

BOOK REVIEWS  
A.S. LUSSIER, EDITOR

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Krotz, Larry: *Urban Indians: The Strangers in Canada's Cities*. Edmonton: Hurtig, 1980, 157 pp., \$9.95 paper. 32 photographs by John Paskievich.

Why does an author use such an inflated title as *Urban Indians* for an anecdotal report on the problems that some Indians are having in Winnipeg, Regina, and Edmonton? The title is misleadingly grandiose because it never goes beyond the Prairies, it is not comprehensive or systematic in its analysis, and focuses just on problems rather than on normal life. These overly broad titles seem to be common to the subject. Thus Mark Nagler called his 1970 report of interviews with some Indians living in downtown Toronto *Indians in the City*. Hugh Brody's 1971 report on downtown Edmonton came out as *Indians on Skid Row*. Edgar Dosman's 1972 report of a Saskatoon survey was called *Indians: The Urban Dilemma*. The 1975 William Stanbury survey of off-reserve Indians in B.C. was titled *Success and Failure: Indians in Urban Society*.

To my knowledge, a holistic ethnography on the normal day-to-day lives and culture of Indians in a Canadian city has never been published. The closest thing to this is Jeanne Guillemin's 1975 ethnography of Canadian Micmacs living in Boston, called *Urban Renegades: The Cultural Strategy of American Indians*, another obscure title. To be accurate it should have been called *Micmacs in Boston*. We still do not have a single book that adequately synthesizes the dozens of research projects and publications that have been done on the urbanization of Canada's Indians. Don McCaskill and I have been working on various aspects of this synthesis for over ten years. Don did a Ph.D. thesis at York that compared studies of Toronto, Winnipeg, Edmonton, and Vancouver. My own urban work is summarized in three chapters in the 1978 *Native Studies* text.

Larry Krotz is a Winnipeg journalist who writes here in a popular style on such problems as inadequate housing, bias in schools, and unemployment. He alternates brief descriptive sketches of communities with the urban adjustment problems of individuals. It is an appealing, human interest kind of writing, similar for example to Heather Robertson's 1970 *Reservations Are For Indians*. Someone unfamiliar with Prairie Indians would enjoy reading the book and would gain some insights into the problems that individuals from small rural Indian communities have in settling into cities. The book is essentially an essay in the humanities. It is biography and literature, but it is too uneven, too inaccurate, and too shallow for most social science purposes. The photographs lack captions and seem to be unrelated to the text. The book is biased in presenting a fundamentally negative side to urban migration, ignoring the conditions of tens of thousands of Indians who lead satisfying and successful lives in Canada's cities.

The samples are biased toward the kind of popular opinions and experiences that people give in casual interviews. The sloppiness of this kind of journalistic writing reminds us again of the values of in-depth and repeated interviews, long term participant observation, and the systematic use of data from surveys, archives, and background statistics. I am particularly concerned about the systematic biases that have come into several urban Indian studies in Canada when the researcher bases his work on interviews with a few officials, the clients of service agencies, and people casually met in downtown areas. Even the larger "snowball" samples that start at Indian centres tend to have this downtown and anti-suburban bias. We also see ethnic biases, so that in Toronto the Union of Ontario Indians, a predominantly Ojibwa organization, did a survey and talked to just a token few of the thousands of Iroquois in the city. We need carefully designed samples, not this kind of amateur, man-on-the-street, interviews. Meanwhile, we are still waiting for someone out there to write a book that honestly has the scope of urban Indian life in Canada.

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Manitoba: *Report of the Indian Child Welfare Sub-Committee Manitoba*. Winnipeg; Department of Community Services, 1980, 99 pp.

The Indian Child Welfare Sub-Committee of Manitoba has provided a useful and important report to the Tripartite Committee. It is evident through reading this document that the Sub-Committee, comprised of federal, provincial, and Indian representatives, was adhering to the Tripartite Mandate (Resolution #4) which states that the child welfare needs of Indian people are a matter of "immediate and urgent priority".

