BOOK REVIEWS


Aboriginal history has either been ignored by Australian historians or written from a colonial Euro-Australian perspective, and Aborigines, like Canadian Indians in the 1960’s and 70% began to react to this fact. Influenced by the social activism of the period and their search for their own collective identity, Aborigines sought to learn about their past and record their oral history from their own viewpoint. This handbook was written as a practical guide to provide Aborigines with basic information on historical research techniques and data. Not surprisingly it was "dedicated to the proposition that Aborigines and Islanders will write their own history, and rewrite the history of Australia" (p. xi).

The introductory essay sets the tone of the book by pointing to the omissions in official Australian histories (e.g. Aborigines, women, the poor) and stressing the "time-bound and culture-bound" nature of histories in general. In content, the manual tells the reader how to do historical research, where to locate primary sources, how to use materials critically, and - equally helpfully - where major gaps exist in data. The result is a credit to the editorial team of Barwick and Stannage, anthropologists-historians, and Mace, an Aboriginal researcher with the National Aboriginal Educational Committee in Canberra. Completed in a remarkably short period (three months) to meet the pressing needs of Aborigines for research guidelines, the manual draws on the expertise of thirty-two contributors, specialists in a wide range of fields including anthropology, archaeology, library science, history, linguistics, ethnomusicology, museology, photography, cartography and film-making.

The manual is direct and specific in its presentation and advice. To illustrate: the section devoted to archives explains what archival institutions are intended to do, what types of materials can be found in them, and how the various documents are filed and retrieved. It provides the names and addresses of the major state and federal archives, indicates whether guides to the collections are published, and gives the requirements for access to the holdings, as well as the names and addresses of officials to contact for information and access. Other relevant archival deposits in universities and mission societies are also listed. In addition, other sections of the manual expand on specialized archival materials. Thus Stannage, for example, describes the nature and importance of police and court records as valuable sources of Aboriginal history given
the role of the police as Aboriginal "protectors" in remote areas of Australia. He illustrates the types of information likely to be found in court records and cautions researchers on the biases inherent in the materials.

Overall, the reader is provided four types of information in the handbook. First, the full range of primary and secondary source materials useful in historical research is described: archival documents, artifacts, maps, newspapers, population census data, photographs and films. Major institutions where these materials are deposited are listed, and the pitfalls to be encountered in coverage and preservation are discussed. Secondly, the basics of research skills are discussed: making genealogies, maps, films, and tape recordings, conducting oral history interviews, writing biographies, and publishing the final manuscript. Thirdly, the key institutions in Australia which support research and provide assistance to researchers are described, including the Australian Heritage Commission, historical societies and museums. Prominent among these is the Canberra-based Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies with its extensive library holdings of published and unpublished materials, films, newspaper clippings, tapes and photographs, and its Newsletter which contains its Annual Bibliography on Aboriginal research. Finally, the manual devotes sections to certain topical issues of particular interest to Aborigines such as Aboriginal women, sports, and Aboriginal participation in the major wars (Boer War to World War II).

Of the topical sections, the one on Aboriginal land rights will undoubtedly be the most interesting to Canadian students and researchers wishing to compare the Australian approach to that adopted in Canada. Written by Anita Campbell, Diane Bell and Diane Barwick, this section is the most thorough in the book. It begins with an historical overview of the land rights question, making the point that Australia is unique among British colonies in denying the existence of native title to land. Contemporary events in the land rights struggle are described, beginning with the 1963 'Bark Petition" of the Yirrkala clans in the Northern Territory, and following through with the Woodward Commission reports on land rights, to the appointment of the federal Aboriginal Land Commissioner and the establishment of the Aboriginal Land Fund Commission and the Aboriginal Land Councils in the Northern Territory. Invaluable to any researcher is the chronology of events in the land rights confrontation and the bibliographic references which document Aboriginal protests, government commissions and responses at both state and federal levels, and legislation on land rights and related fields (e.g. mining and conservation). The chronology, including early state legislation on Aborigines, presents a synoptic overview of Aboriginal administration in Australia which, until 1967, remained the jurisdiction of the individual state governments.

National in coverage, the handbook is timely and well-written. Although intended for an Aboriginal audience which lacks research skills, the book is an extremely useful research tool for students interested in Aboriginal issues and it could well be used as supplementary reading in undergraduate courses in methodology. It will be equally useful for seasoned researchers who are about to embark on Aboriginal research for the first time, for it would allow them to
gauge the scope of the historical field and plan the logistics of their fieldwork in regard to archival materials. Even though its orientation is historical, its bibliographic references bring issues up to the contemporary period. The references will lead students directly to major published works, and more extensive references can be obtained from what might be considered its 'companion piece,' "A Select Bibliography of Aboriginal History and Social Change: Theses and Published Research to 1976," prepared by D. Barwick, J. Urry and D. Bennett, and published in 1977 also by the journal *Aboriginal History* in Volume 1, Part 2, pages 111-169. More generally, the handbook, already in its second printing, should be available in any library which seeks to offer materials on Australian Aborigines.

Regretably, there is no equivalent handbook on Canadian native peoples' history.

