

BOOK REVIEWS

Averkieva, Julia and Mark A. Sherman: *Kwakiutl String Figures*. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press and New York: American Museum of Natural History, 1992, xxxii + 199 pp. ISBN 0-7748-0432-7, Cloth \$39.95.

In 1930, as an exchange student at Columbia University, Julia Averkieva, a 23-year old ethnographer from the Soviet Union, accompanied Franz Boas, Professor of Anthropology at Columbia and for decades the dominant figure in American anthropology, to Vancouver Island. They spent four months that winter at Fort Rupert where Averkieva collected information on the repertoire of Kwakiutl string figures found there. String figures are complex patterns made from a single loop of string by catching or dropping the string using the thumbs and fingers of each hand. Prior to her return to the Soviet Union in 1931, Averkieva prepared a manuscript describing the 102 string figures and 10 string tricks she learned while in the field. Although she went on to a distinguished anthropological career in the Soviet Union, her study of the Kwakiutl string figures remained unpublished. Mark Sherman located it in the American Museum of Natural History in New York and has brought it to publication.

Sherman has reworked Averkieva's descriptions of the construction of the figures, replaced the original photographs of the figures with drawings, and placed the corpus of figures collected by Averkieva in the perspective of the string figure literature, much of which has been published since Averkieva completed her manuscript. The precise description of the methods of string figure construction may appear intimidating, but an ingestion of the relatively few technical terms used (see pp.xxviii-xxxi) will allow the reader to reproduce many of the figures described, even if lacking previous experience with string figures. String figure enthusiasts should have little problem with Sherman's modifications of Averkieva's descriptions.

Sherman argues that since the figures themselves are quite abstract, the names assigned to them say something significant about their culture of origin. That is diverse cultures might assign quite different names to the identical figure. For example, the figure the Kwakiutl name "Devil Fish" (octopus) is called "The Tent" among the Netsilik, "Bird Dart" in Greenland, "Brush House" by the Zuni, and "Chicken Foot" by the Maya (pp.102-103).

Sherman's appendix (pp.137-150) on "Kwakiutl Culture as Reflected in String Figures" is probably the portion of the work of most interest to the non-specialist.

A second appendix considers at length string figures produced by the Inuit and Yupik Eskimo. Many might doubt Sherman's assigning particular figures to eras of arctic prehistory based on contemporary distribution. Also Guy Mary-Rousseliere reported the introduction of a figure to the Netsilik from the Tununermiut, not from the Tunit as Sherman reports (p.151).

The dust jacket includes a photograph of Agnes Cranmer demonstrating a string figure on the front and four figures made by Julia Averkieva on the rear. These complement nicely Sherman's formal drawings of the figures. Unfortunately the photographs are not found in the book itself and hence will not be seen by readers who have obtained the work from a library which routinely discards dust jackets.

Sherman is to be congratulated for his editing and reworking of Averkieva's data and for placing it in the context of modern scholarship. University of British Columbia Press is also to be congratulated for publishing this specialized work.

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Brant, Beth: *Food and Spirits*. 1991. Vancouver: Press Gang Publishers. 128 pp. ISBN: 0-88974-032-1, Paper \$10.95

...it's good to talk about death. It's funny, we treat life like it ain't no big deal when it's the biggest deal there is. And we get scared to talk about death. It's just everyday, death is. Here, have another piece of bread. When you bite into something like this, you know how good life is (p.33).

These words from the title story of the collection of stories *Food and Spirits* by the Mohawk writer Beth Brant (Degonwadonti) captures a major theme in the book: life in the face of death, life as inseparable from death, the sacredness of life. The book contains eight stories ("This Is History," "Wild Turkeys," "Home Coming," "This Place," "Food & Spirits," "A Death In The Family" "Turtle Gal," "Swimming Upstream") and a Preface ("Telling"). None of the stories lets the reader forget about death and its causes, like the AIDS disease or acts of violence. For Aboriginal people "It's just everyday, death is." However, each of the stories is also about the celebra-

tion of life. Strength and courage are gained through love, friendship, family relations and a kinship with the land.

When the grandfather who speaks the words above is asked to explain what is “special” about Indians and why they “see things,” he answers “We only see what is there. Nothin' special about it. But we've been around for a long time ” (p.80). This sense of history which permeates all the stories in this collection is reflected right in the beginning of the book with Beth Brant's version of the Mohawk creation story titled “This is History.” Here, the connection between life and death is described as having always been part of creation: corn, squash and beans grow out of the heart of Sky Woman's dead body. And the stars and the moon are transformations of the cut-up pieces of her dead body flung into the sky. This connection is what the old man “sees” (in contrast to what the other characters see on TV) and hence he calls himself “the old Indian spirit” (p.79), humorously comparing himself to the other spirits, “the spirit keeper of the bar” and “the spirit of the working girl” who works the street (p.79). “I guess you could call me the old Indian spirit. Put me up on the shelf with the whiskey spirits” (p.79). The fact that this Mohawk elder does not want to have his spirit put “higher up on the shelf” than the other spirits seems to indicate an acceptance of a side by side existence of different life styles and values—of a twinning that was prophesied:

The moon spoke [to First Woman].

“I will come to you every day when the sun is sleeping. You will make songs and prayers for me. Inside you are growing two beings. They are not like us. They are called Twin Sons. One of these is good and will honour us and our mother. One of these is not good and will bring things that we have no names for. Teach these beings what we have learned together” (p.26, “This is History”).

Although meant to be, conflicts arose from this twinning, and in the preface to her stories Beth Brant “tells” the reader that they are at the root of her need to write.

But they taught us new words that do not exist in our own language. RAPE.MURDER.TORTURE.SPEECHLESSNESS.INCEST.POVERTY.ADDICTION” (p.16).

The stories she writes down are about the “things that we have no names for” given to her as “secrets.”

The secrets I am told grow in my stomach. They make me want to vomit. They stay in me and my stomach twists—like her lovely face—and my hands reach for a pen, a typewriter to calm my rage and violence that make a home in me.

I write (p.13).

We, the readers, feel the pain with which she is writing. Her stories—words shaped “into weapons”—hurt. Yet we also witness a transformation of the recorded horrid secrets into stories that give strength and power—like the kitchen table in “A Death In The Family” which first “the place of death” (for the dead body) “was transformed into the place of life” (for putting food on) (p.98).

