

## BOOK REVIEWS

Ashworth, Mary: *The Forces Which Shaped Them: A History of the Education of Minority Group Children in British Columbia*, with an introduction by Rosemary Brown. Vancouver, New Star Books, 1979, 238 pp. \$14.95 cloth, \$6.50 paper. Bibliog. Issus.

"My hope is that by understanding the past we can do better for the children of the present and the future," concludes Mary Ashworth in her preface; an innocent and well meaning desire but one which would bring a nervous shudder from some professional historians and which clearly places Ms. Ashworth in the self defined role of polemicist.

Ashworth has selected "the five groups who were to receive the harshest treatment", Native Indians, Chinese, Japanese, Doukhobors and East Indians, and offers us through this medium a history of the education of minority group children. Apart from the obvious question of whether native Indians are ever a "minority" in the same sense as other ethnic groups, the selection of these particular five makes the story one of politically sanctioned racism, and direct and fierce cultural and linguistic repression. This point is made clearly and supported with numerous references to oral accounts, government reports and to some of the basic secondary source materials in B.C. history. One wonders however, about those other minorities in B.C. - blacks - French Canadians Mennonites and even women and whether their experience and accommodations have anything to say to a history of minority group education? They do not appear here because in spite of the title, what Ms. Ashworth has really set out to do is to document some evidence on racism and respresion in the schools of British Columbia and to make it available in popular format to a wider audience.

And again, in spite of the title, this is not educational history, at least not of the sort being written in the last twenty years in Canada. The influence of Bernard Bailyn's 1960 essay "Education in the Forming of American Society" has been noted particularly in the historical writing of Ontario and to a lesser extent of British Columbia itself; the works of Michael Katz, Alison Prentice and Neil Sutherland have played an important role in the "new" Canadian social history, but do not seem to form part of the academic context of Ms. Ashworth or her work. There is no attempt to place her study in the context of other educational histories scant examination of other agents of education such as apprenticeships, little discussion of the background and training of teachers, and no analysis of the power and social origins of school trustees. Nor should

such omissions be necessarily dismissed as the narrow pedantic concerns of an irritable reviewer. Surely some consideration of these social and political contexts of education in British Columbia is vital for any understanding of the experience of all the children of B.C. in these years?

It is this reluctance to move beyond the specific - this ethnic group in this set of schools - which is the great weakness of the book as educational history and also undermines its success as a history of racism in B.C. schools. Two of the most elementary questions facing any historian - the analysis of change over time and the explanation of attitudes and policies - seem to be rarely confronted. There is no attempt to discuss changes in racial attitudes not to delve much further into the dominant society than the annual reports or openly stated reasons for discrimination. Presumably there were different reasons for discrimination in 1860 than in 1960; there were certainly different underlying reasons for the assimilation programmes applied to native Indians than for those educational 'opportunities' offered to the Japanese in the 1920's. The understanding of the past which Ashworth seeks must not only tell the story, but must ask of the dominant society Why? - and must seek to explain the underlying economic and political climate in which such attitudes were rooted.

Perhaps just such an analysis was attempted in the last twelve pages of the book - "Afterwords" - where the author examines the responses of parents, government professional organizations, schools, and politicians. In spite of the fact that no distinction is made between political beliefs of various "governments" or "politicians" there is much that is useful and sensible in this section. It is unfortunately mostly concerned with the post World War II era, and does not provide that much needed base of historical analysis.

For readers of this journal, the first chapter on the education of native Indians contains few surprises. It is based on the printed report of the Department of Indian Affairs, with some extracts from missionary diaries, interviews and recent writings on Indian control of education. The historical discussion makes no links between church/government education policies elsewhere, although the accounts of corporal punishment, language suppression, the central idea of the industrial and boarding schools were all part of a larger pattern in Canada. For readers outside British Columbia the final section of the chapter, dealing with the "decades of reports," the development of the Native Indian Teacher Education Program, the founding of the Nishga School District and the growth of native language teaching in the province is a useful and concise reference.

In a characteristically strongly worded introduction, Rosemary Brown (MLA) suggests the value of this hook lies in its exposure of racism as "a deliberate political policy legislated by elected representatives and implemented by bureaucrats." As an "exposure" - a polemic - this book does indeed succeed and it will find an audience amongst already committed teachers and community workers. For the "children of the present and the future," in British Columbia this may not be enough.

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Barker, George: *Forty Years a Chief. Winnipeg*, Peguis Publishers, 1979, 102 pp. \$4.00 paper. Photos. Map. Figs.

These are the reminiscences of George Barker, for forty years the Chief of the Hollow Water Indian Reserve on the eastern shore of Lake Winnipeg.

Born in 1896 on the Bloodvein Reserve, the author soon knew hard times. With the death of his mother and the desertion of his white father, he was adopted by his maternal grandparents. After limited schooling and the move to the Hollow Water Reserve, he set out at the age of sixteen to make his way in the world. Odd jobs around the lake soon led to steady employment on the SS. Majestic hauling barges of gravel to Winnipeg and later as a forest ranger. Winters were spent on the trap line. In 1926 he was elected Chief, and with a two-year break, he held that position until 1968. His life story therefore spans much of the transitional period in Indian life and affairs.

Although his reminiscences are rather disjointed, they are nevertheless fascinating. The main appeal of the book is the detailed picture he gives of the Indians' way of life and of the hardships they suffered: a smallpox epidemic, hardships on the trapline, the dangers of fighting forest fires, and the intricacies of building a canoe. To these are added vivid descriptions of burial customs, marriage ceremonies, and of the ritual medicine dance. Throughout his account there repeatedly emerges his basic love and understanding of nature. Vividly portrayed also is the rugged life and the fierce determination of the Indian women.

George Barker's election as Chief gave him a better chance to work effectively for the advancement of his people, and it was a chance he seized with determination and common sense. His growing political sense took him into a leadership role in Nature organizations and soon manifested itself in such practical affairs as the institution of trapline registration throughout Manitoba in 1947 and later the attainment of the provincial franchise in 1954.

In his final chapter he gives his opinions on modern Indian society, lamenting the exodus from the reserves to the city and the problems caused by welfare and excess alcohol. His mood is not optimistic.

The book is written in a simple and readable style, and is considerably enhanced by the appealing sketches of Judith Rempel. It should appeal both to children and to the general reader and should certainly be purchased by all school and public libraries.

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Daniel, Richard C.: *A History of Native Claims Processes in Canada, 1867-1979*. Ottawa, Research Branch, Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, 1980.

Mr. Daniel has presented us with a concise and informative survey of native

claims proceedings in Canada. Part One is a relatively straight forward account of events in selected cases and Part Two aims to analyze policies, processes and alternatives. The author states explicitly that his intention was not to write a detailed analytical paper (p. 233). Certain of the reviewer's comments that follow, therefore, must not be viewed as negative but rather as suggestions for further work. On the other hand, Mr. Daniel suggests that his findings "might be useful to those in government and in native organizations who are working to devise specific policies and strategies for dealing with claims" (p. 233). As one involved in planning strategy for land claims, this reviewer did not find the paper to be particularly useful.

One wonders if the author actually provides a history of processes or simply a history of events with some highlighting in the area of federal policy. Political and administrative processes involve decision making; the analysis of those processes must therefore include analysis of decision making. After reading Mr. Daniel's paper, however, anyone currently involved in the claims process will be left with important questions unanswered: Who made the decisions? What were the options? How and on what basis were particular decisions made? In other words, it is an analysis of strategic planning that is required.

One might also expect any political or administrative process to involve interaction between two or more interested parties. Action and reaction affect and are affected by strategic decision making from both sides. Yet this paper observes sequences of events primarily from the federal government perspective. It is noted in the Introduction, for example, that the role of Indian organizations warrants further study (p. vi). This is not to suggest that the author is biased against the native side, rather than an equivalent effort needs to be made from this point of view, bearing in mind the interactive nature of the process.

There are many positive points to commend Mr. Daniel's study. In general terms, for example, he clearly outlines broad policies respecting claims, an aspect of the paper which will improve most readers' understanding of the claims process. In more particular terms, examples of points well taken include his demonstration of the high level of native sophistication in dealing with federal and provincial governments right back to the mid-nineteenth century. Also welcomed in his emphasis on the unstructured nature of the claims process in Canada, a condition which has suited the federal government admirably.

Mr. Daniel has written a paper which is useful to the extent that it outlines certain government policies and describes the sequence of events in various claims processes. Its usefulness is limited, however, for those people actively involved in native claims. They need an analysis of strategic planning and interaction in the claims process.

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Deloria, Vine, Jr.: *The Metaphysics of Modern Existence*. Toronto, Fitzhenry and Whiteside, 1979, 333 pp.

As Deloria understands 'metaphysics' the term refers to a search for the ultimate structure and meaning of reality. The traditional categories of Western science, he claims, are not adequate to provide a satisfactory explication of the structure and meaning of modern existence. Deloria attempts to prove this through a critical survey and analysis of the basic concepts of Western science and religion. His positive task is to show that the world view of primitive peoples contains conceptions which are better adapted to serve as the basis for a new and more satisfactory metaphysics. Deloria is not at all suggesting that we should somehow go primitive and chuck out modern science and technology. He is not a thinker hankering after some golden age of yesteryear. Quite the contrary, Deloria maintains that the future development of modern science and religion requires them to incorporate into their metaphysical foundations aspects of primitive world views. For example he argues that the primitive notion of the unity of subject and object (inner and outer worlds) must be increasingly recognized by modern science. He also claims that the modern search for 'objective' knowledge which abstracts from the investigator's feelings and intuitive reactions is ultimately untenable, and a return must be made to the primitive mind's attempt to provide a holistic interpretation of experience which is not fragmented into emotional, intuitive reactions on the one hand, and objective cognitive apprehension on the other.

From the standpoint of academic philosophy Deloria's treatment of the problems of metaphysics leaves much to be desired. Deloria shows an astonishing lack of knowledge of the subject as it has developed in recent and modern philosophy. There seems to be no discussion of the thought of such giants of modern metaphysics as Descartes, Leibniz, Spinoza nor even Hegel. Deloria is blissfully unaware of twentieth century movements, e.g., logical positivism and the various groups of linguistic analysts. These groups bring into question the very meaningfulness of metaphysical questions. One would think as a metaphysician he has some obligation to respond to them. Yet Deloria ignores not only these critics but earlier critiques of metaphysics such as those provided by Kant and Hume, Deloria manages to delve into basic issues in the philosophy of science without even mentioning the views of such prominent thinkers as Karl Popper. When Deloria deals with psychology he seems to use one main thinker for his analyses, Carl Jung. We would never know from this book that behaviorism existed. Surely thinkers such as B.F. Skinner deserve recognition

Perhaps Deloria's book, however, is not really intended to be a contribution to academic philosophy. What Deloria really seems to be analysing are certain ideological features of modern man's world view. These features 'put down' and 'denigrate' primitive thought and block our appreciation of the insights into reality possessed by primitive peoples. Deloria is constructing a counter ideology which demands the synthesis of modern conceptions with those of native cultures. In so doing he provides a way of interpreting the world which gives dignity and status to native ways of thought.

Seen in this light some parts of the book which may at first sight seem misdirected or even quixotic (his defense of astrology) make a great deal of sense. Evolutionary theory for example may be seen as an ideology which confirms the idea that primitive man being lower on the evolutionary scale is ignorant, superstitious, and childlike. If this is so, no sensible, rational, modern man would look to them for insights into reality. Deloria shows us that this is quite wrong. The interpretation of the world we find in the myths and legends of primitive peoples can give us important insights into the cosmos and world of human affairs. In archaeology Homeric legend led to the discovery of Troy. New areas of investigation are now opening which openly use oral traditions and primitive people's records as clues to forming hypotheses. Geomythology for example searches myths and legends as clues to geological disruptions. The development of these and other disciplines which use the insight of primitive peoples has been blocked or delayed by the tacit assumption that our science being that of a more evolved people must completely supersede that of primitive people's. When these ideological assumptions are questioned the scientific community often react as if they were defending the true faith against heresy. Whatever the ultimate judgement will be on Velikovsky's theories the scientific communities' immediate reaction to them bear out Deloria's viewpoint.

