BOOK REVIEWS


In *kwayask é-kí-pê-kiskinowâpahtihicik: Their Example Showed Me the Way*, Freda Ahenakew and H.C. Wolfart have added another fine book to the growing collection of lectures, stories, and reminiscences of Plains Cree Elders. As in an earlier volume of Ahenakew and Wolfart (1992), the stories in this volume are about a woman's life and from a woman's perspective. Because Freda Ahenakew, who recorded the stories, is herself a Cree Elder, a fluent speaker of the language, and a woman, these accounts are particularly free and instructive.

The stories in this volume are basically about Emma Minde’s (b. 1907) upbringing and training for her role in adult life. The stories include childhood memories of her education both at home and at residential school; the story of her arranged marriage to a man in another community whom she had never met; and finally, her training as a young wife and mother by the women in her husband’s family—in particular, her mother-in-law, Mary-Jane Minde, and aunt, Mary Minde. Also included are parallel accounts of the arranged marriages of these two older women, Mary-Jane and Mary.

The most profound message in Emma Minde’s words involves faith—not necessarily faith associated with any particular religion (though her words are couched in terms of her strong Roman Catholic faith), but simply faith. It was faith in her parents that helped her to accept marriage to a man whom she had never seen. It was faith in the wisdom and goodness of the Elders in her new household that helped her accept and grow to love their son, her new husband. It was faith in *kisê-manitow* (God) which gave her the strength and courage not to give up in the most difficult times.

In these faithless times, the real audience for Emma Minde’s stories is the Cree youth of today and the parents of those young people. She considers the role of teaching and counselling young people to be paramount for parents and grandparents. As stated in numerous ways through-
out the text, parents and Elders should not be afraid to counsel the young, even at the risk of upsetting them and making them angry. If you keep reminding them, in words as well as by actions, how to behave and how to live, they will remember it one day and be thankful for it. Counselling, of course, must occur in an atmosphere of kindness, acceptance, and respect.

With regard to the texts themselves, Emma Minde’s autobiographical stories are told and recorded in Cree and faithfully transcribed and translated to English by the editorial team. As in previous editions, the Cree text (in Roman orthography) and the English translation are presented on facing pages. But unlike their previous works (cf. Ahenakew, 1987; Ahenakew and Wolfart, 1992, 1998; Wolfart and Ahenakew, 1993), there is no separate version of the text in Cree syllabics. This book has three main sections, an introduction by H.C. Wolfart, the main body of the texts (pp.1-150), and the Cree-English glossary with English-Cree index (pp.151-275).

The Cree "cimowina "stories" and the glossary will serve as a rich source of information and data not only for linguists and students of the Cree language, but for a wide range of readers including ethnographers and historians. This volume will especially interest those who are looking at women’s changing roles in this critical period of upheaval in Cree culture and society.

There is also much to consider here for scholars looking at the role played by Christianity and its related institutions in the current state of First Nations cultures. At a time when we are overwhelmed by stories of misery and abuse at the hands of various religious orders and by the boarding-school system in general, this book provides another view on this complex subject as noted in Wolfart’s introductory remarks. It is remarkable how harmonious were the teachings of the Roman Catholic church with traditional (and highly spiritual) Cree values in Emma Minde’s experience. Nor is this view uncommon among Cree Elders; in fact, the Roman Catholic church, in many communities in Northern Saskatchewan and Alberta, was considered the “Indian Church” while the Anglican and other churches were “White”. This is evidenced in Ahenakew and Wolfart where one of the grandmothers (Glecia Bear) states: “I do not know what one should believe, the Catholic church or the White-Man’s religions (i.e., the Protestant religions)... I myself still follow it [the Catholic Church] all the way; what my parents had taught me... (1992:127).”

This does not mean that the Catholic Church is innocent of any wrongdoing with respect to First Nations people and their cultures. Clearly, however, there are a great many factors to consider in this complex issue. This book simply provides another perspective on the matter.
**Book Reviews**

*kwayask ê-kî-pê-kiskinowâpahtihicik: Their Example Showed Me the Way* is a very attractive volume and it is a welcome addition to any library—both in appearance and in content.

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1993 *kinêhiyáwiwinaw nêhiyawêwin: The Cree Language is Our Identity. The La Ronge Lectures of Sarah Whitecalf.* Winnipeg, Manitoba: The University of Manitoba Press.


The title of Ward Churchill's book is as sarcastic as it is provocative, because genocide is always an atrocious crime against humanity involving a large number of victims of specific race, religion or ethnicity. The word “genocide” has been heavily politicized and used loosely by people with a variety of political agendas, invariably to condemn their opponents’ acts as deserving the harshest of moral condemnations and legal retribution.
Churchill's text is an exception. In fact it is scholarship committed to social change in the best tradition of C. Wright Mills.

Although there exist different interpretations of the concept (both in its legal meaning and as a sociological definition), genocide is essentially a deliberate, organized and systematic destruction of a group in substantial numbers, or in total. The U.N. Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide (1948) defines the term as acts intended to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group by killing, causing serious bodily or mental harm to group members, and deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life so as to cause its physical destruction. Preventing births within the group, and the forcible transfer of children to another group, could also constitute acts of genocide. For the legal definition of genocide, as a crime under international law, intent is a critical aspect because it is an inherent part of the legal concept of crime.

Ward Churchill, Professor of American Indian Studies at the University of Colorado (Boulder), challenges the traditional portrayal of the United States' historical creation and development. On the contrary, the reader of this book encounters its history as a "slaughter-bench" (Hegel's term), actions soaked in the blood of the Aboriginal people of the Americas, whose populations were far more numerous than is commonly believed or depicted in schoolbooks and even in the scholarly works of academics from Berkeley and Harvard. Once and for all the author dispels the idealized picture of how America was "discovered" and how the West was "settled" by Whites. Churchill instead recounts the ruthless extermination of more than 50 million Natives in the span of some 400 years, resulting in an unquestionable genocide of major proportions.

The book is in fact a collection of nine essays around a common theme. The longest essay (some 160 pages) deals with the extermination of North American Indians, 1607-1996. A shorter essay documents the destruction of Aborigines in Mezoamerica and South America from 1492 to 1992. This particular essay depicts genocidal acts against the Aché Indians in Paraguay during the 1960s and '70s, as well as the systematic destruction of the Indian tribes in the Amazon areas of Colombia and Brazil. Chile, Guatemala, El Salvador, and Costa Rica are also cited for this extreme violation of human rights. "Thus, the Iberian tradition of inflicting the utmost lethal savagery upon the indigenous peoples of America has been maintained up until the present era," concludes Churchill (p.109).

The first three essays deal with denial: denial of the Jewish Holocaust by contemporary revisionists, and the comparable denial of the holocaust of the American Natives. The last three essays single out the U.S. government for particular criticism, especially over the forty years delay in their
ratification of the U.N. Genocide Convention (finally ratified in 1988). Latent racism, the American treatment of Natives and Afro-Americans and the genocidal nature of the Vietnam War are the real reasons Churchill posits for this delay, rather than the formal objections to a higher international law that would supposedly threaten American sovereignty. Particularly significant here is the point elaborated by the author in Chapter Eight, that the American government has institutionalized “genocide as an instrument of state power” (p.392). The charge of genocide thus becomes a political condemnation only of those murderous actions which have failed to receive the sanction of the U.S. Only those which have not, are to be punished, while those which have, are rewarded and the regimes which perpetrated them are even described as “democratic” (p.391-392). These double standards are undoubtedly pronounced features of foreign policy of modern states such as the U.S.A., Canada and China. Thus to the examples of Indochina, Iraq, Guatemala and Colombia, given by the author, we could add new ones: Serb ethnic cleansing and genocidal massacres in Bosnia-Herzegovina are labelled “genocide” (and probably rightly so), while the persecutions and ethnic cleansing (which included genocidal massacres of thousands), of Serbs and Muslims by the Croat forces in Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina are not, and were in fact, supported in 1991, 1993 and 1995 by the U.S.

