BOOK REVIEWS


In the preface, Bolt discounts other writers of Indian-White relations as not hearing the voices of Native people themselves and acknowledges that "students of contact, whether Native or Non-Native, can only conjecture about the mental and spiritual responses of Natives as they encountered Europeans" (p.xi). Bolt focusses on the Tsimshian--more precisely the Tsimshian living at Port Simpson--and their response to the Evangelical missionary Thomas Crosby who ministered there from 1874 to 1896.

Like all students of ethnohistory, Bolt is hard pressed to find many written records from the people themselves. It is not until page 81 that one finds the intriguing quote used in the book's subtitle "small shoes for feet too large" attributed to David Leask in 1883. Crosby, on the other hand, wrote several books about his life's work, and many articles for religious journals. Bolt reconstructs the 19th century culture from anthropological sources and draws upon a current definition of "culture" to assist in his analysis. The voice of the Tsimshian of Port Simpson is very weak.

Bolt notes the enthusiasm of at least half of the Port Simpson people (that is, the number who were noted as "full church members") for Crosby's brand of Victorian Christianity with its heavy emphasis on "civilizing" the converts. Bolt states that "They made virtually no effort to resist Crosby's program to dismantle their culture" (p.61). Wording such as this is inappropriate. The term "dismantle" could apply to the destruction of the traditional houses, but not the culture. There are other weaknesses as well. The caption on Plate 18 reads, "Scene from Port Simpson, circa 1915, showing the persistence of Native culture and traditions almost twenty years after Crosby's departure." Yet this photograph was actually taken by Hastings who accompanied Indian Commissioner I.W. Powell to Port Simpson in 1879. Bolt notes that Powell remarked in 1879 "...that totem markers had virtually disappeared and that personal decorations and native ornaments now appeared only on the old" (p.65). Plate 16 is captioned "Port Simpson totem poles, 1900" but is actually a photograph of a Tlingit village.

The photograph of Rev. Thomas Crosby on the paper jacket in chiefly regalia (which became part of his personal collection) underscores the little
explored activity of early missionaries in collecting ceremonial possessions from converts (MacDonald, 1985). Crosby actively collected Port Simpson totem poles for the Smithsonian Institution and dispersed hundreds of objects from Port Simpson and other coastal peoples to large urban museums in what is now called the "dominant culture" (MacDonald, 1990).

Bolt's description of the frustration of the Port Simpson people in obtaining satisfaction for their land claims in spite of the active support of the missionary, provides insight into the aspirations of the Port Simpson people, Christian or not. The land claim is not wholly a secular issue, and the dissatisfaction of the people of Port Simpson with the paternalism of both the church and the government led to their request for the removal of the missionary. Bolt could have done more comparing the Port Simpson and Metlakatla relations between the communities and the missionaries themselves. One wonders if Crosby would have made progress without the presence of William Duncan at Metlakatla.

The interpretation of the conversion of the people of Port Simpson is biased by the types of documentation used by Bolt and available from institutional holdings. Bolt refers to the activities of some of the Port Simpson people (Sam Bennett, Robert Tate, and Peter Jones) in spreading the gospel by Mission ship, and the departure of Kate Dudoward, (who had originally invited Crosby to Port Simpson) from the Methodist Church in 1895 (pp.52-54). It is likely that much more could be said about these players, as well as the adaptive strategies of the Port Simpson people to keep vital cultural elements intact. The Port Simpson people reformatted many traditional behaviours to fit the social groups put together by the missionary, such as the musical band.

Bolt notes "It was only in later years that Crosby began to realize that Native faith contained elements which were strictly Native in origin, even though in the context of worship they appeared to be Christian" (p.110). This perspective will likely appear in future writing on the interaction between the missionaries and their Native converts, though "converts" may be the wrong word. It appears the presentation of a White style village included the co-operation of many who never declared themselves Christian.

It is at the level of personal histories, likely collected or to be collected orally, that we will hear the Port Simpson voice. Blair Stonechild recorded an alternate history to the 1885 Prairies uprising based on oral history, which until recently was unavailable outside the Native community:

Some elders did not like to tell the stories simply because it made them sad. Others did not tell their stories to any White
person, even priests, since they were afraid that these stories would be used for the profit of others (Stonechild, 1991:259).

It is likely that there are many factors key to the relationship between Rev. Crosby and the Port Simpson people that have not been described to date.

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References

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In July 1883 American ethnologist Alice C. Fletcher lay deathly ill. After five weeks she was moved to an Indian agency headquarters where she remained for eight months, still seriously ill. During this time her Omaha friends sang to her in soft voices, and she, unlike most non-Natives, came to understand the beauty and the meaning of Indian song. By 1893 she had documented 92 Omaha songs in A Study of Omaha Indian Music, first published by the Peabody Museum of American Archaeology and Ethnology.

Now, over a century later, this volume remains an invaluable source for both scholars and musicians. Fletcher's work dogs true. For the most part,
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Now, over a century later, this volume remains an invaluable source for both scholars and musicians. Fletcher’s work dogs true. For the most part,
her study is derived directly from the facts (and feelings) she so sensitively acquired while living with the Omaha. Moreover, she worked with an Omaha, Francis La Flesche, in an ethnographic team for more than forty years. He became her unofficial son and she even ensured that he would inherit her estate.

Fletcher’s work has many qualities which remain instructive for contemporary music scholars. First, she described the original setting of the songs. For example: “Song No. 39 suggests the eagle stirring, and lifting itself from the nest; as the wind blows the branches of the trees, so the Pipes are raised and the song stirs the hearts of the people” (1893:38). Second, she noted that the vocables of the song texts were unchanging and mood sensitive; that song words, often attenuated, were used figuratively rather than literally. Third, she treated Omaha singers as individual composers and discussed the related issue of song ownership. And most important, she won the love and confidence of the Omaha as she lived and worked with them. As a consequence, she was able to discover the meaning and role of music in the lives of the Omaha.

The study’s summation is set in the evolutionary paradigm so prevalent 34 years after Darwin’s publication of The Origin of the Species. Yet, while Fletcher’s ideas admit change, I’m not as convinced as Helen Myers, who wrote an otherwise excellent introduction to this republication, that Fletcher would call adoption of Euro-American culture a change for the better. How could a scholar thoroughly convinced of the savage-barbarian-civilized ladder write “The ground was still Mother Earth, the stones, the animals, the trees shared with man a common gift of life, and were his friends or foes” (1893:57)? And her final rather neutral statement lacks the ebullient Victorian belief in a better life for savages when they have acquired European ways.”The young men and women are being educated in English speech, and imbued with English thought; their directive emotion will hereafter take the lines of our artistic forms; therefore there can be no speculation upon any future development of Omaha Indian music” (1893:57).

