

## BOOK REVIEWS

Barwick, Diane E., Jeremy Beckett, and Marie Reay (Editors): *Metaphors of Interpretation: Essays in Honour of W.E.H. Stanner*. Canberra: Australian National University Press, 1985. ix + 308 pp. Forward, Black and White Photos, Tables, Bibliography, Notes, Index. ISBN 0-08-0298753.

*Metaphors of Interpretation* is a collection of essays in honor of William Stanner, a key figure in the development of Australian anthropology. The collection, edited by three of his former students, shows the influence of Stanner's theoretical contributions and indirectly comments on the manner in which Australian anthropology has been shaped by governmental, institutional, and applied interests.

The opening essay is a comprehensive biography of Stanner's career. Born in Sydney in 1906, Stanner first took an interest in anthropology after attending lectures given by A.R. Radcliffe-Brown at the University of Sydney in 1926. Under the tutorship of Radcliffe-Brown, and later Raymond Firth, Stanner completed degrees at the University of Sydney. He conducted several seasons of field research among Australian Aboriginal peoples, and was particularly interested in local organization and cultural change. Stanner went on to receive his doctorate under Malinowski at the London School of Economics in 1938. For the next twelve years Stanner worked as a military officer, journalist, and public servant in ten countries in Africa and the Pacific region. In 1950 Stanner accepted an academic position at the newly-opened Australian National University where, for the next thirty years, he was to play a key role in building the university and in leading anthropological studies of Aboriginal peoples in Australia. A bibliography of published and unpublished work at the close of this collection indicates the scope of his interests and the fervor with which he worked.

According to the opening biography, Stanner's vision of anthropology was two-fold. Trained in the paradigm of British social anthropology, he was committed to the development of anthropology as a comparative discipline. He sought to modify the structural-functionalist approach of his mentors to allow an appreciation for more dynamic transactional processes. He was keenly interested in religion, ritual, economic organization and cultural change.

Second, he held a life-long commitment to improving social conditions and advocating for the rights of the Aboriginal peoples of Australia. Yet his efforts to influence government policy-makers to improve the administration

of Aboriginal affairs, by Stanner's own admission, were often ignored. His position at the Australian National University allowed for a certain degree of scholarly independence, yet its academics also were expected to address issues of national concern in Australia and the Pacific region, and thus had an implicit obligation to uphold the mandate of nationalism. Later Stanner played a leading role in the creation of the Australian Institute for Aboriginal Studies. Despite the recommendation by Stanner and others that the Institute focus on Aboriginal cultural change and the impact of government policy, the Australian government resisted the attempts of researchers to meddle in issues of policy, welfare, and Aboriginal administration. In addition, the founding members of the Australian National University's anthropology department all had received training in England in the tradition of British social anthropology, the central theories and assumptions of which had been shaped by colonial interests.

In short, the development of Australian anthropology was influenced by Stanner's commitment to applied and advocacy work with Aboriginal peoples, yet was more critically shaped by a conservative British academic tradition and by structural conditions that encouraged research into "traditional" Aboriginal cultures in an ahistorical context. This latter orientation is evident in a number of papers in this collection.

Five of the eight essays in this collection deal with topics of classical interest in British social anthropology: social organization, kinship, and ritual. Raymond Firth, in an essay on humor in Tikopia, argues that humor needs to be understood as not epiphenomenal to social structure, but as a vital ingredient in social and ritual processes. Michael Young examines Melanesian cargo cults and shows that the significance of ceremonial exchange, especially of refusing gifts, has varied meaning depending on particular contextual circumstances. Marie Reay focusses on the ritual of pig sacrifice in the Papua New Guinea highlands. She argues that the structure of this ritual, rather than being a structure *sui generis*, is instead the product of pragmatic, intentional activity. Kenneth Maddock takes Stanner's structural model of sacrifice and applies it to Australian Aboriginal rituals to determine the model's cross-cultural validity and usefulness. Finally, H.W. Scheffler, in a somewhat dense essay, analyses kinship categories among an Australian Aboriginal people to conclude, in defense of Radcliffe-Brown's assertion, that "kin-class statuses are the elementary structures of Australian social life" (p. 180). In each of these analyses the broader historical, political and economic contexts of Aboriginal ritual and social organization are not considered, and implicit images of static traditional cultures result.

The three other essays are of a different approach and focus. Jeremy Beckett, examining the survival of a cargo cult in the Torres Strait Islands,

illustrates how anthropological knowledge is a product both of the relationship between fieldworker and informant and of the interactions that result. Diane Barwick, in the context of a biography of an Australian Aboriginal woman, shows how government definitions of "aboriginality" were created in efforts to control the Aboriginal populations, and how Aboriginal people worked within these constraints to manipulate definitions of identity for their own purposes. The last essay, by Nancy Williams, outlines Aboriginal processes of decision-making and highlights the importance of understanding contemporary cultural processes amongst Australian Aboriginal people as they interact with White institutions and officials.

As a whole, this book provides an interesting statement of the origin and development of Australian anthropology, and of the conditions under which anthropological knowledge in Australia has been generated.

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Beaulieu, Alain: *Convertir Les Fils de Cain, Jesuites et Amerindiens Nomades en Nouvelle-France, 1632-1642*. Montreal: Nuit Blanche Editeur, 1990, paper, 178pp.

Alain Beaulieu is a doctoral candidate at Laval University with some considerable publishing already to his credit, including collaborating with Real Ouellet on the publication of the "Oeuvres Complètes" of Lahontan. He clearly belongs to the revisionist school, avoiding both stereotypes of the missionary vs. the bloody pagan, and of the arrogant blackrobe vs. the Native wise people. He seeks to examine the social and cultural forces coming into play when two cultures encounter each other.

*Convertir les Fils de Cain* (taken from Genesis 4:12; note the ironic reference to the First Nations), examines a particular facet of the missionary explosion that occurred in the 17th century within the Catholic Church, namely the encounter that occurred between the Jesuits, who represented the cream of France's intelligentsia, and the nomadic population, mainly Algonquin and Innu-Naskappi, who ranged along the Ottawa and St. Lawrence valleys, not far from the French centres of Quebec and Trois-

Rivières, between the years 1632-1642. His study is of special value as so little has been done in this area, especially in comparison with the extensive research done on the other centre of Jesuit effort, the sedentary Huron civilization around the Great Lakes. The only documentary source available is the *Relations*, begun by Paul Lejeune, S. J., in 1632 after the Jesuits returned to Canada (they had first come in 1625 and left with the English conquest of 1629), and written by him until 1642, and then continued by others for thirty years. Beaulieu provides us with a fresh and critical reading of these marvelous documents, unbalanced unfortunately by similar documents from the Algonquin and Innu side. This decade marked the ascendancy of the French due to the epidemics, the Iroquois wars, and the economic dependency that weakened the Aboriginal peoples. It was during this time that the Jesuits abandoned the *réductions* (schemes for the sedentarization of the nomads) and the *séminaires* (boarding schools for the young) and began the *mission volante* strategy. Beaulieu analyzes these Jesuit strategies, as well as the First Nation response, either in the form of conversion or of resistance.

The first *séminaire* opened in 1636; by 1643 the Jesuits knew that children had little prestige in the community, that there was no multiplier effect, and so it was closed. What a pity later generations of missionaries had not heeded that decision!

Lejeune (1591-1664) is a constantly refreshing observer. Converted from Calvinism in 1607, he entered the Jesuits in 1613, and was named superior of the Jesuit mission, returning to Canada in 1632. He spent the winter of 1632-33 learning the Innu language with the help of Pierre Pastedouchan, who at the age of twelve had been brought by the Récollets to France from 1620 to 1626. In the first *Relation* Lejeune reports on his difficult time with the Innu as they returned to their hunting grounds in the fall and winter of 1633-34. He continued to work with the nomads and was the Jesuit superior until 1639, remaining in Nouvelle-France until 1649. His observations concern mainly the Innu, but later documents, according to Beaulieu, make them generally valid for the Algonquin as well.

Lejeune describes the plentifulness of food in the summer, when groups of up to 200 assembled, and the contrasting scarcity in the winter, when family groups of 10 to 20 had to depend upon deep snow to be able to kill the moose and caribou. Little or no snow was a disaster. There was a strict division of labour between the sexes: the men hunted, fished, made the canoes, snow-shoes and the long sleighs, chose and set up the camp sites. (Lejeune counted 23 camps during that difficult winter.) The women collected the kill and the fish, treated the pelts, made clothing, and gathered fire wood. This strict division of labour made marriage necessary for all. These were generally monogamous unions, especially after the birth of

children. Generosity was more prized than accumulation of wealth, and was transformed into a sort of symbolic wealth by a person's reputation.