The Sub-Committee's final product emphasized the necessity of Indian involvement in the planning implementation, and management of all services. It recommended that "provision be made for a province - wide central authority, plus regional and local authorities, each with specific responsibilities for aspects of services to registered Indians". The Sub-Committee also stressed that for any planning to work, all levels from the "grassroots" to the "senior levels" of government, must be committed to providing child welfare services to Indian people.

Further to this, the report set out a general formula for "determining service needs" which is the first step taken toward arriving at a funding formula for services. The Sub-Committee does not have all the answers but it does "present a framework from which the tripartite committee may begin to examine the level of service required in various parts of Manitoba". It is, therefore, a starting point which might possibly "facilitate orderly development of

Indian communities towards management of their own services, depending upon the desire and ability of individual communities to reach this goal".

Because three levels of government were involved, one must appreciate the amount of compromise and negotiation that took place. Although the Sub-Committee was not vested the responsibility of assigning financial figures to the formula, this document is still of major significance. The report could be seen as an indicator that further joint governmental working committees have great potential in facilitating communication channels for future decision making with regards to the concerns of Indian people.

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Pellinski, Ramon; Luke Suluk, and Lucy Amarook: Inuit Songs from Eskimo PoEt. Ottawa: National Museum of Man (Canadian Ethnology Service, Mercury Series #60), 1979, xvi + 122 pp. Illus. Appendice.

This collection of 41 Inuit songs recorded in 1977 at Eskimo Point, includes pieces of three genres: the "ajajait" (34 songs), personal, spontaneous musical expressions characterized by the repetitive phrase "a ja a ja jajaja..."

"Why do I keep thinking about it  
Inside the igloo, I don't do anything  
Even though I don't do anything inside the igloo,  
the days are short  
In the morning I recall something"

the animal songs:

"Qag gag gag, the loon is calling husband and  
wife calling,  
eating a fish  
A couple of ducks could be seen eating the crabs"

and two examples of children's game songs.

Lyrics in syllabics are provided for all of the songs, and English translation or paraphrase is given for 29 (Nos. 1-17, 19-22, 24-27, 30, 31, 35, 56), and for one song there is a transliteration of the syllabics into English script. In addition to rendering the music into staff notation. Pellinski has attempted to mark features of performance in such things as pitch, duration, articulation and ornamentation, using a variety of notational symbols.

Someone seriously interested in Inuit music might have asked for some background to the songs. What classes of song do the Inuit themselves identify?

On what occasions might the animal songs be sung? Some of the *ajajiit* are story songs; are these distinguished from the "personal thought" pieces? What are the games that are associated with the children's songs? What variations in melody occur? Are the rhythmical pitch variations thought of as tunes, with relatively consistent tonal patterning? The ethnomusicological background could have been filled in considerably.

However, the intent of the editor and his Inuit associates was to collect and make available examples of Inuit music, leaving the analysis for others. For this we are in their debt.

The National Museum package is unfortunately marred by a defect in the record provided with the book. Side A of the disc is repeated on Side B thus omitting all of the songs (6) on that side.

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San Souci, Robert D.: *Song of Sedna*. Garden City, N.J.: Doubleday & Co., 1981, 25 pp. Illustrations by Daniel San Souci.

Although *The Song of Sedna* by Robert D. San Souci has been praised by such sources as The Children's Book Review Service, *The Boston Globe*, and The School Library Journal, the publication of this book cannot be heralded as a complete success, for it raises important issues with regard to the validity of turning traditional native literature into children's stories. San Souci has taken one of the best known "Eskimo" (sic) mythic narratives,<sup>1</sup> the story of Sedna, and transformed it into a children's book by a process of syncretization, simplification, and mutilation. To begin, San Souci has syncretized an already confuting variety of stories about Sedna and incorporated several later Angakok stories as well. More importantly, the author has added his own values and his own version of Inuit social history. To make this tale palatable to children (the typesize and shape of the book indicate that it is intended for primary grades) San Souci was forced to eliminate such details as the mutilation of Sedna's fingers by her parents, and Sedna's murderous revenge upon them - elements common to several versions of the story. In so doing, San Souci has significantly altered and thereby de-valued one of the few creation stories of the Inuit people.