Fletcher, an ethnologist, entrusted the technical study of the music to John C. Fillmore who was a teacher at the Milwaukee School of Music. Fillmore’s goal was to present a scientific study (another paradigm which is still with us) of Fletcher’s collection of 92 songs.

His efforts to discover the structure of Omaha music led him to overlay his own harmonic patterns on the songs. His "discovery" that "... harmony is an innate endowment of human nature..." (1893:61) may be inconclu-
sive, but should not be dismissed out of hand by music scholars. In fact, many now believe that harmony developed when humankind began singing indoors because walls concentrate sound and permit awareness of the natural overtones arising from each pitch sung. This speculation supports Fillmore’s belief that the potential for harmony is, and always was, present in all of us.

But why print Fillmore’s exercises in harmony? *Performed* with the non-Native accompaniment, the Omaha songs are no longer independent, valid expressions and it is here that the evolutionary paradigm is most reprehensible. Fletcher did assist with this work. She played the harmonized versions of the songs for the Omaha and to the team’s satisfaction the Omaha found Fillmore’s harmonization of the songs natural and satisfactory. I agree, they’re fine, but they are musically unnecessary! After 100 years of hearing European harmony, Plains Indians still sing their melodies without harmony. It seems to me that the complexity of the rhythm, phrasing and song text provide more than enough interest for most listeners.

Fillmore did pose interesting musical problems which should remain of interest to scholars. In addition, his own dislike of the sound of Indian vocal timbre led him to explore how the environment shapes music sound; he gave insight into the results of singing outdoors, amid the omnipresent prairie winds.

So, ignore the harmonies, but sing through the wonderful melodies in this collection. Hopefully, with this reprinted volume in hand, those songs which have been lost can be restored to the existing vibrant northern plains/prairie music tradition. If so, Fletcher’s description of their meaning and setting must be required reading!

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**Note**

1. This refers to the chordal structure of music, in contrast to the melodic.

Ethnoastronomy, the study of the astronomical systems of non-Western or pre-Renaissance Western people, draws its practitioners from many disciplines: anthropology, area studies from all over the world, art, astronomy, classics, epigraphy, folklore, history (including history of science), literature, mythology, psychology, religion, and symbolism. Griffin-Pierce came to her study of Navajo astronomy and its representations in sandpaintings through a tri-partite path: she is an accomplished artist, holds a Ph.D. in anthropology, and is married to a noted solar astronomer, Keith Pierce. In *Earth Is My Mother, Sky Is My Father: Space, Time, and Astronomy in Navajo Sandpainting* she relies upon her considerable background in astronomy and anthropology combined with her skills as an artist to present a beautiful, while informative, distillation of some of the interactions between Navajo sandpaintings and the cosmology written in the sky.

In Navajo cosmology, as with the belief systems of many First Nations people, there is no categorization common to Western beliefs and practices. The interconnections between earth and sky, the world on which we exist and the world that surrounds our existence, are inseparable. Similarly, representations--such as sandpaintings--of earthsky (elision intentional) participate in these interconnections in a myriad of ways that can be perplexing to those who are not First Nations people, as is Griffin-Pierce herself, being part Catawba. Griffin-Pierce illustrates the interconnections through the medium of sandpaintings linked to cosmology, to mythology, to philosophy, to everyday life, to astronomy, to concepts and space and time, and to aesthetics. Indeed, the interconnections had to be acknowledged ritually even for her to engage in the scholarly pursuits of research and, later, writing; to this end her Navajo hosts "sung over" her. and included a sacred sandpainting on which she sat during a portion of the sing, to provide protection and establish authority for her work with holy interconnections of earth and sky.

Nonetheless, not every singer on the Navajo Reservation will agree with what she says. Each singer follows his own line of authority and knowledge; while there are many similarities within these lines, there are also points of departure. Griffin-Pierce is straightforward about these disagreements as they surfaced in her own work (see esp. Chapter 6, "The Constellations as a Cultural Text," pp.142-173). The statement one hears
frequently with Athabaskans, "I learned it differently" certainly pertains here. Yet such differing lines of knowledge do not detract from the text as a whole. Rather one sees the variations possible and begins to have at least partial insight into why some might choose Singer A over Singer D for a particular ceremony.

After an introduction that explains how Griffin-Pierce came to be associated with the Navajo and to learn the language, she moves to a chapter on Navajo culture in general. Here, as throughout the book, she relies on the work of previous scholars to reinforce her own and to lend information where she did not have first-hand instruction herself. Chapters 3 and 4 ("The Navajo Spiritual World" and "Cosmological Order as a model for Navajo Philosophy and Life") work together as do Chapters 5 and 6 ("The Navajo Heavens in Visual Image and Verbal Narrative" and "The Constellations as a Cultural Text"). Chapters 7 and 8 ("Mother Earth, Father Sky" and "Conclusion") provide closure in a very satisfying metacommendary on the book as a whole.

My own interest in the ethnoastronomy of a related people, the Mescalero Apache, lead me to find Chapters 5 and 6 most compelling: they are the ones on which I focus below. Nonetheless, I am appreciative of the general cultural background and the excursions into Navajo philosophy. My students have found these sections (Chapters 2, 3, and 4) most useful as necessary background before they can begin to appreciate the substantive data in Chapters 5 and 6. In a minor bit of carping, I wish Griffin-Pierce had integrated the Appendix ("Field Procedures") into the Introduction--an arrangement more amenable to using the book as a text.

"Through the sandpainting, one enters a powerful mythic world suspended in time and space...[whose] evocative ability... makes the sandpainting images... profoundly powerful" (pp.98-99). These statements set the stage for the substantive chapters in which Griffin-Pierce links sandpaintings to astronomy and the proper way to live Navajo life. The myths that give meaning to the sandpaintings, and which detail that which went before and must be invoked again, are engendered anew with each rendition of a sandpainting. Those myths have their genesis with the very founding of the universe, the events that transpired then and shortly thereafter. Both the myths and their meanings are visible each night with the orderly procession in the celestial vault. Seating a person on a sandpainting representative of both mythology and the very stars overhead places that person in the midst of an on-going creation; all that was established and all that has unfolded or ever will occur. I think it is especially difficult for Whites (non-Indians) even to imagine such connectedness to creation, unless one is a mystic. But it is that very connectedness which
provides the power of a sandpainting, especially one linked to the stars and heavens. Through her drawings of extant sandpaintings (usually from one of a few museums in the U.S. Southwest), Griffin-Pierce provides keys to reading the sky as represented through bits of powdered earth and as it is seen by an observer with the sensibility to look up, outside, at night.

The night skies are presented differently in specific sandpaintings linked to particular ceremonies or chants. It is not that the character of the sky changes, but rather it is to aver that one must look to specific places and constellations to invoke their associations with creation and its aftermath. So, for instance, stars are depicted differently in Blessingway than they are in Hallway, two ceremonials.