The Récollets over 14 years baptized only 54 souls, an average of about 4 a year. The Jesuits in 1639 at Trois-Rivières alone had 107. It is true that the Récollets never numbered more than 4 and they had far fewer resources. But why the incredible difference? It's true that the Jesuits arranged for higher prices for baptized fur traders and only the baptized could get guns. But Beaulieu believes that it was the epidemics which left the French largely untouched but decimated the Natives, even their shamans, that indicated to them some sort of European superiority and, worse still, destroyed the very fabric of society. In the resulting chaos, any certainty would be embraced, especially the Gospel which promised eternal life. Lejeune reports that these conversions were, however, for the most part profound and sincere.

A believer, recalling the Gospel's own dynamism which spread from a few to the whole world, will see the hand of God here, but that does not prevent one from examining the secondary causes of the story as does Beaulieu.

The book includes a bibliography and 20 well-chosen 17th century illustrations. Most interesting are the 25 *encadrés*, usually direct quotes from the Relations. We get Lejeune's fascinating description of the complexity of the Innu language, and of a touching conflict over the proposed beating of a French child which an Innu physically shielded and simply would not permit. More disturbing in the light of today's liberation theology is the contention of Jerome Lalement, S.J., in the 1645 *Relation*, that Christianity and the Amerindian culture were incompatible because of the latter's insistence on freedom and autonomy: "I do not believe that there is a people on this earth more free...I cannot believe that there is a people more difficult to submit to the law of Jesus-Christ" (p. 84).

The Jesuits, by the 1660's, distanced themselves from the state, along with Bishop Laval. *Convertir Les Fils de Cain* was their self-proclaimed aim. Cain murdered Abel; but it was the European culture that was genocidal, and which truly needs conversion.

We can be grateful to Alain Beaulieu for this balanced and fair presentation of a fascinating encounter.

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Coates, Kenneth (Editor): *The Alaska Highway: Papers of the 40th Anniversary Symposium*. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1985. xvii + 208 pp. Preface, Black and White Photos, Tables, Maps, Notes, Index, Appendices. ISBN 0-7748-0229-4.

In 1942 a 1500 mile "pioneer road" was pushed through the forests and muskeg of northern Alberta, northern B.C. and the southern Yukon by the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers. This was followed by the completion of a permanent road by the United States Public Roads Administration in 1943. Canada prepared the way for this road in 1940-42 through the development of a series of airfields known as the Northwest Staging Route, and ultimately Canada assumed control over the ongoing maintenance and improvement of the highway following the Second World War. The whole project was an enormous wartime effort which employed some 34,000 army troops and civilians and which had both an immediate and ongoing impact on the people of the region.

The articles in this book are the result of the 40th anniversary symposium held in 1982 to commemorate the completion of the initial pioneer road. The contributions are organized to move chronologically from the initial reasons for undertaking the project, through the construction process, the ongoing issues of maintenance and upgrading of the highway, to the socio-economic and political impacts. The organization of topics and the relatively short and focused articles are highly commendable in a collection of this nature. Often the same topic is addressed in more than one essay from different perspectives, which gives the reader a sense of the dialogue that might have occurred in the symposium.

On the other hand, the use of a construction project as the unifying theme is akin to a travelogue: the reader is introduced to many people, places and events, but is not afforded a more substantial view of any one topic. This is particularly true for the reader with an interest in Native Studies. Only two of the fourteen essays in the book are concerned with the impact on Native people. It is true that the other essays in the collection clarify such things as the political and governmental context for the construction project, the way in which medical services were provided, and the general impact of the highway on the economic life of the Yukon. However, the information in these other essays is not always focused as one would like, and certainly it is much more than one would need as background to the Native Studies material.

Leaving aside the other essays, the two essays on the impact of the highway on Native people are significant because they offer us forty years of perspective on a topic of ongoing interest. The first of these essays, by Kenneth Coates, focuses on the impact of the highway on Indians living in

the southern Yukon from its commencement in 1942 until 1950. Coates draws on both government records and anecdotal sources in attempting to piece together an understanding of the impacts on Indians' livelihood, employment, health, demographics, alcohol use, crime, and education. He offers a mixed view of the impact of the highway, suggesting that the impacts "were much more ambiguous than have usually been asserted." For example, he finds that while contractors were reluctant to employ Native workers except as guides or labourers, Native people were also reluctant to abandon their subsistence economy in favour of longer-term jobs. Coates also identifies the difficulty of separating the impacts of the highway from those of the fluctuating prices of furs and of expanded government programs (such as the introduction of family allowances). He finds the most clear-cut evidence of impact in the "staggering infant mortality rate and...overall decline in population."

Julie Cruikshank's essay is very similar in topic to that of Coates, but is different in approach and conclusions and covers a longer time period. Basing her analysis primarily on interviews carried out since 1968 for the Yukon Native Languages Project, Cruikshank not only feels that the construction project had a large immediate impact (notably on health and mortality), but argues that it had major long-term impacts on Indian social institutions and on the relationship between Indians and the land. She identifies the movement of Native people from their traditional areas to the vicinity of the new highway, intermarriage and sexual relations between construction workers and Native women, the increased role of Canadian educational and justice systems in making decisions affecting Native people, and arbitrary new systems governing trapping and hunting as some of the ways in which traditional Indian institutions were weakened or destroyed. Both authors identify a tendency on the part of Native people to focus on the Alaska Highway as the source of a wide range of current social and economic problems. But unlike Coates, Cruikshank tends to agree with this view, arguing that the transportation and communications corridor provided by the highway led directly to increased government intrusions into the lives of Native people.

Each of the essays has its strengths and weaknesses. Coates' strength is that he draws on a wide variety of sources and attempts to provide a well-rounded view of what occurred during a specified period, a difficult task given data limitations for the period. Cruikshank's strength is her presentation of a well-written, integrated description of what happened based upon a deep understanding of Native life and culture.

Unfortunately, Coates' argument is weakened at times by poor presentation of his data. For example, the presentation of key data on Native mortality rates is confusing. While the Yukon mortality data is presented in

a table as absolute numbers, rates per 1,000 are given in the text only for British Columbia and for Canada. His textual discussion of infant mortality rates does not match his table; in fact the table does not support his hypothesis as it shows higher percentages of Native infant deaths in 1940 than in 1942 or 1944.

Both Coates and Cruikshank would benefit from more complete trend and comparative analysis of their data. For example, Coates often begins a series of annual figures with 1940, but this provides little baseline for comparison when the impact is supposed to have happened in 1942. Moreover, the debate over whether the Alaska highway was the key ingredient affecting the Native population might be clarified if more comparative data concerning other Native groups in other parts of Canada was examined.

Because Cruikshank depends on the retrospective views of Native people who are recalling something akin to a golden age prior to the intrusion of the highway, her presentation seems incomplete. For example, if Indian society was functioning so well prior to the construction of the highway, why were so many Native people attracted to the towns along the highway, why were they suffering from such high rates of tuberculosis, and why were Native women apparently quite ready to form liaisons with soldiers and construction workers? A description of the changing nature and forces acting on Native society prior to the construction project and a review of what has happened to Native people in other areas of Canada might help to address these questions.

In the end, the juxtaposition of the two essays in the context of this collection serves as a useful introduction to the question of the impact of the Alaska Highway on Native people, and may help others to at least frame the questions for examining the impacts of more current developments.

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Dippie, Brian W.: *Catlin and His Contemporaries: The Politics of Patronage*. Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1990. xix + 535 pp. Preface, Black and White Photos, 16 Colour Plates, Maps, Bibliography, Notes, Index. ISBN: 0-8032-1683-1.

*Catlin and His Contemporaries: The Politics of Patronage* contextualizes Catlin and his "Gallery" in a patronage game of unrelenting competition with his contemporaries. George Catlin (1796-1872) was an 19th century American painter who attempted to capture Indian culture and environment in art and artifacts. He anticipated the impending smothering contact with non-Natives which would drastically alter these pristine cultures. He diligently assembled paintings, artifacts and notes into what became known as "Catlin's Indian Gallery". He spent a lifetime trying to capitalize on his collection of paintings and writings by obtaining the patronage of the American government. Through fruitless years of seeking to sell his "Gallery" to the government, he supported himself by repainting his portfolio and exhibiting it in Britain and Europe. He died destitute, lame and stone deaf.

One of his contemporaries and harshest maligners was the antiquarian and anthropologist Henry Rowe Schoolcraft, who dismissed Catlin's knowledge of the west as that of a "mere tourist". Catlin, although not a great painter, was unrelenting in seeking to portray Native peoples and cultures accurately. He was a romantic, a cultural relativist, and an astute observer of both Indian and non-Indian life. He made detailed notes and observations and significant collections of pipes, weapons and other examples of material and ideological culture. One senses that if he had been more discreet, or exercised more tact, he might have achieved his patronage goals. At least he would have had fewer enemies among his contemporaries. Catlin was good at what he attempted but the competition was fierce, especially in Washington.