The last story “Swimming Upstream” is like the first one “This Is History” about the friendship and love between two women, but the harmony of their relationship is threatened by the many things the first women didn't have a name for. The birth of the Twin Sons had indeed changed their world; life became a struggle “against the current” (p.124) of the life-denying forces of sexism, racism and materialism. In *Food and Spirits* Beth Brant tells the stories of Aboriginal people, and women in particular, who get stranded, wounded and killed in the struggle or who like Torn Fin in the story and like the woman observing him, embrace life “in a phenomenal swim of faith” (p.124).

He had to get there, to push his bleeding body forward, believing in his magic to get him there (p.124).

It is this faith that stays with the reader more than the image of the bleeding bodies, may be because it resonates Sky Woman's words from the beginning of creation:

Eagle is watching out for you. Honour the living things. Be kind to them. Be strong. I am always with you (p.26).

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Brown, Douglas: *Aboriginal Governments and Power Sharing in Canada*. Kingston, Ontario: Institute of Intergovernmental Relations, Queen's University, 1992, vii + 74 pp. Paper, ISBN 0-88911-557-5.

In the spring of 1984, the Institute of Intergovernmental Relations launched a research project on “Aboriginal Peoples and Constitutional Reform.” The project resulted in more than twenty research, position and

discussion papers focusing on issues concerning Aboriginal self-government. While the last paper from the project was published in 1989, the Institute maintains a strong interest in Aboriginal self-government.

This volume proceeds from a conference on Aboriginal Governments and Power Sharing, organized by the Institute and held on 17 and 18 February, 1992. The conference was designed to bring people involved in Aboriginal affairs together with people involved in constitutional and inter-governmental relations. Participants included Aboriginal government leaders and advisors, federal and provincial government officials, and university and other researchers.

Part I of the volume summarizes the presentations given at the conference and outlines the themes emerging from general discussions. Topics presented and discussed in the first session on *Approaches to Power Sharing* included traditional Aboriginal approaches to self-government; the statement of the Royal Commission on self-government and the constitution; federalism and pluralism as two models of power sharing; and issues concerning the Charter, citizenship and Aboriginal identities. In the second session, *Current Issues in Canada*, presenters and participants addressed the then ongoing constitutional debate; Aboriginal constitutional options; a First Peoples' Province; and the possibility of three independent states in Canada. The third session, *Power-Sharing Issues and Models*, included an overview of the Council of Yukon Indians' self-government agreement; comments on self-government and urban Aboriginal people; and a description of Mohawk self-government and sovereignty.

Part II reproduces three of the conference papers. The first paper, Robert Young's *Aboriginal Inherent Rights of Self-Government and the Constitution Process*, focuses on political objectives and potential coalitions in the 1992 constitutional debates, and on the place of Aboriginal issues in this process. While some of this paper is now dated, the analysis of the history of Aboriginal-Quebec relations and its implications is still relevant. Rosalee Tizya's *Comments on Urban Aboriginals and Self-Government* presents both the practical experience of the Urban Representative Body of Aboriginal Nations (URBAN) in delivering services to Aboriginal people in Vancouver, and creative ideas about how urban Aboriginal self-government can work. In the third paper, *Aboriginals and the Future of Canada*, David Elkins outlines his proposal for a First Peoples' province which involves giving provincial status to existing Reserves and lands pursuant to land claims.

The strengths of this volume include the wide range of ideas contained in the papers and summaries of presentations and discussions. *Aboriginal Governments and Power Sharing* vividly demonstrates the degree to which

views of Aboriginal self-government have evolved since the Institute first introduced its project on "Aboriginal Peoples and Constitutional Reform." This publication is an important addition to the series. While some of the content has to do with the 1992 constitutional debates, there is much in this publication which remains relevant to contemporary discussion and debate. One wishes that other presentations at the conference had been available for publication in full, rather than in summary.

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Courchene, Thomas J. and Lisa M. Powell: *A First Nations Province*.
Kingston, Ontario: Institute of Intergovernmental Relations, Queen's
University, 1992.

Thomas J. Courchene and Lisa M. Powell, authors of *A First Nations Province*, straightforwardly declare that the "time for [Aboriginal] self-determination and self-government is clearly at hand." Their book is an attempt to answer the question that is so often asked, "What does Aboriginal self-government mean and how will it work?" The solution, they say, is relatively simple. Since Canadians understand quite well what a provincial government does, why not have Aboriginal Canadians exercise their powers of self-government within the framework of provincehood? There would, of course, be some differences. Unlike the other ten provinces whose territories are contiguous, the territory of the First Nations Province [hereafter FNP] would consist of the 2,284 non-contiguous Reserves located "south of 60 degrees" or, more precisely, within the boundaries of the existing provinces. These Reserves are currently associated with some 600 different Bands. The aggregate land mass of the new province would be 2.75 million hectares (roughly 10,300 square miles), an area about half the size of Nova Scotia. To this would be added lands conveyed to Aboriginals as a result of land claim settlements. Depending on the size of the settlements, the FNP could easily become one of the larger provinces in Canada. The Courchene/Powell model is territory-based, rather than citizenship-based; that is, anyone, Aboriginal or non-Aboriginal, residing on FNP territory would be subject to FNP laws. Similarly, all persons, including

registered Indians, residing off the FNP would be subject to the laws of the province in question.

The FNP would have the same powers as any other province. However, as the inherent right of self-government applies to individual First Nations, and not to the collectivity, self-government agreements would have to be negotiated on a Band-by-Band basis, unless the Bands wished to act together. The Bands would then delegate powers upwards to the FNP government. Although the specific nature of the internal political and administrative arrangements would be up to the First Nations to decide, the authors suggest a European-Community-type superstructure wherein the individual First Nations retain their status as separate entities. In other words, the First Nations would belong to a confederation within the Canadian federation. The FNP would have a leader, legislature, and a bureaucracy, aspects of which are already found in the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development and in the Assembly of First Nations. A decision would have to be made about the geographical location of the FNP capital and central bureaucracy.