There is much that is exciting and provocative -- and much that is sketchy, woolly or just plain wrong -- in Deloria's book. Whatever his shortcomings Deloria deserves credit for the courage and breadth of vision needed to undertake his task. In a time when thinkers seem stupefied by specialism, Deloria affirms the necessity for the generalist, the metaphysician. The book remains an exciting attempt to reveal the ideological contents of the modern world view and to unify modern and primitive metaphysical assumptions into a cohesive whole.

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Fredrickson, N. Jaye and Sandra Gibb: *The Covenant Chain: Indian Ceremonial and Indian Trade Silver*. Ottawa, National Museum of Man, 1980, 169 pp. Bibliog. Illus. Index.

Trade in furs between the native Indian peoples and the Europeans was, as every Canadian schoolboy knows, the dominant economic activity of what is now Canada, for nearly 250 years. Sometimes condemned by moralists as little more than exploitation of the native peoples, the fur trade was, in fact, mutually beneficial both to the Indians and to the white men. The former gave to the latter furs of which they had an abundance and which they did not need, and received in return what they did want, knives, hatchets, blankets, muskets, ornaments, brandy and rum, and silver. The use of silver items in the fur trade generally has been ignored, and yet, as early as 1709 Phillipe Rigaud de Vaud-

reuil, Governor of New France, asked Paris to provide him with "some silver or vermeil medallions" to give to the Indians as presents "because that would please them." This is, apparently, the first reference to the use of silver in the Indian trade. Admittedly the "medallions" had more of a political than commercial significance; nevertheless the use of medals or "medallions" greatly expanded during the eighteenth and into the nineteenth centuries, and was accompanied by gifts of other silver items, such as gorgets and armbands, both of which could be used to indicate rank.

The Hudson's Bay Company apparently began to use silver trinkets in the Indian trade about the middle of the eighteenth century. Similar items were also introduced by independent traders in the Maritimes about the same time. Then came the years of intense competition, during the latter part of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, between the Hudson's Bay and North West companies and the increased use of silver as an article of trade. Domestic silversmiths had become well established in New France and in the American colonies, and this number increased after the cession of New France to Great Britain in 1763. In 1759, a Detroit trader, Duperon Baby, placed an order with a Quebec silversmith, Jonas Schindler, for "one hundred pairs of small ear-bobs and twenty-four ear wheels." During the years 1760-1821, the heyday of silver in the Indian fur trade, traders disposed of a profusion of bracelets, ear-bobs, ear-rings, collars, finger rings, nose-rings, brooches, crosses, pendants, headbands, arm bands, wrist bands, crowns, hair ornaments, and cradle covers. The basic patterns included hearts, lukenbooth (Scottish), hunting weapons, masonic emblems, and animal effigies. Many of these items bore the marks or initials of Canadian and Maritime silversmiths, among them, Robert Cruikshank, Charles Arnoldi, Narcisse Roy, Pierre Hugué dit Latour, Jonathan Tyler, Jonas Schindler, Alex Munro, Thomas Walker, and a certain "D.Z." (David Zacharie?).

The object of this historical outline is simply to give emphasis to the importance of silver as an item in the Canadian Indian trade. For many years it was an essential part of the fur trade; and yet it seems to have slipped by historians, more concerned about brandy and rum, and left to antiquarians and specialists such as Marius Barbeau, John Langdon, Jean Trudel, Donald Mackay, William Carter and others, and to acquisitive museum curators. And to them we owe a certain debt of gratitude. Good collections have been built up in various parts of Canada and the United States, including the National Museum of Man, the National Gallery of Canada and the Public Archives of Canada (all in Ottawa), The Glenbow Museum (Calgary), the McCord Museum (Montreal), the Royal Ontario Museum (Toronto), the New Brunswick Museum (Saint John), the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation (New York), and by a select group of private collectors, notable Henry Birks whose collection now belongs to the National Gallery of Canada. With the assistance of these various public collections, the Museum of Man recently put together a travelling exhibition so that Canadians could see what trade silver was like, and prepared a catalogue to which the title, *The Covenant Chain*, was given. The title recalls the formality which attended Indian-European relations, political and commercial, in an earlier era when Indians and whites met and bargained as equals. It

was a pledge of friendship.

The Covenant Chain is beautifully produced. The print, the layout and the illustrations are excellent. The text is clear, the editing, skilful. The book reflects great credit on the publishing division of the National Museum of Man. The book achieves its declared purpose of shedding "new light on a previously unexplored aspect of the fur trade in North America." No library, no collector, no person interested in the Canadian heritage should be without it. This said, however, it must be added that The Covenant Chain is not a complete or thorough history of Indian trade silver in Canada. It is only a sampling. Maritime silversmiths and Indian trade silver in the Maritimes are pretty much ignored, despite the fact that there are interesting Indian trade silver pieces in the New Brunswick Museum in Saint John. Neither are there any illustrations of animal effigies in the catalogue (other than several items of modern Iroquois silver work), despite the fact that Alex Munro of Saint John produced trade silver "beavers" for the Indian trade, and the North West Company is known to have placed an order with Narcisse Roy, in 1801, for 4,500 brooches, 200 pairs ear-bobs and sundry other items including "78 beavers". The beaver was, after all, the animal embodiment of the fur trade.

One point the catalogue does clearly establish, is that the silver items used in the Indian trade were most frequently traded with the Objibwa and Algonquin Indians of the Great Lakes region, and with the Five Nations of the Iroquois League. The Indians of the Atlantic coast, the Abenaki, Micmac and Malecite also traded furs for silver - although for some reason unexplained, the popular luckenbooth pattern is not to be found in the Maritimes (does this mean simply that the Maritime traders were not Scotsmen?). The plains Indians, including the Cree, Assiniboine and Blackfoot did not acquire many silver trinkets, neither did their northern neighbours. Broadly speaking, the western and northern Indians preferred more practical items when trading and remained content with ornaments devised and designed by themselves.

Despite any criticisms real or implied in this review, I repeat, The Covenant Chain is a work of art; it is also an important contribution to our knowledge of an unusual art form which links both the Indians and Europeans in a common Canadian cultural heritage.

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Gedaloff, Robin (Editor): *Paper Stays Put: A Collection of Inuit Writing*.  
Edmonton, Hurtig Publishers, 1980, 174 pp. \$12.95 cloth. Illus.

*Paper Stays Put* is the first collection of writing from the Canadian north to appear thus far. The sampling of work contained in this anthology provides the reader with a broad introduction to the thematic and stylistic variability of



contemporary Inuit literature. Virtually all of the works included in the volume have appeared in print previously, many in the original Inuttut, others bilingually or in English only. Several were published in local northern newspapers or magazines for an Inuit audience. A few, mainly appearing here as excerpts from longer works first published in book form, have been readily available to southern readers for some time. In all, forty pieces are presented: these include a short play, essays on traditional and modern themes, poems, songs and personal reminiscences of life on the land and in the broader Canadian context. In addition, seventeen specially commissioned illustrations drawn by Alooook Ipellie accompany the text.

As Robin Gedalof points out in the book's brief introduction, Inuit writing is, by nature, a "literature of cross-cultural contact" (p. 8). This characterization is substantiated by the large number of selections which bring to light their authors' perceptions of the cultural, social and environmental transformation of their ancient northern homeland. But this collection does far more than merely chronicle the realities of social change and cultural contradiction under the weight of intrusive southern influences. More importantly, it makes a significant contribution to the evolution of the written word as an important and new dimension of Inuit cultural expression and self identity.

Literacy among the Inuit is a relatively recent development, a useful borrowing from Europeans beginning just over two hundred years ago. But while writing is quite new, the oral traditions from which the works represented here largely draw inspiration are many centuries old, and lie close to the heart of the aboriginal way of life in the arctic. Poems and songs were central elements of Inuit intellectual culture and, in a metaphysical sense, were believed to be inseparable from life itself. Tom Lowenstein informs us in his introduction to *Eskimo Poems from Canada and Greenland*, an anthology of oral poetics gathered by the Danish anthropologist Knud Rasmussen, that the Inuttut word *anerca* carries the double meaning of both 'breath' and 'poetry', clearly a reflection of the culturally perceived link between expression and being. Orpingalik, a Netsilik shaman, told Rasmussen earlier in this century that "it is as important to me to sing as it is to draw breath" (p. xviii).

Just as printmakers from Cape Dorset and other communities have captured the essence of ancient mythical and social motifs in visual forms, so, too, many of the writers considered here have preserved a sense of the past in their treatments of both contemporary and traditional subjects. Perhaps most representative of the continuity between modern genre and traditional culture is a short poem by Markoosie, an Inuk from Resolute whose novel *Harpoon of the Hunter* first appeared in English in 1970. In "Song of Markoosie" the poet laments the failing eyesight which keeps him in a hospital bed and away from his people. As if cognizant of the sentiments expressed by Rasmussen's Netsilik shaman years before, Markoosie writes:

How I wish I could join the hunters, instead of being here  
 Early to bed is far from fun, here at the Sister's place  
 All too often I wonder how I could ever see again

There is no song in me, I know, while all around me  
others sing (p. 27).

Of nearly similar vein is Ivaluardjuk's "A Song", first recorded by Rasmussen during his stay with the Igloodik in the 1920's and initially entitled "A Hunting Memory". In refrain the hunter sings:

Ai! but songs  
Call for strength,  
And I seek after words,  
A ja-a ja-a ja-ha ja-ha ja (p. 114).

Each of these poem-songs presents clear exposition of a fundamental concept in indigenous Inuit culture - the inseparability of human existence from the words which embody the essence, or spirit, of that existence. Words are infused with the qualities of personal experience and, when voiced (or, in most recent times, written), bring both the speaker/writer and others to an awareness of that experience. Words do not serve to reflect experience alone; they also objectify it and so embody its meaning. The Inuit sculptor conceives of his work as the releasing of an image already extant within stone. Analogously, the writer externalizes the intrinsic nature of his own experience through a primary and powerful instrumentality which he attempts to control but, ultimately, is controlled by - words. The equation of personal strength and spiritual essence with the words of songs and poems (or, even modern expressive forms) marks, at the conceptual level, a significant departure from common western notions of literary art as conscious manipulation of words and forms. Recognition of this fundamental conceptual difference is a necessary first step in defining the unique cultural framework within which Inuit literature operates.

With this view of Inuit expression in mind, it is of further interest to reflect briefly on the meaning of this book's unusual title, "Paper Stays Put". Editor Gedalof attributes the title to a native northerner who participated in research on local communication priorities. Commenting on the immense value of print media generally, the inuk observed: "By ear we forget, but paper stays put" (p. 7). As defined by southern values, this sentiment implies an overtly practical view of writing, perhaps of writing as technology. But as Tom Lowenstein suggests, "Forgetting the words, in a culture without paper, would be like losing the song" (p. xvii). Though referring specifically to pre-contact times, this idea has bearing on the Inuit of today. Where words embody the essence of being, loss of words threatens loss of a sense of self.

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## REFERENCES

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1973 Eskimo Poems from Canada and Greenland. Pittsburgh, University of Pittsburgh Press.

Markoosie

1970 Harpoon of the Hunter. Montreal, London, McGill - Queens's University Press.

Hawthorn, Audrey: *Kwakiutl Art*. Vancouver: Douglas and McIntyre, 1979, 272 pp. \$35.00 cloth, colour plates, 508 photos.