Stars and their representations in sandpaintings are not just for healing, however. Nor are they limited to moral precept. Stars can be, and are, also used in divination:

...the stargazer places a crystal or stone on his hand...[he then] holds out his arm and hand in line with the moon or some star, and gazes unwinking at the crystal... he sees something... If the illness is serious the stargazer will prescribe a ceremony and the shaman who can give it (Morgan as quoted in Griffin-Pierce, p.144).

At the completion of the ceremony prescribed, the person is once again in harmony and at peace with the forces of disruption. While stargazers know the heavens, it is the chanter or singer who has "a greater overall knowledge of the constellations because it...[is] his responsibility to place them correctly in a sandpainting..." (p.149). The several drawings of constellations in the text amply illustrate the sophistication of the chanters'/singers' knowledge.

Moving back and forth between sandpaintings and myths, knowledge and sky charts, Griffin-Pierce succeeds admirably in her goal "...to make an understanding of the Navajo spiritual world--a world that comes alive through the sandpaintings and the myths--accessible to a wider audience..." (p.xxi). I heartily recommend the book to anyone interested in comparative knowledge systems, mythology, First Nations people and the Navajo in particular, or, of course, ethnoastronomy. It is a good read and a fine text.

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*Taking Control: Power and Contradiction in First Nations Adult Education* is a focused study of the Native Education Centre in Vancouver. Author Celia Haig-Brown spent a considerable amount of time in the centre during the 1988-89 school year, interviewing students, staff, and board members, sitting in on classes, and even teaching one course. Her central purpose is to investigate the way people at the centre "talk about and act on their understandings of First Nations control" (p.16). The National Indian Brotherhood in 1973 issued a paper entitled Indian Control of Indian Education that enunciated two central goals: "to reinforce Indian identity and to provide the training necessary for making a good living in modern society" (23). This book is an attempt to understand how these goals are being pursued in a particular setting. The author emphasizes that her main interest is to present the views of Indians in the process of taking control of their education. Thus, she quotes frequently and at length from the interviews she conducted.

The Native Education Centre was established in 1968 as an adult education institution. From the beginning, the curriculum included Aboriginal content, but in 1981, a significant innovation occurred with the adoption of the Native Adult Basic Education Program (NABE). In this program, 60 percent of the student's time is devoted to academics, 20 percent to cultural programs, 15 percent to life skills, and 5 percent to leisure. The academic curriculum incorporates Aboriginal issues, such as land claims and self-government, in the teaching of reading, writing, social studies, and science. The cultural classes include instruction in art, leatherwork, drum-making, hide-tanning and beading. Life skills range from study skills, first aid, Native cooking, aerobics, and driver education to a "Looking at Your Life" class which deals with self-analysis. The leisure part of the program is developed by the students themselves. NABE has enabled Aboriginal students who have not fared well in other educational institutions to obtain their grade 12 equivalency. It acts as a stepping stone or transitional bridge for individuals seeking employment opportunities or a post-secondary education.

The secret of NABE's success is that it combines academic upgrading with respect for First Nations identity and culture. As one student told the author, "It [the Native Education Centre] does have a lot of cultural values in it. And anybody who comes in that place should know that they are expected to respect our values in that place: spiritually and educationally because it's Native operated... One of the things that the students are told is that if you have any bad feelings or if you have any violence or any anger
you leave it outside of this building. Because this building is "blessed" (109). The author devotes an entire chapter to a description of the building, which was constructed of cedar and inspired by the traditional longhouse designs of many coastal cultures. Surrounded by an ethnobotanical garden containing plants used by First Nations people for hundreds of years, it is "an oasis in a desert of concrete and pavement."

The building is a spiritual oasis, too. Students find there a spirit of community that enables them to know themselves better, develop self-esteem and make progress in their academic studies. Individuals who felt alienated and alone in public high school discover the centre to be a "safe place" where there is support, companionship and a feeling of belonging. The book excels in evoking this sense of community, leaving the reader to wonder why more effort is not made to generate community-mindedness in all of our educational institutions.

Although NABE is at the core of the centre's program, skills training classes are also taught. These include courses in Native Public Administration, Automated Office Training, Native Family violence Counselling and Community Services, Native Hospitality and Tourism Management, and Native Criminal Justice and Law Enforcement Training. Students in the skills training courses do not participate in the cultural and life skills programs. The centre's administrator explained that the students who enrolled in the more career-oriented programs had, in many cases, already come to grips with their cultural and personal problems. They were looking primarily for competency in their field in order to satisfy the expectations of employers or other educational institutions.

Some of the skills instructors were more successful than others in integrating First Nations content into their courses. Part of the problem in 1988-89 was that eleven of the instructors were non-Native and only four Native. This was a touchy subject among the people the author interviewed. Some non-Native instructors took the view that they were working themselves out of a job; others felt that they were making a contribution and had a right to stay. During a staff meeting in 1988, one group suggested a goal of 75 percent Native staff by 1993; another group recommended the goal be 100 percent. The author does not provide an update as to whether these goals were met.

Haig-Brown develops the theme of contradiction in her analysis of power relationships at the Native Education Centre. The first contradiction relates to the growth of the institution. In 1968, it had between 30 and 40 students and 1 teacher in a single, one-year program; in 1987, it had 361 students, 9 programs, and over 50 full- and part-time staff. Increased size brought the problems of bureaucratization. The initial success of the pro-
gram was partly attributed to personal contact and individual attention. These features of the centre suffered as enrolment grew. Hiring also became more difficult as the need for staff increased. The fact that the administrator does not believe in unions or job security—he believes that teachers should "live on the edge," work very hard, bum themselves out and then leave—makes it harder to recruit staff.

Another contradiction arises from the diversity of First Nations. The author states: "The idea that, over time, a relationship to a particular geographical space determines who people are is integral to all First Nations cultures" (97). Since the Native Education Centre is located in urban Vancouver, it must reflect many First Nations cultures, but not any particular one. There have been complaints, for example, that some of the cultural activities belong to prairie Indians and have nothing to do with British Columbia. As of 1988-89, no language courses were given at the centre, because if one were offered, all the others would have to be taught as well. This problem of diversity is partially resolved through an appreciation of unity in diversity, which is the belief that, while First Nations cultures vary, they all share certain common features. Students sometimes delight in recognizing familiar elements in other First nations' traditions.

The principal contradiction identified by the author is between the centre's commitment to Aboriginal identity and culture and the need to train students to work in non-Aboriginal society. While many students may decide to work within the First Nations community, many take up jobs or seek further education in a predominantly non-Native environment. Teachers are torn between emphasizing Aboriginal content and meeting the expectations of employers. Administrators face the dilemma of remaining true to the centre's ethos while satisfying the requirements of the provincial and federal government funding agencies.