A key issue is financing. Would an FNP be viable under existing federal-provincial fiscal agreements, namely, equalization payments, Established Programs Financing and the operations of the Canada Assistance Plan? Taken together, these three programs guarantee something in the order of \$6,000 per capita to all provinces. The authors do not believe this level of funding is enough to sustain an FNP, given the special needs of the First Nations and the lack of existing infrastructure. Courchene and Powell think they have found a solution in the formula financing agreement for the Yukon Territorial Government. This approach focuses on the "Gross Expenditure Base" (GEB, for short), which represents the cost of providing "reasonably comparable levels of public services" for the Yukon Territory. The GEB establishes the financial ceiling. All other revenues are then deducted from the GEB, and the difference between these two totals is the unconditional equalization payment for the Yukon Territorial Government. The authors maintain that this variant of Canada's formal equalization program—a variant that reflects the special costs of delivering government services in the Yukon—is flexible enough to meet the needs of First Nations.

Underlying the FNP conception of self-government is the assumption that on-Reserve Indians will have to pay taxes. The FNP, rather than the Crown, will "own" Indian lands so that the FNP will have the opportunity to tax property and to collect royalties. The FNP, like any other province, could levy income taxes and sales taxes. By virtue of Section 87 of the *Indian Act*, Status Indians are exempt from paying many taxes. Furthermore, many Indians take the position that they are immune from taxation by non-Indian

governments. For these Indians, the FNP will be a hard sell. Although FNP taxes will be imposed by an Indian, rather than a non-Indian government, the loss of tax-exempt Status is a major setback, no matter how one looks at it. Moreover, the existing fiscal arrangements between the federal and provincial governments are anything but stable and certain. The provinces continually denounce the federal government for cutting transfer payments, and the complaints sometimes end up in the courts. Why the First Nations would want to join this wrangle is hard to imagine, particularly when they have traditionally had a special financial relationship with the Crown.

Yet another difficulty relates to the distribution of federal money. The authors envisage a two-tier process, the first tier representing the overall fiscal transfer from Ottawa to the FNP and the second tier, the internal division of these funds by the FNP in such a way as to ensure "inter-band" equity. The authors argue that the Bands will have varying tax bases and those capable of taxing more should receive a proportionately smaller share of federal funds. The "have" First Nations would support the "have-not" First Nations. Negotiations on these issues would be complicated, to say the least.

A basic criticism of the FNP model is that the majority of Aboriginal people do not live on FNP territory. As of 1991 there were approximately 525,000 registered Indians, 60 per cent of whom resided on Reserves. However, when non-Status Indians and Métis are taken into consideration, only 36 per cent of Canadian Aboriginals live on Reserves. The model will have to be modified if non-Reserve Aboriginals are to participate in self-government.

Courchene and Powell mention, but fail to give sufficient weight to, the lack of homogeneity among First Nations. In addition to cultural differences and different levels of preparedness for self-government, a wide gulf separates treaty from non-treaty Indians. *A First Nations Province* is virtually silent on the subject of the impact of the FNP concept on the treaties. This is a serious omission, because, as the debate over the Charlottetown Accord demonstrated, the reconciling of Aboriginal self-government with treaty rights is highly contentious. All in all, Courchene and Powell have engaged in an interesting exercise and pulled together some useful statistical information, but their model does not offer a convincing, practical solution for the implementation of Indian self-government.

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Furniss, Elizabeth: *Victims of Benevolence: Discipline and Death at the Williams Lake Indian Residential School, 1891-1920*. Williams Lake, British Columbia: Cariboo Tribal Council, 1992, vii + 53 pp. ISBN 0-9696639-0-0.

Victims of Benevolence opens with a quote from the memoirs of Father François Marie Thomas, O.M.I., reminding his readers that

the Indians, being nomadic by nature, wish to be free to come and go as they please. It is not surprising, therefore, that their children found the confinement and discipline of school life hard to bear, and that, consequently, some of them ran away. One of these, a young boy, was found dead in the woods. To pacify his parents and the other Indians was no easy task.

This book clearly brings out that the pacification of the Indians Father Thomas referred to a century ago was never achieved. The boy who was found dead in the woods was Duncan Sticks. Born in 1893 in Alkali Lake, Duncan was sent to the Indian residential school established in 1891 near Williams Lake, British Columbia. A year later Duncan and seven companions attempted to escape from the school. Seven boys were caught and brought back to school, but Duncan's body was found two days later, thirteen kilometers from the school. The boy had died from exposure to cold on his long journey back home. Another death occurred in 1920 when nine boys at the Mission grouped together to eat poisonous water hemlock, one of them dying as a result. The father of the boy was not immediately notified of his son's death, and the boy was buried before his father had a chance to see him one last time. The stricken father wrote to the Indian Agent to ask for the release of his second son from the school:

I am asking you to write to Indian Department, to see if I can have my boy out of school. One of [my sons] died up there at Mission...You know how it is for a man not to see a boy of his before the body is put away, so let me know if you write and write me back when you get the answer (p.39).

It is quotes like this that bring to the reader the grief of parents who knew their children to be depressed and unhappy in a foreign environment. This quote, and numerous others, also brings home the extent of the structural dependence Indians were forced into by the government and its agents of assimilation.

Victims of Benevolence was undertaken by Furniss at the request of the Cariboo Tribal Council in Williams Lake, British Columbia. The study was intended as one component of a broader research program embarked upon by the Tribal Council "to assess the long term psychological and social

impacts of the residential schools on their communities” (p.vii). Elizabeth Furniss thus began her work with a review of the files in the RG10 series of federal records pertaining to the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs. On the basis of these records, as well as numerous other sources referred to in notes at the end of the book, she has written an illuminating case study of Indian/White relations. Her case study is clearly written with two audiences in mind: the First Nations communities who had direct contact with the Williams Lake Residential School, and the academic community interested in the study of the long-term structural relationship of tutelage existing between First Nations and the Canadian government. The book will please both audiences. All readers will appreciate the clarity of the narrative, the conciseness of the case being made, and the manner in which it draws attention to enduring structural imbalances of power between First Nations governments and other governments.