The author criticizes the so-called thesis of uniqueness of the Holocaust and its protagonists Yehuda Bauer and Steven Katz. In Churchill's opinion, by insisting on the Holocaust uniqueness they are indirectly denying the scope and magnitude of other genocides. Churchill is also critical of the new genocide scholarship for too frequent restrictive interpretation of the concept of genocide (reducing genocide to mass killing of group members). While he agrees with genocide scholars that political groups and economic groups (classes), should be included in the legal concept of genocide, he considers the accepted legal concept (of the Genocide Convention), to be a degeneration from the originally proposed idea by Raphael Lemkin, whose concept was much broader, incorporating group destruction and destruction of culture (so-called “ethnocide”). Although critical of the Jewish promoters of the idea of Holocaust uniqueness (Bauer, Katz, Lipstadt, Goldhagen), Churchill frequently quotes with approval the works and ideas of other genocide scholars such as H. Huttenbach, H. Fein, B. Harff, R.J. Lifton, E. Markusen, R. Smith, F. Chalk and K. Jonassohn. The last two are Canadians (Concordia University), and Churchill is quite critical of their definition of genocide for being restrictive, naïve and unrealistic. Particularly justified is his critique with reference to these authors' stance that genocide and war are mutually exclusive. Churchill, however, misses another aspect
of Chalk-Jonassohn's text *The History and Sociology of Genocide* (1990), namely, their extremely soft and mild portrayal of the destiny of the Indians of the Americas. The reader, the student, gets an impression that what happened was really not a genocide, but rather a few massacres, and mostly epidemics that decimated the Aborigines. And this is precisely what Churchill is militating against, so his critical pen should not have missed this point.

In the last chapter ("Defining the Unthinkable"), in a quite creative endeavour the author proposes a revision of the text of the U.N. Genocide Convention to include "a functional definition" (pp.431-435). The revised definition would outline three types: physical genocide, biological genocide, and cultural genocide. A proposal for establishing four degrees of culpability pertaining to the commission of genocide is also included.

Churchill is controversial, and he knows it. His writings have been subjected to critical examination in the latest issue of *Holocaust and Genocide Studies* by Gavriel D. Rosenfeld. Reflecting critically on genocide scholarship with reference to the thesis of the uniqueness of the Jewish Holocaust, Rosenfeld disputes Churchill's claim that insistence on the uniqueness of the Jewish Holocaust equals denial of other genocides. In his opinion, Churchill "not only underlined the parallels between the Holocaust and the Native American genocide, but also stressed the similarities between the Nazi persecution of Jews and non-Jews alike" (Rosenfeld, 1999:41). It is an interesting point because Churchill suggests that the Nazis murdered two million Polish Jews, while at the same time they killed two million non-Jewish Poles. Rosenfeld, however, claims further that Churchill's work is "... marred by careless research, historical errors and recklessly tendentious political barbs" (p.43). He further insists that intent remains a crucial difference between the Holocaust of the Jews and the destruction of Native Americans. Supposedly all the Jewish deaths were intended by the Nazis, while in contrast Native Americans (although killed intentionally as well) suffered losses from "... diseases contracted through simple contact with Europeans, who did not, it should be stressed, arrive in the New World bent upon extermination" (p.43). He also feels that "... the claim that Jewish scholars of the Holocaust have actively and intentionally promoted the denial of other genocides is simply unsustainable" (ibid., p.44-5). On this point Rosenfeld may be correct because only in the stance of Steven Katz (and perhaps Danial Goldhagen) are we in the presence of extreme exclusivism, where only the Holocaust qualifies as true genocide. Both have been criticized by numerous genocide scholars as "hyping the Holocaust". Rosenfeld also points out Churchill's own inconsistencies and double standards in criticizing the thesis of uniqueness on the part of the
Jewish scholars, while himself asserting the uniqueness of the American holocaust of the Indians. Rosenfeld concludes that “...Churchill emulates the very practice he claims to oppose” (p.46).

With its more than 500 pages, the book is very well documented. It includes a bibliography, index, ten photographs, extensive notes following each chapter, plus additional comments in footnotes. The only technical drawback is that the individual essays are not assigned numbers for easier reference. David Stannard, the author of *American Holocaust* (1992), has written a seven page preface. Churchill has produced a good, critical and thought-provoking book from which I have personally learned a lot.

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Susan Drummond provides philosophical, sociological and legal vignettes on contemporary Inuit relations with the Canadian legal system. She presents these ideas by using her own experiences and observations as a graduate student in law and social work among the Inuit of Kuujjuaq, Nunavik’s administrative center in northern Quebec. Although these vignettes do not merge into a clear picture, they collectively examine how law and custom differed between the Inuit and Dominion/Provincial authori-
ties. The book’s theoretical basis derives from Wittgenstein’s *Philosophical Investigation*. In particular, his insight that socio-cultural background largely determines one’s understanding of the meanings of law (or “a rule”), legal sensibility, and national/regional identity clearly has greatly influenced her.

In her comparison of the legal sensibilities of the Inuit and the Canadian government authorities, Drummond emphasizes the ethnocentric practices of lawyers, politicians, and scholars. The chapter on “Toponymy and Its Object” details this cross-cultural tension and miscommunication. For example, in drawing maps of northern “Quebec” and documenting Inuit place names, ethnographers created male-centric and politicized accounts of Inuit cosmology and territorial perception. Historians neglected the chronologically dynamic Inuit sense of history that connected the past to the present and the future. In addition, as Drummond observed in the early 1990s, circuit court judges and lawyers handled Inuit cases without recognizing Inuit customary law.

Drummond’s cross-cultural analysis also acknowledges that Inuit people often manipulated the trial process and incorporated unfamiliar Canadian legal and value systems to make something of their own. Drummond notes that since the establishment of the James Bay and Northern Quebec Agreement in 1976, “Inuit response to the southern legal system on their territory has been a complex mix of appropriation, resistance, toleration, and reciprocity” (p.59). For instance, many Inuit resisted speaking French and protested against the provincial language policy bill of 1977, while they gradually adjusted their customary practices of adoption to the alien provincial adoption law.

In the conclusion, Drummond suggests that this mixture of response in both Inuit and Canadian societies will lead to the emergence of what she calls an Aboriginal common law and intellectual common law. Each society has incorporated the unfamiliar, or, more precisely, what it thought to be the unfamiliar, within the context of its own socio-cultural understanding. If unfamiliarity exists only within familiar understanding in a certain society, “incorporating the familiar” logically represents the cross-cultural relations examined in this book. However, Drummond does not indicate whether she believes these two common laws will share some overlapped sensibilities or whether some creolized form of culture can emerge out of the two.