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On the whole, I think I liked "... and Others" a bit more than I did the lengthy "Ballad of Alice Moonchild," and for reasons which apply not only to Aleata E. Blythe but also to much of the verse currently published by aboriginal peoples the world over as well as other down-trodden, deprived, and disadvantaged ethnics. What I liked about "and Others" were brief evocative poems such as *School!*

I think I remember best
Egg Sandwiches
That smelled
And oiled wood floors
Burned by falling coals
From the barred heater
That was either too hot
Or too cold
Depending on where
You were allowed to stand
On 50 below mornings.

The strength of the lyric depends less on the last line intended to invoke pity or
outrage than on the child's impression of Egg Sandwiches/That smelled (I can remember school too by the smell of sandwiches) and the brief references to heater and floor. Other poetic vignettes like "Life" about an old milk cow and the references to golden days and the scolding of the jay in "Ben and the First Day of School" also struck a responsive note for like reason. None of these free verse poems are particularly distinguished for imagery nor are there unforgettable lines. There is, however, something to be said for the simplicity of words, their honesty of statement. "The Homestead" which is the first of the shorter poems is pleasant. Dawn blushes pink/Above the gnarled old rails/Where faintly resset heads/Of pigweed and foxtail/Nod to the Morning breeze... and so on to the somewhat poignant line... On this now vacant/Farm. But I am neither stirred nor inspired. I have read this kind of thing before, many many times, among submissions to the journal I edit, by people who want to say something about the place where they once lived and the people whom they once knew but who do not appear to have the mysterious gift of creativity. Without it one can do nothing. Poetry is an art. Craft is important, and the craft of Ms. Blythe's work is acceptable (I cannot say outstanding) but one misses the fresh turn of phrase, the nuance, the metaphor or image which would let us see what is familiar in a new way. Ms. Blythe may have the gift, but, if so, it is not apparent in anything I have read in this little book of verse.

Concerning the ballad which occupies most of the fifty-six pages I see what I expected, the now overly familiar protest. It is a very very bad thing that Indians and other aboriginal peoples have been cheated, exploited, treated with contempt, denied basic human rights, and abused. But the entire subject has become too wearisome; we all know that Indians have been mistreated, cheated and exploited. The trouble is that we have heard the same story told far too often and, in this retelling, we encounter far too little that has not been said before in very much the same way.

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Chief Dan George was one of those elders who have so integrated their long experience with their personality and thinking that their very bearing expresses a philosophy of life. Those who met him, who heard him speak or saw him in films felt every word and gesture emerge from an interior wisdom. This expressiveness was a conscious mission for Dan George, both for his own people and for those of us whose culture had lost certain important values we could re-
discover in his. His person radiates from every fragment he has left us, rendering them precious.

Dan George lived in an oral tradition, in which the word is carried on the living breath and resonates with an individual voice. The transition to the printed page was obviously difficult for him, and we often sense his fear of how much is being lost. He feels the need to set the scene of his remarks, to give us some impression of the emotion he feels as he speaks the words.

Often the communication is most effective in transcripts of tape-recordings and conversations or notes from speeches, as in Statements by Chief Dan George (Native Readings for Students, Number 1, Department of Native Studies, Brandon University, no date), or "I Never Scorned God," page 59 of the book under review. The language is straightforward and pithy, the spirituality natural and understated. At other times, he turns to poetic rhythms and images, often moving and effective but sometimes raising suspicions of an alien hand.

Much of the power of Statements comes from Dan George's traditional strong Indian feeling for the total context of the point he is making. He expresses, in fact, a large, thoroughly considered view, based on what he considers the foundation of his culture - a subject almost never mentioned by anthropologists, but emphasized in almost every Indian test: the love of the land. We humans live in a universe to which we belong and which we share with other beings - elements, plants, animals and spirits - to whom we should be close and whose rights we should respect. We should receive from all with gratitude, and realize our obligation to respond with our own human contribution. In the end, we give ourselves back to the earth from which we were born; or, in parallel terms, we re-enter the spiritual dimension present throughout our lives.

The carriers of this tradition succumbed under guns, prejudice and contempt. An imposed rule forbade the traditional forms in which the Indian view could be expressed. The result was a tragic demoralization, a loss of sense of self and worth.

But Indians at their lowest point are only a more visible symptom of the problems and deficiencies of the culture that oppresses and destroys its own members more subtly but no less inevitably. The short-term advantages of insensitivity, selfishness and domination lead ultimately to the loss of what is beautiful and precious in ourselves and our world.

The Indian must move from being a negative sign to being a positive teacher. He must recover his identity and resensitize the members of the dominant culture, reawakening the love they felt for the earth in the early times of their history and their lives. The Indian must learn two cultures and join the strengths of both in his thinking and expression and in his life. This is a heavy burden, but one he bears for both peoples.

Dan George's thinking is traditionally Indian in never considering one side without the other. Physical and spiritual, pain and joy, childhood and old age, can be understood only together. To omit one side is to fall into sentimentality or despair. To reduce Dan George's statements to fragments, as done in the present book, risks distorting both his meaning and his emotion.