The first two chapters of the book offer an account of Shuswap responses to the first incursions of Whites in their territory in the early 1800s, and discuss the context in which the decision to open an industrial residential school at Williams Lake was reached by the federal government and the missionary Oblates. The intention of the missionaries is clearly stated by Father McGuckin, O.M.I., who in 1878 wrote that to instill faith among the Shuswap, the missionaries “must endeavor to get [Shuswap children] into school and keep them for a certain number of years.” This is the only way whereby they will all be made to “speak English, mix with the whites and lose all of their original simplicity.” With this twin goal of the eradication of Indian culture and the assimilation of children of Indian descent into Euro-Canadian society, the missionaries sought federal government financing of their school. The project found favour with a government similarly bent upon an assimilation program. This program, the author reminds us, the government was ready to back up with the power of the law, a point it demonstrated when it amended the *Indian Act* in 1894 to enforce the attendance of children at residential schools and to threaten parents who withheld their children from school with fines or imprisonment. This is the legal background to the sort of letter written by countless Indians to Indian agents, begging for intercession in their favour.

The author shows how the establishment of the school at Williams Lake rapidly led to a number of unforeseen conflicts. In my view the merit of this brief but tightly constructed case-study is to bring these to the fore and to analyze them as the outcome of competing and irreconcilable interests. First, there was the interest of the missionaries to supplement insufficient government support with other sources of income, chief among them being the sale of manufactured and farm goods produced by the students in

residence. The sale of these products on the local market led to repeated complaints from local businessmen accusing the school of running a profit-making manufacturing business and of selling to local markets for low prices. Businessmen wrote to government officials to voice their accusation that the Mission had secured cheap labour and government subsidization for what they saw as a business venture. The Department of Indian Affairs investigated the accusations but decided in favour of the school pursuing its business ventures as they too recognized these as important sources of revenue. Second, there was the interest of the missionaries and educators to overcome the Indians' "horror of anything which smacks [of] system and order" (quote from Bishop Dontenwill, p.19) and to impose upon them the yoke of discipline. In the minds of missionaries and government bureaucrats, strong discipline backed by corporal punishment was necessary to the school's mission of civilizing Indians who could "not recognize the weakness in their character" (*Ibid.*, another quote from Bishop Dontenwill). The early years of the mission school therefore saw the systematic implementation of a British philosophy of child rearing and education that not only stressed the importance of breaking the child's will but also found biblical justifications to corporal punishment as a means to this end. This philosophy was of course in stark contrast to the Shuswap, Carrier, and Chilcotin philosophy of education. Hence the many complaints of children in the school and the ambivalence of their parents toward the missionaries' efforts to educate their children.

Furniss holds the view that the problems at the residential school were not simply a result of a clash between two styles of child rearing, however. Throughout the book she argues quite convincingly that the students' complaints and numerous attempts to run away from the school challenged two fundamental assumptions which the church and government held as a justification of their goals and policies:

The first was the racist belief that Native people were childlike and 'primitive', and that they were inherently incapable of making responsible decisions and managing their own lives. The second was the belief that Euro-Canadian society had the responsibility, indeed, the burden, to take care of Native people and to 'raise' them to the level of 'civilization' enjoyed by Europeans" (p.44).

Through a detailed examination of the repeated investigations of the school's alleged shortcomings, the author shows how Indian agents and missionaries consistently interpreted Indian resistance to their program of education and assimilation as further evidence that they were indeed in need of coercive tutelage, "for their own good."

Perhaps the major contribution of the book is that it brings to light ample documentation, in the form of numerous quotes from missionaries and Indian agents, in support of this view. The quotes are mostly from missionaries and Indian agents caught in the investigations that followed the death of Duncan Sticks in 1902 and that of Augustin Allan Stanislaus in 1922. Although written in the contest of attempts to contain major crises in the history of the residential school, these reports reveal important normal features of the school's operations. In one case, for instance, we learn that teachers not only disciplined their children but also kept a record of such disciplinary measures. Following the death of Duncan Sticks, Indian Affairs agent Bell writes:

I examined the boys as to their reason for running away from school and the only reason they gave me was, 'The teacher whips us'. I asked them if it was the Principal they said no... asked if he whipped their head they said 'no' only on the legs. The teacher showed me his book where a record of all the chastisement the pupils get is kept and I must say [these] are slight indeed compared to the time I went to school (p.19).

In conclusion to his report Bell wrote the following: "My own opinion is there is no good reason for their absconding only the wild nature of the Indian hates confinement as they are well fed and cared for" (p.19). Bell thus echoes Father Thomas' view reported at the beginning of this review: the root of the problem lies in the Indian, who being nomadic by nature, hates confinement. Investigators thus fail to question the premises underlying the nature of the activities within the confines of the residential school. The reading of numerous excerpts of such reports brings to mind again and again the deep differences in beliefs and assumptions that pervaded Euro-Canadian educational institutions of the time and those which we have come to expect as normal features of contemporary schools (which is not to say that we have succeeded in creating forms of formal education that protect and enhance First Nations cultures and peoples).

The more academically inclined readers will appreciate the author's decision to approach her subject from a broad theoretical perspective, that developed by Noel Dyck in his book *What is the 'Indian' Problem: Tutelage and Resistance in Canadian Indian Administration* (1991). According to Dyck, coercive tutelage, defined as "a form of arbitrary restraint or guardianship exercised by one party over another" (1991:3), has been and continues to be one of the primary sources of Canadian Indians' economic marginality, the most central element of what Euro-Canadians persist in seeing as the "Indian" problem. In other words Dyck argues that "the 'Indian' problem is not an inherent condition or a 'thing,' a result from the "Indians'

supposed inability to cope with the changes wrought by the arrival of Europeans in the New World" (1991:2). *Victims of Benevolence* further substantiates the view that at the root of the Indian 'problem' generally, and of the problems recorded in the history of the residential school at Williams Lake, B.C., one finds not the wild nature of the Indian "horror of anything that smacks [of] system and order," but coercive tutelage, the complex web of activities imposed upon "minors" by adults who believe they know what is in the best interest of those over whose lives they have taken charge.

There are those who will see the events discussed in this work as "isolated events" in a system that nevertheless brought important benefits to First Nations children and communities. It is to the author's credit to include references to a number of publications by individuals, Native and non-Native, who hold such a view (p.6). Nonetheless, this study, along with many other works, documents the tragic consequences of coercive tutelage, the far too many deaths and the far too many deep psychological scars born by countless individuals in this country.

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Reference

Dyck, Noel

1991 *What is the Indian Problem: Tutelage and Resistance in Canadian Indian Administration*. St. John's, Newfoundland: Institute of Social and Economic Research.