The book does not explain how this contradiction is to be resolved. Instead, the author suggests that there is no final answer. Any resolution is temporary and leads to another contradiction. She calls the process "transformation". "There are no final resolutions, there is no end of struggle. There is a possibility that in observing First Nations struggles to take control of their own education, in analyzing and naming that struggle, that ignorance will transform into knowledge" (253). The precise meaning of this passage is unclear. Easier to understand is the statement of a student quoted in the book: "People can't go back to the life of a long time ago; so we'll have to just put them together--put two worlds together..." (239). Eleanor Brass used the same words in the title of her fine autobiography, I Walk in Two Worlds. The contradictions will presumably be easier to live with as Indian self-government expands in Canada, not just in education, but in all
spheres. Celia Haig-Brown, in the meantime, has given us a good understanding of the experiences of a group of people engaged in the process of making Indian control of Indian education a reality.

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Applied anthropology is in a particularly strong position in Canada, such pioneering names as R.W. Dunning, Richard Salisbury and Robert Paine coming to mind. Most Canadian universities with reasonably strong departments of anthropology have made distinctive contributions to this field of inquiry. Despite numerous studies reflecting an applied, or more practical, dimension of anthropology, a thorough assessment of the state of affairs in the discipline has been lacking. Consequently, Edward Hedican’s recent book, which examines and sums up the current status of Canadian applied anthropology, is most welcome. Hedican himself has extensive experience in applied anthropology.

Hedican’s method has definite informative value which makes this book a useful text indeed, for scholars as well as for students. In particular, students will find very valuable the identification of many pertinent problems related to the usefulness of anthropology beyond the academic endeavour of contributing to refined theory building.

In no way does this mean that Hedican’s text is lacking in theoretical ambitions. On the contrary, Hedican’s purpose in writing the book is clearly stated as an analytical examination of Aboriginal issues from the explicit perspective of applied anthropology. Personally, I agree with his emphasis on the question of the relevance of anthropology in the modern world. That question can only be pursued by means of a skilled merging of theoretical approach with practical understanding. To support this assertion it is sufficient to refer to McGill University’s internationally recognized program in the anthropology of development, for many years under the leadership of Richard Salisbury, a program with which Edward Hedican was formerly associated.
When talking about the McGill program, the James Bay Cree case of the 1970s is a standard reference. And as expected, this case is given ample space in the treatment of several themes highlighted in the book. The James Bay Cree/HydroQuebec Agreement of 1975 is not only a unique case in terms of making noticeable headway concerning Aboriginal self-government, but also an excellent case for applied anthropology in general. During the negotiation process, Richard Salisbury emerged as the undisputed dean of applied anthropological research in Canada, attracting a large team of talented and unreservedly committed young anthropologists, all with a sincere belief in the firm relevance of anthropology.

Salisbury, and this particular program, deserve all the attention this book offers: it places him in proper context as a significant contributor to the evolving strength of Canadian anthropology. A recent spin off from this program is the AGREE project (Aboriginal Government, Resources, Economy and Environment) jointly directed by three of the leading anthropologists from the James Bay Cree era, Harvey Feit, Colin Scott, and Adrian Tanner, along with the collaboration of other distinguished scholars from Canadian and overseas universities. This project connects well with the overall argument Hedican conveys.

The book covers many important themes relevant to the subject matter in discussions which are exemplarily supported by rich, comparative case material. Theoretical issues such as, for example, the question of professional ethic and role conflicts are raised; at the same time more practical concerns are treated, those involving land claims and Aboriginal rights, Aboriginal community development, self-government and ethnopolitics.

The recent ideal of establishing a partnership between researcher and research subjects is discussed at great length. It may be obvious that this is the way we should go about conducting our craft; however doing it in this fashion is far from unproblematic. To have a research contract is one thing; quite another may be to know what kind of role would be most fruitful in pursuing the two primary research goals: 1) to contribute theoretically to our discipline; 2) to attain a result which is optimal for the use of Aboriginal peoples, or for the use of authorities, in order for them to handle Indigenous peoples' affairs more successfully. This latter means to make anthropological knowledge and insight broadly accessible. Anthropologists may act as mediators, advocates or consultants, and sometimes they may have to navigate among these different roles while trying to maintain their impartiality.

In order to understand this role dilemma, Hedican suggests that we need to think theoretically about it, in a way working towards a 'theory of anthropological role playing'. Here he is addressing a very important issue and a new challenge to the discipline of applied anthropology. Hedican even
goes so far as to state that it is important to avoid the trap of being biased in favor of Indigenous people, because then the research may cause mere harm than good. Our respect and scholarly **renomme** are founded on such considerations.

Land claims always stand as a core feature of Native strategy for gaining recognition as distinct people, and thus Indigenous empowerment, i.e., a strengthened self-determination. Cultural survival for First Nation people depends firmly on specified rights to land and water. No economic development based on Native priorities can occur unless these people have a sufficient land base, a land to which they are emotionally attached through tradition and over which they have control and access to resource extraction. These rights are crucial; therefore land claims, either by means of litigation in the courts or through negotiations with the political authorities, in most instances remain the number one item on the agenda of Aboriginal people.

The engagement of anthropologists as specialists in land claims as a significant cultural and political process important for our discipline, as it uncovers highly critical facets of contemporary real-life situations. Such commitment can, moreover, have immense practical implications for Aboriginal populations which bring their cases to court, because anthropological evidence dealing with land claims has been frequently used in such cases. We should keep in mind, however, as Hedican so correctly points out, that we as anthropologists will always be confronted with the question of credibility; also the legal weight and relevance given evidence may be questioned. It is a skill in its own right to succeed in this transfer of anthropological knowledge into a legally valid statement which effectively endorses an argument.

Let me finally draw attention to the section dealing with self-government and ethnopolitics. Here the interesting case of the Sechelt in British Columbia is introduced, offering a municipal model of Indigenous self-government. I find it intriguing that Sechelt is the first Band (if Band still is the proper term) in Canada to develop its own constitution and withdraw its Reserve lands from **Indian Act** jurisdiction. Many Aboriginal people, including the assembly of First Nations, see a danger in this change. On the other hand, a new level of government for Aboriginal communities is about to be tested. This model calls for close attention and observation both from First Nations people themselves and from the circle of anthropologists.

Naturally my comments are incomplete and selective; they represent my own choices. However, I believe I have touched on some of the most vital insights offered in this book. For those who closely follow the scholarly debate over this somewhat controversial and most urgent field of inquiry,
several accounts and arguments appear quite familiar. Hedican's systematic examination with its clear comparative perspective and attempt to generalize is his special contribution to this debate. The book is a good introduction both to applied anthropology and to a better and more accurate understanding of current Aboriginal issues.