This is an outstanding book. It is well written, copiously documented, beautifully illustrated and footnoted. For the student of history, it will perhaps become the definitive work on George Catlin. It certainly contextualizes him within the pushes and pulls of his time, history, society and culture. These were historically and ideologically complex times with the dislocation and disruption of Native peoples and cultures, and nation building in the United States, proceeding on parallel tracks. It is excellent history and art history. For students of American politics both Catlin himself and his contemporaries and competitors are analyzed in depth. Dippie leaves few, if any, stones unturned. He highlights personalities, their wives, their diverse political and academic networks, and illuminates and positions everyone in the ideology of the times not to mention the patronage game. For students of anthropol-

ogy, Henry Rowe Schoolcraft is an omnipresent contemporary and competitor of Catlin in the patronage game. Schoolcraft was successful in his patronage aspirations. In fact he would become the most respected authority on Native culture of his day. Schoolcraft denigrated Catlin's works, which raises the old question of the relationship between art and ethnology. Nevertheless in the end game of patronage, Schoolcraft, the academic, Seth Eastman the military painter, and the American Fur Company and friends prevailed where Catlin failed. The book bristles with other possible questions but it remains consistent and returns to the touchstone of patronage.

This book is an excellent treatment of the non-Native political times and the non-Native players. It will undoubtedly serve as a valuable source of references to anyone reconstructing the Natives' part in the history of this and subsequent periods. Despite the 400 pages of text and copious end notes, one senses that only the surface of a complex reality has been cleared and it will subsequently be mapped and mined again and again. Dippie effectively portrays the intersecting of numerous mid-century luminaries around the dual issues of patronage and Indians. The dust jacket has a quote from William H. Goetzmann, Pulitzer Prize winning author and Stiles Professor of American Studies at the University of Texas, Austin, with which most readers will probably agree. He says this is... "The best book in American cultural history that I have read in the last twenty-five years. Dippie's organization and presentation of a very complex subject is a dazzling performance, fully matched by his brilliant and evocative writing."

George Catlin was in many ways an exceptional individual. He recognized Indian artifacts as works of art and he wanted to record the West in its pristine state before it was spoiled by the spread of the United States to the Pacific. He criticized the United States government's Indian policy and the American Fur Company's role in western expansion. His second career was the interpretation of Native culture based on his "Gallery". He strove to have the "Gallery" purchased by the U.S. Federal Government as a national treasure. It was acquired by the Smithsonian Institution seven years after his death.

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George Bird Grinnell: *Pawnee Hero Stories and Folk Tales*. 1889, (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1990), 2nd reprint. xiii + 417 pp, \$11.95 (U.S.), paperback.

*Pawnee Hero Stories and Folk Tales* is the second reprint of the 1889 edition of George Bird Grinnell's collection of notes and stories about Pawnee life. The first reprint came out thirty years ago in 1961; thus this second reprint by Bison Books offers readers a welcome renewed opportunity to acquire a first rate eyewitness account of mid-to-late nineteenth-century Pawnee culture.

George Bird Grinnell (1849-1938) was a writer and ethnologist. His interest in osteology through fossil-hunting expeditions brought him into contact with the Pawnee and other Native people in 1870. Grinnell combined an avid interest in the natural history and conservation of the American west (he secured legislation which protected Yellowstone from despoliation, formed the first Audubon Society, and helped to create Glacier National Park among other things) with an equally avid interest in the Aboriginal peoples of the area. He was close personal friends with individuals of many tribes, in particular the Blackfeet, the Cheyenne, and the Pawnee, with whom he lived for a time in the early 1870s. The material in *Pawnee Hero Stories and Folk Tales* is the result of Grinnell's close association with the Pawnees over nearly twenty years. It is an invaluable collection of the oral history and folklore of a people whose old ways were rapidly being replaced by new. Certainly, Grinnell is owed a debt for preserving these oral accounts as he did before they were lost.

Grinnell's original text is divided into four parts: an introduction, hero stories, folk tales, and extensive notes on various aspects of Pawnee life. The notes comprise nearly half of the text and cover such topics as the origins and early history of the Pawnees, their relationships with other tribes, methods of warfare, and religious beliefs and practices. Grinnell's style is forceful. The description of a summer buffalo hunt in which Grinnell participated is as vivid a piece of narration as one will find. There is extremely little on the Pawnee language, but as Grinnell himself notes, "that is a subject which is sufficiently important to deserve a volume by itself" (p.212). Several drawings of objects from everyday life accompany the notes.

There are eight hero stories and thirteen folk tales. The difference between the hero stories and folk tales is not always apparent, but the hero stories concern people who were alive within the living memory of those Pawnee who related the story to Grinnell, or with whom Grinnell was acquainted. The folk tales, in contrast, generally do not have such a specific time reference, although there are exceptions such as the story of the Buffalo Caller, a man known to two of Grinnell's Pawnee contacts. Hero

stories are about the brave deeds of the Pawnees, usually in conflict with their traditional enemies, the Comanche, the Cheyenne, and the Sioux, but sometimes acting as peacemakers. Some of the stories recount their services as scouts for the U.S. cavalry. Relatively few of the stories describe battles, however, as strategy, stealth, and the outwitting of the opponent—realized in the removal of the opponent's property—are the true marks of bravery in these stories.

The folk tales appear to be a melange of many elements. There are ghost stories, etiological stories, magical transformation stories, and many motifs familiar to readers of folk tales from any culture. Three of the stories, for instance, are rags to riches tales, and eight have animals which aid the humans in some way. The one element which all the folk tales share to some degree is the supernatural. Many of the stories involve life after death, or the hero returning from the dead by some wondrous means.

The text shows its age in its introduction and the occasional editorial remark in the notes. When Grinnell pleads with White readers to make allowances for an uncivilized, barbarian race, the modern reader can only wince:

As a rule, perhaps they try to act up to their idea of what is right, but the standard of a race of barbarians cannot be the same as that of a civilized people, and in judging of their character we must make allowances for this difference. The standard of right and wrong among civilized people is a growth, the product of the experience of thousands of years. The Indian races have not been through a like experience. They have regarded as virtues some things which seem to us the worst of crimes. The Indian differs from the white man in education and manner of life, and so, of course, in his modes of thought. He has not been taught the lesson of self-control, which his surroundings oblige each civilized man to begin to learn as a child (pp.14-15).

One of Grinnell's avowed purposes in editing *Pawnee Hero Stories and Folk Tales* is to dispel myths among Whites about Indians as either lazy, filthy beggars, or as simple children of nature. Unfortunately, Grinnell does not question the supposed superiority of his culture over theirs, and the resultant condescending tone at times intrudes into the text. Fortunately, these lapses are rare. Grinnell avoids moralizing on aspects of Pawnee life, especially those which would be unappealing to White readers such as horse stealing—a hanging offence among Whites, but an act of the utmost daring and skill among the Pawnees—but instead he takes pains to explain the behaviour. He also expresses outrage at the treatment of the Pawnee by the U.S. government:

The full history of the plot to eject the Pawnees from their

northern home may never be recorded, for there are few men alive who know the facts. If it should be written there would be disclosed a carefully planned and successfully carried out conspiracy to rob this people of their lands. This outrage has cost hundreds of lives, and an inconceivable amount of suffering, and is another damning and ineffacable blot on the record of the American people (p.397).

The great strength of the book lies in Grinnell's approach, as described in his introduction to his material:

The task that I have set for myself is that of a recorder. No attempt has been made to give a literary color to the hero stories and folk-tales here written out, I have scrupulously avoided putting into them anything of my own. The stories are told to the reader as they were told to me. They are not elaborated. I have tried to show how Indians think and speak, rather than to make their stories more entertaining by dressing them up to suit the civilized taste. My object in giving these narratives in their present shape is to make a book which shall be true to life, and shall faithfully reflect the Pawnee character, as the storytellers have themselves painted it (pp.11-12).

As the Pawnees speak for themselves and the stories are not tampered with, Grinnell's text possesses untold value as a source book for Pawnee ethnology. The notes too are valuable for they indicate clearly the best state of White knowledge about the Pawnees in the late nineteenth century.

This 1990 reprint includes Maurice Frink's introduction to the 1961 reprint. Frink's introduction largely concerns biographical background on Grinnell, but it too shows its age. Custer and other frontiersmen are seen as men of "heroic breed" (p. ix). Complete Native integration into White culture is regarded as inevitable, though tinged somewhat with regret. It is also White-oriented. The preservation of Pawnee traditions and values of days gone by is seen as a benefit to "us" and "our culture". To compare the attitudes of Grinnell and Frink is revealing indeed. It is surprising in fact that Bison Books did not choose to have a new introduction written, one which reflects the Native issues of today.