Some years ago when I was an aspiring undergraduate student, a trusting mentor allowed me to borrow a large and highly prized volume from his personal library. The book was *Art of the Kwakiutl Indians and Other Northwest Coast Tribes*, published in 1967. It contained hundreds of photographs and annotated descriptions combined with a lucid text by Audrey Hawthorn, then curator of the Museum of Anthropology, University of British Columbia. This single volume was a formidable introduction to one of the world's most spectacular and complex art traditions.

As curator of an ethnographic collection that was increasing in size and significance, while housed in a museum facility severely limited in space, Mrs. Hawthorn had undertaken to document for publication a major part of the university's collection - the entire inventory of Northwest Coast native art and artifacts. In so doing, she not only produced a handsome tribute to the highly charged creative spirit of the coastal Indians, but also authored a landmark reference for scholars. Her desire to make the collections more accessible became a fundamental principle of the museum's operating philosophy, and led to the concept of "visible storage" which was subsequently incorporated into the physical plan of the museum's new building. This monumental display and research facility was designed by Arthur Erickson, and opened in 1976.<sup>1</sup>

Mrs. Hawthorn's highly regarded book, long out of print,<sup>2</sup> has recently been revised, reset and reissued in an abridged form. Now entitled *Kwakiutl Art* it focuses primarily on the ritual objects and regalia used by the Kwakiutl in their dramatic winter ceremonies. Due to the deletion of non-Kwakiutl material, and because the page layout is more compact, the book is shorter than the original by almost 150 pages. Photographs of only a representative selection of artifacts are offered, but these are more than adequate to gain an appreciation of the variety that exists within any particular artform. Some sections have been expanded to include new material, but overall the text remains largely the same. There are a few new photographs of recent acquisitions, but again, most appeared in the previous edition. Apart from some slight shift in emphasis and presentation, this is very much the same book as the 1967 version.

Like the original, the book is divided into two parts. The first, entitled "The Setting", establishes the physical and social context for an appreciation of the art objects themselves, which are presented in the second part, "Ceremonial Art". Part One describes the lush cedar forests and abundant maritime food resources, which were both exploited by the numerous lineage groups living in isolated villages along the coast and on offshore islands. Here, during the long damp winters, a rich ceremonial and artistic tradition evolved which paid homage to the mythological origins of important families.

The artist was often a full-time specialist, carving and painting ceremonial items on commission. As a contemporary illustration of this role, Mungo Martin, the noted Kwakiutl carver, is shown at work. He was employed by the museum during the late 1940's to restore older artworks and to create new ones. The making of a totem pole, mask, kerfed box and other articles is described and illustrated. The style and symbolic content of such works are discussed in the light of important studies by Holm (1965) and Boas (1927). This is one of the new expanded sections and is very well done - providing as it does an enlightening analysis of the fundamentals of Kwakiutl design. This is followed by an explanation of the Kwakiutl concepts of inheritance, the elaborate potlach celebration, and the function of the numerous dancing societies.

Part Two sets out the photographs and descriptions of those objects which can be designated as "Ceremonial Art" - those which employ totemic forms and designs. Two hundred pages of: house posts, crest poles, feast bowls, storage boxes, ritual staffs, rattles, whistles, headresses, masks, ceremonial curtains, clothing, jewelry and graphic art. The presentation is adequate; however, the book is still essentially an extensive catalogue of museum inventory, with an admirable explanatory text. As such it falls short of being the definitive statement on Kwakiutl art which it could have been with broader revisions. It is ironic that in a book utilizing so many photographs the deficiencies are primarily visual.

Many of the photographs appear to be "record shots" taken only to document the museum's collection - and in fact that was their purpose in the original book. However, in a volume intended to showcase the artistic achievements of a supremely creative people one might expect photography which does justice to the subject matter. Some of the photographs are good and present the subject powerfully: a dark and brooding Tsonokwa mask from Fort Rupert can still disturb; a magnificent Hamatsa headress can still inspire awe; but the majority of the objects are portrayed in a manner which neither highlights their dramatic character nor gives emphasis to the subtler qualities they possess.<sup>3</sup>

It could also be argued that the only way to fully appreciate the ceremonial art of any culture is to view it as it was intended to be seen, within a ritual setting. How appropriate it would have been to illustrate the text of Part One with complementary photographs, such as those by Edward Curtis depicting Kwakiutl ceremonials. They would have been ideal within the context of this book. How much more effective the introductory section would have been if archival photographs of coastal village life had been included. Even contempo-

rary photographs could have been shown to advantage. In the Preface the author refers to present day Alert Bay as "an active centre for family and lineage ceremonies". Photographs of some of these events are available. "Artscanada" in its special issue on ritual and shamanic art<sup>4</sup>, displayed photographs of a memorial potlach which took place in Alert Bay in 1972. In the same issue it also devoted a further twenty pages to a photo essay documenting the most dramatic of the Kwakiutl winter dances staged by the well-known Hunt family.

The creative spirit expressed in all areas of the arts - singing, dancing, storytelling, carving, painting, weaving - represents an affirmation of fundamental aspects of Kwakiutl cultural identity. In presenting page after page of objects, without ever placing them in their ritual context visually, the author has unfortunately isolated the art from the very people whose vulture it embodies.

Although we are told in the Foreword that much has happened since the publication of the original book in the mid-1960's, this is not reflected in the present edition, and it would appear that the museum's acquisition policy is still primarily concerned with artifacts from an earlier period. There is little evidence here of the participation of contemporary Kwakiutl artists in the current resurgence of the arts on the Northwest Coast. The new section of Graphic Art is particularly disappointing because of what it omits. While it is gratifying to see the charming watercolours of Mungo Martin, Henry Speck and others, where is the spectacular silk screen work of Tony Hunt? For that matter where is his fine silverwork? Or his impressive mask carving? His father, Henry Hunt, is mentioned in the text, but we see none of his work either.

As a thorough presentation of the varied forms of traditional Kwakiutl ceremonial artifacts, this book is without equal. However, as a comprehensive celebration of the creative artistry of a vulture it is less than successful. This book would be a worthwhile addition to one's library if you don't already possess Hawthorn's earlier version. If you do, there is not enough new material to warrant the expense.

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#### NOTES

1. See Joan M. Vastokas, "Architecture as cultural expression: Arthur Erickson and the New Museum of Anthropology, University of British Columbia," *Artscanada*, (October/November 1976), Society for Art Publications, Toronto.
2. Harmer Johnson Books Ltd, of New York, in their September 1980 catalogue, lists *Art of the Kwakiutl Indians and Other Northwest Coast Tribes* at \$100 (U.S.). The original publication price was \$25.

3. For an appreciation of Northwest Coast Artifact photography at its best, see the work of Werner Forman in *People of the Totem: The Indians of the Pacific Northwest* by Norman Bancroft-Hunt and Werner Forman; Doubleday and Company, 1979; and Eberhard Otto in "Stones, Bones and Skin, Ritual and Shamanic Art", *artscanada*, (December 1973/January 1974), Society for Art Publications, Toronto. This issue was subsequently published as an *artscanada* book in 1977.
4. Op. cit. "Stones, Bones, and Skin".

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*Indian Conditions* is an extensive compendium of statistics published under the authority of the Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development. The report provides a mass of mostly quantitative data portraying life on Canada's Indians reserves. Some documentation of the experiences of offreserve Status Indians is also included. Information contained in the report has been garnered mainly from secondary sources, specifically, government administrative files although some of the data were collected via special studies and interviews.

While there are a few indications otherwise, the authors of *Indian Conditions* have intended to simply describe Status Indian circumstances (see page 1). There is also some "commentary" and "data inter-relationships" aimed at aiding interpretation. In addition, the document intends to provide "a perspective on changes in government policies, programs and services to (Natives)", as well as a "comprehensive reference source for . . . (those) engaged in policy analysis in Indian Affairs". The report is intended for use by government, Natives and the general public ultimately to support discussions regarding changes in Native policies and socio-economic strategies.

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Indian Conditions does, indeed, provide a massive quantity of information regarding many aspects of Native life. At times, trends are identified and some comparisons to the national population are made. Native conditions are described under five separate categories: social, economic, political, government programs and off-reserve. The detail of each section varies but the myriad of tables and charts clearly illustrate that the life chances of Canada's Status Indians remain substantially unchanged. Without engaging in a lengthy description of the document, we find that Natives die young, live in horrible housing, have little formal education, experience high unemployment, are overrepresented in jails, experience high welfare dependency and on and on. Lastly, the sparse data concerning off-reserve Status Indians indicate that, while governments wrangle over responsibility, few improvements to life conditions result from the process of urbanization.

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As indicated, Indian Conditions purports to be aimed at three particular audiences (government, Natives, the general public) and to be used, essentially, "for information purposes only" (an information source, a reference source, a perspective). Yet, for the reasons to be delineated below, I would contend that the book is not simply descriptive but at least implies a particular explanation of native conditions which has a definite set of strategic (i.e. policy) implications. For, unintended as it may be, both the contents of the report and the context of its release suggest: first, that the general public would be primary audience, and second, that the book is a statement of the federal government position which would generate public support for the historic and continuing termination/assimilation policy of the federal government (i.e. the policy of fully integrating Native land into the Canadian economy while pushing Natives off reserves thereby eliminating the special status of those people and their land: see Getty and Smith's, *One Century Later*, for a broad discussion of this policy).

First, Indian Conditions has serious shortcomings as a comprehensive reference source for policy analysis. The book cites several secondary sources which are not properly referenced (for example, the U.N.N. Manpower survey). Furthermore, evaluation of the primary methods utilized, essential in rigorous analysis, is inaccessible due to a lack of adequate description of those methods. In addition, systematic policy analysis could not be supported by the report because of the 'gross' level of statistics presented.

Second, the document's use as an information source to government and Natives is questionable. Inter- and infra- governmental communication, poor as it may be, does not require the 'visibility' (specifically a glossy, free report and a major news conference) of Indian Conditions. In addition, telling Native people about the terrible conditions of their life situation is like telling the New York Islanders that they are current Stanley Cup champions: they know all too well the facts. From a Native point of view, frank discussion of strategies (i.e. perspectives or explanations), not 'facts', is paramount.

Thus, it appears that Indian Conditions would primarily serve 'public purposes', since through the above process of elimination, only the general public as an audience and the presentation of a perspective as a purpose remain. Although the perspective taken is never clearly articulated (except to the extent that a "necessarily government point of view" - page 1 - is taken) that which can be inferred leads logically to the perpetuation of termination.

It would appear that, at a general level, the authors conceive of social problems as a set of social (including economic and political) characteristics rather than as a set of social relationships. That is, the problem with Natives is located in the complex of social attributes exhibited by the people and their land rather than in the historical relationship between Natives and their lands, and Canada.

Such a general framework brings forth the barrage of statistics and "commentary" about Natives. Reserve life is dramatically portrayed as criminal, alcoholic, and welfare-ridden. Unwarranted commentary, such as intimating that Native crime and illegitimacy are functions of Native values (see pp. 24, 38 and 39) and that welfare "is frequently used as an alternative to employment" (p.28), is included. Finally, the age-old argument that Native economic woes are a function of a lack of education combine with the above to locate problems in Native attributes, and incidentally, to maintain popular stereotypes.