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The title of this book is apt since it consists of two parts. The first, "Three Styles in the Practice of Prophecy", presents the details of Helm's acquaintance with three Dogrib prophets. The second part is simply titled "lnk'on" (the final "n" indicates nasalisation of the preceding vowel and is not pronounced), "power" or a being (human or non-human) who is imbued with power.

Helm generally presents information with a minimum of analysis (in the first part) and with few comments (in the second). There are only five pages of notes (all from Part One), most of which present additional ethnographic material and few of Helm's thoughts on the material. Perhaps this narrative strategy is today in favour, considered by some as "letting the people speak for themselves" rather than assuming a more traditional stance of ethnographic authority. Unfortunately, as rich as the material is in some senses, Helm's presentation leaves the text somewhat in between, neither fish nor fowl, neither a "classic" ethnography/analysis nor a text in which Dogrib voices emerge clearly.

One problem is Helm's choice to present material taken from very few informants, for she leaves the reader wondering about the wider cultural aspects of the meaning of power and prophecy among the Dogrib. Three prophets and one (major) informant (five others are referred to in the last section) are a slim base on which to construct a reading of Dogrib culture, especially of such an important aspect of Dene cultures as power. This weakness is particularly true of the second part, which I will evaluate first.
There are no notes throughout this 73 page section dealing with ink'on. While this might be taken as evidence of Helm's desire to let the material speak for itself, I find the stories presented to be insufficiently contextualised for a rich understanding of power and its manifestations. The series of brief texts (there are approximately forty in all, most told by one person, Vital Thomas) are meant to convey a "Native" voice. The four and a half page presentation by Helm is separate, while her brief introductions to the individual tales, often consisting of no more than a few words, are set aside in italics or in square brackets in the text.

The introductory chapter to the second part warns the reader (p.75) that the stories are "reasonable facsimiles" and not reproductions of Vital Thomas's accounts. Fair enough, for there is sometimes little to be gained by painstakingly accurate transcriptions that include all the hesitations, false starts, mispronunciations and repetitions of normal speech. This is especially so when the stories are not in the informant's first language (though Helm tells us that Thomas lived and worked around Whites for a considerable part of his early adult life and that her transcriptions "may have been less grammatical than Vital's [Thomas's] speech"). Yet why does Helm choose to leave out her interpolations and questions made during the narration? These are represented by the letter "Q" in square brackets to indicate that there was an interruption. Though we can usually deduce Helm's questions from Thomas's response as he takes up the tale again, I wonder if there is anything to be gained by not telling us how the ethnographer structured the narrative. I think that this creates a false sense that Helm was unobtrusive in these encounters (Vital Thomas was a paid informant, after all [p.75]), as well as creating a stronger impression of Dogrib authority in the telling of the tales than is really the case. The point is that we cannot always guess the question, especially since it is clear that Dogrib narrative style is considerably different from White literary narration (albeit that there is undoubtedly some White missionary influence, and not only at the level of content as Helm admits [pp.21-22]). Nor can we be reasonably certain about the extent to which Helm stitched together various bits and pieces of tales to construct a narrative. Let me give an example.

In the story "Boss for the Nets" (pp.87-89, although consisting of only 130 words or so since there is a two-thirds page photograph), Mrs. Elizabeth Mackenzie narrates a story of when people still had considerable access to power to guide their economic strategies: "In those days people know by dreaming medicine. One winter there was no fish. And he [''Boss for the Nets - G.L.'] made a medicine song and we see in his hand [Elizabeth cups
her palm and makes circular motions over it] lots of little fish swimming round and round. [Q] Yes, after that people got fish in their nets. He was not from Rae. He came from Providence." (The first interpolation is mine, the second and third are Helm's.)

What was the question Helm asked: "Did it work?", or "What happened after that?" There are (at least) two possibilities; 1) the informant considered the first sentence following the question ("Yes, after that people got fish in their nets") to be an answer to Helm's question, and then took up her account by adding the information on location immediately after ("He was not from Rae. He came from Providence"). However, Dene stories usually give locational information at the beginning and not at the end of a tale; 2) the narrator included this information on location because she thought that it was the correct answer to Helm's question (either the fact of being a non-local makes him a good fisherman, or people from Providence are especially endowed with ink'on or fish ink'on). The point is that I, like many middle-class North American Whites, would probably interpret the answer in terms of cause and effect seen in instrumental and technical terms (Did the magic action produce real fish for everyone?--Yes, after that people got fish in their nets) and consider the later information ("He was not from Rae...") to be part of the narrator's original intention. But we cannot be sure. Given the complexities of ink'on, I think it is possible that location may be an answer to the implicit question, even if the question were indeed posed in instrumental terms ("did it work?"), a possibility given Native forms of indirect speech (cf. Irvine, 1979). I admit that my position may seem like quibbling, but there are more than a few tales in the book in which the hidden questions explicitly structure the narrative (for example, "Getting and Becoming Ink'on" [pp.80-83]) to the point that we can ask if these are narratives at all or disconnected statements put together to make sense to Helm.

There is another, related dimension to the question of whose narrativity is being explored. Helm's refusal to engage in anthropological debate about the nature of the phenomena she is presenting protects her from potential accusations of misinterpretation, since she basically offers none. However, it seems silly to me to avoid commenting on Dogrib narrative style and how this style might influence the construction of "factual" knowledge about ink'on when there is obviously a process of mythification at work in the tales. For example, Helm hoped to prompt her informant by recounting a Slavey curing story (pp.97-98), which Vital Thomas later tells on three separate occasions as part of his "standard" repertoire on ink'on--what could be clearer evidence of mythological bricolage? Yet Helm continually interpo-
lates with "factual" comments ("Actually, at this time there was no doctor available to the Dogribs" [pp.96]), again reinforcing the message that these are straightforward, "authoritative" accounts. If them is mythologic at work in the construction of the stories, however, our anthropological reading of the material will change considerably.

There are also enough parallels to other Dene beliefs (for example, p.81, in which there is a discussion of the importance of eating in individuating "medicine men") that are left unexplored by Helm (for example, overeating natural food is a sign of ink' on, but overeating unnatural food--people--is a sign of another kind of power, Witiko). In brief, I think that after the second part of the book one is still left with the question, whose truth is being told here?

The first part is introduced by a brief historical and social overview of the Dogrib people, in which Helm traces the Dogrib prophet movement to contacts with Slavey people of northern Alberta. She also provides accounts of how three Dogrib men came to prophecy. There is, in the second chapter, an intelligent discussion of how prophetic beliefs are linked to (and differ from) Christian beliefs. In sum, Helm offers sufficient details to make a case for her thesis, that the prophetic message of the three men is closely linked to their personalities and life experiences, a not unimportant point considering the high value Dene place on how individual experience essentially shapes a person (as opposed to an explicit belief in socialisation). This aspect is explored in the third chapter, "The Foundations of Prophecy", in which Helm shows that for Dogrib people (and probably for all Dene) truth is constructed and judged in terms of its source as much as it is judged in terms of its content. This is a particularly important question to people who, like the Dogrib, believe in the essentially private nature of ink' on and knowledge. How, in other words, is privately constructed truth rendered socially valid? Again, Helm’s good ethnographic experience allows her to explore various aspects of this question. As usual, however, she is reluctant to embark on wide-scale theorising or comparisons, preferring to assert that individual personality differences are at work in structuring the content and delivery of the three prophets' messages.