The true value of *Pawnee Hero Stories and Folk Tales*, however, lies where Grinnell knew it did, in its faithfulness to its Pawnee sources. This faithfulness makes it an accurate, unskewed account which in turn renders it both good reading and a most important source book.

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Kovalenko, Svetlana: *A Stride Across A Thousand Years*. Moscow: Progress Publishers. 1986, 248 pp. Forward, Black and White Photos, Paper, \$4.95 plus \$1.00 Postage and Handling. (Progress Books, 71 Bathurst Street, 3rd Floor, Toronto, Ontario, Canada, M5V 2P6.)

This is a collection of works by writers of fourteen different ethnic groups who inhabit the Soviet North and Far East. There is a wide variety of material, including interviews, parts of novels, poems, short stories, and collections of folk stories. The poems probably suffer most in translation. Often the translator uses sing-song rhyming verse which at times sounds just plain silly. The unfortunate Dolgan poetess Ogdo Aksyonova sings (p. 65):

I'm Dusya. So why should you ask?  
It's just that the tundra within me's so vast.

One gets the idea, but the expression of it does not come across too well. Hopefully, the lady will not explode. Translators also have troubles with English even in the prose. One short story speaks of "birds of pray", a species especially favored by Saint Francis, no doubt. The Mansi writer, Yuvan Shestalov, explains to us: " `Sorni-nai' means `golden heroine'. A heroine, not a broad." (p.105). In spite of these lapses, much of the material is quite interesting to read, particularly the folk tales and customs, and the descriptions of the life of each group in earlier times.

This collection obviously predates *glasnost*. Almost all of the selections are "politically correct". The October Revolution is praised to the skies in many of the works; even the title of the collection "A Stride Across a Thousand Years," comes from a piece by Shestalov in which he praises his education in Leningrad as opening up a new hunting ground where "A page is like snow. Letters are like tracks." (p. 237). Some of the writers, for example Yuri Rytkeu in *The Whale Dance*, claim that the situation of Inuit culture in Alaska and northern Canada compares unfavorably with that of Inuit in the Soviet Union. Whether this is true or not, it does seem that as early as 1925 there was a definite effort by the Soviet government to create dictionaries and written languages for minority groups of the north and far east, and also to print books in those languages. At the very least, this enables these groups to collect their folk tales, tell their history, and begin the development of their own indigenous literature in a written form.

In spite of the propagandistic tone of much of the writing, there is also some recognition of the losses produced in the transition to a modern industrialized society, even a critical ecological outlook. For example, the Khanty writer from Western Siberia, Veremei Aipin, has an old hunter lament about the invasion of an oil exploration team: "Haven't they got

enough room without coming to this small, out-of-the-way river? They'll kill all the fish, and then what'll we eat? They'll cut down and burn the forest, and where'll we hunt for animals? Life will get really bad then... ." (p. 180) Another author, Semyon Kurilov, a Yukaghir author from Eastern Siberia, laments the loss of a small island upon which grew two larch trees that were looked upon as "uncle" and "aunt" by his family. This island obviously occupied a special place in the experiences of the growing child; yet, one day, the authorities came and blew it up so as to widen and deepen the river channel for navigation by steamboats.

Overall, this is an interesting collection and well worth reading. I expect that most readers will enjoy most the folk tales of the various groups and descriptions of their everyday life. For example, the Itelmen of the Kamchatka love their pipes and even mother puts a pinch of tobacco in her cheek. If the tobacco is as Natalya Selivanova describes it, it must be an acquired taste: (p.216)

Like all the men in the settlement, father used to mix pressed tobacco with birch fungus ash. He would also add some kind of dried herb. This made the tobacco fragrant and subtle like dewberry, but the taste was like having one's tongue bitten by vicious mosquitoes.

Take that, all you politically correct non-smoking WASPS.

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Lee, Mary Madeline (Bobby): *The New Nation—Christ's Chosen People*. Privately Published. 1987, ix + 239 pp. Preface, Introduction, Black & White photos, Tables, Maps, Notes, Index.

The title of Mary Madeline (Bobby) Lee's book, *The New Nation—Christ's Chosen People*, suggests the promise of apocalyptic revelation (the title is taken from Riel) but delivers something only a little less rare: history that is at once personal yet epochal, free of pomposity and self justification, yet well documented and of potential value to scholars in the field. This is a book of family history; a work of tender idealism and fond hope. To assess this work of dedication as amateurish or naive is to leave its real purpose and value unrecognized.

In 19 short chapters, Ms. Lee attempts to “tell the story” of her Métis ancestors and the establishment of a Métis nation in the Canadian West. The story includes chapters on both the French and English fur traders, the voyageurs, missionaries, early settlements in the West, especially delightful chapters such as “Troubles With The Hudson’s Bay Company” and “Music, Dancing and Horse Racing,” and a particularly interesting introduction, epilogue, and appendix. While limited by a narrow and perhaps uncritical selection of sources, Ms. Lee succeeds in providing a genuinely felt and truly charming account of people and events. Not surprisingly, this is a “telling” of history that is not at all dependent on rigorous presentation of evidence, argument, and analysis. The sheer charm of this work, however, is more persuasive than rigour.

The work is organized as a series of quizzically ordered vignettes, the subjects of which appear to have been chosen on the basis of their relevance to the author’s personal family history, availability of information, or simply on the strength of their appeal as “storytelling” material. This is, nonetheless, a rich and absorbing book offering the reader considerably more than the directness and charm of non-academic historical writing. It contains thumbnail sketches of selected personalities, particularly interesting insights into “growing up Métis,” as well as a useful appendix containing extensive, thoroughly researched geneological tables covering the author’s ancestral families (going back to the 14th century in some cases). This includes branches of some of western Canada’s oldest and most distinguished families such as the Armstrongs, Ballendens, Bruneaus, Cardinals, Dumonts, and others.

Ms. Lee’s story comes with “vision” as well. It is a vision of the Métis as a nation of unique religious “destiny”. The character of Riel’s faith (or personal stability) is not scrutinized. It is accepted as, of course, tenacious, but also transcendent and, most importantly, as indicative of a religious dimension that defines the Métis as a people. One wishes that Ms. Lee had dealt more thoroughly with Riel, the circumstances leading to the Rebellion of 1885, and with the Rebellion itself. This is not political history, however, and makes no claim to continuity or “sweep.” Both scope and focus may seem a bit whimsical at times, but this is a matter better understood as a component of the stylistics of genre than weakness in discipline.

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Nichols, John D. (Editor): *"Statement Made by the Indians": A Bilingual Petition of the Chippewas of Lake Superior, 1864*. London, Ontario: University of Western Ontario, Centre for Research and Teaching of Canadian Native Languages, Text + Monograph Series—Number 1: Studies in the Interpretation of Canadian Native Languages and Cultures, 1988, pp. vi + 108, Ojibwe—English glossary, abbreviations and codes, ISBN 0-7714-1047-6.

Nichols, John D. (Editor): *An Ojibwe Text Anthology*. London, Ontario: University of Western Ontario, Centre for Research and Teaching of Canadian Native Languages, Text + Monograph Series—Number 2: Studies in the Interpretation of Canadian Native Languages and Cultures, 1988, pp. xvii + 292, abbreviations and codes, ISBN 0-7714-1046-8.

These two volumes, edited by John D. Nichols of the University of Manitoba, represent the first in a new series of monographs presented by the Centre for Research and Teaching of Canadian Native Languages at the University of Western Ontario. The goal of the series is to foster high quality scholarship in the interpretation of texts in Native Canadian languages and to disseminate to the scholarly and general publics studies that demonstrate the literary value, cultural significance, and theoretical interest of text-based analyses.

Nichols' volumes successfully fulfill these requirements. Volume Number 1, "Statement Made by the Indians", presents a bilingual petition prepared in 1864 concerning grievances in the handling of treaties. The petition was presented to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs by a delegation from the Chippewas of Lake Superior. The text provides us with a secular, bilingual communication that manifests the nature of the interlinguistic contact so crucial to the making and breaking of treaties. The availability and presentation of this document in its present form provides a window into 19th century Ojibwe diplomacy and economic relationships that will be of interest to cultural anthropologists, ethnohistorians and linguists alike.

The second volume in the series, "An Ojibwe Text Anthology", presents 35 Ojibwe texts organized into seven autonomous collections. Nichols' aim was to "to make available samples of transcribed and written discourse in the Ojibwe language to students and teachers of the language and to students of Ojibwe history and society, linguistics and literature".

The collections contain great diversity in both type and dialect and represent the careful work of some of the most highly regarded Ojibwe scholars. The ten texts included in the first collection contain several

examples of the use of word play based on dialectal and bilingual Ojibwe-English knowledge that serves to reinforce community and cultural norms. In the second collection, eight Chippewa-Ottawa texts represent two forms of transference from the oral to the written form: texts transcribed and translated by the non-Native speaking linguist and those which are not transcriptions but examples of creative writing with only a standardization of the orthography added on.