Overall, Drummond’s book offers many intriguing philosophical insights and is recommended to those who are interested in the quest for a philosophical and sociological pondering of cross-cultural relations. However, readers who are interested in Nunavik history and culture may want to consult other books as well. In particular, the discussion of two cases of Inuit domestic violence in the chapter on “Children Under the Bed” needs
more explanation of why the author used these stories to prove that "cultures are constituted by different and often contending sets of experiences" (p.24). Even though the author says at one point that these stories are "shared" in Kuujjuaq, questions still remain as to the extent to which domestic violence has affected the community and how it has become connected with Nunavik legal sensibilities.

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The Royal British Columbia Museum's re-release of Wilson Duff's *The Indian History of British Columbia: The Impact of the Whiteman*, is a welcome reprint of an important book. For many years, Duff's 1965 book was the central work that examined the relationship between Euro-Canadians and Indian people in British Columbia. It was not until Robin Fisher published his 1977 book *Contact and Conflict* that any sort of a detailed study approaching Duff's work appeared. Even after Fisher's work, Duff's book remains an important text for understanding the relationship between Euro-Canadians and Indians in British Columbia. Duff wrote this book as the first of a series. Other volumes were to include a series of ethnic histories as well as studies of pre-contact British Columbian Indian life. Unfortunately Duff never finished the other works but his first still stands as a measuring stick for those interested in the Indians of British Columbia.

The publishers of this edition have left the text of the book unchanged but have added additional pictures, an appendix updating the names and territories of First Nations living in British Columbia, a new list of recommended readings, and an index. Although these are welcome additions to the book, the publishers could have made *The Indian History of British Columbia: The Impact of the Whiteman* an even more valuable piece of work. For example, in table five a list of the 1965 First Nations' names accompanied with the modern names and pronunciation is provided. With this table the editors have provided readers with a useful way to trace the changes in names that have occurred over the last 25 years. However, the
editors missed the opportunity to provide an updated breakdown of Band names and affiliations as well as more current population statistics.

The back cover of the book advertises a "new list of recommended readings". The publishers could have provided readers with a complete update of the literature that has been produced on the subject since Duff’s book was first published. However, their attempt falls far short of what was anticipated by this reader, the list being less than two pages in length and amounting to only twenty titles. Surely this does not accurately reflect the literature that was produced regarding B.C. Indian history between 1965 and 1997! The editors of the book have overlooked a plethora of journal articles and books from manifold sources. Of course, not every title can be included in a suggested reading list but in this reviewer’s opinion twenty titles does not adequately represent the available literature.

Yet still, the reprinting of Duff’s book is welcome. The Indian History of British Columbia: The Impact of the Whiteman is still the starting point for those interested in examining the relationship that existed between Indian and Euro-Canadian people in what became British Columbia. By leaving the original text intact, the publishers have also kept the interpretations of the 1960s alive. If one keeps in mind the period that this book was written in and compares it to more recent works, one not only sees how interpretations have changed over more than thirty years but also how sound was much of Duff’s scholarship. The Royal British Columbia Museum should be commended for making Duff’s book available at an affordable price. The re-issuing of this work means that another generation of readers will have exposure to one of the pioneers in the study of Indian/Euro-Canadian history.

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*Images of Justice* connects art and law. It takes actual court cases which dealt with Inuit customary law and depicts them through the traditional aesthetic form of carving. By using a kind of extended case method the author presents insights into Canadian legal history in the north. For example, we are introduced to a couple of far-sighted judges and their unique actions. Apparently both Judge Sissons and Judge Morrow were way ahead of their time in terms of legal thinking and practice.

Using the collection of carving at the Northwest Territories Supreme Court in Yellowknife, Eber records in an unconventional manner the trials taking place. The carvings are unmistakably Inuit in shape and characteristic features as well as in material and techniques used. The informative strength of the text is thus manifold. In my view it is no exaggeration to state that the text comes close to both legal anthropology and the anthropology of ethnic art. In a personal and skilled way Eber blends the two perspectives, and this is impressive considering that the book is written by a non-anthropologist. Eber is a knowledgeable and highly professional writer whose primary interest and concern is documentary reportage. As an anthropologist engaged in research focusing on legal anthropological issues and diverse aesthetic manifestations, especially in a Fourth World context, I am deeply impressed by Eber's achievement.

The text is organized as follows. First a Prologue introduces the theme—legal history viewed through a specific collection of Inuit carvings, 1956-1970. Eber then presents the Northwest Territories Supreme Court and its history, ending with thoughts about the future, particularly in connection to the implementation of Nunavut (1999). The bulk of the text describes the different court cases (14), each treated in sufficient detail appropriate to the nature of the case. Here criminal justice/customary law are explored; moreover, we can follow how a judge tries to remove himself from state-law thinking in order to reach decisions based on an understanding of cultural difference. This effort enabled some important precedent-setting verdicts recognizing Aboriginal customary rights to be attained. A brief account of current practices and an Epilogue conclude the book. In the latter the special collection of Inuit sculpture is discussed more specifically.

Eber's book is both full of insight and enjoyable, and the numerous cases give far more than a trivial understanding of a complicated matter. One gets a general impression of the very substance of Inuit customs/cus-
tomary law and also of the impact of legal pluralism in practice. Whenever the right people, in this case two judges, are in the position to influence a process towards recognition of Indigenous customary rights, progress can be made.

The book is indeed a sympathetic read. I recommend it to scholars and students who share an interest in a most topical subject matter, and also to readers in general. The book is completely devoid of scholarly jargon, and therefore accessible to a wide public.

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Gerhard Ens’ study of the Red River Métis argues that Métis identity was not defined by religion or by who one’s relatives were, but rather by “the economic and social niche they carved out for themselves in the fur trade” (p.4). Ens suggests that it was the Métis experience in the process of economic change that defined who they were and that economic forces held communities of different cultural backgrounds together. Ens attempts to prove his theory by examining what he calls “proto-industrialization”, which he defines as “the process of industrialization before the movement of large numbers of workers to factory employment” (p. 6). Ens goes on to suggest that proto-industrialism was connected to the increased involvement by the Métis in the production of buffalo robes for market because of the intense labour involvement of family members. Ens’ analysis of the Red River Métis is on a micro-level. Rather than looking at Red River as a whole Ens concentrates his study on two parishes, St. Francois Xavier (Catholic) and St. Andrew’s (Anglican). For this Ens should be commended. Our understanding of the bigger history of the Red River, and Canada for that matter, can only be understood fully as more and more micro-level histories fill in the gaps of generalization that have been part of the discussion regarding Aboriginal and Euro-Canadian relations.

Ens describes Métis economy and society in the 1830s as being a peasant system “whose primary aim was meeting the subsistence needs
of the family rather than making a profit" (p. 28). However, he does explain that it was not a subsistence economy in the strictest sense as the Métis did exchange goods at Red River and participated to a limited degree in the wage economy. Yet, Ens misses the opportunity to explore at least in passing the Métis peasant economic system as compared to the prescribed peasant system of farming for Indians that Hayter Reed promoted in the 1880s and 1890s. Some interesting comparisons could be made between the success and eventual disappearance of both peasant economies, especially since the Métis system was a conscious decision of survival while Reed’s peasant economy was dictated to Indians by the Canadian government.

Ens argues repeatedly that the reason that the Métis left the Red River region was to pursue economic opportunities in the buffalo robe trade. Although there is little doubt that the buffalo robe trade did play a role in Métis dispersal, there is not enough evidence presented to convince the reader that the buffalo robe trade had a larger impact than did the Métis experience with the Canadian government regarding land and full provincial status as a government. Another limitation to Ens’ argument is a lack of discussion regarding the relationship between Indians and Métis people. Ens overlooks the relationships that existed between individuals and across societies and the impacts these relationships had on the Métis within the buffalo robe trade. Moreover, Ens stops his study at 1870 and thus is not able to explore why the Métis moved into the interior at such a fast rate after that date. Was it to pursue the buffalo? Was it tied to the racism the Métis faced as part of the Canadian government’s policy? A combination of both?