In brief, this first section shows Helm at her best-drawing upon her vast knowledge of Dene culture (she has worked on Dene materials for at least forty years) to speak to the issues directly rather than trying (as in the second part) to let the issues (falsely) speak for themselves. She comments, she compares, and she acknowledges the limits of her inquiry in the best scientific tradition. The result is an interesting though uneven book
whose specificity in the first part and ambiguity in the second limit its appeal to Athapaskan specialists.

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Reference


This volume in The Sources of American Indian Oral Literature Series, edited by Douglas Parks and Raymond DeMallie, completes the reprinting of Apache myths and tales obtained by Opler in the 1930s, and originally published as Memoirs of the American Folk-Lore Society. The Chiricahua volume was first published in 1942 as number 37 of that series. It has the added value of an Appendix of Apache and Navajo comparative references by David French.

The previously reprinted volumes present narratives of the Jicarilla Apache and the Lipan Apache. What remains unpublished in any form is the Myths and Tales of the Mescalero Apache Indians, noted in the bibliography to this work as being in manuscript. The manuscript includes the larger part of an important Coyotecycle, taken down by Opler in English. He had the concluding part transcribed in Mescalero by Harry Hoijer, who published it with other texts (Hoijer, 1938), and who included a discussion
by Opler of their collaboration and of the features of the cycle. One can only hope that Opler's manuscript will soon reach print as well.

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Reference

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This book is a report on research carried out at Lac La Martre, N.W.T. between 1991 and 1993 to document largely unwritten customs and rules used to maintain the traditional Dene social order. The Dene Justice Project, as it was eventually called, was initially proposed by the Dene Cultural Institute as a counter-offer to a request made by the Northwest Territories Minister of Justice that the Institute assist in training Aboriginal justices of the peace, an idea which the Institute had rejected. The principle guiding the Institute's subsequent counter proposal was that any change in the administration of justice being contemplated by the Ministry be based upon traditional Dene knowledge and experience. The Project's final recommendations, however, make it clear that the information it contains could and should be used as the basis for "turning over power and authority for judicial decision-making" (p.106-107) from the government of the Northwest Territories to the Dene people themselves.

At fulfilling the mandate it set for itself, the Project does a good job. The connections between the traditional Dene "round of life" and the customary mechanisms for maintaining social order are clearly developed and are firmly based upon the words and memories of the Elders within the Dogrib community at Lac La Martre who are in the best position to articulate them.
Doing Things the Right Way, however, accomplishes more than this. By faithfully detailing problems with the method of research as well as conflicts which developed with the existing legal processes, the Project raises important questions about the role of such research within the broader objective of autonomous Aboriginal control over justice and social issues.

The research method chosen for the Project is called "Participatory Action Research," a variant of "Action Research" which is described as "change oriented," based on "some vision of how society or organizations could be improved and uses the research process to help bring this desired future state into existence" (Elden and Chisholm, 1993:127). The stress on participation in the Dene Justice Project required, in the words of the principle investigator, that "all members of the [research] team share power, responsibility, and decision-making and cooperate fully" to realize the goals of the Project (p.7). In addition, the researchers at Lac La Martre strove for consensus surrounding project decisions and were guided by advice from a community advisory committee, made up of the community's Chief and a majority of Elders.

On the surface, at least, there is a close connection between the research method's emphasis on community consensus and the role of consensus in the Dene tradition for formulating and maintaining the rules of social order. Given the strong advocacy role of the Project, this is not necessarily the primary reason for choosing Participatory Action Research. It does, however, raise some important questions. For example, can a research project designed to apprehend and document "traditional knowledge and experience" organize itself on the basis of the very principles it has been established to investigate and affirm? The best answer based on the experience of this research appears to be, "partially." After introducing Participatory Action Research, the author notes: "In the Lac La Martre case, problems began almost immediately" (p. 7). Focusing in on just one of these problems exposes a range of difficult theoretical and practical issues facing research of this nature.

One of the people chosen by the community advisory committee to be part of the research team was under court order to have his wages withheld as a result of a suit for child support. The question raised by this circumstance was asked but not pursued by the principle investigator: "How were we to handle the imposed external legal requirements (the gamishee) when we were attempting to document and legitimate traditional ways of dealing with such matters? How much "action" is implied by [Participatory Action Research] in these things?" (p.8). These are important questions which need to be further explored. The failure to do so leaves this and similar
projects vulnerable to being conscripted into playing an unanticipated role in the continuing tug-of-war between competing realms of legal and traditional authority. Such was the case with the Dene Justice Project which, at one point, found itself subject to a court order to oversee and report on the community’s handling of a case of theft which the court had earlier handed over to the community to deal with. While the project members acquiesced to the order, they were understandably uncomfortable with finding themselves in the service of a system of law their very project was conceived to help change and eventually replace.

Action research does not strive for objectivity and as such, action researchers are not disinterested observers. At the same time, neither can their interests be entirely identical with the communities they choose to work with. This would be the case even if all the researchers were in fact from the community, because the presumption of the action research endeavour is that it can contribute something to the aims of the community which otherwise would be difficult to apprehend. In this case, the emphasis upon community collaboration and consensus as essential features of the research method risks obscuring the nature and value of this important distinction.

The imposition of the court order does not, therefore, simply reflect a misunderstanding on the part of the court about the role of the Project, as suggested by the author, even while this may, in fact, have been the case. It serves also to remind that a distinction between the Project and the community exists and that this difference needs to be conscientiously oriented to as part of the research itself. Not to do so fails to take seriously the fact that the research is, nevertheless, continually being oriented to by other interested parties in ways researchers may well need to challenge in order to preserve both their own integrity and their project’s legitimacy.

These criticisms are in no way meant to undermine Action Research, the commitment to collaboration, or the achievements of the Dene Justice Project. The challenge the researchers set for themselves was to understand how the recovered knowledge of Dene traditions could be used to shift the responsibility for social order away from the present court systems and into the hands of Dene communities on a less "ad hoc" basis than currently exists. *Doing Things the Right Way* concludes with many useful suggestions for how this might be achieved and as such, responds well to this challenge. In the process, however, it introduces an additional challenge to the research enterprise itself, one less clearly defined and so more difficult to meet.