The third and fourth collections of texts, from Parry Island and Birch Island respectively, focus upon "traditional histories," or oral histories from an Ojibwe point of view. The fifth and sixth texts offer single translations of two types of documents. The former is a summary of the adverse effects of mercury intoxication, translated from English into both phonetic and syllabic Ojibwe. The latter is the transcription of the narration from a documentary film on the making of a birch bark canoe. The seventh and final collection presents two traditional Wenabozho stories from Michigan dictated by Frank Pine in the 1920's and transcribed by Truman Michelson.

The above brief summary of the contents of Nichols' second volume makes evident the great diversity of texts presented and, subsequently, the many uses to which this material can be put. Another aspect of both volumes that is indicative of their future significance is the format in which each text is presented. Each text appears in three forms. First, the running Ojibwe text is presented on the left, with the English translation on the facing page. Second, Nichols provides an interlinear text containing some grammatical codes and word by word glosses. Finally, at the bottom of the page is a running English translation of the text. Providing these three separate forms of each text enables scholars from all fields to gain access to the narratives' inner workings whatever their final intentions might be.

Nichols states in his introduction to Volume II that most likely no one will be completely satisfied with the texts as they are presented here, as interests and reasons for reading and consulting Native texts are so diversified. The texts were solicited in traditional form and the editor felt that the texts' significance warranted their immediate availability rather than delaying their publication for want of the "perfect form". I would agree with this reasoning and, due to Nichols' careful presentation of the texts, there is certainly plenty of room for anyone to work with the texts as presented, regardless of their interests or scholarly leanings.

While the texts in their present form offer many opportunities for further study, I am concerned by the lack of rigorous attention and consistency paid to the translations of texts from the Ojibwe to the English. There are numerous examples of individual words, usually but not always initial particles, that are translated one way in the interlinear translation and either another way in the running translation at the foot of each page or not at all.

*Mii dash*, usually translated as *then*, also appears translated as “and then”, “and”, “however”. At times, there is no translation for this term at all.

Another example of inconsistent translation that particularly stood out was the handling of the term *giiwenh*. As the authors of the first chapter explain in their introduction, *giiwenh* is a rhetorical expression indicating that the teller is not personally responsible for the information being told. Typical English translations of this word are “it is rumoured that” or, “so the story goes”. Despite the significance and reoccurrence of this term in these stories as well as in many traditional Ojibwe narratives where its use varies significantly by narrator, a translation for *giiwenh* will often not appear in the running translation, only in the interlinear one. Even in the situation mentioned above, where the author has brought the reader's attention to the presence of the term, *giiwenh* is omitted from the translation.

These kind of subjective, informal decisions made by a translator certainly affect the final presentation, especially for the reader who does not have access to the Ojibwe original or to an interlinear translation. This informal and liberal approach to translation only perpetuates the anachronistic attitude towards Native texts, that we need to Westernize or “make the text more readable” for it to be understood by a non-Native audience. Richard Rhodes even states in his introduction to the Chippewa-Ottawa Texts that he has “taken much liberty to supply implied or assumed information that may not be clear to non-Indians” (page 33). While I would certainly agree that information supplied in Native American narratives can at times be elliptical, or the repetition of rhetorical markers may appear redundant from a non-insider's point of view, it is presumptuous to undertake omissions or additions without clearly marking these changes in the translation. If one of our goals in presenting and working with Native texts is to increase their legitimacy as significant literary forms, then we need to pay meticulous attention not only to the linguistic forms, but to the rhetorical intentions of the narrator as well.

Despite the above-stated concern in regard to consistencies in translation, this collection of 35 texts is of invaluable use to scholars interested in Ojibwe culture, history, language and literature. Educators and students alike, both Native and non-Native, will also find this collection very useful for classroom study as it provides such a large and varied group of texts with which to work.

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Olson, Paul A. (Editor): *The Struggle for the Land: Indigenous Insight and Industrial Empire in the Semiarid World*, Lincoln, Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 1990. x + 317 pp. Preface , Introduction, Maps, References, Index, Contributors. ISBN 0-8032-3555-0.

This edited book is the result of a 1986 symposium held at the University of Nebraska which focused on the meaning of the Plains Indian past for the present. The papers included in the text concentrate upon those adaptive strategies and land use activities which Aborigines have carried out in semiarid regions of the world. The papers also focus on the environmental and ecological changes to these areas brought about by technology introduced by colonizing forces. The contributions by a number of international scholars focus on the great plains in the U.S.A., as well as semiarid regions in Africa, Australia and Central Asia.

The book is divided into four parts, each with a distinctive concern. The editor presents a short essay before each section dealing with Great Plains issues; this is followed by additional essays dealing with the same (or related) issues elsewhere in the world. Part One deals with the history of land use and how Aboriginal people become sedentarized. Its central theme is to identify the effects of this displacement and reaction. Part Three moves from a concern with land issues to institutions for exploiting the land. Here the focus shifts from Indigenous peoples to the imposed institutional structures which were put in place by the colonizers so as to exploit Native resources as well as to integrate Natives into the domestic economy. These structures vary as one moves from country to country, e.g., group ranches in Kenya, base camps in Australia, reservations in the U.S.A. The last part of this small tome looks at the role Native religion has played in the lives of Native people in semiarid regions of the world over the past century.

The authors who have contributed to this edited volume represent diverse backgrounds. Lawyers, economists, anthropologists, environmentalists, historians, and sociologists are included, just to name a few. This diversity in disciplines is reflected in the articles so that a single Great Plains issue is dealt with from a number of perspectives. This diversity also presents a problem in that the reader is unable to select areas of concern or areas of the world and then compare issues, a point noted by the author in his concluding chapter. Nevertheless, the authors consistently deal with the themes outlined at the start of the book.

The authors achieve consensus in noting that problems facing the Great Plains must be dealt with at the structural level, focusing on the role of technology and resources. Thus far, industrial countries have exploited natural resources without concern for the land or its Aboriginal inhabitants. The contributors point to the need of developing technology within the

constraints of sustainable lifeways as well as the values and religious structures of Aboriginal peoples. The constant pressure to "produce more" has led to a technology applied to the Great Plains areas of the world with increasing devastation of the ecological structure of this environment. This in turn has had long term negative impacts upon the people who live there.

The greatest difficulty of this book is the inability of each author to leave his or her jargon behind as they write on an issue. As readers move from one chapter to the next, they will have to change "mindsets" as they enter a new area of the world from a different perspective. This process is reduced somewhat if one stops at the end of each chapter and allows a week before moving on to the next. Nevertheless, this annoying aspect of the book is overshadowed by the thorough assessment and analytical perspective utilized by each author. It is an excellent volume and students will find the book well written and informative.

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Prucha, Francis Paul (Editor:) *Documents of United States Indian Policy, Second Edition*, Expanded. Lincoln, Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 1990. xi + 338 pp. Preface, Preface to Second Edition, Appendices, Select Bibliography, Index. ISBN 0-8032-8726-7.

Francis Paul Prucha throughout his long and productive career has assumed the mantle of the foremost historian of United States Indian/non-Indian relations. His monumental, capstone survey, *The Great Father* (1984), summarized many episodes and interpretations first examined in his numerous monographs ranging from missionary to military relations with Indian nations. His encyclopedic approach also incorporated many insights from the burgeoning literature of Indian history and ethnohistory. Thoroughly committed also to producing the kinds of instructional tools needed for teaching Indian/non-Indian relations, Prucha has also recently published an atlas of Indian Affairs (1990). Another important contribution, the book under review, first published in 1975 in paperback and now in its second edition, is Prucha's selection of 161 important documents reflecting the changes in policy of the United States government toward Indians. Many of the documents included in the initial selection were abridged to reduce each to only the most important sections, making available the

essential discourse to students and instructors alike, if they were not able to have access to the original sources. Prucha provides a brief introductory paragraph of context for each document.

In the new second edition of this collection, Prucha provides both an update and a number of additional documents from earlier periods. The expansion includes 35 new selections ranging from the Indian Education Act of June 23, 1972, to the Indian Gaming Regulatory Act of October 17, 1988. Some of the significant new inclusions are the Extension of Indian Preference in Employment, June 26, 1972; the Establishment of the American Indian Policy Review Commission, January 2, 1975 and the final report, May 17, 1977; the American Indian Religious Freedom (Act), August 11, 1978; the Federal Acknowledgement of Indian Tribes, October 2, 1978; the Indian Child Welfare Act, November 8, 1978; *United States v. Sioux Nation of Indians*, June 30, 1980; Maine Indian Claims Settlement Act, October 10, 1980; Indian Policy: Statement of Ronald Reagan, January 24, 1983; and Report of the Taskforce on Indian Economic Development, July 1986. The two selections from earlier periods not included in the first edition, the legal decision, *Winters v. United States*, January 6, 1908, and Authorization of Appropriations and Expenditures for Indian Affairs (Synder Act), November 2, 1921, are added as appendices. Finally, a revised selected bibliography is provided as a guide for readers who might wish to pursue further historical context for any of the selections.