Any book by the author must be gratefully received. But Dan George will
make his written contribution only when a complete collection of his statements is presented with equally affectionate, but more respectful editing.

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Indian Healing is an interesting book which utilizes the anthropologist's descriptive methods and the psychologist's concepts to explore ritual healing practices of the contemporary Shaman of the pacific northwest.

Jilek is a psychiatrist and he uses his background in medicine to examine the rituals. He demonstrates clearly how they can be interpreted in terms of a modern therapeutic model:

Ego-support accrues out of the group - therapeutic and cathartic - psychodramatic facets of spirit dancing. Direct ego-support results from the positive attention the ritualist leaders and the people focus on the active dancers. (p. 93)

The author examines case histories to demonstrate the relationship between spirit illness and anomic depression.

Most of the case histories obtained on severe spirit illness reveal the following pattern, which may be called the psychodynamics of anomic depression: a) acculturation imposed through western education; b) attempt at White identification ("identification with the aggressor" in psychoanalytic terms), or vying for acceptance by Whites; c) subjective experience of rejection and discrimination - awareness of relative deprivation in White society; d) cultural identity confusion; e) moral disorientation, often with acting-out behaviour; f) guilt about denial of Indian-ness - depressive and psychophysiologic sympton formation - inefficiency of western remedies; g) diagnosis as spirit illness permitting reidenti-
fication with aboriginal culture via initiation into spirit dancing ("death and rebirth"); h) alternatively, if initiation prevented by outside factors, ongoing symptom formation, often with intra-family conflict (pp. 55-56).

The book in a semi-scientific style demonstrates support for the practice of Indian healing rituals:

The balance of evidence, anecdotal and preliminary as it may be by epidemiological standards, suggests that the indigenous therapeutic procedures of the spirit dance ceremonial are superior to Western methods, as far as Indian clientele is concerned, in the management of two symptom complexes:

1. conditions of ill health in which psychoneurotic and psychophysiologic mechanisms are prominent. These are the patients who figure in sye 'wen lore as miraculous cures after having been "in and out of hospitals, given up by the doctors;"
2. antisocial and aggressive behaviour usually associated with alcohol or drug abuse, and emotionally or physically destructive to self and kin. (p. 97)

In general the book is a well written documentation of the interest and devotion of the author to the Coastal Indians. To the practitioner it represents the "spirit dance" as another "therapy" which should be considered for Indian clientele presenting "anomic depression".

The book is a start but fails to clarify the Indian conceptualization of mental illness, the spirit world, and man. Hopefully, someone will take up the trail on which Jilek has embarked, and sketched with personal involvement.

In the beginning was the deed,
and the deed was magic;
later came the word,
and the analysist...

Wa keyne keu compe
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In the recent discussions of constitutional change, politicians rather too
frequently and easily asserted that they did not know what Canada's native
people meant by aboriginal rights. Consequently, they argued it was unwise to
enshrine such a nebulous concept in the Charter of Rights and Freedoms. The
rights in question were recognized and affirmed without being defined; left
unspecified, they also lack specific protection. In the future, perhaps, both
defects will be remedied. In this light, the usefulness of works such as Metis
Land Rights in Alberta is in what they might contribute to this process of
definition.

Basically, the book consists of four sections. The first part of the work is
an overview of events from earliest beginnings, informative to general readers,
but without novelty for persons who may already know the classics of Stanley
and Giraud, or the more recent work of scholars such as Foster and Brown.
More original is the second part, also historical, but in this case the history is
of the concept of aboriginal rights developed by whites more systematically to
extinguish them. The extinguishment of the land rights of Metis people was
served by the programme described in the third, perhaps strongest part of the
book. Here one finds the intricacies of scrip, the grants by the Government of
Canada to partly Indian persons at the time treaties and reserves were negotiated
with the leaders of the recognized Indians. "There is no direct evidence," we are
told, "that the Metis approved... only the indirect evidence that they accepted
scrip after being told that it was all they were going to get." Thus, the Half
breeds were cheated. As with Indians, their swindlers eventually came round to
atonement, the subject of the fourth part of the book. Here too the material
is fresh and original since most historians' interest in the Metis seems to have
been fixated on events terminating in 1885. In this volume, however, a reader
will find interesting material on the turn of the century patronage of the Church
at St. Paul de Metis, the Government of Alberta's granting of Metis colonies in
the 1930's and the more recent Grand Cache land settlement.

In most of its several parts, the book's text, maps and photographs do
succeed in the declared purpose of broadening the subject and extending the
line of historical understanding. Where the book falls short is in clarifying the
assertion that the Alberta Metis have aboriginal rights to which present govern-
ments must turn serious attention today. It is reported that the Prairie Metis
shared in the "aboriginal title" to land that was recognized by the Manitoba
Act and "several successive Dominion Lands Acts". But the issue now is whether
governments' past evasions of these laws have any relevance for the future.
Curiously, the book asserts that the aboriginal rights in question have a solid
foundation in law, praises native leaders for their "wisdom" in keeping these
claims out of court, yet admits that the one recent successful negotiation process
involving the Metis and the Government of Alberta, that of Grand Cache,
succeeded precisely because effective legal action was threatened. Because of
this apparent contradiction, it is regrettable that the volume did not develop the
issue of legal rights in more detail - if only to establish a more specific apprecia-
tion of the rights that the Metis might wish to see enshrined in the constitution. But as the author's of Metis Land Rights in Alberta suggest in their introduction, their aim was not to be exhaustive, only to "prompt others to continue the study of Metis history." This they have certainly done.