Within the context of what Aboriginal people are clearly seeking in terms of legal and political autonomy, the research itself becomes a political act.
As such, researchers need to be prepared to confront the tensions such action inevitably provokes, not just between the various communities of interest which have a stake in the outcome, but between competing conceptions of what social science research is, and with this, how its responsibilities are best defended and fulfilled.

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Reference

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Buried in the Silence is a detailed account of the events surrounding the death of Leo LaChance, a Cree from the Big River Reserve in Saskatchewan who was shot and killed by Carney Nerland, a White supremacist, in Prince Albert, Saskatchewan. Sampson details the life of LaChance, his ancestors, life on the Reserve, the day of the shooting, the investigation, and the inquiry. She also examines racism in the community of Prince Albert and how this particular city has since examined itself in light of LaChance's murder.

Leo LaChance was 48 years of age when he was shot in Prince Albert on January 28, 1991. Sampson begins with the shooting and then works backward, providing a detailed historical journey of not only the life of Leo LaChance, but also that of his ancestors. Without doubt, this necessary connection to the past creates the means to understand the issues of the present day, as well as the required direction for the future.

Sampson's detailed history of the Cree people gives Leo LaChance a personal history and places him solidly in a proud culture and tradition. LaChance is seen as someone with deep roots in the land. The historical
review thus refutes the alleged White supremacy which Nerland proclaims: if anyone "belonged" it was Leo LaChance. Not only was LaChance "Buried in the Silence", but so too was the rich history of his ancestors throughout Canadian history.

In 1991, Carney Nerland belonged to a White supremacist group called the Church of Jesus Christ Christian Aryan Nations, who believe that the only chosen people of God are the British and selected colonists, and that therefore all Jews and non-Whites are the enemy. Since September, 1989 Nerland had been the Saskatchewan leader of this particulargroup. During an inquiry conducted by the Alberta Human Rights Commission in 1991, Nerland testified in regards to his hatred of Jews, Natives and non-Whites. The inquiry noted that there was no doubt about the lengths to which this group would go in order to demonstrate their discrimination. Yet Nerland had been given a licence to operate the gun shop where the shooting of LaChance took place.

Nerland was charged with manslaughter rather than murder because two eyewitnesses to the shooting claimed that he "looked surprised" after first firing the gun twice and then, firing a third time, discovering that there was indeed a third bullet left in the gun. This third bullet was the fatal shot which hit LaChance. The public protested that a murder charge should be laid; however, the Crown felt that there was not proof beyond reasonable doubt that Nerland had intended to kill LaChance. Nerland was never granted bail due to concerns that he might leave the country, as well as the many questions and contradictions surrounding the case and what actually occurred during the shooting.

The case against Nerland never came to trial. Nerland pleaded guilty to manslaughter on April 12, 1991 and was given a four year sentence of which he served two and one half years. Both Native and non-Native communities viewed LaChance's death as a racist murder and were outraged at the apparently lenient sentence and the fact that Nerland never stood trial for his crime.

Leo's brother, David LaChance, was not satisfied with the many unanswered questions and therefore gave the Prince Albert Tribal Council permission to pursue answers from the Justice Department. National Grand Chief, Ovide Mercredi also agreed that a commission of inquiry should be held. Politicians, the Jewish Defence League in Calgary, and other local organizations also supported the LaChance family in their efforts to discover the truth. These were stymied until February, 1992, when the newly appointed Justice Minister, Bob Mitchell, announced that an inquiry would be held in regards to the death of Leo LaChance. Although the sentence could not be changed, the justice system would be carefully examined to
determine how this case had been investigated. One of the most compelling questions was whether Nerland was an RCMP informant and what, if any, influence this had on his case. Sampson suggests that he may have been a police informant due to the fact that Nerland is now in the Witness Protection Plan with a new name and location.

The inquiry interviewed Nerland, and Sampson states "they believed Nedand's indifference to the life of Leo LaChance was rooted in deep, very real racism" (p.173). The inquiry report was also critical of the police investigation, the prosecutors, and the provincial firearms registration criteria. As they believed that racism contributed to the killing, they recommended that police and prosecutors receive cross-cultural training to inculcate in them a better understanding of the issues surrounding racism.

The LaChance family were not satisfied with the inquiry and felt that the truth still had not been revealed. They believed that a cover-up existed, their evidence being the many questions which the inquiry was not permitted to ask, particularly in regards to Nerland being an RCMP informant.

Sampson also describes the initiatives taken by the city of Prince Albert after the Human Rights Commission inquiry in order to address themselves to the injustices which contributed to the death of Leo LaChance. In spite of the good work to date, however, Bernice Sayese, a Métis woman who is now coordinator of the Mayor's Committee on Race Relations, comments that there is still much which remains to be done for the Native community. A greater commitment is needed for healing and progress to continue. As in many other examples, the political will is required to address the existing problems. A commitment to ongoing funding for Native programs is an essential beginning.

Sampson provides a detailed examination of an injustice against a Native person, his family, and his community. Although the story is a familiar one in many respects, the author has enriched her account with an historical overview which makes Leo LaChance not just a victim of a horrible crime, but rather an individual with a rich and proud past. This history is one which we all need to know and understand as Canadians.

What is hopeful about this account is that both the Native and non-Native communities of Prince Albert have chosen to meet the issue of racism head on. They have not stopped at telling the story of the death of Leo LaChance, which is often where the story ends, but have moved on from this point to better understand what events contributed to bring them all to this point. While a great deal of work remains and should be on-going, Prince Albert has begun the process of understanding and overcoming the obstacles created by a long and difficult history. Although such work must continue at all levels in our society, this book illustrates the need to search
and look inward, beginning first with individuals and then within our own communities.

During a feast at the first anniversary of Leo's death, his father, Albert LaChance, addressed those who gathered with the following thoughts:

I have no bitter words for anyone after the death of my son. I pray daily for peace among our nations, Native and non-Native, and especially for the young people of both nations. I pray for healing. I pray for the future. I hope this gathering will mark the beginning of the healing process (p. 181).

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John Reed Swanton earned a Ph.D. in anthropology from Harvard in 1900 and spent the remainder of his life with the Bureau of American Ethnology at the Smithsonian Institution. His initial field work was with the Haida of the Queen Charlotte Islands, but it was on the ethnography of the Native Peoples of the Southeast that he established his reputation. In pursuing this interest he became, as Lankford observes in his brief introduction to this volume, "one of the creators of the new subdiscipline of ethnohistory" (p.xii). This volume, originally published in 1929 as Bulletin 88 of the Bureau of American Ethnology, reflects Swanton's professional interest in folklore rather than ethnohistory, however. Educated in an age when scholars had considerably more breadth than is current now, Swanton served as president of both the American Anthropological Association and the American Folklore Society.