The importance of such a compendium of critical documents for teaching purposes cannot be stressed enough. Unfortunately, a volume in this format for Canadian Indian policy is not currently available. Such a companion volume of selected primary documents could particularly enhance textual comparisons between the United States and Canada of the discourse of legal and policy statements, and performative actions, directed towards Indians. These would enrich the instruction of courses in Canadian and United States Indian history. Prucha is to be commended for his service to the instruction of the historical record about Indian/non-Indian relations, a large portion of which he has helped to compile. The University of Nebraska Press should be praised for recognizing the importance of such editions. This volume belongs on the reference shelf of every Indianist scholar in North America, and in classrooms for students of Indian history.

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Robinson, Harry (compiled and edited by Wendy Wickwire): *Write it on Your Heart: The Epic World of an Okanagan Storyteller*. Vancouver, B.C.: Talon Books, 1989, ISBN 0-88922-273-8, photos, 320 pp., \$18.95 paper.

"[T]his is my job," says Harry Robinson, "I'm a storyteller" (p. 14). Wendy Wickwire's book contains 23 stories, all recorded in English, and transcribed to retain the narrator's natural rhythms of speech. A short introduction describes the circumstances under which the stories were collected, a brief biography of Harry, and some analysis.

The stories are arranged chronologically, beginning with the *chap-TEEKwhl* or mythological accounts. These include a three-part creation story (which shows Whites to have been liars and thieves from the beginning!) and six Coyote stories. Wickwire recognizes an "intertwining of Christian and ancient native themes" in the stories (pp. 16, 18-20, 25). For her, this is not problematic, because the storyteller's world is a living world (p. 22), and this is "a book of native stories, not a non-native analysis of the stories" (p. 17).

The more recent *shmeeMAee* or historical narratives include descriptions of pre-contact life, stories of power, and contacts with Whites (including Harry's version of Puss in Boots!).

Harry's story of trading a tall pile of furs for a gun and "cheating the Indian" (p. 243) is a familiar and widespread theme, just one example of what oral literature can teach armchair historians (and popular writers like Peter C. Newman).

There is no particular reason to organize the stories chronologically; this only reflects non-Native notions of chronology. Indeed, the context and order in which they were narrated would have been an interesting story of the unfolding friendship between Wickwire and Robinson.

*Write It On Your Heart* is a rich "celebration" of one old man named Harry Robinson. Thanks to Harry, who realized, "I'm going to disappear, and there'll be no more telling stories," and to Wendy Wickwire, we can all sense Harry's dignity and enjoy some of his stories.

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Ronda, James P.: *Lewis and Clark Among the Indians*. Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1985, xvii + 310 pp. Preface, Black and White Photos, Maps, Bibliography, Notes, Index, Afterword. Cloth, \$24.95. ISBN: 0-8032-3870-3.

Many books have been written about the Lewis and Clark expedition to the Pacific. The Indian people encountered by the "Voyage of Discovery" have too often been treated as just one of a number of natural elements observed and dealt with along the way.

This book by James P. Ronda tells the tale of the expedition once again, but with the Indian people and culture as the central focus. The result is a valuable commentary on a number of Indian tribes and their interrelations on the eve of renewed American westward expansion. Equally, we obtain a new assessment of the strengths and shortcomings of Lewis and Clark as observers and diplomats among the Indians.

Prior to Lewis and Clark, the fur trade motivated most of the far west exploration in North America. Promotion of American fur commerce was only one element of the assignment given by President Jefferson to Captain Meriwether Lewis and Lieutenant John Clark. The expedition members were to gather information about the Indians, geography, flora and fauna of scientific interest. They were also to announce and reinforce United States sovereignty in the newly-acquired Louisiana Territory by their presence and diplomacy.

Consistent with their instructions, Lewis, Clark and several others in the party kept detailed chronicles of their progress and collected extensive information both on the land they travelled and its inhabitants. These records are, understandably, James Ronda's major source.

Ronda ably supplements these sources, however, with other secondary and primary materials. These allow the author to assess the ability of Lewis and Clark as ethnographers of Indian life. They also enable Ronda to provide a fuller, more sensitive picture of the Indian reality than Lewis and Clark, with their cultural biases and limited understanding, were able to present. This is one of the major strengths of the book.

As ethnographers, Lewis and Clark did best in describing the externals of Indian culture. They had ample opportunity in the first winter, for example, to observe the Mandan and Hidatsa Indians, who were important as agriculturalists to the upper Missouri trade system. With these peoples, as with others met along the way, the expedition learned much about the material culture, but fell short in understanding some less tangible areas, such as Indian ceremonial and religious life.

Lewis and Clark saw the Chinook west coast Indian people as ingrained thieves, while Ronda sets the pilfering on that part of the journey in a more

understanding cultural context. The shrewd trading practices of both the west coast Indians and the Shoshoni horse traders aroused resentment in the explorers, but how different was this from fur trader norm? Lewis and Clark judged the Indian tribes by stereotypes of desirable physical appearance; by this measure, the squat Chinookan Indians did not fare well. In these and other ways, Lewis and Clark's observations were flawed by the influence of their cultural perspectives and by their conviction of superiority.

Moving beyond the judgments made by members of the expedition, Ronda presents a more balanced picture of the Indian peoples. As the author depicts them, the Indians understood their geopolitical needs in a way Lewis and Clark did not. They followed differing lifestyles well suited to varying environments and resources, and they understood the importance of trade relationships to their survival and prosperity.

Lewis and Clark were confident they could alter Indian tribal relationships to suit American aims, but, as Ronda points out, the success they thought they experienced was illusory. The complementary Arikara/Sioux trading relationship was too fundamental, for example, to succumb to Lewis and Clark's blandishments and the pressure the explorers applied because of their misguided view of the situation.

In exploring the interaction between the Lewis and Clark expedition and the Indian peoples, this book invites some judgment on the behaviour of both. The Indian tribes followed their interests as they understood them; that led to tribal reactions that ranged from attempts to stop the expedition's progress, to the indifference of at least some of the west coast Indians, to the active cooperation of the Shoshonis and Nez Perce, who felt their future depended upon guns obtained through the American trade network.

Meriwether Lewis, John Clark and the other members of the Voyage of Discovery emerge as men of their day, as being as sympathetic and understanding of Indians and their cultures as might be expected. Blocked in their efforts to obtain sufficient canoes through trade to begin the journey home, the expedition stole a west coast Indian canoe. This was the most blatant departure from their usual treatment of Indians consistent with accepted values of the time.

The real threat to the Indian peoples was posed, as Ronda darkly suggests, by the traders, bureaucrats, ranchers and farmers who would steadily push west in the years following the Lewis and Clark expedition. This book provides important insights into the nature of western American Indian cultures before that expansion had its impact. The presentation in *Lewis and Clark Among the Indians* is well organized, and the book is replete with important and interesting information and insights. The author has accomplished all this within an immensely readable account of the expedition and its "Indian" significance.

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Suttles, Wayne (Editor): *Handbook of North American Indians: Northwest Coast* (Volume 7), Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1990, xv + 777 pp.

Here it is, at long last, the book that everyone with an interest in Northwest Coast Native cultures has been waiting for. At least nineteen years in the making,<sup>1</sup> this volume in the *Handbook of North American Indians* series will undoubtedly serve as **the** source of information on cultures in this area for many years to come. Most of the articles are very well written and informative, but alas, there is also much that is poorly presented, incomplete, and sometimes questionable or misleading. The quality of the articles is inconsistent. Typographical errors are numerous. Reviewing each of the fifty-eight articles is out of the question, so I will keep to the more salient points.

The volume is very well laid out, with five introductory articles, including the general introduction by Suttles which has some wonderful drawings of indigenous tools, house styles, and canoe types. The other chapters in this section cover "Environment" "Languages," "Human Biology," and "Cultural Antecedents" for the entire Northwest Coast culture area as described in the volume. These articles are generally clear and easily grasped by the layman, except for some of the tables and technical terms in Cybulski's "Human Biology"; similarly, the non-linguist may have some trouble with the technical descriptions in "Languages" by Thompson and Kinkade.

The remainder of the volume is divided into four sections: History of Research, History of Contact, The Peoples (which comprises two-thirds of the book), and Special Topics. This is the layout of a good reference book: topics are readily identifiable and easy to find (there is also a detailed index). One also finds tables of a Technical Alphabet, and English Pronunciations, which are very useful since many Native names and terms are written using the technical alphabet. A most useful feature is the Sources section included at the end of many of the articles, which directs the reader to research available on the subject. Of course, the articles in the History of Research section provide extensive references to earlier work as well.