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Long Lance is the amazing story of Sylvester Long, born in Winston, North Carolina on December 1, 1890, of parents of Indian and white ancestry, who became the American celebrity of the 1920's, Chief Buffalo Child Long Lance, a "full-blooded" Blackfoot Chief and a spokesman for the Indian people of North America in the 1920's. It is also a tale of racial prejudice and personal tragedy. Through Long Lance, Donald B. Smith has provided an evocative and thoroughly researched examination of Sylvester Long and the circumstances in which he lived.

Sylvester Long was born and grew up in the tobacco town of Winston, North Carolina at the end of the nineteenth century. Living in the racial circumstances of Black and White of the American south, his family, like most "coloured" folk, were treated by whites as if they were blacks. They attempted to stress their Indian heritage, Croatan, those persons who were the remnants of American Indian people who had been directly affected by the American Government's removal policies. There was some basis in fact for this attempt at image-making as his parents, Sallie and Joe Long, were at least part Indian. Sylvester grew up with the determination, that later became obsessive, to get himself out of the racial prejudice of Winston by becoming a "full-blooded" Cherokee Indian. In personal terms he paid dearly for it in the end. He was not able to become what he was not.

While he was travelling with a Wild West show, Sylvester Long was able to pick up a smattering of the Cherokee language and culture. In the fall of 1909 he began to attend the rigorous military orientated Carlisle Indian Residential School in Pennsylvania, where he did very well. He passed himself off as a Cherokee and, although the other Cherokees were distrustful and suspicious of him, he proved to everyone by sheer effort that he was a model of what Carlisle was supposed to produce - a civilized American Indian. Following graduation from Carlisle, he attended Dickinson College and then St. John’s Military
Academy. In 1915, he applied to President Woodrow Wilson for entrance to West Point. However, perhaps deliberately, he failed the entrance exams for West Point. On August 14, 1916 he enlisted in the Canadian army and went overseas where he was wounded in action. He rose to the rank of acting Sergeant, and became a celebrity in the press as a gallant American Indian fighting for the cause of freedom.

Posted back to Canada, "Captain" Long Lance chose Calgary as his debarkation point and arrived there on July 18, 1919. He began a new career as a journalist for the Calgary Herald. He visited the Indian Reserves in the vicinity of that city and wrote newspaper articles on them for the Herald. He ingratiated himself with George Gooderham, Indian Agent, and with Canon S.H. Middleton of St. Paul's Boarding School on the Peigan Indian Reserve. He was not entirely accepted by the Bloods or the Blackfoot, yet, in 1922, he became an honorary Chief of the Bloods as Chief Buffalo Child Long Lance, and a "brother" of Mike Eagle Speaker, later Chief of the Blood Indian Band. In 1928, to add to the tragedy of this story, Long Lance's real identity was in part found out by one of his Indian brother's people, Percy Little Dog, Interpreter for the Blood Indian Council who, with his people must have resented the misrepresentations of Chief Buffalo Child Long Lance.

Long Lance was a great story teller, some would say a liar, but he lived his own stories and acted them out in his everyday life. The fiction of his daily existence became the fact of his story. In 1928 when he was found out, fiction and fact merged and his story was effectively over. On March 19, 1932, at the mansion called Anoakia (which name, ironically, is an Indian word "Anoak", meaning "where no harm shall befall") belonging to Anita Baldwin, his seemingly paranoid patron, Chief Buffalo Child Long Lance apparently committed suicide by shooting himself with his own Colt .45 revolver. Long Lance is a sympathetic and somewhat tragic figure. While he was not a great man, he strove continually to be one, and he accomplished many things. His life was a personal tragedy of circumstance pitted against his character; racial prejudice against equality.

Long Lance's major and lasting accomplishment, aside from his fictional autobiography Long Lance published in 1928, which contains an historically useful external account of Blackfoot life in the early twentieth century, was his appearance as Baluk the hunter in the movie, "The Silent Enemy", in 1928. Backed and made by Douglas Burden, the young naturalist and explorer, this American film was shot on location in the fall of 1928 in the Lake Temagami and Lake Temiskaming area of northeastern Ontario. One of the last and best silent films, "The Silent Enemy" depicts the Indian people's constant struggle for food in the wilderness. Hunger is the silent enemy. As the hero of this film, Long Lance's performance is magnificent. Although "The Silent Enemy" was for several reasons, not a commercial success, it is an artistic achievement and an anomaly in the world of Hollywood Westerns in the twentieth century. It brought additional fame as an actor to Long Lance and it also, ironically, led directly to an investigation of his past by the producers of the film. After that Long Lance drifted aimlessly geographically and emotionally until his death.
in 1952.