A comparison of several versions of the Sedna tale,<sup>2</sup> particularly those of Boas (1909) and Head (1976), with San Souci's version makes the limitations of the latter quite evident. In its earliest form, the story of Sedna is a mythic narrative dealing with the sacred origins of the only figure to whom we can

accord the status of goddess in Inuit mythology. Sedna, also called the Old Woman of the Sea, rules over the ocean and its creatures, and in this capacity affords success or failure to all those who hunt or fish. She is, thus, one of the "Great Mother"<sup>3</sup> goddesses, an ambivalent divinity who can either reward or punish, bringing life or death at will. Head's version of Sedna's story (which San Souci ignores) emphasizes Sedna's supernatural qualities. There is a Hesiodic ring to this story which describes her as a monstrous daughter of giants. She is monstrous even to her parents because of her insatiable appetite; driven by hunger, she gnaws on her parent's limbs when they are sleeping. To punish her, Sedna's parents chop off her greedy fingers, joint by joint, and throw them into the sea where they are transformed into the various sea creatures on whom the Inuit depend. In this form, Sedna's tale is clearly a myth of origins attempting to account for the mysteries of the ocean and its capricious ruler. There is, however, no hint in San Souci's tale that Sedna is anything but a nice young girl; although, to be safe, he sets his story "in the old days, when people were different than they are now."

San Souci emphasizes the most prevalent stories about Sedna - those which deal with her courtship. After rejecting many suitors, she is won by a mysterious stranger who offers her soft skins to sleep upon and fish to eat. In the Boas version of the courtship, the young man breaks his word; she finds only a tattered tent and little food. San Souci, however, has the young man rake Sedna to a cave "amid tumbled rocks and snow;" Sedna rejects the cave, instead she shows her husband "how to carve out heavy blocks of ice and build a proper igloo." This bit of social history may well instruct young children in the way a mow-house is built, (and what would an Eskimo story be without an igloo?) but has no place in the Sedna tale.

In all versions of the story, Sedna is soon disillusioned by her husband, most often because he fails to provide for her as promised. The rejection in San Souci's version occurs, however, when Sedna discovers she has not married a man but a bird spirit. There is no room for this kind of shock in Boas' version of the tale, for her husband courts her in the form of a bird. Such fear of transformation is entirely out of keeping with the archaic mythological frame of mind and would shock only a modern reader. In the earlier versions also, the disillusionment was intended to punish Sedna for her pride and cruelty toward the suitors she rejected. In San Souci's book she remains innocent; her marriage takes place "in a dream," and her disillusionment is undeserved.

Shortly after her marriage, all versions of the tale agree, Sedna's father follows his daughter and attempts to bring her home. They are pursued by either bird spirits or Sedna's husband in the form of a bird who churns the sea until it threatens to drown them. San Souci emphasizes the monstrous form of Sedna's husband rather than his nature as a bird spirit by depicting him as riding on a fire-breathing sea serpent. (Perhaps this is San Souci's way of accounting for the presence of the Inuit in North America; they could have crossed the Bering Strait on the back of a Chinese dragon as readily as via a mythical land bridge). At this point, Sedna's father is overcome by fear and casts his daughter overboard as a sacrifice to the raging waters. San Souci elimi-

nares the next details, the severing of Sedna's fingers joint by joint as she attempts to cling to the boat. Thus San Souci destroys Sedna's role in the creation of the sea creatures from her mutilated hands. Instead, she simply sinks to the bottom of the sea where she walks and breathes as if on land.