As Suttles points out in the Introduction, some cultures described in the volume are not in what is generally considered to be the Northwest Coast Culture Area: the Eyak in the north; and, in the Plateau area of Washington and Oregon, the Cowlitz, Chinookans of the Portland Basin, Kalapuya, Upper Umpqua, and Takelma. It is hard to judge whether or not they should be included. Suttles explains: "The boundaries between the areas covered by volume 7 [Northwest Coast], 8 [California], and 12 [Plateau] were determined by the volume editors on the basis of a combination of cultural criteria and practical considerations" (p.1). Unfortunately these "criteria" and "considerations" are not given. And since the *Plateau* volume hasn't come out yet, one wonders why these Plateau peoples cannot be included in it.

I also don't agree with the editor's choice of using "long-established English names" (p.15) for peoples such as the Nuxalk (Bella Coola), Kwakwaka'wakw (Kwakiutl), and Nuu-chah-nulth (Nootka). These newer names, along with Heiltsuk for the Bella Bella, have been chosen by the peoples themselves out of a desire to discard the old labels; they were not devised simply for their "symbolic value" (ibid.). As mentioned above, this book will serve as a major reference for many years to come, so let's get these names into the literature! This is the only way they will achieve currency. Besides, most people have had problems spelling Kwakiutl anyway (or is it Kwagiulth, Kwagewlth, Kwawkewth...?) (cf. Macnair, 1986:501); and uninformed people tend to confuse Bella Coola and Bella Bella, or worse, assume the cultures to be similar (or the same?) just because their names are similar.

A look at the articles themselves shows a vast range in levels of quality. Most of "Languages" by Thompson and Kinkade is certainly written for the specialist in linguistics, but much can be gleaned from it by the non-expert as well, especially in the sections 'Prehistory' and 'Survival of Languages.' Other chapters that give the most extensive reporting on the subjects they deal with are Suttles' article on "Environment," Blackman's "Haida: Traditional Culture," Carlson's "Cultural Antecedents," Halpin and Seguin's "Tsimshian Peoples," Hobler's "Prehistory of the Central Coast of B.C.," Kennedy and Bouchard's "Bella Coola," Mitchell's "Prehistory of the Coasts of Southern B.C. and Northern Washington," Arima and Dewhirst's "Nootkans of Vancouver Island," and Suttles and Lane's "Southern Coast Salish." Then you have Codere's "Kwakiutl: Traditional Culture," and Holm's "Kwakiutl: Winter Ceremonies" which are in a class by themselves, being at the same time scholarly and fascinating. One is tempted to answer the charge that too much emphasis is generally placed on the Kwakwaka'wakw among the Northwest Coast cultures by the fact there have been so many great writers on the subject, and this volume is no exception. And in the Special

Topics section, Hymes' "Mythology," along with Holm's "Art," must be included in this category, although they are more general because they deal with the entire Northwest Coast culture area. The other article in the Special Topics section, Amoss' "The Indian Shaker Church," is very informative and of historical interest, but seems out of place in a section that deals mostly with widespread indigenous phenomena. Would not an article on non-Christian Northwest Coast indigenous beliefs (perhaps on shamanism) be more appropriate? The Shaker Church, as evidenced from the map on page 635, did not influence much of the Northwest Coast as covered by the volume.

Some of the other articles don't meet one's expectations of giving a complete, up-to-date account of the subject. The "Haisla" article by Hamori-Torok, for example, lacks detail and presents undeveloped ideas; the section on "Environment" only talks about climate! Stearn's "Haida Since 1960," Inglis et al.'s "Tsmishian of British Columbia Since 1900," and Webster's "Kwakiutl Since 1980," do not really give a well-rounded picture of what the cultures are like today. What about the social settings? What is life like now in the communities? How does the White population fit into the picture? All three articles also mention different tribes but fail to provide maps of their present-day locations. Codere, in "Kwakiutl: Traditional Culture," does provide a map of 19th-century locations of tribes (p.360), but the contemporary band names on her chart (p.361) do not jibe with those of Webster (p.387). Upon closer inspection, one can guess that Codere's Gilford Island and Turnour Island bands are probably Webster's Kwicksutaineuk and Tlowitsis-Mumtagila respectively, but nowhere on Codere's chart can one find Webster's Tsulquate and Kwiakah bands. This inconsistency is confusing.

Other articles just don't provide enough data. Zenk's "Kalapuyans" is very cursory, doing away with technology in two sentences, for example. Similarly, his "Alseans" is really lacking in material: he gives no population figures and no subsistence base or patterns, information which can be found elsewhere (cf. Ruby and Brown, 1986:4). If this lack of detail is due to coverage of these aspects in other articles of similar, adjacent cultures, clear and specific indication of this should be given. Hilton clearly states that little or no information is available on Haihais kinship terminology or social organization (p.317), which doesn't leave one questioning whether something has been left out, missed, or should be inferred from neighbouring cultures—it just isn't there.

In some articles, authors fail to explain the reasons for some practices. For example, in "Eyak," de Laguna says: "Most [salmon] were split and smoked; some were buried to rot" (p.190). But for what reason were they "buried to rot"? Was it to make oil? Were they later unearthed and eaten?

Or was it a ceremonial act, similar to that of other Northwest Coast Aboriginal peoples who returned bones of the first caught salmon back to the river or sea (cf. p. 468)? Hajda, in "Southwestern Coast Salish," misinterprets Olson, whom she cites, when she states: "The Quinault were the northernmost people on the coast to build houses with gable roofs" (p. 508). Olson says however that the Quinault are at the northern boundary of the gable-roofed house type on "the *southern* part of the Northwest coast" (Olson, 1936:61, my italics), i.e. from Washington State south. To boot, elsewhere in the volume we find gabled-roof houses among the Northern Coast Salish in Comox, B.C. (fig. 3, p. 446); and among the Southern Coast Salish (p.491), many of whose groups are north of the Quinault. Nabokov and Easton (1989:228-229) describe gable-roof houses among the Nuuchah-nulth, Nuxalk, Kwakwaka'wakw, Tlingit, and Tsimshian.

Now to some of the photographs. The identification of individuals in older photos may be difficult as this information was often not recorded; however one can expect to see identification included in later photos. De Laguna, for one photo in "Tlingit," only describes the traditional costumes the man and boy who appear are wearing, without identifying the two individuals by name (fig. 11, p. 216). Considering the photo is cited as having been taken between 1972 and 1974, an effort could have been made to identify the people. The unidentified man carving the shaft of an arrow in Renker and Gunther's "Makah" (p. 427) is probably Young Doctor of Neah Bay (cf. Marr, 1987:59)

A photograph in Suttles and Jonaitis' "History of Research in Ethnology" identifies a Fort Rupert man at the 1904 St. Louis World's Fair as the well-known carver Bob Harris (fig.3, p.79). Cole (1985:200) also identifies this man as Bob Harris. However, a photo from the same fair of a much younger man identified as Bob Harris appears in Macnair, Hoover and Neary (1984:126), which is undoubtedly the same Bob Harris depicted in photos in Inverarity (1950:plate 262) and Rabineau (1981:32). A contemporary carver from Alert Bay identifies the man in the *Handbook* photo not as Bob Harris, but Abraham Brown, also from Fort Rupert.

Captions of other photographs present some problems as well. Arima and Dewhirst, in "Nootkans of Vancouver Island," show a picture of an old Nuuchah-nulth whaler's hat and make the claim: "Whaler's hats were not made after the early 1800s, but other conical hats done in wrapped twining with grass overlay were made until the late 1800s" (fig. 5, p. 400). Both parts of this statement are erroneous: first, the use of close wrapped twining in Nuuchah-nulth basketry, including hats, did not *start* until the late 1800s (Gogol 1980:6); and secondly, the making of whalers' hats, which had been discontinued at the beginning of the 19th century, resumed early in the 20th

century as evidenced by the hat collected by Newcombe between 1904 and 1906 (Marr, 1988:62), and the one he commissioned Ellen Curley of Opitsat to make in 1910 (Macnair, Hoover, and Neary, 1984:78, 80, 154). The difference is that the modern whalers' hats are woven in wrapped twining (the same technique used for the trinket baskets) as described by Holm (1984:49), and not in the overlaid plain twining of old. Whalers' and other hats continue to be made by the Nuuchahnulth. Today, probably the best-known maker of these "Maquinna hats" (so called after the famous Chief) is Jessie Webster of Ahousat, who learned the craft from her grandmother (Efrat and Langlois, 1978:55-56). Information differs widely on the time span during which these hats were in fact made and worn: Gunther (1972:30) would have us believe that they were a short-lived eighteenth-century fashion, while Kirk (1986:43) informs us that these hats have been in Nuuchahnulth territory for almost 3,000 years! We do know for certain that this style of hat pre-dated Maquinna by at least some 300 years, for fine examples of them from around 1500 A.D. were found at the Ozette site in Makah territory, and are now displayed in the Makah Cultural and Research Center in Neah Bay, Washington.