*Long Lance* is also a detective story. Donald B. Smith was first attracted to Long Lance in the fall of 1974 after he moved from Toronto to Calgary where he had taken up his post in Canadian history at the University of Calgary. Relentlessly, with the help of many individuals whom he generously acknowledges, the author tracked down Long Lance's identity until the subject was exposed as an impostor. About five years followed in which Donald B. Smith exhaustively researched and put together this study of a very exceptional individual. It will stand on its own as an original piece of scholarship and it should attract a wide readership because it is well written and interesting. *Long Lance* is a real contribution to the writing of Canadian history and to Native Studies.

Nevertheless, one could quibble with Long Lance in a few places. There is no map in this book with which to follow Long Lance's geographical perambulations throughout the United States, Canada and Europe. There are no chapter headings or titles in the Notes, thus making it difficult to compare the notes and the text. A genealogical chart would have been helpful to understand Long Lance's mixed ancestry. However, there are some good photographs. While, to his credit, Donald B. Smith does not portray his white characters as cardboard figures (they are examined as well) they often appear as villains, the most notable being the "dangerous underlings", the Department of Indian Affairs officials, Duncan Campbell Scott and Bill Graham. Today, some commentators jump on the Indian political bandwagon and condemn the Department of Indian Affairs for most, if not all, of the ills of the Indian people in Canada. However, it is also important for the historian to understand the past. In *Long Lance*, Donald B. Smith makes moral judgments, but they are informed and based on a full understanding of the past. One can only quibble with the author's moral tone. It is not really necessary the racial prejudice in this story speaks loudly for itself in the historical documentation.

There is one final bit of irony about *Long Lance*. The copy of the photograph of Long Lance on the dustcover appears for some reason to have been partly cut off. In the left hand corner, below Chief Buffalo Child Long Lance's picture in a ubiquitous Indian costume, are the words "Chief Buffalo Child Long". He was born a "Long", He lived "Long Lance", He died a "Long". This is a story of a true impostor.

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Tarasoff, Koozma J.: *Persistent Ceremonialism: The Plains Cree and Saulteaux.*
In the mid-1960's Koozma Tarasoff spent nearly two years studying the four reserves in the area of Broadview, Saskatchewan which comprise the Crooked Lake Agency. Three of the reserves -- Cowessess, Kahkewistahaw and Ochapowace -- are mainly Plains Cree while the fourth - Sakimay - is primarily Saulteaux. His report on the persistence of indigenous ceremonialism within the Bands includes transcripts of several taped interviews, ninety-nine photographs, some sketches, and a description of the traditional ceremonies. The report, however, comes off in the end as a great disappointment, the result of an inadequate or incomplete separation of the elements in persistent ceremonialism. Although the report represents conventional ethnographic methodology (for which we are provided only a sample of the data collected), Tarasoff fails to approach his subject, using the data, with any certain objectivity. His subjective description really requires much more extensive interpretation, a burden placed on the reader.

A case in point is his definition of persistence in a culture, "basically related to isolation and to people's failure to perceive innovation or change as rewarding. Change . . . implies that people are rewarded for doing certain things in a different way or for adopting new elements and new ways of behaviour" (p. 15). It is difficult to accept this supposition when one considers the certain amount of active persistence with tradition evident among native groups in large urban centers, definitely not people living in cultural seclusion. Witness, in contrast to the idea that isolation is the main variable in persistence, the life of a native urban resident and his personal ties with tradition, which we are speaking of here as ceremonialism but for all intents and purposes could include other aspects of Indian society, namely religion, art, language, etc. The moot question would be what are the rewards that natives get or receive by continuing to perform these ceremonies and what function do they still serve, particularly among the bands of the Crooked Lake Agency?

The answers to these sorts of questions can actually be found throughout the book, but strewn, through the pages in an uncollated fashion. It might be that the author only felt it necessary to give explicit documentation at the expense of lengthy, but demanding, analysis. Tarasoff begins with a chapter on the local people and their historical background, principally on how these people arrived at their present location. He follows this with a chapter giving details about his chief informants, and a final chapter outlining selected ceremonies that have survived among the bands. These three chapters leave much to be desired. The book needs more complete coverage of the actual events in ceremonies profiling the structure and how the system relates to the Indian society it represents. The accompanying photographs do provide some excellent shots in the construction and preparation of the ceremonial lodges, but the actual procession, ritual and passages are never detailed.

As a comparative base Tarasoff employs David Mandelbauym's The Plains
Cree, first published in 1940. The efficacy of this type of comparison may be queried with the argument that if a traditional ceremony is still being performed as it was forty or one hundred years ago, then there is nothing to compare since all one can say really is that the ceremony is being continued. If perhaps it has changed in some way, then the change would be significant, yet this is not entirely established by the author either. If any changes had occurred it would be worth knowing what was newly incorporated or deleted, and why. For the purposes of persistence, however, better comparative work might be accomplished by considering the subject intertribally, as each tribe would have a specific reason and means for performing ceremonies. It would be interesting to see in what ways contemporary persistence was similar to or different from others, and how it was characterized in the four bands of the study. Particularly we would want to look at interaction among the bands and the participation of the individuals during the ceremonies, as well as the conditions dominating the actions that lead to having a ceremony; these situations are only vaguely referred to by the author.