The San Souci version of the story is considerably altered after this point. In order to account for Sedna's role as ruler of the sea, he incorporates a simplified version of the archetypal pattern of initiation. Here he brings in the Angakok stories, for the shaman undergoes a hazardous trial in order to communicate with the Old Woman of the Sea. While San Souci describes Sedna's growth in wisdom while submerged in the ocean, the horrifying hazards of her quest are too easily overcome and would not frighten any child in the retelling. Mircea Eliade in his studies of the pattern of initiation as it occurs in archaic cultures deplores the fact that myths and tales which describe this powerful psychological process are often turned into diversions for children. He notes: "Its content proper refers to a terrifyingly serious reality: initiation, that is, passing by way of a symbolic death and resurrection, ignorance and immaturity to the spiritual age of the adult."<sup>4</sup> Sedna's tale, too, has lost its serious message for the adult community for which it was intended. In San Souci's tale, Sedna's confrontation with death is soothed by animal spirits who exhort her in the western virtues of courage, fortitude, and faith in one's destiny. The important fact here is that Sedna has not created these animals, instead they are psychopomps, spiritual helpers already in existence and already in possession of the knowledge which Sedna is learning. Thereby Sedna has been stripped of her creative abilities as a goddess as she is initiated into western virtues rather than the power of the sea.

Sedna's destructive qualities have also been underplayed in the San Souci tale. She is the most feared of any Inuit deity for her wrath can destroy the seals, whales, and fish which are their sources of food. The Boas version emphasizes the dark side of Sedna; she is shown to bear a deadly hatred against her father for sacrificing her and finally kills him as an act of revenge. She sends her dogs to gnaw off his legs and then they are swallowed by the sea, San Souci, instead, emphasizes Sedna's Christian nature, noting that she "forgave her father and made a home for him beneath the sea." Thus, not only has San Souci altered the tale in such a way that its value as a creation myth is lost, but he has transformed Sedna herself into something less than the Great Mother of the sea.

In the end, the question remains whether native myths can, or should, be transformed into children's books as San Souci has done. We must conclude that "while it is valuable for native children to have access to the myths and legends of their cultural heritage, it must not come at the expense of the integrity of the original. Sedna's tale is a powerful drama of seduction, love, fear, parental weakness, the transformation of a girl into a woman, and the power of nature, invoking rites of passage and confrontation with evil and death. Unfortunately, most of the power of that drama does not exist in San Souci's children's book.

San Souci and his brother, who illustrated the book, may be contemplating

a career transforming native myths and tales into children's books. The success of their first effort, *The Legend of Scarface*, may be due to the fact that the blackfoot tale is a typical marchen and is thus as much a children's story as "The Frog Prince" or "Cinderella." The San Soucis would be well advised to make future selections from legends or natural history rather than mythic narratives like Sedna's tale, for ultimately the Inuit myth of the Old Woman of the Sea is no more accessible to children than certain Biblical stories like Cain and Abel or the hook of Revelation.

A Final word should be said about the illustrations in this book. Daniel San Souci's drawings for their earlier collaboration, *Scarface*, were responsible for that work being honored as "one of the best illustrated children's books of 1978." On the whole, the illustrations for *The Song of Sedna* do have an elegance of line and colour and add impact to the text. However, there are some serious cultural errors to be found here, as well. The figures, while unmistakably native, look more Ojibway than Inuit. Moreover, all have a curiously immobile expression which is unchanging whether the character is leaping off a cliff, or sitting on the back of a sea-serpent. It is a face which emphasizes the stereotype of the silent Indian; the sketches could have been made from the features of a cigar store statue. More care has been taken with the authenticity of the costumes, with attention paid to such details as the different styles of parka worn by men and women. Occasionally, the drawings tend toward a Walt Disneyish oversimplification, particularly those of the sea-serpent. But there are several, like the first drawing of Sedna and her dog, which have a haunting beauty. The worst drawing, and one which should have been edited, is the double page illustration for the tide page." Here Sedna is shown sitting beside tall trees that exist on no Arctic tundra looking in the general direction of, yes, a totem pole! Just inside the front cover there is a preliminary tide page which contains only the words, "The Song of Sedna," and a Haida sketch of a killer whale. This may be the fault of the publisher rather than the illustrator, but there is no excuse for these cultural malapropisms. All of the whales in the illustrations are killer whales, but while these exist in the Arctic, their combination with totem poles, tall trees, and a rather mountainous landscape tends to displace this story to the west coast. While the story may be existent in the Kodiak tribes and northern Alaska, it certainly is not limited to these areas as the illustrations would suggest.