Swanton himself did not indicate any criteria used for the selection of material presented in this volume. Lankford (p.xiii) suggests that it may have been assembled as an appendix for Swanton's Creek monograph published in the *Forty-Second Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology* (1928). Swanton does not include in this collection important myths found in the above work nor others published elsewhere. The myths were col-
lected by Swanton, usually in English, between 1908 and 1914, although some collected earlier by W.O. Toggle but previously unpublished are also included. Thus the reader will find it necessary to go beyond this volume for a fully representative sample of myths and legends of Native Peoples of the region.

The texts presented are attributed to four different Muskogean-speaking groups plus the linguistically distinct Natchez. Ninety-one Creek stories are presented; 42 are attributed to the Hitchiti; texts of some 64 Alabama stories are offered; the Koasati stones number 65. The Natchez collection, all secured from Watt Sam of Braggs, Oklahoma, consists of 43 myths and tales.

The presentation of the stories, in a relatively sparse plot outline in English with little consideration of context, reflects the period in which they were collected and originally published. Nonetheless, a contemporary scholar or someone with simply an interest in the oral literature of the Native cultures of North America will find much of interest here. This reviewer in particular found the tales involving Rabbit, the trickster figure in the Southeast, of interest as well as the numerous stories reflecting contact between persons of Native heritage and Africans brought to the New World as slaves. Some of these Swanton clearly marks as showing African origins, but motifs such as those in the Tar Baby tale appear in other narratives as well.

Other than Lankford's useful introduction, the only additions or change to the original publication are to the nine passages Swanton originally published in Latin (pp. 108, 114, 115, 171, 179, 216, and 217) because of, to use Lankford's words (p.xiv),

that quaint Victorian conceit that materials of a sexual nature should be made available only to those whose education made them impervious to prurient interests--priests and academics, presumably.

These are here published in English, possibly because academics (and possibly priests) can no longer read Latin.

The reappearance in print of this useful and entertaining compilation will be welcomed by many with interests in North American oral literature. The texts are valuable for comparative purposes but Swanton's presentation of them provides the reader with hours of simply pleasurable reading.

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Mr. Tennant has written a well-researched, well-documented and informative book regarding the history of Indian lands in British Columbia. One of the most interesting aspects of this history, which is made evident in the book, is how since 1849 the Indian land question escaped serious scrutiny by government in British Columbia until recent times.

The book provides a detailed account of the Douglas treaties, Reserve creation, and the segregation and suppression of Aboriginal peoples in British Columbia. Although disturbing at times, the book portrays the Aboriginal peoples of British Columbia in a very positive light, notably as political survivors despite efforts to weaken and assimilate them. Indeed, as the book demonstrates, as pressure increased for the First Nations' people to assimilate, their political will increased.

With the Delgamuukw decisions, new developments in the Nishga claims negotiations and the start of the treaty process in British Columbia, this book may appear somewhat dated. Nevertheless, it is a necessary read for those seeking to understand the history of First Nations rights and Aboriginal title in the province of British Columbia.

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Lisa Philips Valentine’s ethnography of speaking in Lynx Lake, a Severn Ojibwe village in northwestern Ontario, extends a sensitive and comprehensive framework to the analysis of that speech community and its discourse forms. Lucidly written, Making It Their Own deftly relates a number of the formal linguistic elements present in contemporary Lynx Lake speech events (e.g. denasalization in church sermons, prosody in songs) to social elements (e.g. social identities, values) which, in turn, are further
defined and constituted by the former. Valentine thus succeeds in meeting one of the fundamental goals of the ethnography of speaking approach in linguistic anthropology: to interpret language as a community's use of their linguistic code(s) in the creation, maintenance, and transmission of social life—that is, as praxis—rather than reducing language to a set of abstract, context-independent principles (cf. Duranti, 1989:210-228). As one of the few studies to take this approach to a contemporary Canadian First Nations language, *Making It Their Own* builds on the important contributions of Darnell and Foster (1988) and the Scollons (1979) in deepening our appreciation for the richness of linguistic interactions in Aboriginal life.

Following two stage-setting chapters (the first comprising a statement of discourse analysis principles, the second an historical and linguistic overview of the Lynx Lake community), Valentine tackles a range of topics over the next seven chapters ambitiously selected "as representative of all major linguistic forms found in the community" (p.10). Some chapters work better than others, of course, but all lay a solid foundation on which further research should be conducted. Chapter 3 discusses the effects of introducing various technological media (e.g. telephones, television, a community radio station) on intra-village communication, delineating how these media have increased opportunities for both elders and "youngsters" to engage in culture-shaping discourse. Her survey and interpretation of codeswitching behaviors (among Severn Ojibwe, Cree, English) in Chapter 4 stands out as the volume's most formally thorough analysis, although her reliance on data elicited from only two speakers (and both members of the local religious elite) certainly points to the need for additional fieldwork. Chapter 5 presents a summary of Severn Ojibwe- and English-language literacy practices as observed at Lynx Lake, and Valentine's discussion of vernacular texts (e.g. public signs, meeting minutes) as meaningful forms of discourse is certainly in line with current anthropological and sociological thinking on the subject. Musical communication is foregrounded in Chapter 6, covering such issues as who sings and who plays musical instruments publicly (focusing on age and gender), musical genres, etc. Again, the analysis is rather cursory—as the author herself admits—but Valentine makes a compelling argument for appreciating prosody as a major mark of song genre correlating with morphological and syntactic features.

Chapter 7 comprises a very different kind of discussion than those found in the preceding chapters: the author unleashes her formidable energies to defend the people of Lynx Lake, all of whom are devoutly Anglican, against charges of spiritual malaise and disorientation. Her bilingual analyses of sermons and speeches delivered by local religious luminaries add credence to her basic argument—that Lynx Lake Anglican-
ism is emblematic of cultural confidence rather than doubt—but a subsequent attempt to make the same point by means of speculative psychological critique is rather awkward. Chapters 8 and 9 return to more sure-footed territory, for here she analyzes formal and performance conventions (e.g., syntactic features, metanarration, pronoun shifts) of first-person and mythic narratives. As in the case of earlier chapters, the reader may be left hoping that Valentine returns to these topics in future with a larger, more representative data base. The final chapter summarizes the volume's contents and critically examines methods of discourse analysis.

Anyone who has lived and worked in a First Nations community as a linguist or ethnographer will appreciate Valentine’s commitment to the accurate and humane representation of the voices of her Native hosts and friends. Her respect and, yes (dare an academic write?), love, for the people of Lynx Lake is manifest on every page of *Making It Their Own*. I anticipate that she will return, again and again, to be among her Severn Ojibwe friends, collecting richer data, working with new consultants, asking more probing questions. As for the present, university instructors should find Chapters 2, 3, 5, 8, and 9 of this volume useful in undergraduate linguistic anthropology courses and Native North American ethnology courses: each is a clearly written, accessible case study of a specific speech event type.

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