The four informants (there were actually five accredited to the study but the fifth, Paul Whiteman, is not mentioned throughout the text, even though he is a principal performer and bearer of tradition) are described based upon four criteria: family life, recollections of the past, participation in ceremonialism, and reflections about the future. This is somewhat general in that the exact role of each in the ceremonies is never explained, especially as the individuals each have their own way of practicing a ceremony. The information gathered from the respondents, in fact, permits this kind of comparison to be made but appears to be neglected by Tarasoff.

Another discrepancy in this report is his description of marriage ceremonies on the reserves, which he found to be "practically the same as those outside. The only exception was the noise ritual that accompanies the bride and groom when they travel back from the church to home... a .22 caliber rifle was fired from the back of the truck during the procession" (p. 21). This would all seem irrelevant to the subject since, again, the actual rites and ritual are never described, and begs the question "is it truly persistent ceremonialism when the wedding takes place in a (presumably) Christian church?" As for the exception of the noise ritual, it bears remarkable resemblance to the honking of car horns during the same procession in any other Christian wedding. (One informant, Felix Paniipekeesick, did make other quite notable analogies between native ceremonialism and the Christian practices).

An indispensable part of the book is the information contained in the ten appendices, which include condensed interviews with four informants, a fair documentation on the songs and music played during the ceremonies, questionnaire responses from interviews with the local inhabitants, a list of the medicinal roots used by the native healers on the reserves, and a comprehensive account of researcher participant observations at some of the ceremonies. From these sections the reader is able to gain a moderate understanding of the processes of indigenous ceremonies and what is involved in carrying them out. Students are resigned to make interpretations and draw their own conclusions in the main
from the taped interviews.

Overall, Persistent Ceremonialism is medial as an ethnographic account, for the text does not suitably supplement the data which the author provides. It does not tell us much about the current life of the Plains Cree or Saulteaux. How do band members react to the ceremonies? What is the socio-cultural perspective of these ceremonies? Tarasoff's resulting analysis was never put into the stated perspective of "how the social group (and the ritual elders in particular) contribute to the identity, stability, and survival of the Native culture" (p. iii). For instance, there is no quantitative analysis of the questionnaire responses from the interviews from which we may note opposing views or changing attitudes towards traditional ceremonialism.

The true impact of the book, though, is that some Native traditional habits will disappear in a very short while. This leaves one thinking that a sequel to his study, properly analysing the data, or even a restudy to see the changes since this research was conducted, may be in order. Tarasoff's record is of recent ceremonies, initially developed since the coming of the Europeans. The Indians have altered their lifestyle for elements more rewarding, but did so materially, not spiritually. What is significant is not the way in which they adapted in order to survive, but that the values they placed on the adopted items (e.g. guns and metal utensils) did not change to a large extent. As a generalized statement then, we may say that the persistence of traditional ceremonies acts as an adjustment mechanism for the changing society, allowing it to retain a separate cultural identity. After a hundred years of poor dealings with natives because of cultural differences, the onus is on anthropologists and students to bridge this gap. In order to deal with the Indian people we first have to know who they are and understand them before any judgements or decisions are made regarding their livelihood (if they should be made at all). It is studies such as this paper which will aid us in doing so.

This study will also prove useful for the type of comparison advocated in this review. The replication of uniformity and organization present in the native ceremonies is substantially related to the interaction, integration and unification of modern native people. There is a real necessity to find out how persistent ceremonialisrn represents our native people, and, in fact, discovering who are our native people now, today.

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"Rubaboo" we learn is the stew that could be made from that staple of the Canadian West, pemmican, and a variety of wild vegetables. Rubaboo is equally a potpourri, in this case of information on the domestic arts of the Red River area.

The cultural mosaic of the Red River area of the early 1800's ... Indian, Scots, French and Metis - produced a unique lifestyle. Individuals of different backgrounds coped with the same problems of survival and came up with novel solutions. In a harsh environment, the problems of survival were basic ones and it was as always the women of the community who provided the creature comforts using the materials at hand. 

Rubaboo is a "how-to" booklet of some selected aspects of cookery, herbal medicines, sewing, spinning and dyes and making household utensils. Clearly written and nicely illustrated, it is intended to pique the interest in the skills of a by-gone day. However, it is by no means a comprehensive study of the subject!

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The fur trade is not dead. In a humorous and clever spoof, Gerald Vizenor has coined the phrase "the new fur trade" to describe the cultural word wars which have characterized Indian and white relations. With a long and complex oral tradition the Indian has had the clear advantage in this war. The Indian too, has a much subtler view of categories of animate and inanimate. Actual arrows in fact are as much a creation of words as of stone. "The arrowmaker is pre-eminent the man made of words." Words are arrows, arrows are words. Vizenor's word arrows, are aimed straight at the white heart.

Arrowmakers and wordmakers survive then in Indian culture within a context of sacred memories. And there is still the fur trade, different to be sure, but with "factors" more insidious than the old. They are the white educators, professionals, and religious leaders who separate themselves in wordless social and political categories. They become the special targets of Vizenor's satire.