Of at least equal importance are the conditions (i.e. Native-Canadian relationships) which have been left out or underemphasized. For one, the examination of political conditions, occupies only 12 of 147 pages. For another, the considerable effects D.I.A.N.D. and the Indian Act may have had on contributing to current circumstances are generally underemphasized (Gibbins and Ponting's *Out of Irrelevance*, for example, concludes that Natives are saddled with a colonial, control-oriented Indian Act and a bureaucracy which exerts stringent socio-fiscal control over Natives). Moreover, there is no mention of the amount of Indian Economic Development Funds returned to Treasury Board (see *Winnipeg Free Press*, October 4, page 4). And finally, the dramatic increases in federal spending on Natives are graphically illustrated without an equally graphic illustration of federal spending increases in general, and the gap with spending on the national population. Seen in the light of unchanging socio-economic circumstances, a sense that considerable federal efforts are to no avail is inescapable. From this position it is a very short step to a policy of termination/assimilation. Additionally, that the report has been released while Natives are in the process of mobilizing to change their political relations through the current constitutional debate shows at least an insensitivity to the potential of mounting public momentum against real change.

Although space does not permit further discussion, the main point should be clear: Indian Conditions presents the unavoidable but unarticulated perspective and policy conclusion that termination is the best policy. Serious and frank public debate regarding Native rights and strategies is long overdue. Indian Conditions presents a series of social indicators which, although necessary in policy discussion, are generated by one perspective in that debate. Real discus



sion demands other perspectives and facts.

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Letourneau, Henri: *Henri Létourneau raconte*, Winnipeg: Editions Bois-Brûlés, 1980, (20 édition révisée), 154 p., 10 photo., 9 ill. (par Janice Morier).

Je n'ai jamais eu l'occasion d'entendre ni de voir une des émissions de "Henri Létourneau raconte." Mais j'ai eu le plaisir, il y a deux ans, de faire, au Musée de St-Boniface, une visite, guidée par M. Létourneau. Ce fut un charme! La mémoire de cet homme est une banque de renseignements presque inépuisable. Mais surtout, il possède, à un rare degré cet art de raconter, qui faisait les délices des veillées d'antan. Notre civilisation de l'écrit-choc et de l'image-brutale nous a passablement déshabitués de cet art de raconter, qui est fait d'intonations subtiles, de silences révélateurs, de sourires en coin et de nuances de langage parler populaire.

On a voulu donc ce volume respecter "le style du raconteur, son langage simple, vivant et coloré" (p VI). Malheureusement, l'imprimé n'enregistre ni les nuances de l'intonation, ni les subtilités de l'expression. L'art de conter et fard d'écrire ne sont pas toujours synonymes.

Ceci dit, c'est donc les deux sections des "Histoires" et des "Légendes" que M. Létourneau, à mon avis, nous donne la meilleure illustration de son talent et de son style. Personnellement, j'ai apprécié comme un véritable joyau la légende de "La robe rouge." (pp 104-110).

En fait, ce volume comprend quatre sections: "L'histoire" (pp 2-74); "Histoires vraies, histoires anciennes" (pp 76-93); "Les légendes" (pp 95-132) et "Voyages" (pp 133-153).

Dans la section proprement historique, M. Létourneau nous trace à grands traits une synthèse de l'histoire du peuple métis, suivi d'une biographie de Pascal Breland (1811-1896) et d'une présentation détaillée d'un mémoire de William Davis, fils (1845-?). Le contenu de cette section est bien documenté et fort instructif. Mais on sent que M. Létourneau est moins à l'aise dans ce genre. Son style est plus contraint et moins alerte. De plus, cette section aurait gagné en intérêt aux yeux de l'historien, de l'anthropologue et même de l'amateur éclairé, si les références documentaires avaient été plus détaillées et plus précises. On a souvent de la difficulté à trouver à quelle source se rattachent les faits cités.

Comme je l'ai dit plus haut, c'est surtout dans les deux sections des histoires et des légendes que M. Létourneau nous donne la pleine mesure de son talent et de son style de "raconteur". Je voudrais seulement ajouter que le contenu même de ces contes et légendes est d'un grand intérêt pour le sociologue

et l'anthropologue que pour l'historien des mentalités. Ces contes et légendes font partie, à mon avis, de ces systèmes de croyances profonds, mais chachés - souvent méprisés et presque toujours ignorés - qui alimentent la vie quotidienne d'un peuple, mobilisent ses comportements et justifient ses raisons de vivre, de survivre ou . . . de mourir.

On ne saurait trop encourager ces hommes qui, comme Henri Létourneau, se consacrent à recueillir, conserver et transmettre ces témoignages de la vie profonde d'une collectivité.

La cueillette de ces données exige, comme nous le montre M. Létourneau dans son récit de voyage de 1972 (pp 133-153), toutes les qualités d'un chasseur à l'affût, alerte au moindre indice, persévérant dans sa poursuite et qui sait qu'une occasion ratée ne reviendra probablement jamais.

J'ai eu plaisir à lire ce livre et j'espère qu'un jour, M. Létourneau ou quelqu'un de ses disciples, nous livrera l'ensemble complet et organisé de la moisson qu'il engrange depuis si longtemps.

Gilles Martel,  
Sociologue,  
Université de Sherbrooke, P.Q.

Lussier, A.S. (Editor): *Riel and the Metis: Riel Mini-Conference Papers*. Winnipeg, Manitoba Metis Federation Press, 1979, 200 pp. \$8.95 paper. Appendix Figs. Photos.

This volume contains a number of papers presented at a small academic session held at the University of Alberta in 1978 and advertised as the "Riel mini-conference". The mini-conference allowed scholars to exchange ideas about the significance of Louis Riel, the implications of the uprisings of 1870 and 1875 and the Metis experience in general. In addition, it allowed the Riel Project, whose purpose is to collect and publish the complete writings of Louis Riel, to inform historians and the general public of its objectives. This book is an extension of the attempt to inform historians and the general public.

The articles are eight in number in addition to an excellent bibliography of writings concerning Riel that were published from 1963-1978.

The articles are diverse in content and include thoughts on the significance of the name "David", Riel as a charismatic leader, a survey of his poetry, comments on his political thought, the social origins of the Riel protest, a detailed examination of the term "Metis", and the role of Indians in Riel's messianic thoughts. In addition an article on the relationship of Louis Schmidt to Riel is included.

Many readers will be annoyed to purchase this book, sub-titled Riel MiniConference Papers, and discover that only three original papers were presented at the Riel mini-conference. Two others, although given at the conference, were

previously published, while three others were not presented at the conference but were expressly written for the book or read at other apparently unrelated conferences. A strange situation, give the title of the book!

Nevertheless, these criticisms aside, the book makes excellent reading and the articles help to clarify important aspects of Riel's life and times.

This brings the reviewer to the unhappy point where he must explain the title of this review. The publisher of this interesting and valuable book deserves serious criticism. The book is a xeroxed reproduction from typewritten pages. This economical form of reproduction is understandable in days of rapid inflation and decreased sales but the sloppy manner in which it was reproduced is unforgivable. Type size changes from article to article in a most irritating manner. The article, "Les Indiens dans la pensée missionnaire de Louis Riel", is a xeroxed reproduction of the original printing in *Recherches Amerindiennes au Quebec*, Vol. VIII, No. 2, 1978. The masthead of the original journal is on the first page and the typeset is different from other articles. Foster's article on "The Metis: the People and the Term" appears to be lifted directly by xerox from the *Prairie Forum* and is different again in typeset.

In short, the reproduction techniques employed by the publisher are so poor that the style detracts from the value of the work of the various authors.

Despite these criticisms and the difficulties that make the book hard to read, serious students of Metis history will want to have this book occupy their bookshelf if not adorn it.

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Faculty of Education,  
University of Manitoba.

Lussier, Antoine S. and D. Bruce Sealey (Editors): *The Other Natives: The/Les Metis*, Volume III, Winnipeg, Manitoba Metis Federation Press with Editions Bois-Brules, 1980, 192 pp.

This collection of eight articles is the successor to Volume I (1978) and Volume II (1978) of *The Other Natives*. The original conception was that the first volume would deal with the origins of the Metis, the second with their development, and the third with their present situation. This volume apparently brings the project to an end, as there is no mention of extending the series.

Three articles in this book deal with Metis education in Manitoba. Bruce Sealey gives an informative review of the subject from earliest fur trade days down to the present. Curiously, however, he jumps from the arrival of the missionaries and the establishment of their first schools directly to the postConfederation period. Thus he says nothing about the education of the Metis at the height of their power on the prairies in the 1850's and 1860's, when there were several schools in the Red River colony. Two other essays deal with

contemporary subjects. A.S. Lussier chronicles the rise and fall of the Native Education Branch of the Manitoba Department of Education, while Dennis Macknac describes the remarkably wide range of special programs for natives which now exist in Manitoba's system of post-secondary education. Both pieces are more descriptive than analytical. Anyone with a special interest in Manitoba education will probably want to have this volume for the sake of these three articles.

The other articles in the collection deal with various subjects. The most important one, in my opinion, is a piece by Joe Sawchuk which shows how the Manitoba Metis Federation has become increasingly dependent on government funding, through direct grants to itself, as well as through close association with government programs which the MMF had lobbied to bring into existence. Sawchuk deplors this dependency, but seems unwilling to renounce the strategy of seeking the progress of the Metis through government action. Perhaps his ideology makes it difficult for him to see the manifest conclusion: that the Metis, as well as other native peoples, will never become truly independent until they make themselves self-supporting.

Another stimulating article is a treatment by Jean Morisset of the political position of the "Dene Nation." One does not have to share Morisset's wholehearted support of the Dene in order to find insight in the way he formulates the Dene ideology. Originally published in *Le Devoir*, the article is reprinted here in the French original and in English translation.

The other contributions in the book may be briefly mentioned. Sealey has a rather inconclusive piece on "Ethnicity and the Concept of Metisness." P. Van de Vyvere offers an impressionistic analysis of twenty-eight open-ended questionnaires filled out by (mostly) Metis responding to questions about their sense of identity. The results would at most constitute a pretext of a survey research project, so it is hard to see why they were published. Finally there is a regrettably short piece on the Metis French dialect, supplemented by a humorous letter composed by Lussier in the patois. Perhaps this short treatment will encourage the more systematic study which the Metis dialect deserves.

As a whole, this book does not equal the standard set by its two predecessors in the series. It contains only eight articles, several of which are rather slight. It also focuses very narrowly on the concerns of the Manitoba Metis, which was not true of the earlier volumes. At the same time, it includes an essay on the Dene which has nothing to do with the Metis. Also, the standard of proof-reading has slipped. This volume contains numerous typographical errors, which is often the case with books produced, as this one was, by photographic impression of the typescript.

The limitations of Volume III underline a more serious problem of scholarly research. Volumes I and II could attain their high standard because they dealt with the Metis past, which has long been studied by historians because of its associations with the fur trade and the two Rebellions. Thus those volumes could draw upon the work of many researchers by reprinting useful older pieces or by soliciting new contributions to historical research. But very few

scholars are studying the contemporary Metis, hence the relative thinness of this volume. It is to be hoped that the passage of time will improve things.

Canadian Ethnic Studies is publishing more and more material about natives. This Journal has just been launched, and Brandon University will begin in 1981 to host an annual conference on native studies. Perhaps in a decade it will be possible to put together a solid collection of well-documented studies of the contemporary Metis.

Thomas Flanagan,  
Department of Political Science,  
University of Calgary.

Moyles, R.G.: *British Law and Arctic Men: The Celebrated 1917 Murder Trials of Sinnisiak and Uluksuk, First Inuit Tried Under White Man's Law*. Saskatoon, Western Producer Prairie Books, 1979, 93 pp. \$8.95 paper. Bibliog. Photos.

This book tells the story of Uluksuk and Sinnisiak, the first Inuit to be tried for murder under Canadian law. The victims were two Oblate priests, Fathers Rouviere (whose name Moyles spells without the accent) and Le Roux, who were killed late in 1913, near Bloody Falls, on the Coppermine River. They were killed because Father Le Roux had become impatient with Sinnisiak, a Coppermine Eskimo who was acting as a guide, and had threatened him. The two Inuit had thought themselves in danger, and had killed the priests in what they believed was self-defence.

