sent the manuscripts and tapes with a friend or colleague who happened to be going to Belém to be delivered to the Goeldi Museum. There, a colleague, the late Expedito Arnaud, took them to the American Consulate where they were placed in the diplomatic pouch and sent to the Smithsonian as part of the United States government mail. Since Julio Tavares assumed this role in 1991, with the military government out of power, he simply mails the manuscripts and tapes to my home each month, keeping copies to be delivered eventually to a museum in Brazil. I have continuously received permission from the National Research Council of Brazil (CNPq) and the Indian service (FUNAI) to carry out this diary program.

FUTURE USES OF THE DIARY COLLECTION

A principal purpose of this essay is to inform others about the existence of the diary collection, its nature, and its uses. The manuscripts and tapes are stored at the Smithsonian Institution in Washington, DC. Originals are



Figure 5. Raimundinho Biato speaks onto tape his philosophical commentary on life with an intercultural perspective. 1995. [photo by Carl Hansen]



Figure 6. Francisquinho types two to three sentences in Canela, translates them into Portuguese, and then speaks them onto his monthly tape. 2007. [photo by David Epstein]

the property of the Smithsonian, but copies are being made and are available under certain circumstances. It is my hope that this article may inspire qualified individuals to apply to use this collection. Most of the manuscripts have been photocopied and some have been microfilmed. Copies of the tapes are being put on cassettes or CDs. The condition of these reproductions, even audiotapes from the 1970s, is good enough for professional use.

Individuals who use these primary materials must be qualified to do so, and they must sign legal documents committing them to comply with certain procedures and standards. These diaries were made either by people who are living or who died during the last fifteen years, but who have living, immediate descendants. These Canela individuals must be satisfied with the use of their diaries. Besides questions of professional ethics, personnel of the research council of Brazil (CNPq) and its Indian service (FUNAI) must agree to the uses to which the diary materials are put.

The Smithsonian will probably not administer these materials. Instead, the personnel of the Timbira Research and Education Foundation of Charlottesville, Virginia, will be furnishing copies of the diaries and helping to decide who may use them. This foundation has reached an agreement with the Universidade Federal do Maranhão in São Luis, Maranhão, the state of Brazil in which the Canela reside. Persons who want to use the Canela diary collection will first have to contact the National Anthropological Archives and then make arrangements with both the foundation and the university.¹²

I see users of this collection producing autobiographies, biographies, culture change and contact studies, comparative psychological analyses, linguistic variation and change reports, et cetera. I like to hope that someone, knowing Portuguese, will also learn Canela¹³ to spend a major part of a career developing publications based on these diaries and their knowledge of Canela ethnography.

CONCLUSION

As I believe I have demonstrated above, the Canela diaries can be used to support points made in articles and books, as well as to supplement other data collected in the field. They also provide a sense of how the situation of the Canela has changed over the years and how these changes have affected and been addressed by Canela individuals. I think that other

researchers would have to become quite familiar with the Canela before they could use these materials in the way that I have. Nevertheless, I believe that the diaries could be used well by appropriately trained individuals,¹⁴ studying them apart from other Canela ethnographic materials, though at a relative loss of comprehensiveness. I also believe that such research could take place decades from now.

On the personal side, I realize that if I get to be ninety or ninety-five years old (I am now eighty-two) I will still have fascinating Canela materials with which to work on at home. Moreover, I will have the special gratification of working with the Canela language, which for whatever reason has always been very rewarding to me.

The Canela in general, and the diarists in particular, have given me a great deal of data that have enhanced my career as an anthropologist. I like to believe that I have given something important back to the Canela as well.¹⁵ I believe that my projects have enabled some of those who have worked with me as diarists to develop certain abilities and skills that have already proven to be useful at the larger tribal level. The fact that members of the Canela council of elders favor a Brazilian education for their grandchildren may well be, at least partially, the result of the leadership on the council provided by three of my diarists. The elders say that they want Brazilian-educated Canela leaders to manage the tribe eventually and protect it from the current exploitation by "white" outsiders. Although I may have contributed to Canela culture change through my purchase of diaries since 1966, nevertheless, I believe that I have contributed to their changing at a pace chosen by and acceptable to them.

I want to express my profound appreciation of the contributions of the current Canela diarists: Marcelino Hàwpùù, Raimundo Roberto Kaapêl-tùk, Francisquinho Tep-hot, Severo Hõõkô, Juliana Yilot, Raimundinho Biato Pààtsêt, Rainmundo Nonato Khää-re, Ângelo Kaarà-mpey, Eduardo Kalêêpê, José João Wôôpôk, Fabiana Tê?tê, and Cornélio Lārāk. Their work has been long, painstaking, and persistent. Endurance *is* a Canela characteristic. Their efforts must have been tiring until, for most of them, diary writing or speaking became a habit. Usually, the writers, not the speakers, had a paid month off a year, but otherwise their reporting was almost continuous. Their perseverance has provided the principal material for an in-progress book on Canela culture change. Far more important, their creativity may furnish primary data for future researchers, who will need materials, including personal documents, on how individuals faced problems resulting from culture change while the world's cultures were becoming increasingly homogenized.¹⁶

NOTES

1. In the literature there are two Canela tribes, the Ramkokamekra and the Apanyekra. This article refers solely to the Ramkokamekra. I collected no dairies from the Apanyekra.

2. The orthography for words in Canela in this essay follows that found in the online version of my 1990 monograph and in my 2004 book with my wife, Jean G. Crocker.

3. Barbara Watanabe, my research assistant, found among my field papers a payment and letter referring to Raimundo writing during 1964–1965, but the full program with the regular monthly collection and purchase of manuscripts by a local Brazilian agent started in 1966.