The greater part of the book is made up of stories with a strange caste of characters, some very human and real, others bizarre and ridiculous, but all participants, and usually victims in the word wars. The central figure is Clement Beaulieu, social worker, tribal advocate, but mostly the Trickster, who balances forces of good and evil through humor. Beaulieu is really a representation of the author. Writing about himself as a character with a created name allows omni-
science and descriptive license not possible in the first person. Beaulieu, like Vizenor is of native ancestry. He becomes a vehicle for an Indian perspective that the person of Vizenor, a university professor and former journalist, might not allow.

Most of the narratives of the first part of the book have their setting in the large urban reservation in Minneapolis. It is a no-man's land where native people face an unfeeling and uncomprehending bureaucracy. The Bureau of Indian Affairs feeds on linear words from field reports, swelling on white paper and indifferent research, with little understanding of the urban reservation. Some urban Indians cope in their own way, others cannot cope at all. Rattling Hail, one legged veteran of the recent white man's war, is his own man who concocts his own ceremonies. Other than a plastic leg, he is also distinguished by unusually good teeth. Rattling Hail cares little for Indian preoccupations with sacred names as distinct from descriptive names. Rattling Hail is Rattling Hail. Marleen American Horse, has little else to cling to except a secret and sacred tribal name. She drinks constantly to ease the guilt and pain for having given herself to white men. Her children have been taken from her. She comes to Beaulieu, now the social worker, asking for help from his agency or any agency. Beaulieu is brutally frank. He tells her that agencies have no cures because they speak white words about her problem. "Drink if you must, in good humor with the courage of a warrior, but never drink to solve a problem."

As the narratives progress, the protagonists become less the Trickster and more the Clown. Crazy Horse, of the Sioux arrowstocracy, also answers to Sitting Bull. He may be crazy, but he puts Farlie Border, alias George Armstrong Custer, an evil bureaucrat, in his place. The most absurd character, and perhaps the funniest, is a mixed blood, Girlie Blahswomann. Her lover is appropriately named, Slowarrow. She is one of the last of the flower children. She squeezes fruit and then sells the juice on the streets of Berkeley, California. She is also a university student, with majors in aura cleaning, reincarnation communications and scenario sympathies. Her dream is to follow a jumpback whale with a tape recorder and listen and learn his ancient songs.

There is little humor in the last part of the book, although a courtroom locale, is an ideal place for a continuation of the word wars. Thomas James White Hawk, handsome tribesman and premedical student at the University of South Dakota in Vermillion, in a drunken rampage, entered the home of a white couple. He bound and raped the wife and battered the husband to pulp with an iron skillet. He was sentenced to the electric chair. Beaulieu attended the trial and then led a successful movement to have the sentence commuted. Understandably, these efforts created an explosive racial atmosphere. Beaulieu probes deep into White Hawk's psyche in an attempt to understand. He does so with sympathy and deep emotion, but given the enormity of the crime, his caricatures of the judge, the sheriff, and the townspeople, seem in poor taste.

The book as a whole shows that a healthy mix of humor, ribaldry, and pathos still characterizes the native perspective on life. Oral traditions are very much alive despite the grim realities of new forms of colonial oppression. The mysteries and the secrets of these traditions have been kept out of reach of

By the summer of 1968 the "Indian problem" had been forced upon the agenda of the Trudeau government. Since the establishment of a Joint Committee in 1959, successive administrations had sought to define and confront the issues in Indian Affairs. The Hawthorn Report vividly documented Indian poverty, unemployment and disadvantage, and even while it was in progress several programs were initiated to improve Indian conditions and reduce dependence on government. Indian advisory boards were formed in 1965, later to be replaced by a series of local meetings for direct consultation with Indian people. The Land Claims Commission explored treaty rights and exposed the question of aboriginal rights. Community development programs attempted to encourage local enterprise and serf-reliance. What Trudeau inherited was a situation in which the awareness of a need for change was widespread, and an aroused expectation on the part of Indians that their views were at last to be taken seriously. To this was added the imperative of the Liberal election platform, with its promise to create a Just Society. The studies and programs of the 1960's had left no doubt that Indians were the poorest, least healthy, most inadequately housed and most underemployed segment in Canadian society. They could not be ignored.

The first step in the policy-making process is the accurate definition of the problem to be solved; in this case it was seen as Indian poverty on the one hand and federal paternalism, which denied Indians the opportunity to develop their own initiatives, on the other. The answer to this problem seemed obvious: remove the smothering paternalism by terminating all special legislation and bureaucracy imposed on Indians, and after a transitional period of enriched financial assistance turn the Indians free to live as equal citizens of Canada. When Jean Chretien revealed the government's proposals in the White Paper of June 1969 he identified the Indian Act itself as a primary culprit. The special status it enshrined was to be abolished, and all those services hitherto provided by the federal government were to be transferred to the provinces so that Indians would be served by the same sources as all other Canadians. Within five years the Department of Indian Affairs would no longer be necessary, and no significant distinctions would remain between Indian and non-Indian in
Canada. Although the term "assimilation" was avoided, it was the dominating conceptual inspiration for the White Paper.