Since Sedna's tale is one of the most popular Inuit stories, the book might be better illustrated with some striking photos of soapstone or whalebone carvings which tell her story. Indeed, it would be a worthwhile project for a Canadian publisher to initiate a project in which the myths and legends of the Inuit were told in a form accessible to both adults and children and illustrated by the Inuit themselves. The San Soucis of California have, unfortunately, Americanized one of the best of these already.

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## NOTES

1. The "mythic narrative" can be distinguished from the legend or folk tale by its sacred quality. Mircea Eliade in *Myth and Reality* (New York: Harper and Row, 1963) defines myth as follows: "Myth narrates a sacred history; it relates an event that took place in primordial time, the fabled time of the "beginnings." In other words, myth tells how, through the deeds of Supernatural Beings, a reality came into existence, be it the whole of reality, the Cosmos, or only a fragment of reality - an island, a species of plant, a particular kind of human behavior, an institution" (pp. 5-6).
2. Cf. Boas in *Tales of the North American Indians*, ed., Stith Thompson (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1966) pp. 3-4, also James Head and Linda Maclea, *Myth and Meaning* (Agincourt: Methuen, 1976) p. 82. All versions of the tale follow this basic pattern: "A girl refuses suitors and marries a bird (or dog). The girl's father kills the bird and takes the daughter in his boat. On the return a storm comes up and the father throws her overboard. When she clings to the boat he cuts off her fingers, which become the various kinds of fish. Her animal children eat up her father. She is the deity of the lower world" (Thompson, pp. 272-73).
3. Cf. Erich Neumann, *The Great Mother: An Analysis of the Archetype* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1972).
4. Ediada, op. cit., p. 201.

By the People of 'Ksan: *Gathering What the Great Nature Provided: Food Traditions of the Gitksan*. Vancouver. Douglas & McIntyre and Seattle, University of Washington Press, 1980, 127 pp., illus., hard cover.

This superbly designed and illustrated volume by the "Book Builders of 'Ksan" could be a model for any indigenous community wishing to prepare a historical record of some aspect of their past. Indeed, the review copy sent to Australia has already influenced a number of Aboriginal historians conducting oral history projects. They were fascinated by the content of this book about food use on the upper Skeena River of northern British Columbia, and impressed by the research methods of the Gitksan authors. Many Aboriginal communities are trying to preserve their past for present needs, hoping to encourage youngsters to take pride in their cultural identity, and aiming to shape the techniques and resources of European-style historical research to serve a new kind of history able to encompass and interpret indigenous values and concerns. They share the Book Builders' expressed ambition to publish a series of historical records based on the knowledge of their elders "so that our young people can

know the stature of their heritage - and share it with the world".

Some ninety Gitksan contributed to the preparation of this book, the second volume resulting from a recording program which began in 1971. They chose to remain anonymous, to create a community history by consensus agreement about the validity of oral texts recorded in their own language by the elders of various northern Tsimshian villages. When the elders do not agree, or conflicting archaeological evidence is available, the compilers discuss the discrepancies dispassionately. They deal competently with the intrinsic problems of oral history, pointing out losses of knowledge and uncertainties, comparing different versions, and explicitly noting that some debatable points were attested by a particularly 'reliable informant'. They sometimes comment that "we cannot now agree" on controversial points but do not specify the relative age and village affiliation of authors of variant accounts or discuss the likelihood of temporal and local variation in past practice.