Finally, Ens’ book does not address the controversy that surrounds his argument. And controversy it has evoked now for several years. As Professor Sprague of the University of Manitoba put it in his review, which appeared in the Great Plains Quarterly (Spring 1998):


This reviewer is not suggesting that it was necessary for Ens to change his argument or add the omissions that Sprague suggested, nor am I suggesting that Ens should have used his book to debate Sprague one-on-one. Yet he should have acknowledged the debate and controversy surrounding his work.
I would recommend *Homeland to Hinterland: The Changing Worlds of the Red River Métis in the Nineteenth Century* to individuals interested in this area of study. Ens does provide readers with another interpretation of Métis history. However, his book is better understood if read with the other authors and titles available in the field of Métis history. Ens' book has to be read within the on-going debate amongst Métis historical academics and authors.

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Reference

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Erasmus, Peter: *Buffalo Days and Nights*, as told to Henry Thompson.  

The present volume is a welcome reprint of an earlier edition published by the Glenbow Museum in 1976 and out of print now for a number of years. In my opinion, Erasmus' reminiscences of the change from the buffalo plains of Rupert's Land to the homesteads of western Canada are in a class by themselves. Erasmus' ancestors were both Aboriginal and European, and throughout his life he moved freely between the two cultures. His fluency in several Aboriginal languages as well as English, plus his ability to read Cree syllabics, English, Latin and Greek, led to his work as a translator for Methodist missionaries and later for the Treaty Six negotiations. Erasmus was one of the rare individuals who appears to have been respected by almost everyone with whom he had contact. His work experiences as buffalo hunter, trapper, guide, trader, farmer, teacher, and government employee, are a microcosm of the changes that were taking place in the west.
Given his education, Erasmus should have had little trouble writing his own work, but his active life probably precluded this. Thus, it was fortunate that in his eighty-seventh year Henry Thompson, a writer for an Edmonton newspaper, approached him. The resulting memoirs covering the first half of Erasmus' life never did appear in the newspaper, but typescript copies were available to researchers. Fortunately Irene Spry decided to edit the memoirs in consultation with Mr. Thompson, and prepared an introduction for the work. The result is a work which flows well and is well documented. The only thing lacking for non-specialists is a good map of the area to assist the reader in orienting him or herself.

As both Irene Spry and Hugh Dempsey note, Erasmus' memory, given his age, was amazing. Nevertheless, as Spry points out, the work should not be taken as a precise, factual account. Rather, its importance lies in the vivid picture that the author paints of a vitally important period in our history. Erasmus' personal accounts of such important events in the transition of the plains as the 1870 smallpox epidemic, the 1876 treaty negotiations and the 1885 uprising, provide the reader with a unique view of these events. They are recounted by someone who had an intimate knowledge of, and strong sympathy for, the Aboriginal way of life. They also reflect the view of a man who had come to terms with many aspects of Euro-Canadian society. In retrospect, Erasmus was perhaps too willing at times to accept the promises of the Canadian authorities, and too slow to protest the injustices that did occur. However, there is no doubt either that he firmly believed that his way would best preserve the Aboriginal heritage to which he remained committed. His memoirs will continue to be a valuable resource for Aboriginal and Euro-Canadian researchers and students of history for years to come.

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Michael Harkin's *The Heiltsuks: Dialogues of Culture and History on the Northwest Coast* appears in the series, *Studies in the Anthropology of North American Indians*. Presumably it is therefore the editors of that series
who announce in the untitled, unaccredited foreword that The Heiltsuks is intended as an incisive and wide-ranging critique of ethnohistory and historical anthropology. We are told that its author rejects many of the common assumptions of ethnohistorians as unwittingly Eurocentric or simplistic, and develops in their place an innovative approach to understanding the profound cultural changes experienced during the past century by the Heiltsuks. This new methodology, we are promised, argues that the multiple perspectives, motives, and events constituting the Heiltsuks' world and history can be best understood as dialogues, an on-going series of culturally embedded acts that presuppose previous acts and constrain future ones. The foreword trumpets that the book offers not only a "valuable history of a little-known Northwest Coast Indian group and a highly original investigation into the dynamics of colonial encounters, the nature of cultural memory, and the processes of cultural stability and change," but also "sets the agenda for a new type of ethnohistory." All in 158 pages?

In the brief "Preface" Harkin identifies the problem he finds in previous versions of ethnohistory as an impasse between the methods of "classic" ethnography, which reify culture, and those of concepts such as acculturation and revitalization, which reduce collective levels of reality to the individual. He proposes instead a theoretical focus on dialogues: the dialogic perspective accepts the collective and symbolic qualities of culture as a given, but it places them in a framework of communication. This dialogism is always open to the possibility of change, and emphasizes interaction between cultures as a process of negotiation of meanings, presentation and representation of self and other. Harkin acknowledges that "dialogue" is often used as a shorthand for a set of concerns in cultural anthropology also identified as "postmodern", before averring that his "use of dialogue is somewhat different from previous anthropological appropriations of the concept", that he is "less interested in textual hermeneutics than in objective cultural and historical conditions." He explains:

I do not mean objective in the Marxist sense. These conditions are extremely complex and include internal cultural dynamics as well as historical processes. I take it as a given that they are culturally and socially constituted. They are embedded in representational practices, many of which mediate between cultures. This is one important sense of an ethnohistorical dialogue. In addition I take the term to include, broadly, the interplay among action and reaction, event and interpretation, structure and praxis, memory and representation, domination and resistance, that characterizes the postcontact histories of tribal peoples.
Chapter One argues for the ethnological significance of the Heiltsuks (formerly known as the Bella Bellas), placing them at the dynamic center of a diffusion of pre-contact culture that radiated north to the Tsimshians, northwest to the Haidas, southeast to the Kwaguls (Kwakiutls), and southwest to the Nuu-chah-nulths (Nootkas). It discusses their traditional social structure, their ecology and residence patterns, their customs of name and rank, their marriage and mortuary practices, and treats at some length their winter ceremonial. The only two illustrations in the book follow. The one maps traditional territories of Northwest Coast cultures; the other focuses on traditional Heiltsuk territory. Harkin’s writing in this chapter (unlike that in the other seven) smacks of the “old” ethnography at its worst, sentence after sentence ending with a glut of citations inside parenthesis.

Chapter Two describes contemporary Heiltsuk culture as experienced in Waglisla (Bella Bella): a population of thirteen hundred, with an out-migration of youth and families to the Vancouver area; high unemployment and the rapid decline of commercial fishing, but still abundant local food supplies; politics focused through the Band council, and often in conflict with the provincial government; and a public culture torn between the United and Pentecostal Churches and attempts to revitalize aspects of the more traditional Heiltsuk heritage.