The two men were tried for murder of one priest in Edmonton, and to the amazement of the government, were acquitted, probably because the jury believed their tale of self-defence. But the Crown then tried them in Calgary for the murder of the second priest; this time they were convicted, and spent two years under detention at Fort Resolution before being returned to their people.

*British Law and Arctic Men* is a most readable book, for Moyles has a powerful story to tell: the vast gulf of culture and understanding between the stone-age Inuit and the Canadian legal system in which they were caught. The government, determined to set an example to other Inuit and to make the point that the law was to be obeyed, spared no effort to secure a conviction. Moyles' approach is evenhanded, but his opinion seems to be that the government erred on the side of severity. And the tragedy was that the desired lesson was not learned; Uluksuk and Sinnisiak, far from being chastened by their experience, acquired so much in the way of material goods and self-confidence during their imprisonment, that when they returned to their people, Uluksuk was eventually murdered because of his arrogance and bullying.

The book has a few flaws. Moyles neglects to say that in fact this was not

the first case of its kind, although it was the first to come to trial. Eighteen months earlier, in June 1912, two explorers named Radford and Street had been murdered, also by Inuit, in the same general area and for much the same reason as were the priests. In this case the police made a thorough investigation, but laid no charges, on the grounds that the explorers had provoked the attack. It was only to be expected that the authorities would be less lenient a second time, and this incident throws a somewhat different light on their actions.

The photographs in the book are interesting, but a map would have been useful, for few readers are likely to be familiar with the Great Bear Lake-Coppermine River region where much of the action took place. \$8.95 seems a lot for a book of 93 pages, but such seems to be the economics of contemporary publishing. Finally, Moyles has an irritating habit of putting words and phrases in quotation marks without giving a source, so that it is hard to tell if he is quoting or merely being ironic. He speaks of the "heroic feats" of the police, of the missionaries who "civilized the West" (p. 39). Is this quotation or sarcasm?

But aside from these criticisms this is a fascinating, fair, and well-written book.

W.R. Morrison,  
Department of History,  
Brandon University.

Nas'Naga: *Indians' Summer*. Toronto, Fitzhenry and Whiteside, 1975.

*Indians' Summer* is the product of that wave of Pan-Indian thought prevalent among many native American groups, particularly among those whose fate it has been to be cut off from their traditional cultural roots and now seek to once more reestablish some form of contact. Nas'Naga, the author, is a member of such a band.

As the author has chosen the literary form of the novel it is to that form or structure that I first turned. I discovered that the novel holds primarily to the fundamental vision of the author. So little attention was given to such aspects of the novel's structure as plot, character, style and continuity that the book leaves the reader with the impression of a "first draft" rather than a well constructed vehicle for a grand vision.

For example in the realm of character, instead of real persons alive in the real world one is faced with vignettes of the good; the bad; and if not the ugly at least the inept. Because they lack depth the characters are stereotypes rather than the archetypal moral portraits they are meant to be.

The novel opens with an excellent icon of a warrior. (p. 4) However, this portrayal is soon lost to the "movie hero" image of good guys who only shoot to wound -- never kill. (p. 26, p. 24) Yet even this image lacks consistency as

the Black Muslim 3 for 1 ratio is introduced. (p. 112)

The influence of the book *Warriors of the Rainbow* is quite evident in the novel. For example, on the side of good we find Krishna the dark skinned friend of the Indian.

The bad, on the other hand, are primarily recognizable by their white-anglosaxon names: most of which reflect some aspect of Euro-American or Euro-Canadian historic personages. The American bad men are General Tucker Sherman; Vice Admiral Wallace H. Harden; Phil Dickson the scalp hunter. The Canadian bad are Howard Jamision Townsend and Edmond Weston. Along with these is the "Uncle Tomahawk" Azile Whitefish.

But the prime source of evil is the harbinger of death, the R.C.M.P., who "over the years . . . had done its best to provide enough dead Indians to satisfy the public. Not too many, just enough." (p. 68) and the harbinger of the living death the B.I.A. But these personifications of ultimate evil remain in the vague realm of "they" v.s. "us".

Then there are the inept fools and ineffectual liberals. Once more names are important. (Interestingly there are three Howards in the categories of bad and ugly). There is Thad Browning the juvenile Vice President and Howard McAfee the patronizing B.I.A. field worker. Finally there is the President of the United States, a farcical character who falls flat on a fat arse (p. 31) and the totally useless army: . . . if they [the army] got the same guys running the show that had it when I was in, we got it in the bag!" (p. 52)

These are Nas'Naga's ugly fools. With them he includes ineffectual liberals who fail miserably in their attempt to attain justice for all. Dupre who shoots himself and Tom Johnson who becomes one of the three for one. They prove that only the Indian has the power to attain that goal - the liberals lack the strength.

If the author, any author, chooses to use the literary form of the novel as an art form he/she must consider the requirements of that art form and handle them as a writer. It would take a writer of great skill to weave such diverse views of reality as the ironic, the farce and the romantic icon into a single novel. Nas'Naga attempts to use all these views to carry his fundamental vision. The book staggers under the effort and threatens throughout to collapse into political hack.

It is not that the vision is impossible to handle in a novel. Leslie M. Silko's character Betonie is the portrayal of a Rainbow Warrior. Her book *Ceremony* adapts the "novel" to the story telling milieu.

While I would not recommend the study of *Indians' Summer* on its literary merit, as I could *Ceremony*, there remains much in Nas'Naga's novel for the student of Native Studies. For if the structure of the novel is weak the vision of the author is a noble one. Nor do I use this term in anything but its true historic nature. As I have already mentioned I find a great deal of the influence of the contemporary text *Warrior of the Rainbow* in the novel. However behind this and at the heart of the vision is the memory of Tecumtha (one who passes

across intervening space from one point to another) the great Shawnee leader and visionary and his dream of an Indian Confederacy.

No other people have known as well, the divisionary shattering effect of the European ascendancy as to the Shawnees. It is appropriate that Nas'Naga a member of the "Remnant" Band of Shawnee should revive Tecumtha's dream.

In fact the vision of the novel is that of a Ghost dance translated into historic, social reality. The persons who lie in the living death of the B.I.A. boneyard rise once more (p. 19) and declare their dignity. "They were no longer willing to sell their trinkets or their ceremonies for the amusement of the tourist." (p. 11) They reject the whiteman's way (p. 18) and some reject their own white blood. (p. 48)

Some come from the death house of the soul: "Nothing worse could happen to an Indian than to be cut off from his people. It had happened, though. It was the first time either of them had realized it." (p. 40) Now the people choose life - - to be Indian. (p. 43)

So the people rise from death and come home for good. (p. 12) and the nations grew in number and knew their strength in unity of purpose. With the wiles of a trickster they bluff the Euro-Americans and win their independence.

Thus, in the final analysis the novel's importance probably lies in the fact that Nas'Naga voices in it the frustrations and dreams of the young Pan-Indian native person and should be considered in that light.

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Winnipeg,  
Manitoba.

Nelson, Richard K.: *Shadow of the Hunter: Stories of Eskimo Life*. Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1980, 282 pp. Illustrations by Simon Koonook

. . . but I learned far more from three old Eskimos who came each morning to brood over the relics [some stone, bone and ivory objects unearthed near the Barrow Settlement] of their forefathers and to dream of the years long past . . . I knew, and they knew, that we were peering into a vanished epoch in the history of their race when life had been very different from the life of their childhood.

(Diamond Jenness: Dawn in Arctic Alaska, p. 123)

Diamond Jenness wrote these words in 1957; he was not the first to express thoughts of this kind, nor was he the last. And one can imagine that practically every cultural anthropologist has uttered thoughts of a similar nature after observing and studying the ways of living people existing outside the sphere of western culture.

One such person is Richard K. Nelson who, in *Shadow of the Hunter*, has



decided to explore the human genius of the Eskimo -- the Inupiat or "the Real People" as they call themselves -- and to write accurately of their life. And, like Jenness, he too hopes to teach readers about the culture and the environment, and to help coming generations "to maintain a strong sense of pride and commitment to their cultural heritage" (xiii). High motives, indeed.

However, Nelson has already done something similar in his book *Hunters of the Northern Ice*, an ethnographic study of the Eskimo. Why another? As he himself admits, *Hunters* lacks life, as it is a scientific study of the Arctic, its inhabitants both human and non-human, and its environment. *Shadow of the Hunter*, on the other hand, is a series of fictionalized narratives based on the author's experiences, and told in an interesting, informative and, at times, very exciting way.

Using the knowledge gained during a year's stay among the Eskimos of Wainwright, Alaska, as a working anthropologist and apprentice hunter, the author divides *Shadow* into ten units identified by the various appropriate activities of the year. The first, *Siqinyasaq Tatqiq* or "Moon of the Returning Sun" (January), deals with seal hunting; subsequent tales (for the "Moon for Bleaching Skins," ". . . When Whaling Begins," ". . . When Rivers Flow," etc.) describe annual hunts for caribou, fox, whale, duck, walrus, polar bear, and fish. Not only does he focus on the hunting life and the skills and lore needed to survive in these most extraordinary conditions, but he also describes the Eskimo as people and displays their warm personalities and sunny dispositions in activities of everyday life where both successes and failures occur. We see the bearded seal killed, the white bear successfully stalked, and the bowhead whale hunted, and we are shown those that "got away" -- and the friendly banter of give-and-take at a missed shot or ill-thrown harpoon.

The stories are peopled with characters from the settlement of Ulurunik inhabited by the Tareogmiut, "people of the sea". The author is able to weave the same hunters throughout the stories so that we become quite familiar with them and their ways; one of these is Sakiak, the old hunter known far and wide as an excellent provider and a renowned hunter of nanuq, the white bear, a man wise and knowledgeable in those traditional skills developed over the centuries and passed from father to son. The language, the thoughts of the characters sound and "feel" natural, made even more so by the anecdotes, the myths, the prayers, the daily chores of such a life. Nelson very capably introduces Eskimo words like *umiak* (skin-boat), *unaaq* (staff for testing ice), and *uquruk* (bearded seal) and their English explanations into the narratives, uses them when appropriate and thus incorporates them effectively and painlessly into the reader's vocabulary.

Undoubtedly the author has much which he wishes to impart to the reader, items like the habits of the animals being hunted and ice and snow conditions. And the reader is thankful, as it is this kind of detail that makes interesting reading. However, the danger is that so much is included that it impedes the forward progress of the story and detracts from the tale itself. This happens a number of times throughout the book, but especially in the first story. Of

course, it is only the author's enthusiasm that occasionally gets away from him. But, generally, he skillfully weaves much information naturally into the fabric of the tales.

Nelson is also able to keep the interest of the reader at a high level with his sensitive descriptive scenes ("... Kakivik saw the endless expanse of the tundra, almost perfectly flat and monotonously white to the horizon's sharp edge . . . . But it was an illusion, it never changed, hour after hour . . . ." (30)), with his change of pace, turning from hunter to hunted and back again, bringing the protagonists together; and with the excitement of the hunts ("Whooooosh! The sound was frightening, almost a roar. Warm mist blew into the hunters' faces, smelling of the whale's insides. They paddled again and again in perfect unison . . . . Seconds later the bow nudged the animal's back. They were in perfect position, on the left side, even with its eye, where a deadly hit was most easily made." (81)).