Hallowell, A. Irving: *The Ojibwa of Berens River, Manitoba: Ethnography into History*, Edited by Jennifer S.H. Brown. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1992, xx + 128 pp. Paper, ISBN: 03-055122-6.

We graduate students at the University of Toronto in the late 70s (well, okay, we began our studies in the middle of the decade, but who's counting?) used to call the Holt, Rinehart and Winston *Case Studies in Cultural Anthropology* series "the comic books." In seminars and library study sessions we haughtily declared that they might be good enough for first year students, but real scholars needed something with more meat, with more data, some "real" ethnographies. Well, we were wrong. We bought

and read every issue that we could get our hands on, and our appreciation of the clear and succinct writing they contained increased exponentially every time we went near a “real” monograph. Just like the Coles Notes edition of *King Lear* that got more people through senior high school English than Northrop Frye had ideas, Holt, Rinehart and Winston often pulled our then-slimmer rear ends out of the fire when comprehensive exams came around and we had to pretend to know just about everything ever written by everybody about everyone. And when we did get around to the real stuff, we often turned out to be surprisingly well-acquainted with the basics and with theoretically important issues after only a few hours of a pleasant read. The General Editors, George and Louise Spindler, chose their authors well and really did do some editing so that there was a consistent organization and tone to the books. In this world of specialists, the Holt, Rinehart, Winston series at least made anthropology available to everyone.

Here, finally, thirty years after its birth and twenty-five after the original manuscript was lost in the mail, is Hallowell's long-awaited mini- ethnography of the Ojibwa-Saulteaux of Berens River.

Hallowell, well-known in the 1950s and 1960s for his psychological approach to culture and personality, was never able to re-write the lost manuscript before his death in 1974. This edition is therefore a new version of the manuscript ably put together by editor Brown from Hallowell's own rough drafts and a few previously-published pieces.

In their introduction the Spindlers state (p.x) that Hallowell anticipated “certain current trends in anthropology,” and wonder why more credit to the postmodern trend is given to others, especially Geertz. Editor Brown, in her Afterword, takes up the same theme (p.111). The answer, given by Brown herself, is that Hallowell's exposition of the sense of what it meant to be Ojibwa was fully informed by modernist, evolutionary thinking. Hallowell followed a classic modernist line in using a European scientific system of classification as a baseline from which to draw comparisons about cultural configurations and systems of classification: “However...the Ojibwa do not have any concept of a *natural* world...” (my italics, p.71), by which Hallowell meant that the Ojibwa “personalized” (anthropomorphized) the world of nature; there is no notion of nature unfolding according to immutable laws far removed from human existence. Hallowell accepted an implicit evolutionary ordering from primitive to complex, from incorrect to more correct or even perfect systems of classification and of knowledge of the “real” world. This necessarily resulted in some internal inconsistencies in Hallowell's approach to his material: “We must infer that their implicit theory of causation is *personalistic* since they do not actually speculate about such matters or attempt to articulate them in abstract form” (p.71, italics in

original), and, on the very next page, "When their cosmology is considered...it is interesting to discover that the creation of the world is not attributed to a person" (p.72) but to a neutral power. In matters of social and political organization, Hallowell's approach also resulted in his looking for a traditional Ojibwa baseline culture that degenerated with contact with Europeans. He generally ignored Indian fur trading strategies that enabled them to exert some pressure on the White traders (cf. his description of a trip inland, pp.8-9, that recreates a journey in acculturative time, from degenerate postcontact to pristine precontact conditions). Ojibwa migrations in the early contact period are seen as a response to forced displacement and a vaguely defined pressure rather than, in part, attempts to exert some control over a rapidly changing situation. In a word, or better, in Brown's words, Hallowell "...sometimes assumed a one-way progression involving cultural loss and replacement, rather than a more complex complementarity or fusion" (p.113).

Brown's attempt to retrieve a hidden emphasis on women and gender issues (pp.113-115) in Hallowell's writings also seems stretched a little thin. Certainly, as she states, Hallowell's data are rich enough to allow some alternative readings and generalizations, but that is not the same as Hallowell himself undertaking the task or even acknowledging that there might be more than one voice within Ojibwa culture. Brown's interpolations in the text also seem to be concentrated on material she feels to be relevant to the modern reader: Chapter One, "The Living Past in the Canadian Wilderness" contains eight notes for twelve pages of text; Chapter Two, "The Canadian Shield, the Fur Trade, and Ojibwa Expansion" contains nine notes for eleven pages, while the third chapter, entitled "Christianization, Confederation, and Treaties with the Indians," contains three notes for eleven pages of text. However, Part Two of the Book (containing chapters on "Ecological Adaptation and Social Organization," "World View and Behavioral Environment" and "Religion, Moral Conduct, and Personality") contains only eleven notes for fifty-six pages of text. It is interesting that these latter chapters are Hallowell's forte, and the ones that he laboured over for four years. The first part, the part today considered more relevant to Ojibwa concerns, took only a year to write (p.xv). This, plus Brown's attempt to turn "ethnography into history" (her subtitle, not Hallowell's), reflects current concerns about situating the Ojibwa within a contemporary critique of the modernist stance of the fifties and sixties. This clearly was not Hallowell's project, despite Brown's assertion that his career seemed to be moving in that direction in the last fifteen years of his active life. Hallowell's fine analysis of Ojibwa world view remains valid today. Perhaps these insights are what editor Brown wants us to appreciate, despite what

might be called the limitations of his traditional approach.

Hallowell's treatment of kinship and social organization also reflects the language and interests of the times. One problem was his continual insistence on the patrilineal component of Ojibwa life in the form of their clan system, yet his own data on marriage, relationship terms and migration patterns suggest that hunting-band incorporation was being reified into an ideology of movement and political affiliation (although it is true that 61 percent of married sons lived with their fathers, 52% of married daughters also lived with their male parent [p.49], and during the 19th century the surname system was far from patrilineal [p. 13]). Certainly, the expansion of the Ojibwa throughout the 17th and 18th centuries undoubtedly made possession of homelands problematical and might have led to attempts to develop a more stable, a more fixed, ideology of group origin and ownership of land that may have resembled an ideology that legitimated patrilineal clans. For example, Hallowell's discussion on pp.50-51 about exogamy suggests that the more acculturated groups were more exogamous than those less "contaminated" by contact, and they may therefore have been more desirous of stabilizing boundaries and cementing alliances with neighbours in a volatile political situation. The degree of concentration and dispersion may be directly linked to attempted political solutions expressed in an idiom of social relationships, hence the dispersed Ojibwa "patriclan." A contemporary student may have appreciated some theoretical guidelines—or at least a few references—from Brown here. Also few students today study kinship and social organization, and so Brown might have considered adding a footnote or two on the background of the hunting territory debate that marked a lot of work on Band societies over the last thirty years.