4. Between 1966 and 1979, and between 1993 and 2006, about 1,500 school booklets (usually 5.5 inches by 8 inches) of handwritten diaries, done once a month on the average, were collected. They are stored mostly in the National Anthropological Archives of the Department of Anthropology of the National Museum of Natural History of the Smithsonian Institution in Washington, DC. The number of pages written per month was 45, 60, 90, or 120, depending on the year and whether the work was in Canela (probably 120 pages), Portuguese (probably 90), or Canela and its Portuguese translation (usually 45 or 60 pages). The full-scale collecting program started in 1966 and continues to the time of this writing, during August, 2007, when only Francisquinho Tep-hot writes manuscripts.

5. Diary speaking on cassette tapes started in 1970 with Raimundo Roberto Kaapêl-tùk and in 1975 with Aristides Kaprêêprêk, each speaking two hours a month in Canela. By the end of 1979, Aristides completed about 100 hours and by the end of 2004, Raimundo had taped about 700 hours, including about twenty hours brought out by Jack Popjes, the SIL missionary between 1984 and 1988. In 1993, Raimundinho Biato Pàatsêt began taping in Canela, and during 1997 all my diarists switched to taping in Portuguese. By the end of 2005, they had taped about 600 hours, not including Raimundo Roberto's hours. Only Severo Hôôkô speaks in Canela, but translates his report into Portuguese on the back side of the cassette. For a more detailed account of the first years of the Canela diary program, see Crocker 1990:37–39, or on line, Crocker 1990:[I.F.] – [I.F.2.b].

6. The actual personal names involved in the killing and the name of the dead person's community have been replaced for security reasons. To protect identity and potential embarrassment, the names of the diarists have been left out where their statements were included.

7. That Nonato had to rely on prostitutes, instead of on the extramarital sex that was prevalent up to two decades earlier, is a stark manifestation of the profoundness of the change of times.

8. A new chief of the tribe, flexing his muscles, together with one dissident diarist, demanded that I replace my Brazilian agent in Barra do Corda. Although some diarists backed the dissident and the replacement, others were silent. After

a thorough search, I found no satisfactory replacement, and since I considered the complaint more political than justified, I let time heal the problem.

9. I have wanted more women to be involved in the Canela diary program, but they were not available, except for Juliana, with the necessary writing skills before 1995. They are surely available now with speaking skills, so I should bring more into the program. However, having two women in an otherwise all male group is a Canela pattern.

10. Not long before leaving the Canela in 2001, I invited young Canela men to write one page for me in Portuguese on why they might like to win a diarist's position with my group. Twenty-seven young men complied, so I chose the ten best of their essays and asked these contestants to write a second round of five pages on a subject of their choice. Ângelo Kaarà-mpey won the contest, and part of his essay can be found in Crocker and Crocker (2004:133–134), thus ending our book with a Canela's sensitive report on an intercultural experience. The contestants' essays are part of the diary collection. I included Fabiana Tê?tê in the program at this time without her having to compete because she was so outstanding, and because we needed a second woman.

11. A certain distance between the ethnographer and the diarist is necessary partly because of the Canela's constant begging for money. The diarist begs, or others beg through the diarist. They consider begging their right. Since they surrendered to the Brazilians in 1814, the Canela have believed that the Brazilians should be supporting them every step of the way. The Canela have lived in keeping with this myth, but now they are beginning to become ashamed of begging. These days (2007), they are only beginning to believe that each family, or extended family, should support itself independently, as generally is the Western concept. Thus, they are caught between sharing any money they receive with collaterals and friends (and lovers), and keeping it for their nuclear or extended family. Consequently, the field worker among the Canela must constantly guard against demands for funds. The Canela have little sense of having to earn money by their own work, though they are beginning to develop a desire for financial self reliance.

12. The Timbira Research and Education Foundation is a 501(c)(3), which was founded in 1994 and accepted by the IRS in 1995. Technically, it is run out of the law office of McGuireWoods in Charlottesville, Virginia. But, it is controlled by its board, which consists largely of anthropologists based in Bethesda, Maryland, at the address of its president, William H. Crocker (biloc@ aol.com). One purpose of this foundation is to support research and education among the Timbira peoples of Brazil. So far, its activities have been limited. But, considering the future of the Canela collections at the Smithsonian, and the use of their copies by social scientists and others operating out of the Universidade Federal do Maranhão, São Luis, Brazil, this foundation's activities may increase significantly.

13. Francisquinho Tep-hot's procedure for diary making could help an outsider learn Canela. Francisquinho uses a typewriter and 8.3 by 11.6 inch paper to write fifteen pages a month. Before 2006, he wrote thirty pages a month,

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starting during the late 1990s. He writes a sentence in good phonemic Canela about two to three lines long. Then he rolls down an extra space and types the translation in Portuguese. Next, he rolls down three spaces, leaving room for me to insert a translation in English. Finally, he starts his next sentence in Canela, and continues the pattern. His Portuguese is not good, so I often understand the Canela better, but between the two versions, the translation into English becomes easy. To complete this monthly procedure, Francisquinho speaks his typed diary onto tape, first the Canela and then the Portuguese, slowly and distinctly.

14. By “appropriately trained individuals,” I mean persons with sufficient background and experience in some sort of systematic research involving orderly thinking. I mean not just social scientists, but serious investigators in many other disciplines.

15. I am deeply grateful to the Canela for the great quantity of material they have given me, which is best expressed through my 1990 monograph, the Canela video (Schechter and Crocker 1999), and the Canela website (Crocker and Wantanabe 2002).

16. Funds for field research over the years came mostly from the Smithsonian Institution. Funds also came from the Wenner-Gren Foundation, the National Science Foundation, and the National Geographic Society. However, when these sources were not available to pay for the diaries, I bought them as personal professional expenses.

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