Chapter Three boldly attempts to theorize “narrative, time, and the lifeworld”; Chapter Four applies that theory to a Heiltsuk contact narrative. Harkin first calls upon a host of European theorists (Ricoeur, Heidegger, Gadamer, and others) in order to assert that “contact” events mediate between the worlds preceding and following those events, as well as between the Native and the European worlds. They represent the initial clearing out of cognitive and experiential spaces in which the two cultures then establish structures of communication and exchange. He then quotes a Heiltsuk historical narrative, “The First Schooner”, told to Harkin in English during his 1985 and 1986 fieldwork at Waglisla. It is transcribed in the style and with the acknowledged help of Dell Hymes. Harkin posits that the narrative relates an opposition between two distinct historicities, two distinct modes of being in time and space, and that the difference between these traditional and progressive modes is cognitive and phenomenological. The very act of telling the story ritually appropriates the alien historicity into Heiltsuk history, and allows vital resistance to that alien historicity. Harkin argues that the sense of history, as dialectical and dialogic, implied in “The First Schooner” contests the idea of progress that permeates archival history. The rest of the book burrows into those archives in order to excavate the events of the colonial and missionary periods of Heiltsuk history as “dialogues of power”.

“Dialogues of power” suggests Foucault more than Bakhtin, and Chapter Five attempts precisely that transition, advancing a pattern of discourse in the postcontact history of the Heiltsuks in which dialogism is replaced by
monologic discourse: "The Heiltsuks and their culture become objectified by the colonial authorities. Increasingly, the direction of communication, and thus of power, is one-way." The three remaining chapters, "Bodies", "Souls" and "Goods" are indeed Foucauldian in their avenues of inquiry and in their explication of power's other face, resistance. They offer by far the most imaginative and productive scholarship in *The Heiltsuks: Dialogues of Culture and History on the Northwest Coast.*

Rather than attend further to Harkin's arguments I want to conclude this review by returning to the problematic matter of the foreword, the "Preface" and the stated objectives of this book—the packaging, if you will. Why does Harkin suggest, implicitly in the book's subtitle and explicitly in the "Preface", a theoretical allegiance to Bakhtin? Why is he coy about Foucault? Of course Bakhtin's work emphasizes dialogical properties of texts, their intertextuality: the idea that any text is a link in a chain of texts, reacting to, drawing in, and transforming other texts. But the "texts" to which Harkin attends and the spaces he excavates are discursive spaces, and research in those spaces is hardly to fashion a new ethnohistory. As I understand it, Harkin's dialogic imagination little resembles Bakhtin's. Bakhtin brought his dialogic approach to bear on narrative, yet Harkin's announced intent is to avoid narrative. Thus he is left with the archival materials and must confront their overwhelming Eurocentrism and monologicism. Perforce, his methodology becomes Foucauldian. His failure to recognize this necessity at the outset makes for a disjointed book that contributes less than it might have toward "understanding the profound cultural changes experienced during the past century by the Heiltsuks."

The problem, as I see it, lies not so much with Harkin as with the editor, or the lack of an editor. A competent editor would have realized that the incisive ethnography in *The Heiltsuks* resides with the application of Foucault, not Bakhtin, and would have drawn out the scholarship found in the second half of the book. And she or he would have revamped the absurd claims made in the foreword. The more I consider those unaccredited statements, the more they get under my skin. Each and every one of us should be accountable for our statements. We should be particularly vigilant (and vocal) regarding cultural productions relating to First Nations peoples. To be otherwise condones misrepresentations of those peoples.

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The outcome of years of collaborative work between anthropologist Andrea Laforet and Nlaka’pamux (Thompson) Elder Annie York is at the same time a fine local history, a subtle social history and an important example of how to “do” First Nations history from both oral and written sources. By situating York’s narratives about the past in the contexts of the non-Native historical record, the 19th century ethnographic canon of James Teit, and other contemporary Nlaka’pamux oral histories, Laforet provides insight into the changing economies, religious views, social structures and politics of an Aboriginal community living in the southwest corner of British Columbia. The histories told are situated largely in the century before the Second World War, though through her footnotes, we are always drawn back to the process of field work (done in the 1970s and '80s) and to a lesser degree, contemporary social theory and historiography.

York recalls Spuzzum’s history through stories which detail the importance of place in Nlaka’pamux world view, the social and political importance of Chiefs and Shamans, networks of community relationships through kinship, potlatching and winter dancing, and important ritual activities like naming, solstice observances, and first food ceremonies. Laforet weaves these themes together with historical narratives that describe economic changes (the gold rush, the introduction of farming, the construction of railways), social and ideological influences of missionary efforts, and the alienation of Native land by the state and settlers. By situating the oral histories in the context of historical literature, Laforet and York draw out some of the processes of colonialism and Nlaka’pamux conceptualization of these events.

Laforet doesn’t hide away difficult oral narratives that don’t easily fit into a Western historical framework (like stories of Scandinavians who lived in the Fraser Canyon before the coming of other White settlers, and of one of York’s relatives having composed a song for the return of Simon Fraser, who, York describes, was thought to be the son of the Sun). Laforet takes these stories as showing how Nlaka’pamux people (and Annie York in particular) have made sense of their history in terms of their own world view.

The period of history covered in this book has become increasingly important for First Nations communities, as it plays a role in legal tests for Aboriginal rights and title (i.e., showing continuity with pre-contact/sovereignty cultural practices and traditions). Laforet is aware of the power of Native history in the court room, and gives ample context for the reader to
be the judge of the sources of both her oral and written histories. She frequently reminds us of the source of York's expert knowledge of Nlaka'pamux history—that she spent many years of her life living with her grandparents and the Elders of the community. She shows continuity through tying the people of Spuzzum to the land and to the cultural traditions which have been documented in the earlier ethnographic literature. These narratives are likewise important to on-going negotiations and litigation surrounding unresolved land claims. Though there are now overlapping claims between the contemporary political organizations of the Sto:lo, Nlaka'pamus and Tait, York's narratives show the high degree of community fluidity (inter-marriage, shifting residence, access to resources and bilingualism) between the people living in Spuzzum (Nlaka'pamux), Yale (Tait/Sto:lo) and beyond, suggesting traditional solutions to the problem of shared jurisdiction and title in a post-land claims era.

For a text which is situated deeply within a place of Nlaka'pamux names and an extended network of kin spanning several generations, the book is lacking in maps and genealogical charts. Though this book is an important addition to the literature on Native studies, Plateau/Northwest Coast ethnography and ethnohistory, it falls short of providing much original discussion of social theory which might explain these historical processes. As a presentation of oral literature, Laforet treats York's material like a written text, giving little context for the performative aspects of the narratives which are important to a more nuanced interpretation of the stories being told. Despite these shortcomings, this book is rich in providing a First Nations voice and perspective, clearly telling Nlaka'pamux history.

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*Indian Slavery, Labor, Evangelization, and Captivity in the Americas: An Annotated Bibliography* is the latest volume in the Native American Bibliography Series, published by Scarecrow Press, which has long been
noted for its excellent bibliographies. The author of the current volume, Russell Magnaghi, is a professor of history at Northern Michigan University who has published quite widely on Indian slavery.

The work is sub-divided into eight major divisions, beginning with a comprehensive review of the major bibliographies, indexes, manuscript guides, reference works and original texts. Magnaghi then covers the pre-contact experience and the origins of the policies of domination, along with the theory and legal aspects behind them. The bibliography per se is preceded by a short historical introduction to the subject matter and some of the major terminology used to describe various policies of domination. Unfortunately, the introduction is quite superficial in that it does not sufficiently consider the major changes that have taken place in the writing of Aboriginal history and cultural contact.