Yet there is little to criticize in Brown's sensitive editing and re-writing of this volume. It is, in one sense, rather a sad commentary on the current intellectual scene that a noted scholar such as Brown feels she has to rehabilitate Hallowell, himself a good ethnographer and thinker who approached his life's work with a fine eye for detail and a consistent dedication to a psychoanalytic paradigm. This is an old-style ethnography, with Hallowell firmly in control of the categories and representations that issue from them, yet the lesson we can learn is that good anthropology can take many forms and still tell us something. The present volume is a fine, well-edited book which many will find a useful addition to their libraries.

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Johnston, Basil H.: *Tales of the Anishinaubaek*. 1993. Illustrated by Maxine Noel (*Joyan Mani*). Toronto: Royal Ontario Museum. ISBN: 0-88854-407-3, Cloth \$24.95. 80 pp.

Johnston, Basil H.: *Tales the Elders Told: Ojibway Legends*. 1981 [1993?]. Illustrated by Shirley Cheechoo. Toronto: Royal Ontario Museum. 64 pp. ISBN: 0-88854-261-5. Cloth \$24.95.

Born on the Parry Island First Nations Reserve, Basil Johnston is an Anishinaubae member of the Cape Croker First Nations Reserve in Ontario. He has written extensively in the area of Ojibway tradition, publishing works on the beliefs, ceremonies and legends of his people. *Tales the Elders Told* and *Tales of the Anishinaubaek* are two books documenting the legends of the Anishinaubaek. The term Anishinaubaek is an Ojibway word which literally means "good beings"; it is the name the Ojibway prefer to be called. Published by the Royal Ontario Museum, where Basil Johnston presently lectures, each book is a small collection of nine legends beautifully illustrated with artwork from two Native artists. Shirley Cheechoo is a Cree artist who lives and works in West Bay, Manitoulin Island and illustrates *Tales the Elders Told* with black ink drawings and paintings. Maxine Noel, a member of the Birdtail Sioux, provides her own artistic interpretation of each of the nine legends in *Tales of the Anishinaubaek* with splendid paintings. Her artwork is extremely popular, being widely commissioned and exhibited.

In both collections the division between the realms of the animals, humans and spirits is blurred; humans can understand the utterances of animals and can enter into relationships with spiritual beings. *Tales the Elders Told* focuses on humanity's connection with the natural world, while *Tales of Anishinaubaek* centres primarily on the incorporeal world of the supernaturals, and on the Anishinaubaek's own supranormal ability to hold their own over and against these forces.

Tales the Elders Told includes stories about the origins of animals, birds, and insects, beginning with the legend of the first mother, Spirit Woman, who out of loneliness was sent a husband by the Great Spirit. Spirit Woman gives birth to the creatures of the water, land and air, as well as to the first humans. Subsequent legends explain how additional creatures come into being, such as butterflies, bats, spiders, dogs and fireflies. There are also stories to account for why birds go south in the winter and why the fox and wolf don't live together. These stories have a universal appeal; children and adults alike will enjoy the humorous escapades of the animals and birds. The story of Nanabush who consistently fails at capturing some

ducks for his dinner because he is outsmarted by the creatures, is particularly comical. The drawings by Shirley Cheechoo capture the imagination by adding a visual dimension to the narrative. In addition to their entertainment value, the tales will be of interest to those studying Anishinaubaek culture and religion. In his book *Ojibway Heritage*, Basil Johnston discusses the centrality of animals in the life of the Ojibway: "without animals the world would not have been; without the animals the world would not be intelligible." *Tales the Elders Told* consists of myths which provide the intellectual framework for the Anishinaubaek world view; rather than expressing an unfathomable, unknown universe, origin stories about the animals and birds create an ordered, meaningful cosmos, where human life is ultimately dependent on animal life. Therefore, this collection of legends is an important primary source in the academic study of the Anishinaubaek and their relationship to nature.

While *Tales the Elders Told* focuses on the Ojibways' relationship to the beings of the natural world, *Tales of the Anishinaubaek* recalls the people's experience with the beings of the supernatural world. These beings include mermaids, thunder spirits, giants, Snowmaker and a snake spirit. The collection of tales is reminiscent of a time when the Anishinaubaek had great power: the people knew where the mermaids lived and could live with them under the water; a man could kill an evil thunder being or contend with Snowmaker, who creates storms, and win; and a woman could conceive by a snake spirit. There was a constant interaction between the Anishinaubaek and the spiritual forces. The exquisite artwork by Maxine Noel contributes to the other worldly nature of the stories. Her stylized figures express emotion with bodily movement, while the face remains expressionless. The colours used for the figures are dramatic and vibrant, while the background is undefined and hazy. The overall effect is that of mystery—the presence of unseen forces. Her artwork is a valuable component of the book. Another notable feature of *Tales of the Anishinaubaek* is the language of the narrative. Eight of the nine legends are told by Sam Ozawamik, an Anishinaubaek member of the Wikwemikong First Nations Reserve in Ontario. Basil Johnston translates these accounts verbatim from the Anishinaubaek language so that the narrative retains some of its distinctive Native idiom. The reader is reminded that *Tales of the Anishinaubaek* is comprised of the spoken myths of the people, of legends that have been transmitted orally and now find their way to the printed page.

Both *Tales the Elders Told* and *Tales of the Anishinaubaek* are important contributions to the preservation and study of Anishinaubaek culture; however, this writer found *Tales the Elders Told* to be more enjoyable to read. The legends are longer and more substantive than those of *Tales of*

the Anishinaubaek, which are often very short and somewhat disjunctive. On the other hand, the artwork of *Tales of the Anishinaubaek* is exceptional and contributes a great deal to the book. All in all, both collections are highly recommended.

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Lummis, F. Charles: *Pueblo Indian Folk-Stories*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1992, 257 pp. Illustrations by George W. Edwards after photographs by the author. Introduction by Robert F. Gish. ISBN 0-8032-7938-8.