The compilers carefully distinguish between past and present usage in butchering techniques and a host of other matters. Yet they make negligible use of European historical documentation which might help to define a chronology for such changes. The dating of ethnographic accounts by Morice and Boas is ignored, although their records of the customs of neighbouring Carrier and Coast Tsimshian are compared with Gitksan recollections of their own past behaviour. This lack of concern with European dates is surely a matter of style, a conscious fidelity to the characteristic imprecision of oral tradition. Certainly it is not a consequence of inadequate research. The compilers are explicitly concerned to describe change and to ascertain the origins of practices which are already old. Their past has its own chronology, for they constantly distinguish between memory evidence, hearsay reports of practices which no one now living has witnessed, and the content of legends.

They make sophisticated use of a variety of evidence in their analysis of change. Their meticulous analysis of Gitksan terminology is particularly illuminating. They are fully conscious of the historical implications of such linguistic evidence. They note, for example that the name for an iron pot translates as "place-where-to-cook-in-water-Russian", and their word for an enamel cup means "the price of one lynx". They also make good use of available archaeological evidence in order to distinguish ancient indigenous ways, forms borrowed from neighbours during the fur trade period, and innovations acquired from the Russian and British traders and colonists who came to their homeland. They provide a detailed description of the transformation of storage pits as a consequence of the introduction of European tools. They also report that excavation of the bases of old totem poles challenged present-day beliefs about the burial of food during the erection of such poles.

Excellent photographs and line drawings accompany the text descriptions of preparation and cooking techniques and identify the plant species discussed. The elders' reminiscences and instructions are clear and vivid. Their accounts describe the culinary and medical uses of specific foods, their seasonal and regional availability and special difficulties in obtaining or preparing them, as

well as mealtime etiquette and food taboos. Their comments on flavour and texture, on delicacies and famine foods, on treats given to children and restoratives offered the sick, go far beyond the usual ethnographic listing of foods consumed and avoided. The Gitksan authors tell us the qualities which made foods preferred or disliked, how good cooks achieved their reputation, and how consumers judged their indigenous cuisine. Equally fascinating are their sentiments about introduced foods: their enjoyment of coffee, sugar and curry powder, their continuing distaste for cow's milk and heavily salted foods.

This community history sets a new standard for anthropological research on food traditions. As a guide to the harvesting, preservation and cooking of a wide variety of foods available on the British Columbia coast it will also delight cookbook aficionados and campers. The book tells how the people of today use the skills of past and present in their normal domestic routines. The elders' reminiscences of old ways incorporate tips on freezing and canning and compare indigenous materials to aluminum foil, paper towels and Certo. Their recipes incorporate instant onion soup as well as seaweed. For the Gitksan the past is not dead, and innovation is not evidence of assimilation. This book triumphantly demonstrates the vitality and continuity of their heritage. They make use of the resources of their environment as shrewdly as their ancestors did, and their book celebrates the bounty of their homeland with humour, honesty and grace.

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## ERRATA

We regret the following errata in Volume I, Number I.

1) The paper REFLECTIONS ON THE DIRECTION OF NATIVE STUDIES DEPARTMENTS IN CANADIAN UNIVERSITIES (CJNS I: 179-183) was improperly credited to Professor Arthur W. Blue. The paper was in fact written and presented at a seminar in Sudbury by Professor James Dumont of Laurentian University. CJNS sincerely regrets any inconvenience or embarrassment to Professors Dumont and Blue.

2) On page 249, portions of two lines were inadvertently missed from James McDonald's review of David F. Raine's PITSEOLAK, A CANADIAN TRAGEDY. The complete review should read as follows:

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

In the times of mauve 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 education - 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, beliefs, and the many debilitating forces of settlement life that gnaw away at the Inuit. We meet Pitseolak's family and other members of the

community, 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 *saave* 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 Paine 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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