The author takes as his focus, "the imposition of policies upon one people by an external government or another people...". In his view, this can take many forms: "slavery, encomienda, mita, repartimiento, hacienda, mission, peonage, landless status, and captivity"—hence the title of his book. The main part of the book is devoted to a country-by-country geographically based study. Although Magnaghi includes sections on the United States, Canada and the Caribbean, the primary emphasis of the bibliography is on Latin America and the borderlands. Given the fact that he has included books and articles in five different languages with no time restrictions, this focus is hardly surprising. What is unclear are the criteria for inclusion or exclusion. For instance, he includes Nancy Farris' Maya Society under Colonial Rule, but ignores both the older classic study, The Caste War of Yucatan by Nelson Reed and the recent work by Terry Rugeley on Yucatan's Maya Peasantry and the Origins of the Caste War. Similarly, in a later section, he includes J.R. Miller's Skyscrapers Hide the Heavens but not Olive Dickason's Canada's First Nations, which deals with the issue of slavery in much more depth than Miller's work.

Generally speaking, Magnaghi's annotations will be useful to researchers who may not be experts in the field. The author clearly indicates which books are original sources, and gives an idea of which are classic interpretations, which provide good overviews, and which provide detailed aspects of the subject. However, a clear discussion is missing of the intellectual debates that have taken place around many of the themes that his bibliography explores. Magnaghi's annotations are often too terse to convey the significance of such works. For instance, Clendinnen's groundbreaking work on the Aztecs is much more than "a survey of various uses of captives as sacrificial victims".
Magnaghi’s bibliography is a useful compilation of works on an area of Aboriginal history that is often neglected. The broad geographical sweep will be particularly useful to people wishing to make cultural comparisons. Nevertheless, users may also wish to consult the bibliographical essays in *The Cambridge History of the Native Peoples of the Americas* for information on the intellectual debates surrounding the subjects covered.

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As a metaphor, *Cross-Currents* describes a perspective on hydroelectric engineering of the Moose River watershed in northeastern Ontario since 1900. This metaphor is deployed by the author to illustrate the “act of intermingling” forces and actors, replacing a “survival of the fittest” perspective on hydro development with a new paradigm of interconnectedness. Where *Cross-Currents* is successful, it brings together multi-disciplinary perspectives—history, public policy, hydrology, engineering, and sociology, and includes the environment and First Nations as actors in a process of colonization and development.

In the historiography of hydroelectric systems, Manore identifies two categories of development. First, 1880-1950s, is the combination of the right circumstances (public voter support, suppression of Aboriginal rights, technological innovation and industrial demand) to spawn a growing movement of independent exploration and exploitation of rivers for hydro dams, serving primarily private industrial interests. The second category is characterized by the consolidation of private interests into public support for development with continued submergence of First Nations and environmental issues. Although not distinguished as such, a third category might be the period 1970 to 1990, with legal assertions by First Nations, declining public support for mega-projects and increased awareness of the destructive effects of hydro as a “green technology”. A fourth category, perhaps the milieu from whence this book came, might be characterized as the support of Canadian courts (and possibly also the public) to affirm Aboriginal title and rights; recognition of the Crown’s fiduciary responsibility to First Nations; interdisciplinary studies (i.e., First Nations studies) and interdisciplinary investigation of complex problems; and finally, increased interest in
the interplay between culture(s) and nature(s) in shaping past, present and future national identities.

Rather than "conquest and control", Cross-Currents rejects the primacy of urban influences in development, opting instead for a more active shaping role of nature and First Nations (Cree and Anishnaabe) in the history of technology and development in Canada. While it is reasonable to suggest that they interact at the level of technology, culture/nature(s) do so also at the level of ideology and cosmology. It is at this deeper level of knowing that Manore’s analysis is basically mute, an erasure all too common to First Nations and environmental studies. However, Manore does not evoke erasure, instead searching for back eddies where First Nations continued to persist, adapt and grow under the impacts of industrial hydro developments. It is at this cross-current of persistence, what Manore calls “submerged”, where the historic and sociological analysis of the colonization of Aboriginal cultures could have been stronger. Had Manore read more widely the growing canon of First Nations studies literature, perhaps a more effective balance could have been struck.

Including rivers as actors in development unfortunately abstracts them from the systems of which they are part. The avoidable confusion compounded by the author comes from his interpretation of river to mean nature: “studying the development of rivers on the development of technical systems proves that nature’s influence should not be ignored” (p.168). Not that I disagree with assertions that nature and First Nations influenced hydro development. Yet rivers are part of complex systems and I wanted to read about how the systems functioned/failed to function. Analysis at the level of Cree or Anishnaabe ignores the individuals and I wanted to read about the individual First Nations people who shaped “urban industrial systems”. There is an entire chapter on cooperation, but the cooperation is between industrial development, logging, mining and hydro. While it is evident that the author has conducted extensive research there is some blurring of general concepts as well as leaps of faith or logic, analytical gaps and unanswered questions.

If Manore is permitted to naturalize hydroelectric impacts on northern rivers, confluence is the proper metaphor to describe the convergence and competition of dam construction, which ultimately altered the river and the livelihoods of those who depend upon them.

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This book is about objects and the ways in which their production and consumption may be a transformative process, about authenticity and stereotypes, and about hybridity and resistance. Its focus is on objects historically often excluded from museum displays and discourses about Native American art—souvenirs of birchbark, basketry and quillwork—yet its scope is far wider, encompassing art history, archival research, anthropology and an examination of the ideas which have shaped and have been shaped by the interaction of Euro-American and Native American peoples. It is much more than a simple overview of souvenir objects, being a valuable discussion of the construction and negotiation of difference in North America over at least three centuries.

The first chapter presents a theoretical overview and historical context, elucidating both the broad shifts that occurred in the Northeast from the 18th to the 20th centuries and the role of objects and their production within this period. Central to Phillips' approach are the concepts of transculturation and the contact zone, utilized by theorists such as Mary Louise Pratt and James Clifford, which facilitate the discussions of hybridity, innovation and meaning pivotal to this discussion of souvenir art. The second chapter discusses collecting practices through the 19th and 20th centuries, demonstrating the kinds of objects that have been collected and which are thus available to illustrate the substance of Phillips' argument. In doing so, she also illustrates conceptions of authenticity and ethnicity, and the value systems surrounding the collection of material culture. The following chapters are roughly chronological and focus on specific genres of material culture: miniatures (toys and models), moosehair embroidery, quillwork on bark, beadwork and basketry. Each illustrates different aspects of the construction of identity and self through objects, but does so both from Euro-American and Native American viewpoints through the use of textual evidence, ethnographic information and the iconography and materials of the objects themselves. The interaction between cultures is emphasized, as is the exploitation of the multivalency of objects and their seemingly paradoxical potential to allow both incorporation and resistance. Finally, the last chapter indicates the ways in which contemporary artists perceive commoditized works of art and their place in the history of the production of material culture in their communities. It demonstrates the vitality of
contemporary cultures and the significance of souvenir objects to them, and adds a clear Native perspective to Phillips' work.

This is an excellent book, whose synthesis of objects, texts and voices offers a rich insight into the production of souvenir arts and its consequences. It will of course be invaluable to specialists of Native North American material culture, but should also become essential reading for art historians and anthropologists and indeed anyone interested in the dialogic nature of cultures.

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The importance of books such as Kevin Reed's *Aboriginal Peoples Building for the Future* and Renee Hulan's *Native North America: Critical and Cultural Perspectives* lies in their contribution to a broader critical study of Aboriginal cultures. Both these books aim to present Native cultures within an articulate and cross-disciplinary perspective that connects fields as different as history, anthropology, sociology, art, and literature.