Pueblo Indian Folk-Stories was first published in 1894 as *The Man Who Married the Moon and Other Pueblo Indian Folk-Stories*. The current edition is a reprint of these Isleta stories which were adapted and retold by Charles Lummis, “a major nineteenth-century Anglo adventurer and writer in the American West.” Hence the pressing question that the potential reader of this book must unavoidably tackle: At a time when issues regarding the reappropriation of Aboriginal cultural resources by non-Natives and the merits of recapturing oral traditions in writing are being debated passionately, is a book such as *Pueblo Indian Folk-Stories* “worthy of reintroduction”?

Isleta, the “island pueblo,” is located 12 miles south of Albuquerque, New Mexico. It is part of a larger Pueblo nation with a current population of about 36,000 “residing in eight northern pueblos and ten southern ones.” The region in question has long been a meeting place for Spanish, Mexican, American, and local Pueblo culture(s) since at least the 1620s. Lummis, originally from Massachusetts, was a writer, foot traveller, trekker, photographer, journalist, and a self-proclaimed “anthropologist hero” who first visited the region in the early 1880s. He subsequently moved to Isleta, married an Isleta, and lived in this community between 1888 and 1892. During this time period, Lummis collected numerous examples of what he

called "Indian fairy stories or folk stories," thirty-three of which are compiled in *Pueblo Indian Folk-Stories*.

Lummis's stories have many characters, including local Pueblo heroes such as Nah-chu-ru-chu, people who have "the evil road," and various animals such as the eagle, coyote, bear, and beaver. Throughout the stories a variety of conflicts among human beings, gods, and nature are played out, and often a reconciliation in the form of a harmonious balance marks the end. The majority of the stories seem to provide folk explanations for diverse phenomena ranging from the animosity between the coyote and the crow to the poison of the rattlesnake. Lummis presents his stories in an entertaining style which easily captures the readers' attention. What makes the narration even more interesting is Lummis's noted effort to portray the social dynamics and to describe the physical surroundings of the actual telling of these stories by Pueblo elders. The reader is therefore exposed not only to the stories but also to how they were originally told. As a result, Lummis presents his narration against the background of a grand-narrative couched in a quasi-anthropological (social scientific) discourse, which brings us to some of the problems with the *Pueblo Indian Folk-Stories*.

One may choose to follow Robert F. Gish's advice that "Lummis's oral retellings must essentially be seen as entertainments." The folk-stories presented in this book are no doubt entertaining and so far as they are conceived merely as such, i.e., as sources of entertainment, I have no objection. However, there is a bigger claim which is being made by the collection's title, i.e., that these are Pueblo stories "by which Isletans lived and continue to live." As Gish suggests, Lummis "was more the artist-raconteur than the social scientist," which renders the historical validity and cultural authenticity of his stories highly debatable. Even if the reader can manage to overlook Lummis's references to Isletans as "savages" or "over grown children" and perhaps to ignore Lummis's celebration of Spanish dominion over the Pueblo, the reader still needs to face the following questions: To what extent are these stories written to preach to non-Natives and simultaneously to tame Natives by explaining and capturing them in text? Then, why bother with Lummis? Are there not more credible sources of information on Pueblo myths and legends?

Pueblo Indian Folk-Stories is a poor resource if one wants to learn more about Pueblo Indians and listen to what they have to say and to what they are willing to share in their own voices. If one is interested in finding out about how Western imagination and intellect came into contact with Native American mythology, then *Pueblo Indian Folk-Stories* may be a useful book to examine. Yet, given the decision to reprint Lummis's book, it would have been more appropriate if the opinions of the people of Isleta (and perhaps

of the larger Pueblo nation) on the current cultural significance of Lummi's stories had been incorporated into the book. Such an editorial move would have given the last word to its rightful owners, the Isletans.

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Petrone, Penny (Editor): *Northern Voices: Inuit Writing in English*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press. First paperback edition, 1992, xv + 314 pp, Paper, ISBN 0-8020-7717-X 9.

This is an extensive collection of short selections from Inuit writing in English, ranging from the earliest legends to contemporary political statements. Petrone has divided the book into four main sections covering oral traditions, literature deriving from early contact with Whites, transitional literature, and modern writing. I will provide a brief overview and samples from each of the four groups.

Inuit oral literature took two main forms: songs and narratives. Shamans learned magic songs, songs whose words were so powerful that they could stop a wound from bleeding. Song duels amused but also resolved disputes. The humor and ridicule common to this type of writing survives in contemporary Inuit political satire. Here is an example of an ancient song, *The Old Man's Song* (p.38).

I have grown old,
 I have lived much,
 Many things I understand,
 But four riddles I cannot solve.
 Ha-ya-ya-ya.

The sun's origin,
 The moon's nature,
 The minds of women,
 And why people have so many lice.
 Ha-ya-ya-ya.

Inuit thought of themselves as the only genuine humans in the world; some early Inuit writings portray the "Qallunaat," men of heavy eyebrows,

as a subhuman species. Gradually, as contact became more frequent, new technology introduced by Whites impressed the Inuit.

With the arrival of missionaries, some Inuit converted to Christianity. Several selections illustrate the piety of Inuit converts.

Just as Whites intrigued the Inuit, so the Inuit intrigued Whites. By the middle of the 19th century, cities regularly exhibited exotic peoples, including Inuit, at great expositions and fairs. Inuit were also sent abroad to be educated. Almost invariably, the Inuit were homesick and unable to adjust to the climate and culture of the civilized south. One of the earliest Inuit to visit England was Attulock who was taken there by Capt. George Cartwright in 1786. His comments about civilization are echoed by later writers (p.60).

Oh! I am tired; here are too many houses; too much smoke; too much people; Labrador is very good; seals are plentiful there; I wish I was back again.

Some Inuit also served as guides for explorers or worked for whalers. A number of selections record Inuit reactions to these aspects of their relations with Whites.

During the transitional stage, Inuit broke with their own oral tradition of song and narrative and adopted the prevailing English literary forms and styles. They kept diaries, wrote letters, memoirs, personal narratives, and even novels. Petrone selects some rather recent material to illustrate the transitional stage, including part of a novel by Markoosie, whose *Harpoon of the Hunter* (1967) was the first novel by an Inuit. Petrone considers the transitional stage to have lasted until the early 1970s.