An underlying theme which pervades practically every narrative is the everlasting tug-of-war between the "old" ways and the "new" ways, between the traditional methods and those of the taniks (white men). It crops up in such straightforward subjects as the use of dogs and snowmobiles (at Ulurunik they had only heard of them), to whale hunting (the "old" excluded any comforts, and one old hunter exclaims ". . . oh, we were cold"; the "new" disallowed the killing of animals on Sundays), to the disposal of remains of slaughtered animals, to hunting seals ("Although the old man had been one of the best hunters, he was lucky to get one or two seals in a long day's hunting" (97)), to duckshooting, to the transmission of acquired knowledge ("wisdom was the most treasured virtue; and wisdom came only with age" (186)).

One of the narratives that stands out from the others is that of Tingiivik Taqiq, "Moon When Birds Fly South". It is worthy of special attention because it is the only one to deal with the restricted world and thoughts of Kiluk, a young Eskimo woman, who is faced with a problem of identity: is she one of the Inupiat or is she a Tanik? And hers is the choice.

She is one who has had the "advantages" of education -- eight years primary, four years high school, even some college -- but who, upon the return finds it ". . . hard to be told that little you know was of any value" (182), that "School taught you many things, but never how to live. What good is all that reading if you cannot sew and catch fish?" (182). She finds herself to be lonely here as she was in the outside world. She recognizes the old ways to be characterized by discomfort, danger, misery, hunger, hard work and endless toil; and she is distant -- at first. But once the party arrives at the fishing camp and she hooks her first fish, she feels an unexplained excitement deep inside of her. And, of course, there is Patik, a young hunter.

Patik, too, has had similar opportunities, but he has already decided "to be clearly and preeminently an Eskimo" (183), and he vows that ". . . I will stay here where I have all those things [open land to travel, game to hunt, freedom to choose his own trail], and where I can laugh with people who know me well" (200-201). And for a wife he wants "a real Eskimo woman."

Kiluk, faced with the choice of returning to the comfort, warmth and ease of the settlement, or of remaining, finally decides. " 'I will stay!' she blurted, '. . . I will stay until I have caught enough fish to feel satisfied, and until I have finished a pair of mittens, and until everyone else is leaving'." (207). She decides to be Eskimo.

The illustrations by Simon Koonook introduce each of the narratives and appropriately represent the theme of the story. They give the reader a visual sense of the theme of the story. They give the reader a visual sense of the tundra, of its emptiness and its severity.

Shadow of the Hunter is generally a well-written and readable collection of stories, obviously fictional, obviously well researched; and it will be of interest to anyone with a sense of adventure. The reader cannot but be left with a sense of awe, and wonder -- and admiration.

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Niatum, Duane: *Digging Out the Roots: Poems*. Toronto: Fitzhenry and Whiteside, 1977, 61 pp; \$2.50 paper.

*Digging Out the Roots* is a fine little book of verse by a Klallum Indian whose ancestors roamed the Washington coast. Duane Niatum is well educated and travelled, having spent a hitch in the United States Navy in Japan followed by a university experience which led to the B.A. and M.A. from Johns Hopkins. In this time of roots searching, many native peoples have become fascinated with their past traditions and ways. In this respect, Mr. Niatum's poetry belongs to a current trend. He is not, however, a primitive (in the aesthetic sense) but has excellent language control and structure. The style and form of his verse strikes me as poetic prose. That is, it could be written in block form in which case it might not necessarily be called poetry. This, however, is a basic characteristic of most free verse. Areas of strength include the vivid nature imagery. His short poems are particularly effective as, for example: My heart is an elk grazing in the meadow/ She called our healing ground./ I am so entangled in her sweet grass/ That if she opened her eyes while asleep/ She would see me lying joyfully/ In the sunlight of her young ferns. Niatum's imagery is vivid, explicit, and there is Charming simplicity. I particularly appreciated the avoidance of breast beating appeals for sympathy to the plight of a down-trodden people. To me such appeals are far more powerful when implicit, as here, than when they are plaintive. Niatum takes us into interior experience in his themes of love and nature. Much of *Digging Out the Roots* is pastoral, as expected, but always with an unexpected turn of phrase and a fresh way of saying something often expressed. I particularly liked Song to First Woman. I take the wrong road

for the feel of its turning./ And the blind rooster perched on my shoulder/ Croaks with joy. As with all fine poetry, Niatum's verse gives something at first reading but demands rereading and reflection because there are depths to plumb. As the editor of a small literary mag, I would definitely publish Niatum.

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Ponting, J. Rick and Roger Gibbins with Andrew J. Siggner: *Out of Irrelevance: A Socio-political Introduction to Indian Affairs in Canada*. Toronto, Butterworths, 1980, 360 pp. Appendixes- Bibliog. Figs. Index. Tabs.

*Out of Irrelevance* attempts to explain the "Red Man's Albatross", i.e. the modern view that the Department of Indian Affairs has been an albatross or "evil" influence, thwarting and preventing the development of Indian culture, economy and political life. In the early nineteenth century, of course, the I opposite was supposed to have been true. J.E. Hodgett, in his *Pioneer Public Service* (University of Toronto Press, 1955) has argued correctly that the Indian people were perceived by non-Indians in the mid-nineteenth century, as the "white man's albatross". Both of these views are inaccurate because they are based upon inadequate research and a liberal moral ideology. These views have generally impeded historical and other scholarship in its understanding of the histories of Indian and non-Indian people in Canada and the relationship between them. To their credit, the authors of *Out of Irrelevance* have gone somewhat beyond the myths of a "red or white man's albatross".

The author's stated purpose is to provide an "elementary atlas of the socio-political terrain of Indian Affairs in Canada." Their emphasis is on the present, and sometimes even on the future, rather than the past. The authors of this book (Rick Ponting is the "senior author", Roger Gibbins and Andrew Siggner are the "junior authors") begin with the assumption that there is a lack of descriptive information in social science literature about Canadian society and that "such a deficiency can only foster stereotyping and non-constructive criticism." There is no question that they are right. Into this academicallyformed crucible the authors pour "Indian Affairs in Canada at the national level" and the result is *Out of Irrelevance*.

This book is wen-structured and is divided into five parts. The first part contains three chapters, and gives the context of Indian Affairs in Canada. This context includes a skimpy inaccurate history of Indian-Government Relations, a solidly researched socio-demographic profile of Indians in Canada by Andrew Siggner, and a chapter on "Canadians' Perceptions of Indians".

The remaining parts of *Out of Irrelevance* are largely based on the authors'

research in the 1970's, e.g. their interviews with Indian people and with the personnel of the Department of Indian Affairs plus some secondary sources. Part two contains three chapters, and deals with the administration of Indian Affairs. Part three deals with the "politicization" of Indian Affairs, i.e. the history of the internal development of the National Indian Brotherhood. Part four briefly describes the rise and the demise of the "non-Indian support organizations" -- the "clerics, philanthropists and the Liberals". Part five attempts to pull all of the disparate elements of the book together in a conclusion. There is also a bibliography, two appendices, one relating to the authors' survey research, the other is the "Dene Declaration", and an index. Admittedly, and unfortunately, the book does not deal with "land claims, economic development, aboriginal rights and the status of Indian women", all of which were, and still are, key issues for the Indian people in Canada.

The authors' approach to their subject is original and the information in each part helps to fulfill the purpose of the book. For the most part it is well written and free of jargon. However, it should also be stressed that *Out of Irrelevance* has two major weaknesses. The first is the author's heavy reliance (except for Chapter 2) on survey research for their evidence. The authors are probably aware of the problems in using survey research but they do not point them out to the reader. The major danger in using survey research is that the information one receives is determined by the questions asked. Also, the information received must be analyzed critically, taking into account the biases of the interviewee and the interviewer before it is synthesized into the manuscript.

This book, written by academics, is supposed to be objective. The hypothesis, evidence and conclusions reached in it should be consistent with each other. Unfortunately they are not because the author's pro-Indian bias intrudes at almost every point. The dedication makes this point clear: "For Nelson Small Legs Jr. and the many other Indians for whom suicide seemed the only way out". Also the Department of Indian Affairs, with few exceptions, is portrayed as the "red man's albatross", with the "new guard" as the heroes and the "old guard" as the villains. Now there is nothing intrinsically wrong with a pro-Indian bias, but it is certainly out of place in a work which purports to be objective.

The authors' primary hypothesis is that in the 1970's the Indian people came out of irrelevance. The 1970's witnessed the apparent political impact of the Indian people and their political organizations upon the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development. Thus, in 1980, the Indian people are presumably now relevant to the Government of Canada and to the rest of Canadian society. Does this analysis stand up to the facts? I think not. Perhaps the Indian people gained a higher media profile in the 1970's. Granted they have made an impact upon some, very few, I think, members of the so-called "new guard" such as Cam Mackie, in the Department of Indian Affairs, but the "old guard", from my personal experience, is still fully in charge. At the same time, the Indian people have made little or no political impact where it counts, i.e.

on the Minister of Indian Affairs and the Cabinet. One good example is the breakdown in the Joint Cabinet - NCC Cabinet Committee in 1978, at least in part, because of the withdrawal of the National Indian Brotherhood (pp. 265269).

The truth is that the Indian people in Canada are few in numbers relative to the total population and are geographically dispersed across the country. Thus they have no political base or clout with provincial or federal politicians or the Cabinets. In this sense Indian people are still and, perhaps, always will be, politically irrelevant. In addition, Indian political leaders do not seem to be aware of this truth (p. 258). This view is not to argue that Indian people are irrelevant. Historically the Indian people have always been relevant in a local, and at times, in a provincial context in terms of economic and resource development, specifically the development of land, capital and labour. And Indian people have always had an important impact upon the administration of Indian and non-Indian affairs in Canada. As yet this story has not been told and the evidence for it is contained in the RG 10 (Indian Affairs) records in the Public Archives of Canada.

The authors of *Out of Irrelevance* have achieved their limited objective of providing an "elementary atlas" of Indian Affairs in Canada. However, they should follow their own exhortation and do more research on this topic. It is a pity that the book is not objective and is marred by the author's pro-Indian bias. At the same time despite its weaknesses *Out of Irrelevance* should be required reading for anyone interested in Indian Affairs in Canada in the late twentieth century.'

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- \* The views expressed above are those of the reviewer and do not represent those of the Ontario Ministry of Natural Resources or the Government of Ontario.

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Hodgett, John Edwin

1955 *Pioneer Public Service*, Toronto, University of Toronto Press.

Price, John: *Indians of Canada: Cultural Dynamics*. Scarborough, Prentice-Hall of Canada, 1979, 261 pp. \$7.95 paper. Illus. Maps. Tabs.

Price's aim is to survey the "cultural dynamics" of Indian life in Canada by examining such topics as ecological adaptations, historical persistence and acculturation, cultural evolution, and the background to contemporary Indian-

white relationships. It is intended to provide the general reader with an introduction to the cultural heritage of Canadian Indians and Inuit. The book is organized into three distinct sections. The first three chapters provide the reader with a conventional anthropological discussion of race and prehistory, language, and cultural evaluation. The next five chapters, the core of the book, consist of case studies of the five major culture areas in Canada (Inuit, subarctic Algonquian hunters, Huron and Iroquois farmers, Blackfoot buffalo hunters, and Kwakiutl fishermen). Each chapter presents a summary of ethnographic data drawn from the works of a fairly wide range of anthropological studies. A selected bibliography of each area is included as well as a 33 page "pictorial essay" of historical illustrations and photographs from the works of Catlin, Kane, and Curtis to complement the written text. The book concludes with a chapter discussion modern issues affecting Native people in Canada.

Price's first three chapters illustrate the problem of unevenness in the book. The discussion ranges from focusing on details of physical anthropologies' views of linguistic structures and Plains Indian sign language to sweeping generalizations about Native cultures. Often topics are introduced but only briefly and superficially discussed. The unevenness continues in the five culture area chapters where there is little common organization of topics making crosscultural comparisons difficult. The result is difficult slugging at times.