Reed’s text is part of the “Canadian Challenges” series for young readers. Due to its historical, yet non-chronological approach, this book is particularly suitable for history classes. Through profiles and case studies, the book is structured by thematic areas that highlight key social issues of the 20th century’s First Nations such as “Elders”, “Economic Change”, “Youth”, or “Unemployment”. Each theme is subdivided into sections that are enriched by focus topics relevant to the argument. This approach ensures a broad understanding of the issues covered. The provoking questions presented to the student encourage a critical response, whilst the juxtaposition of historical and contemporary perspectives underlines Aboriginal people’s contribution to Canadian cultural life.
Hulan's text is more concerned with literary issues and touches on the contemporary and historical place of First Nations and Native American writers in the Anglo-American written tradition. It includes articles by such eminent Aboriginal scholars as Gerald Vizenor. Most of the essays emphasize questions raised by the use of the English language in translating Native peoples' experiences into written texts. The oral cultures' problematic relationship with the written word becomes evident in many of the book's discussions about the decontextualization of narrative forms in most contemporary Canadian and American books and anthologies. However, this is not the only aspect the book develops. To the contrary, it spreads its critical attention to include the historical production of Aboriginal literature (in the essays of Vizenor, Ruffo, and Fee), the problem of authenticity (Monture-Angus), and the misrepresentation of Aboriginal women in films, literature and culture (Jaimes-Guerrero). Each of the essays, however, foregrounds literature as the location of resistance, a place where cultural battles are fought through words (Grant), spirituality (Trafzer), or recollection of memory (Hussey), in a constant play of citations that necessitates more than a simple reading to be understood.

Both books force readers, be they students or scholars, to a multilayered reading of Aboriginal cultural production, whether it is a film, a text or a ceremony. Most importantly, they both contextualize these products in complex pictures made up of historical, sociological and culture elements, that invite the reader to analyze, interpret and know several forms of cultural production from a multidimensional perspective. The multiplicity of voices in these two challenging books also indicates a further step in the critical study of Native American cultures, one that can no longer accept the univocal, and often commonsensical, use of terms such as transcription, literacy, authenticity, orality, resistance and cultural property. Contrasting voices further enable the reader to see the contradictions and negotiations at the core of peoples' experience of these discourses. Both books indeed present Aboriginal complexities through the experience of the epistemic violence still perpetrated through shackling paradigms and canons imposed by dominant practices. In their different perspectives, both books call for a renewed effort to reframe the cultural and historical tools of educational and scholarly investigation, in order to include more and more critical voices in the study of Canadian life.

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Rupert Ross accomplishes two main achievements in his book, *Return to the Teachings.* Primarily, he has written a highly accessible introduction to an alternative, restorative justice system created from Aboriginal teachings over a thousand years old. He also has helped to re-value an Aboriginal world-view historically often said to be worthless. Ross promotes an Aboriginal world-view as a viable and necessary addition to that of the European.

With a non-Aboriginal audience in mind, Ross enlightens Eurocentrically-educated Canadians in the Aboriginal process of justice-as-healing. Although numerous examples of restorative justice are given, the Manitoba community of Hollow Water First Nation is given primacy as a case of the process of returning to Aboriginal teachings to heal a community in the grips of epidemic abuse. Indeed, Ross gives much time throughout the book carefully and compassionately charting the progress and "potholes" along the healing path the Hollow Water community chose to travel. It is this compassion that makes the book such an enlightening read, even in moments where the description of abuse and misery is profound.

The book's approach exemplifies the humility and consideration that Ross discovered is crucial when learning from another culture. Since he is aware that Aboriginal voices have been silenced throughout Canadian history, Ross makes a great effort to purposefully include the teachings of those from whom he learned in their own words. Ross also incorporates Aboriginal teaching tools, such as humour, word-play, personal story, and myth, into his own writing. However, it is his ability to laugh at his own misperceptions while learning that prevents this book from having a condescending, expert point of view. For this he deserves commendation.

Ross' work can widen the perspective of Western eyes, introducing the reader to an Aboriginal concept that all life is an interconnected process that is either a "movement towards harmony" or a "movement towards disharmony" (Bluehouse and Zion, 1993). In this light, it is understandable that what begins as a discussion on the topic of justice, abuse, and healing within relationships very quickly (and naturally) becomes integrated into a discussion of ecology, modern-day physics, language, and cultural world-views. It is evident from this book that the dominant Euro-Canadian culture has much to learn when we seek to heal and transform our justice system.

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There are certain Aboriginal court cases which reappear in diverse scholarly debates and to a large extent also among the general public. The *Nisga’a* case (Calder) which proved that Aboriginal title existed in law, i.e. Aboriginal rights had legal status, was a landmark decision in 1973. Two other cases deserve mention from the same year; important verdicts were handed down in the *Malouf* case dealing with the James Bay Cree, and in Northern Fennoscandia the Taxed Mountains case, *Sami v. the Swedish Crown*. The year 1973, therefore, broke new ground and legal strategy. Through Indigenous people's own initiative the doors to the courts were opened and certain definite gains, especially on principle matters, were obtained. *Sparrow* (1990) is one of several follow-up cases on Aboriginal rights in Canada.

Focusing on *Sparrow*, Pamesh Sharma discusses in great detail various perspectives in connection to Aboriginal fishing rights. The main argument is built in sequence: phase I deals with the conditions before *Sparrow*; phase II penetrates the concrete court case including the *Sparrow* Decision in the Canadian Supreme Court; finally in phase III Sharma presents the aftermath to the same decision, using the *Sparrow* case to elucidate more generally upon the question of law and social transformation.

This is a handy book, small in format but rather rich in content. It represents a specific case, showing how the Musqueam Indian Band in B.C. tested their inherent fishing rights in court. This legal text led to what is considered one of the most important Supreme Court Decisions concerning Aboriginal rights in Canada, and maybe even elsewhere, at least when it comes to fishing.

One of Sharma’s objectives is to demonstrate the use of law. His analysis is very much about strategy. In doing this he is quite critical, or at least he raises some doubts as to the strategic importance of rights litigation. For example, he assesses political authorities on different gov-
ernmental levels, concern regarding both ability and willingness to follow up and consider final resolutions emanating from the court system.

It is one thing to thoroughly describe and analyse a significant court decision, while also considering to what extent it appears as a legal landmark concerning Indigenous peoples and their inherent rights. It is quite a different thing to carry the analysis further and critically scrutinize what takes place in political and administrative terms once the legal system has been exhausted. The emphasis laid on the aftermath makes Sharma's study complete. Everything relevant in perceiving the case as an important social event is covered. One issue in particular is identified as still unresolved. That is, whether or not Aboriginal fishing rights include the right to sell fish for economic gain. This question is political rather than strictly legal and reflects an on-going debate at present.

The book is a case study at its best, as it looks closely at the case as a process aiming at transformation. Studies of this kind are important contributions when it comes to understanding the complexity of oscillation between diverse arenas for action in the larger society. And, as convincingly shown, gains attained in one arena, such as the court, may be neglected by another arena, a gap which leads to continual inconsistency as to what precisely constitutes Musqueam inherent rights to fishery.

Personally I favour Sharma's approach; his sense of pedagogical presentation makes the argument easy to follow and the read exciting. However, I do not like the frequent use of abbreviations unless a list is provided. This notwithstanding, the book can be highly recommended to scholars and students interested in Aboriginal peoples' struggle for improved rights.