Unfortunately the authors of the White Paper had not in fact defined the problem accurately, and therefore the policy changes emanating from it were inappropriate. Within one year the government had to amend its agenda and in March 1971 the White Paper was withdrawn. Its failure was inherent in the policy-making process itself, and it is to explain this process and to reveal its weakness that Dr. Weaver has written her book. Fundamental to the White Paper's ultimate demise, she argues, was the neglect of Indian opinion throughout the framing period. Had Indian people been consulted systematically the information upon which "the problem" was defined would have been quite different and so, consequently, would have been the preferred solutions. As it was, Indians almost unanimously denounced the White Paper, resenting both its suggested reforms and the means used to arrive at them. Between July 1968 and March 1969, a period directly parallel to the White Paper's formulation, consultation meetings had been proceeding on the Indian Act. Indian speakers had clearly stated their commitment to special status, and they were led to believe that their wishes were being considered. Their disappointment with the content of the White Paper was combined with a sense of betrayal to produce a response which Dr. Weaver considers unique in the history of Indian-government relations. Another area of neglect identified by Dr. Weaver was the corpus of previous studies and recommendations, including the government-commissioned Hawthorn Report, which had rejected the termination of special status and could have provided policy alternatives to the framers of the White Paper. Once Indian and specialist opposition was voiced the wider Canadian public and the press made known their own discontent. Already conscious of Indian disadvantage, sensitized to the issues of minority rights by the social movements of the 1960's, and committed to those ideals of popular participation expressed in the 1968 election campaign, Canadian voters could not condone a government policy created in secrecy and against the articulated demands of the Indian people. The White Paper became politically untenable.

How a well-intentioned, politically sophisticated government produced such an unacceptable document forms the core of Dr. Weaver's analysis. Trudeau set out to rationalize the decision-making process, reconstituting the Prime Minister's Office and the Privy Council Office to provide alternative sources of advice to the normal departmental channels. Civil servants with long experience in the Department of Indian Affairs were pitted against the "activists" in the Privy Council Office who were unfettered by the traditional way of doing things and who equally were ignorant of specialized knowledge. Robert Andras was appointed Minister-without-Portfolio to facilitate novel policy solutions, thus creating a confusion of styles, duties and intentions with Jean Chretien, the Minister for Indian Affairs. The structures Trudeau created were, ironically, substantially responsible for the limitations of the policy-maker's vision and for the exclusive involvement of ministers, their advisers, and senior civil servants in the White Paper process. Trudeau can further be held responsible for the ideological climate which infused and inhibited the policy framers. For
philosophical reasons the Prime Minister opposed any kind of special status, believing that freedoms and rights belong to individuals rather than to collectivities. The White Paper reflected this philosophical position, not the realities of a historically-created Indian situation. Declaring that the future could not be chained by the past, Trudeau effectively banished from consideration the most important single body of information available: the historical evolution of the Indian condition and of the government policies designed to affect it.

*Making Canadian Indian Policy* is a model of its genre. It will become an essential part of the literature on Canadian policy analysis, and it makes a direct and considerable contribution to an understanding of Indian Affairs in Canada. Dr. Weaver's research embraced the standard sources in Native history and sociology, public administration, and the host of government documents and published reports dealing with her subject. In addition she acquired access to unpublished memoranda, and her use of personal interviews contributes immeasurably to the information provided and to the interpretation of it. Formal documents are often "strategy statements", she explains, and only through the penetrating interview can the genuine intent be discerned. As a result of her research method Dr. Weaver has reconstructed in convincing detail the inner process of policy formulation, the personalities, considerations and conflicts which influence so much of government policy but which normally remain hidden from public view. This wealth of material information has been organized by Dr. Weaver to unfold in a logical fashion, always explaining and never anticipating. Indeed her presentation grips the reader like a detective story. Although anyone interested enough to read this book will already be aware of the outcome, she holds the attention page by page as the full story emerges. Aside from being an important book, it can be recommended as a "good read".

Dr. Weaver's analysis deserves to have a lasting significance for those involved in the development of Canadian Indian policy. She has contributed to the "corporate memory" of the Department of Indian Affairs, to inform officials of past policies and their implications. But this is no simplistic blueprint for application to future situations. Like a true historian, Dr. Weaver has explained the events of 1968 - 1970 as a dynamic situation with unique components, and she demonstrates both what was done and what was left undone. Her own hidden agenda is a careful argument for historical awareness on the part of policy makers. By ignoring the lessons of history the authors of the White Paper proposed an assimilationist policy which had been tried repeatedly, in various but always unsuccessful ways, since 1830. By neglecting the forces which created an Indian collectivity and produced a shared condition of disadvantage, they treated Indian poverty as a contemporary aberration amenable to individual correction. By looking only to an idealized future they took a structural approach to reform, as if institutions and laws make men rather than vice versa, and declined to consult the people whose active collaboration was a sine qua non for success. An exactly analogous situation is unlikely to recur, but Dr. Weaver has outlined the kind of questions to be asked and the factors to be considered in any future policy review. Everyone concerned with Canadian
public affairs, as participant or analyst, is in her debt.

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