Although Holm's article "Kwakiutl: Winter Ceremonies" is well-written, interesting, and informative, the caption to one of the photographs (fig. 5, p. 385) is misleading. One would assume that the picture depicts two Kwakwaka'wakw dancers, as the dancers in other photos in the article are Kwakwaka'wakw (cf. fig.1, p. 382; fig. 3, p. 383; fig. 4, p. 384; fig. 6, p. 385). However, neither Steve Brown nor Jack Hudson is Kwakwaka'wakw, although the latter is Aboriginal (Tlinglit). In Holm's other article, "Art," Steve Brown is identified (not in a photo) as a contemporary non-Aboriginal artist (p. 632). In any case, one questions the ethics of Holm placing this photo of his controversial 'Kwakiutl' dance group - which he assembled in Seattle - in a volume which is supposed to depict Aboriginal culture.

In other places, the material is presented in a confusing fashion, at times the result of poor proofreading. For example, Fladmark, Ames, and Sutherland's Table 1 (p. 231) in "Prehistory of the Northern Coast of British Columbia" has the labels "B.C." and "A.D." reversed when referring to cultural sequences. Halpin and Seguin, in "Tsimshian Peoples," direct the reader to figure 14 (p. 279) after describing *wihalàit*, "great dancer." The figure however depicts the *?amhalàit* headdress of *smhalàit*, "real dancer," which is mentioned in the previous sentence. In the same article, the reader is referred to "The four villages shown on figure 1 for the Gitkateen (16a-16d)" (p.269), but figure 1 shows a map with no numbering of Gitkateen

villages or of any other villages for the matter. In Hilton's "Haihais, Bella Bella, and Oowekeeno," the maps of these peoples' 19th-century territories (p. 313) are rather confusing. One of the maps has an orientation different from that of the other two, and it is difficult to know the geographical relationship among the three areas. Having all the areas depicted on one map may have been better (or one can simply flip to the general map on p.ix!). And could Kendall please tell us what is meant by the reference to Takelma dialects "B" and "H" (p. 589)?

The typographical errors in the volume are far too numerous to list here; one of the contributors even had her name misspelled in the bibliography!<sup>2</sup> In this era of computers with spell-checking capabilities, these types of mistakes can be easily avoided, and one has the impression that the final copy of the book was put together rather hurriedly.

There is also a problem with the inconsistent spelling of 'Native/native.' Generally speaking, some people prefer to capitalize it all the time, while others don't. Some capitalize it when used as a noun, but not as an adjective. There seems to be no hard and fast rule for this, but in any case, writers should pick one method and be consistent. In the *Handbook*, to cite only one example among many, Hamori-Torok on the same page talks about "the native economy," "a Kitamaat native," "a White missionary teacher," and "Native structures" (310). Seaburg and Miller, in "Tillamook," and Kendall in "Takelma," capitalize the noun "Whites" but not "natives" (pp. 560-561, 592).

But on a lighter note, the reader is at times allowed some comic relief, even if it is not always intended. The imagination conjures up wonderful images of creatures snuggled up in bed with kelp pulled to their chins with statements like Arima and Dewhirst's: "Sea otters were hunted with harpoon or bow in kelp beds where they might be found asleep" (p. 395). Zenk is not taking any chances when he tells us unabashedly that "Kalapuyan tribes were apparently politically basically autonomous" (p. 549). And we are enticed to read on when Seaburg and Miller tell us that, among the Tillamook, "A special foreplay technique, *xâpxap*, was used when the bride was a virgin" (p. 563). Well, what was it? Translation please?

This volume of the *Handbook* will certainly be a very useful and informative reference tool in the years to come for students, professors, and other enthusiasts of Northwest Coast cultures. Most of its shortcomings seem to be due to lack of editorial rigour. If it is ever revised, it must be gone over with a fine-toothed comb to pick out all the bugs. It also presents some interesting discrepancies in material that beg to be followed up with further

research, which could lead to the production of some illuminating works in the field.

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### NOTES

1. The first meeting of the Planning Committee was in February 1971, and the first manuscript received was of Mary Lee Stearns' "Haida Since 1960" in May 1972.
2. Gloria Cranmer Webster, p. 717, in reference to J.V. Powell et al., *Learning Kwak'wala Series*.

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In the aftermath of the long hot Indian summer of 1990 this collection of three novellas (*Hearse In Snow, Red Wave, and Exposure*), published in 1989, seems particularly relevant. Unfortunately all three fall far short of contributing anything to our understanding of the current social, political, and economic trauma rampant in Native communities in Canada, nor are they very good entertainment. While Wheeler is to be commended for

venturing into deeper waters than his predecessors, it is too bad he sinks there.

*Hearse in Snow* deals with the dislocation of urban Natives, alcohol abuse, and family alienation; *Red Wave* with the spectre of urban terrorism, media exploitation, state control, and family disintegration; while *Exposure* deals with AIDS, corruption in Indian politics, nepotism, and again the disintegration of community. Aboriginal people will find little in this work that reflects the rebuilding process at work in Native communities across the country. They will find little of the Trickster's humour. They will find little Aboriginality. Rather, they will once again see themselves portrayed as the passive victims of colonialism, marginalized, disempowered, and stereotyped. You would be better entertained renting an old John Wayne movie and staying at home—and you'd learn as much about Indians.

The characters in this work are facile reflections of popular stereotypes of Indian people. The plots are clichés, giving this work all of the naivete of a comic book with none of the visual appeal. In *Red Wave*, a Native journalist assigned by the C.B.C. to cover a recent wave of bombings discovers that the head of the terrorist gang is none other than his mysterious older brother. The older brother has been driven into this life by the trauma of seeing their mother, an AIM activist, raped and killed by an R.C.M.P. officer on a lonely winter road while hitchhiking back from a demonstration. Over the years he kept this secret from his younger brother with the lie that their mother had run off on them. It turns out that the people funding the bombings are the Department of Indian Affairs and the brains behind it all is none other than the aforementioned R.C.M.P. officer. In the end it is all wrapped up with the death of the older brother. It is all a bit much.

In *Exposure*, two brothers, one dying from AIDS, return to the reserve to live out the course of the disease. This story has the potential to tell a wonderful tale of community life, support, and hope. There is the potential for immense semiotic empathy here, but once again Wheeler chooses to sink into the squalor of stereotype. The story becomes one of nepotism and rejection of Martin, the AIDS patient, by his relatives and other residents of the reserve, and of the heroic stand of his brother Kris against the rest of the reserve. This is an affirmation of the strength of the individual in the finest liberal tradition of Jack London, and like London's work it is done at the expense of Native people.

The first story in the collection, *Hearse In Snow*, had immense comic potential. If there was a place to expect to hear the voice of laughter heard among Indian people, it was in this story. Two brothers and a sister return to the reserve from the city to attend the funeral of their father, who has died tragically (in this genre nobody dies quietly in bed). The two antagonistic brothers end up trapped in a hearse in a snowstorm, with their father's

coffin. One hopes to see the shadow of the Trickster dancing around the edges here, to hear the distant howl of Coyote in the dialogue. Alas, once again Wheeler disappoints us.

Perhaps in the end the fault is not that of Wheeler but that of the Canadian literary establishment who continue to regard Indian "confessional" literature as the predominant Native voice. The success of books like Campbell's *Halfbreed* and Culleton's *April Raintree* speaks volumes about the persistence of White liberal guilt, and the exploitation of that guilt by Canadian publishers, but does little to encourage the development of young Native talent. This is not to denigrate these authors, and the place of this work in developing a national Native literature. Both Campbell and Culleton work hard at encouraging Native writers, and young Canadian Native writers, such as Lee Maracle and Jeannette Armstrong, have pushed the boundaries of the genre much further. What is lacking though is the voice of Nanabozho, that is truly Aboriginal writing, that portrays the joy and the life and the humour that Native people find even in the midst of their oppression. Currently, we need to look south to find these voices, to writers such as Louise Erdrich, Leslie Silko, and James Welch. Let us hope that in Canada we will start to write the story of life rather than allow ourselves to be co-opted into the same necrophilic dance of death that our oppressors demand we do, that we will learn to bear witness to joy rather than chronicling our destruction to satisfy the salacious desires of the White liberal voyeur.

In the end the greatest failure of Wheeler's book is that it fails to find an Aboriginal voice. It ends up poking at the same shrivelled corpse of a dead Indian that should have been laid in a coffin long ago.

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