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This is an excellent, highly readable, yet thoroughly researched, account of what the authors refer to as "the high tide of the most remarkable period of activism carried out by Indians in the Twentieth century" (p.269).
It deals with the years 1969 to 1973, the rise to national prominence in the United States of the American Indian Movement (AIM), and the three major events of that period that dramatically thrust Indian issues into the national limelight. The three are the seizure of Alcatraz in November 1969, the march to Washington (i.e., the Trail of Broken Treaties) and the resultant occupation of the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) headquarters there in November 1972, and the takeover of Wounded Knee in February 1973. The authors, drawing upon in-depth interviews, secondary sources and archival materials, go well beyond the bare bones of manifestos and public pronouncements to reveal the social constructions, strategies, and behaviour of the key players (e.g., Adams, Warrior, Banks, Means, the Bellecourts) as well as those of the major White House aides and other governmental officials with whom, in all instances, negotiations were ultimately conducted (e.g., Garment, Patterson, Lyman). They strike a nice balance between interesting detail, such as describing the 79 day siege of Wounded Knee, and the larger, macro themes and events of the period like the Vietnam War, student protests, and the counter culture movement. All together they present a cogent and exciting account of what the authors properly call “a spectacular ride ... a time of hope and idealism when Indians could imagine a university arising from the wreckage of a prison, when a bureaucratic fortress could become a Native American Embassy, when a desperately poor and repressive reservation might become a free and independent nation” (p.279).

In their preface the authors, a Comanche and an Osage respectively, emphasize that their approach is “on how Indian people staged a campaign of resistance and introspection ... as significant for American Indians as the counterculture was for young whites or the civil rights movement for blacks.” They also note that they have tried to present an honest account, sensitive to the positions of all parties and without glossing over missteps and errors of Indian leaders. They succeed on both fronts. In discussing the three major events, the authors capture well the meanings, motives and behaviour of the key Indian leaders and the symbolic importance of the actions and counter-actions for all parties. Certainly, it is clear from their accounts that the resistance and identity movement reflected the tenor of the times, perhaps the most tumultuous period of explicit cultural challenge in the 20th century. The chief Indian players were typically young people, often university students or, at least, part of a university/counter-culture network, and often they were socially and geographically mobile urban residents. They liaised significantly with other “radicals” of that era and in the case of the Alcatraz and Wounded Knee occupations, non-Indian supporters not only provided material and social support but also constituted a large proportion of the occupying group. At the same time it is clear that the young Indian
leaders did the leading and their actions and messages were intended for, and reached, the minds and souls of other Indians. They particularly reached those of their own generation but the inspiration, pride and valuable political support they provided reached throughout Indian country, as was shown in the alliance that AIM leaders had with traditionalists from the Pine Ridge Reservation in mounting the takeover at Wounded Knee.

The authors describe well the meagre resources possessed by the Indian leaders in the three events. There were rarely more than 100 persons on any ordinary day during the nineteen month occupation of Alcatraz, and rarely more than 200 during the 79 day siege of Wounded Knee. The Trail of Broken Treaties march and the subsequent occupation of BIA headquarters involved no more than one thousand people. Yet they confronted formidable governmental opposition. On one level this opposition was a group of clever, moderate White House aides who were careful to avoid precipitous actions, but there was also the ever present threat of overwhelming physical and judicial force. The Indian leaders also had to deal with Indigenous Band councils and other organizational leaders who labelled them as “outside troublemakers” and viewed them as a threat to their own power base since they themselves were allied with the BIA. Indeed, the takeover at Wounded Knee is depicted by the authors as, in large measure, a counter-insurgency movement aimed at the BIA-backed local Indian leadership.

The authors clearly establish the linkages among the three major events and other subsidiary ones during this period, such as the smashing-up of “border town” bars by groups of young Indian women. And they emphasize that the significance of these actions was largely symbolic. The young leaders had few explicit long-term goals or strategies, always focused upon important symbols (e.g., BIA headquarters, Wounded Knee), and were prone to dwell on identity, experience and action rather than ideology and analysis. Looking back, the authors report few tangible accomplishments from this movement but they consider the impact to have been considerable, especially on issues of Indian identity and pride.

In two areas the reader could ask for more. One concerns the extent to which the “revolutionary” actions of 1968-73 stimulated a positive governmental response to conventional Indian demands and contributed to greater autonomy in Indian country. The other under-analyzed area concerns the similarities and differences between the actions and ideas discussed in the book and those of the other social movements that were occurring at the same time in the prosperous, youth-oriented 1960s. For example, the importance of the media, guerrilla theatre tactics and identity issues are noted and related to the larger macro scene, but not the specific ways in
which the Indian realities (e.g., treaties, political structures) gave unique twists to Indian action. All in all, though, this is a wonderful, well-written, informative and exciting book.

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Gerald Vizenor will be known to many as the author of numerous books of poetry, stories and critical essays that draw upon his Anishinaabe heritage, and as a professor of Native American Literature at the University of California at Berkeley. In his latest book of essays, Vizenor challenges the very foundation of popular depictions and academic studies that claim to portray what it means to be Indian in American society.

Basic to Vizenor's work is the distinction he makes between Indians, which he argues is a loan word signifying both European dominance and a commemoration absence, and indians, which he uses in an ironic sense, as a simulation of the real that has no Native ancestors, no memories. In doing this he consciously attempts to deal directly with the way that Native Americans have been portrayed in text and graphics by the dominant society. While indians may have been included in the natural environment, they have been excluded from "the foundational sense of the nation."

Vizenor is not interested in the literal past, but in the imagined past, for it is from these images that mythologies are formed. The photographs, museum artifacts, and captivity narratives are simulations of the indian that are implanted in our consciousness. To these he opposes Native stories which "create a sense of presence, a tease of memories and a resistance to pictures of victimry." Pictures and the concern with decorative feathers, beads, costumes, have turned humans into mere objects—in much the same way that social scientists have "objectively" studied and in doing so, created indians.

The postindian, Vizenor argues, must pick his way through the "aesthetic ruins of indian simulations." Native suvenance, which he defines as
a "sense of presence in remembrance," must be an active repudiation of dominance and tragic victimry as represented in the allegories of conquest, decimation by disease, and dispossession. Current identities are based on and created from genealogical narratives and church documents, treaties, peer rhetoric, service to Native causes, and the politics of exclusion. Vizenor takes issue with this new politics of exclusion by Natives, for "one exclusion does not absolve another." Natives would be much wiser to include others in order to absolve the absence, and embrace a common presence.

Vizenor also takes issue with the commonly held view of Native sovereignty. Native sovereignty, he argues, is mythic, material and visionary, not mere territoriality—just as Native maps are memories, "a virtual sense of presence" rather than mere geographical markers. Native rights, according to Vizenor, are personal, totemic. They are bound up in associations between people and the earth, not with treaties. Native sovereignty is not something given by governments.

In a sense Vizenor is nanabozho, the Native trickster set loose in academia. Having gained the recognition of his academic peers, he turns his skills to exposing their charlatanism. Vizenor refuses to be cast in the role of victim or scapegoat, but he also refuses to operate within the canons of conventional scholarship and citizenship. Instead his narratives are paradoxical and subversive. The various essays are full of post-modern and post-colonial vocabulary, and the ideas are as fragmentary and illusive as the fugitive poses that he describes. And yet they are also creative and liberating in a way that is sadly lacking in most academic work. Vizenor's conclusions will be troubling to some academics and to some Indians, but his broad learning and penetrating insights make a careful reading of this latest book well worth the effort.

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