A central argument of the book is that useful insights can be gained by examining the development of Indian cultures from the point of view of four broad evolutionary categories moving from simple to complex, (band, tribe, chiefdom, and state). At times the reader finds this contention to be true as is the case when comparing the distinctive ecological adaptations of different Indian cultures. At the same time, however, there are instances where the analysis is clearly stretched to fit the model. And although Price claims that he avoids the sins of earlier evolutionary theories whose broad categories ". . . became too loaded in favour of complex societies and were used pejoratively against simpler societies" (p. 45) the uninformed reader might have difficulty avoiding that bias from the application of the present model.

The ethnographic chapters, with their summary of data pertaining to the major culture areas, provide a useful and valuable overview of selected aspects of Canadian Indian history and culture. The general reader and introductory Native Studies student will find these case studies an interesting beginning to a more detailed study of Indian cultures. On the negative side the chapters contain several questionable generalizations unsupported by evidence and even some downright inaccurate statements. Some of the most serious are: a claim that the flexibility and ingenuity of the Inuit "have made their adjustments to White society somewhat smoother than that of Indians in the north" (p. 59), when practising female infanticide to limit population size "in a brutal way. . . the traditional Inuit could kill much easier than we do in modern society" (p. 68), the inaccurate contention that the "Iroquois did not develop much in the way of woodcarving" (p. 150). or similarly that the "Iroquois became too assimilated into White society to struggle with Native causes" (p. 161);

characterizing Plains Indians as "quite simple in religious practices" (p; 164); suggesting that only one Sun Dance lodge design existed among Plains societies (p. 175); and contending that Plains Indians were never conservationists and were, to a large degree, responsible for the disappearance of the buffalo in the late nineteenth century (p. 165).

The reader will find the chapter on modern issues strongly out of place in a book on cultural dynamics of traditional Indian societies. Many of the subjects discussed are examined with much more detail in Price's recent book *Native Studies: American and Canadian Indians*. Topics such as racism, Indian criminality, urban adaptations, and multiculturalism are raised but dealt with only superficially.

In spite of Price's sympathetic treatment of many aspects of Indian Life in the final analysis, he is writing from the conventional perspective of the anthropologist as an outsider. He is rooted in his own culture writing as detached observer. For example, in examining the fur trade no reference is made to the exploitative nature of the contacts between the Indians and the Hudson's Bay Company. This ethnocentrism is also evident in his discussion of Native religions and personality. For this reason many Native people and readers involved with the Native experience will find the book lacking.

This is not to suggest that the book is without merit. It is written for the general reader in order to fill a gap in the literature on Native culture in Canada. It fulfills this function well. Indeed, as a balance to other sources written from the "Native viewpoint" and with some interpretations of the inaccuracies, the book could be a very useful text to whet the appetite of students in introducing Native Studies courses.

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Raine, David F.: *Pitseolak, A Canadian Tragedy*. Edmonton, Hurtig Publishers, 1980, 176 pp. \$12.95 cloth. Maps.

In the times of massive economic onslaughts on the land and resources of the Inuit, when the economic, political, and social structures of these areas are undergoing considerable changes, it is of great interest to receive a new book that purports to raise many of the vital issues and to do so through the medium of an absorbing story of a young Inuit trying to find his place in the world.

Pitseolak was born in 1945 on Baffin Island's Foxe Peninsula. In response to the government's settlement policy, Pitseolak's family moved off the land to live in Cape Dorset. There he attended school and learned English, that "weird foreign tongue", knowledge of which was to turn him into a symbol of progress and to help him leave his home for additional years of southern educa-



tion - at the expense of learning his own traditions. When he returned he was twenty-three years old, ignorant of his own culture but fluent in English and sophisticated from his experiences in the south. Unable or unwilling to fit into the traditional life of his community, Pitseolak became a confused foreigner in his own land, not even able to understand how to think like an Inuit.

Author David Raine was working in Cape Dorset as a teacher when he met Pitseolak. A brief friendship quickly grew between the two men. Pitseolak freely shared many of his concerns and frustrations as a disoriented "modern Eskimo" and received in turn Raine's advice and assistance. In narrating this relationship to us, Raine weaves together an intriguing story of the people of Cape Dorset, their customs, including the artist Peter Pitseolak. As these people go about their day to day lives, we learn about the effects of government education policy, the conditions of family life and the difficulties of making a living in an Arctic settlement. We also observe Pitseolak making a difficult transformation from the suave modern Eskimo with carefully groomed hair into an eager, energetic student of the old customs concerning the land on which the new Pitseolak, the Hunter, must depend. Tragically, it is this transformation which ends in Pitseolak's death, the victim of inexperience as a hunter, and, as Raine suggests, the victim of greater forces which gave Pitseolak a southern education and made his destruction inevitable.

Raine's abilities in relating this story of his experience and impressions in the Arctic are excellent and provide enjoyable reading. There is little new ethnographic information in the book, but it was not intended as an ethnography. Rather, it is a popular account of cultural conflict, focusing on education, and very much the story of friendship. As such it is to be recommended for the humanistic understanding it provided. Yet there are a number of assumptions which mar the book and prevent it from fully achieving its goal. A few deserve comment.

Throughout the book Raine creates the impression of Pitseolak, the microcosm of his society, as a victim of conditions over which he could have very little or no control. Even Pitseolak's decision to leave behind his southern lifestyle, the central theme of the book, is presented as a choice between two prestructured conditions: to live an alienated existence in the modern world or to become a hunter of the icy wastes. But were there no other options? Retrospectively, we know that not all the Inuit have accepted the position of victim. Their efforts through individual and collective struggles against colonial forces, including the acculturative ones described in the book, have sought other routes out of the quagmire that threatens them. Unfortunately, the book presents no information for us to evaluate Pitseolak's acceptance of the two options. Even something as fundamental as the time period of the story is not clearly stated. This makes it difficult for a reader to turn to other sources for aid in situating and understanding the implications of Pitseolak's decision for the individual and, by extension, for the microcosm of the Inuit people.

With this in mind, it is strange to encounter the simple dichotomy in Pitseolak's search for identity, and strange to follow Raine's attempts to steer

Pitseolak's interest away from international and national affairs towards tradition and animal migrations. But this conforms to what seems to be Raine's image of the ideal Eskimo and what he feels to be best for Pitseolak.

As an alternative to a more analytic and historical narrative, Raine develops the reader's sympathy for his subject by playing upon many of the stereotypes prevalent in southern culture. This can be a useful strategy only if one is careful to dispel the stereotypes as or after they are employed. Raine is not. Besides the motif of Eskimo as victim and the idealization of the real Eskimo as hunter, there is a fascination with what might be characterized as the difference between the whiteman's sophisticated although on occasion trivial thought and the Inuit's direct but often mysterious mind; with the Inuit's natural (i.e., before white influence) intimacy with nature; and with his natural stoicism. Finally, there is the most surprising stereotype, the description of the Inuit homeland as an "icy waste". The imagery is intended to draw the reader deeper into Raine's idealization of the hunters. In fact, it jolts us with our memories of the S.S. Manhattan, natural gas, oil, mines, etc.

The ultimate effect of using such literary devices and of leaving them as exotic mysteries will not only reinforce prejudices but also cheat the readers by leaving them, at the tragic ending of the story, with just so much more guilt for the colonial burden and not a deeper understanding.

Raine's concern with the development of the Inuit made him angry with the policies which distorted that development. Yet, despite the rebellious stand he took in questioning his own role and that of the many southern institutions affecting the Inuit, in the book Raine does not successfully extract himself from the dominant and paternalistic vision that Inuit assimilation during development is inevitable. The dialogue which he engages in his writing is governed by the question of how the Inuit are to be weaned from their traditional way of life, a classically colonial style of question that keeps Raine the writer within the same fold as Raine the government teacher. This is the main contradiction within Raine's text - between his intent and actual articulation. It makes the book itself just as interesting a study as the story narrated by Raine, unfortunately, it defeats the effectiveness of his work.

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Redbird, Duke: *We Are Metis. A Metis View of the Development of a Native Canadian People*. Willowdale, Ontario Metis and Non Status Indian Association, 1980, 76 pp. \$5.95 paper. Appendix. Bibliog.

In his introduction the author promises a history of the Metis that will counter the "racist bias" of white historians as evidenced in the "frontier

explanation" in which simple primitive communities are destined to expire in the face of the complexity of civilized peoples. In its place, Mr. Redbird promises a Metis history "that proves the Metis are in a strong moral - and legal position to demand their aboriginal rights and recognition of their major role as a founder of Canadian Confederation". In this Mr. Redbird is not successful. But, in his introduction as well, he promises an analysis of the strengths and weaknesses of native organizations and their tactics in recent years. On the basis of this analysis the author suggests the need for a cultural awakening as a means of uniting the Metis people and of winning for them, in the political sense as well as the cultural sense, a respected place amidst the mosaic of communities in Canada. In this task Mr. Redbird is most successful.

In his challenge to "white" historians (commendably the much overused, abused, and misused term "racist" appears but one), the author underlines an issue provoking some debate in the profession today. It is evident that in the writing of Canadian history the methods and techniques used have frequently served the interests of folk history. In the writing of English-speaking Canadian history, the folk in question has been the collectivity encompassed in the terms British, Protestant and Middle Class. Quite frequently, when the subject matter of historical inquiry and the cultural antecedents of the historian have been part of the same historical experience and legacy, the methods and techniques of scholarship serve the interests of folk history. In some instances the results of such a partnership constitute brilliant historical explanation, breaching the boundaries of culture and touching on the human condition. Yet in other instances, particularly when the subject of study and the scholar are products of separate experiences and legacies, the results of the partnership do not equal other efforts. In response to this problem some historians seem to emphasize the restrictive practice of harmonizing an historian's cultural antecedents with his subject of study. Others have turned eclectically to the methods and techniques of other disciplines in an effort to garner insights for a solution to the problem of satisfying the interests of scholarly history and folk history. To a significant extent Mr. Redbird's book constitutes an attempt to place the methods and techniques of scholarly history at the service of Metis folk history.

The apparatus of scholarship such as bibliography and footnotes is evident in *We Are the Metis*. As well, the form of the scholarly use of evidence is there. Yet in chapters one, two and the first part of three the author's efforts are not marked by success. In part the explanation for this lack of success lies in the brevity of his exposition. Too much subject matter and too little text lead to errors of fact and evidence. Errors of commission and omission are evident. Lord Selkirk is "a member of the Board of Directors of the Hudson's Bay Company (p. 12)". After the Battle of Seven Oaks "Cuthbert Grant was now in effective control of the whole of Rupert's Land (p. 12)". While George Gladman's mixed-blood antecedents are not directly relevant to Mr. Redbird's discussion neither are they irrelevant. Similarly the fact of Riel's defence of the Union Jack in the face of O'Donoghue's wishes cannot be omitted from Metis myth and leave, at the same time, a credible history. In a few instances verbosity

passes as evidence. Thus the historical explanation for the development of a sense of Metis nationhood is "a natural expression of their own reality in the context of their own social development (p. 5)". Brevity, however, is not sufficient explanation for the failure of the author's scholarship in the early chapters.

The book's deficiencies in the opening pages are functions of the author's view of the historical actors and events in the years before 1869-70. Redbird accepts the facts of history, he simply does not see them as the product of human aspiration and effort. In this instance myth is not "more real than reality"; it is superficial and trite, a fairy tale. This view of the historical actors shifts dramatically in the middle of chapter three.

A shift in writing style from ponderous statements to a smooth flow of words, succinct and scholarly in narration, analysis and assessment, herald the appearance of a credible history on an aspect of the Metis experience. Amidst the events and historical actors of the first Riel Rising Redbird's history takes hold. The artificial alliance of scholarly technique and folk history interest becomes legitimate. The author's success in the latter half of chapter three holds reasonably steady through to his conclusion.

The eclecticism of his personal odyssey through life, evident in insights in the first two chapters, serves him well in his study of the past two decades of experience in the native movement in this country. Drawing upon a wide variety of sources he perceptively and compassionately conveys the essence of the experience of those years. Brevity remains a problem but it does not detract from the coherence of his analysis nor the clarity of his explanation. Gently and respectfully Redbird acknowledges other views and then skillfully incorporates them as evidence supporting his reasons for a call for a "consciousness raising" amongst the Metis. To Redbird the crux of the problem is how each and every Metis sees him or herself in relation to others and in relation to history. The mechanism for action for the Metis people is to see and to understand themselves as Metis. Such a cultural awakening, for the author, is the most appropriate political means to involve the Metis in decisions affecting their interests. Redbird's case is convincing.

The quality of the author's scholarship is nowhere more evident than in his discussion of aboriginal rights and land claims. With a breadth of understanding not equaled elsewhere Redbird denotes their cultural significance in terms of national myth and their political significance in providing leverage in relations with decision makers. Left unanswered is the question whether the Metis, given the cultural importance of aboriginal rights and land claims, could agree to a political solution on these issues.

The blimishes in *We Are the Metis* are significant. But of even greater significance are the accomplishments. On the subject of the Metis experience the book furthers the understanding of Metis and non-Metis, layman and academician, alike.

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*The Treaty of Amity, Commerce and Navigation, 1794-1796.* Ottawa, Treaties and Historical Research Centre, Department of Indian and Northern Affairs, 1979, 18 pp. Appendix, Bibliog. Maps.

*An Historical Reference Guide to the Stone Fort Treaty (Treaty One, 1871).* Ottawa, Treaties and Historical Research Centre, Department of Indian and Northern Affairs, 1980, 34 pp. Bibliog. Maps.

Indian Treaties in Historical Perspective. Ottawa, Treaties and Historical Research Centre, Department of Indian and Northern Affairs, 1979, 49 pp. Maps. Tabs.

Protection of treaty and aboriginal rights has long been a matter of vital importance to Indians in Canada and a recurring theme in their dealings with governments. During the late 1960's and 1970's, however, concern with the nature, extent and implications of Indians' rights exploded out of the narrow confines of federal Indian administration to become a public issue. In response, first, to the federal government's 1969 White Paper proposals to terminate its responsibilities in the field of Indian affairs and then to Prime Minister Trudeau's denial of the validity of aboriginal rights, Indian associations across Canada appealed directly to the public and received support in an unprecedented manner. The government's hasty withdrawal of its proposals was accompanied by the offer of funds that would enable national, provincial and territorial Indian associations to formulate comprehensive statements of Indian rights and claims. The extensive research conducted since then by Indian associations, government agencies and academics interested in the field has understandably been informed - albeit in differing ways - by the political salience of the matters under investigation.

Two quite different approaches have emerged within the field of treaty and aboriginal rights research. The first tends to view claims primarily from the perspective of European legal traditions; in short, the existence and the extent of treaty commitments, promises and rights are determined on the basis of whether there is sufficient evidence of documented and legally correct agreements having been made between Indians and government representatives. The second seeks to elucidate the actual, historical development of relationships, practices and understandings between Indians and governments, whether or not these happen to fit precisely within the boundaries of past and present western legal doctrine.

To develop an adequate understanding of even the simplest and most straightforward of claims, it is necessary to locate specific agreements within this broader historical context. Points of law are normally argued in terms of an arbitrary, but, nonetheless, standardized and well understood body of legal principles and precedents; historical reconstruction, on the other hand, typically requires a more flexible approach since we are rarely able to question historical figures directly, but must instead rely upon available documentary, published and oral history sources to piece together historical accounts. These sources are

usually insufficient to provide absolute proof of any but the most elementary matters. Thus, to arrive at the most accurate and complete accounts of historical situations, relations and understandings that we are capable of achieving, it is necessary to examine all of the sources, not in the partisan fashion expected of lawyers in an adversary system, but as fairly and as thoroughly as possible. This objective requires, among other things, an explicit recognition and admission of one's operating assumptions.

Although these three recent publications of the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs' Treaty and Historical Research Centre contain some useful information, their authors are less than forthright about their adherence to a narrow, legalistic and frequently self-serving depiction of the nature of treaty and aboriginal rights. One might anticipate encountering such a stance in a political position paper put forth as a basis for negotiation; but this constitutes a serious defect in writings that purport variously to provide, "a solid base for any further research which interested parties might wish to undertake" and "a good general analysis of all Indian treaty activity in Canada from earliest exploration to present day".

The report on the Jay Treaty, for example, asserts that this was not an Indian treaty, but an international treaty, "designed to regulate affairs of those times". After noting that the treaty clearly distinguished Indians from British subjects and American citizens, the report hastens to point out that only one of the twenty-eight articles of the Treaty refers to Indians. That article stipulated that Indians crossing between Canada and the United States would not be required to pay duty on, "their own proper goods and effects". The report goes on to record that the Americans ceased to honour the Treaty after the War of 1812, that in 1824 Canadians repealed legislation enacting this practice, and that since that time Indians on both sides of the border have been persistent, though largely unsuccessful, in their efforts to regain this right.

A comprehensive reckoning of the historical circumstances and significance to Indians of the Jay Treaty cannot, however, be reached by means of such a rigidly constrained approach that systematically shies away from vital questions. What part did Indians play in formulating the provisions pertaining to them in the Treaty? What was the nature of Indian-government relations and mutually recognized, albeit unsigned, commitments when the Treaty was negotiated? Were Indians consulted when the relevant Treaty provisions were abrogated in 1824 or was this a unilateral action? Why have succeeding generations of Indians struggled so long and hard to regain this right? The report tells us that the respective British and American negotiators of the Treaty enjoyed cordial personal relations, but it says next to nothing about why and how Indians' interests came to be articulated in this fashion at this time. The report's prime purpose, it appears, is to persuade the reader that Indians have no basis to contend that the Jay Treaty affords them any claim for special rights.

The Historical Reference Guide to the Stone Fort Treaty (Treaty One) deals somewhat more directly with Indian-government relations. It also reports several instances that possess a more general methodological significance for

research being conducted in this field. Lieutenant Governor Archibald's comment that Indians, "recollect with astonishing accuracy every stipulation made at the treaty" offers an interesting insight into the value of oral testimony. So, too, does the fact that the written agreement was subsequently adjusted to include articles that had been "severally and collectively understood to be in the things promised to the Indians, but not mentioned in the Treaty". Nevertheless, an overall impression of this publication is that it exhibits a pre-eminent concern with the legal limitations of treaty commitments and a marked tendency to interpret historical events from the perspective of the government representatives who took part in these. The final part of the guide addresses itself to the task of attempting to demonstrate that (limited) government obligations to Indian bands in Treaty One have been substantially fulfilled.

The third publication, *Indian Treaties in Historical Perspective*, is intended for those unfamiliar with the historical background and provisions of Indian treaties rather than for specialists in the field. It covers a good deal of ground and is reasonably articulate for a government publication. It is, nonetheless, entirely unsuitable as an introduction to the field, unless readers are advised in advance or possess the expertise to discern for themselves that this report's main purpose is to propagate surreptitiously or, perhaps, by reflex action the federal government's negotiating position on treaty and aboriginal rights. There is no indication whether this report was vetted for political content prior to publication, but it is unlikely that any part of it would cause the government the slightest embarrassment.

One of the most offensive features of this report is the manner in which it endeavours to slip bald assertions and highly contentious opinions into long, but not directly related descriptive sections, a practice that almost succeeds in disguising these political positions as commonly accepted historical interpretations. Thus, we are gradually presented (pages 2, 26, 39 and 49) with what amounts to an "aboriginality lost" thesis: viz; "no matter how badly the Indian peoples wanted to preserve their freedom and cultural heritage, their dependence on European manufactures was almost total by this time; they naturally preferred to live and obtain their necessities in a friendly environment rather than in one of hostility". The time being referred to here is 1812, although the same specious arguments were employed as recently as the 1970's by the James Bay Development Corporation in its attempt to show that the Cree of Northern Quebec had long since lost their aboriginal culture and way of life.

Notwithstanding that it eventually admits that there are, in fact, varying interpretations of the nature and extent of treaty and aboriginal rights, this report is anything but an impartial and equitable introduction to the field. Worse yet, it focuses so completely on the actions and intentions of government representatives that, in comparison, Indians appear as passive figures in the shadows of great events. Among those very few Indian leaders who are even named in the report, only Joseph Brant receives as much as a paragraph's consideration; on the other hand, Alexander Morris, who negotiated Treaties

3,4,5 and 6 on behalf of the Crown, warrants some three pages of sympathetic attention. In the end this report assures us that government officials have historically done only what had to be done, without "sharp practice or largescale misrepresentation"; that the federal government has, in any case, promised to honour its "lawful obligations", and, that the granting of funds to Indian bands and associations to enable them to investigate their claims and grievances is a sure sign of the government's sincerity. Let us hope that we can place greater credence in the products of this and other research being carried out than in these three reports by the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs.

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Welch, James: *Riding the Earthboy 40*. (Revised Edition). Toronto, Fitzhenry and Whiteside, 1976, 71 pp. \$2.50 paper.

Young Bear, Ray: *Winter of the Salamander*. Toronto: Fitzhenry and Whiteside, 1979, 208 pp. \$4.95 paper.

*Riding the Earthboy 40* was the sixth book in the Harper and Row Native American Publishing Program and has been revised since the original was published in 1971. *Winter of the Salamander* was the tenth book in the program. All profits from the program are used to support projects designed to aid the Native American People.

*Riding the Earthboy 40* is Welch's second book in the Harper and Row program. He is probably better known for his first book, *Winter in the Blood*, a novel about a young Blackfoot Indian.

Welch makes strong, natural statements of a people whose spirit has never been destroyed. He has captured the events that shaped the outlook of a young Indian and expertly expresses his feelings in poems such as "Arizona Highways", "Christmas Comes to Moccasin Flat" and "Grandfather at the Rest Home". Realism and symbolism combine to express his innermost yearnings and insights.

He captures the touching and significant moments of everyday life. The contrast between traditional and contemporary is strongly expressed. He captures the closeness of people, but also the distance. "The Last Priest Didn't Even Say Goodbye" uses an economy of words to show the gap and lack of understanding between cultures.

Welch's father was a Blackfoot, his mother a Gros Ventre. He went to high school in Minneapolis and got a B.A. from the University of Montana. He tried many occupations - labourer, firefighter, counsellor, before fuming to full time writing.



*Winter of the Salamander* is Young Bear's first published book. It is an impressive collection of 83 poems. His poetry has also appeared in anthologies and journals.

Young Bear is a Sauk and Fox (Mesquaki) Indian and is talented in many areas. The cover design is done by him as well.

Like Welch, Young Bear draws upon traditional as well as contemporary influences to explore the very nature of existence. The places and events that shaped his life are felt but entwined in the moments of importance are dreams and symbols that often touch the deepest emotions. He also reveals the emotions of a people who are, above all, survivors.

His themes of man, creature, earth and power recur in most of his poems. Nowhere is the theme of man-earth expressed more forcefully than in the title poem "Winter of the Salamander".

Young Bear is also a realist. His poems speak of events that shape a nation as well as events that shape the thinking of a young Indian. He writes of events large and small. He even includes a poem with the unusual title

"in disgust and in response to  
Indian-type poetry written by  
whites published in a mag  
which keeps rejecting me"

Agnes Grant,  
BUNTEP,  
Brandon University.