Modern or contemporary Inuit writers wish to preserve their traditions while adapting to outside influences. Journalistic writing predominates, because Inuit create for their own media, as a method of defending their culture and to promote Inuit interests in the wider political arena. There is considerable humor in their modern writing, often tinged with bitterness. Minnie Freeman writes, "It has been said that the ideal family in the Arctic consists of a husband and wife, four children, and an anthropologist" (p.241). Zebedee Nungak tells tales of bureaucratic bungling. The government started to build housing units in one northern community but left them unfinished for years. In another village a shipment of electric stoves arrived; however, the village had no electricity. In a third village, the government built new units with flush toilets and septic tanks, but provided no funds for a sewage truck to empty the tanks!

Nellie Cournoyea says that Inuit want to retain their own culture but that this

doesn't mean going back to freezing in igloos and hunting with bows and arrows. It means regaining the control we had over

our lives before...

Many writers worry about the rapid changes in Inuit society and express fears about the future; however Takag Curley points out that the Inuit are at home in the Arctic environment, whereas other people are not. This fact helps protect them from being completely conquered by the alien White culture (p.286)

...We have something that helped our people. Our environment is harsh. Who would want to live here?

Petrone has included a map of the Arctic showing the territory of different Inuit groups; as well, there are photos of a number of the authors. A short glossary explains Inuktitut words frequently used in the texts, and the bibliography lists sources for all the material printed in the book. There is also a helpful index. *Northern Voices* delights the reader with a wide sampling of Inuit writing and an excellent introduction to Inuit culture. I highly recommend it.

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Wadden, Marie: *Nitassinan: The Innu Struggle to Reclaim Their Homeland*.
Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre, 1991, ix + 218 pp. ISBN 1-55054-001-7, Cloth \$26.95

Throughout the entire post World War II era Indigenous peoples everywhere have experienced severe encroachments on their traditional lands. Industrial developments of various kinds, such as hydro-electric dam constructions, industrial forestry and mining, are the most common. Military installations represent another kind of encroachment, the unforeseen consequences of which are now visibly detrimental. As a rule Indigenous peoples have few resources with which to counterbalance actions advocated as being in the best interests of the nation-state, or, even further, what concerns the world peace.

In Greenland the establishment of the Thule Air Base in the 1950s forced the Polar Inuit, or Inughuit, to abandon their traditional areas and relocate to a new and, for them, foreign land 180 km further north. This

decision was made without any consultation with the people concerned and without any compensation (Brøsted and Fægteborg, 1985).

In her book *Nitassinan: The Innu Struggle to Reclaim Their Homeland*, Marie Wadden presents a recent case of conflict of interest between military forces and Native people, in this case the Innu of Northern Quebec and Labrador. Without due consideration for the Innu, a NATO training center for low-flying jet bombers was founded in Innu traditional territory in the mid-1980s. Because of that, the ecosystem of the Innu suffered great and irreparable damage; animal life was disturbed, and there was consequently less wildlife for hunting and trapping. The hunting way of life is now difficult to sustain; at the same time "jet terror," an appropriately-named emotional disturbance of humans caused by the sudden sonic booms of the jets, has become more and more frequent, not the least among children.

"Nitassinan" means our homeland, and it encompasses the entire territory utilized by the Innu in their migratory patterns for gamehunting. The Innu have a strong attachment to hunting as a core feature of their culture. This sentiment is spelled out very clearly by one of Marie Wadden's informants: "if we are unable to continue our hunting way of life we are nothing as a people." The military expansion in the area may make it very difficult for the Innu to maintain their hunting culture. This is a great worry for these people, especially as the military training center adds to earlier detrimental effects upon the environment caused by hydro-electric developments and forestry on a large scale.

Hunting cultures generally, with their extensive land use patterns, are particularly vulnerable to numerous irreversible changes within their territory which demolish the balance of their ecosystem. As a result of these changes the ecological adaptation upon which their traditional economy is based is negatively affected, and people must either find new ways to survive or, at least, modify their traditional means of livelihood.

Moreover, maintaining hunting as a way of life is important to these cultures as a means to counteract enforced assimilation into the larger society. It is also seen as a way to address such social problems as alcoholism, child neglect and suicide. These, more than anything else, explain why the Innu were so persistent and so vigorous in their campaign to keep the jet bombers away from their land.

This campaign, which included demonstrations and hunger strikes, eventually resulted in criminal charges for repeated civil disobedience. However, the Innu succeeded in converting a civil disobedience court case to an Aboriginal rights case. In 1989, Provincial Judge Iglooliorte, himself an Inuk, passed a verdict in favor of the Innu. This was nothing less than a landmark decision, although later it was overruled by the Court of Appeal.

As the process went on, the Innu were subject to both national and international attention due in part to their consistent protests as well as their partial success in court.

In the campaign, so colorfully and intimately narrated by Wadden, the Innu flag was frequently used as a visual symbol of First Nationhood. Music by the popular Innu rock group, *Kashtin*, was played on any appropriate occasion, in particular its most famous tune "Tshinanu," which, as no surprise, became the theme song of the Innu resistance.

Marie Wadden is sincere in her dedication and in her close and full account of the events related to the NATO training center controversy. She is not an anthropologist but a reporter whose approach to a contemporary transcultural problem is very anthropological. She lives close to the people, sharing their hardships in everyday life, not focusing only on the resistance. She captures in great detail how people think about their future as Innu and about the destruction of their land base. In her lucid and effective language she convincingly conveys the idea that bush life is crucial for the cultural survival of the Innu. It has to do with human dignity and human self-respect, and with basic human rights, i.e. the right for a group of people to be culturally distinctive. Furthermore, it is in the bush, a great distance from the settlements, that social problems become negligible. Therefore environmental sustenance is vital.

As readers we get very close to the core material the book elucidates. The frequent, lengthy quotations are superbly woven into the text. By letting the Innu speak directly to such a great extent, a dimension of authenticity is added to a critical reporting of a highly topical and controversial subject. The book also reveals a side of Canada which is not too favorable. The ignorance of the military commander concerning the verdict, coupled with the wildlife regulations in Newfoundland which made Native hunting a criminal act, proves what a great social distance there actually is between Canadian authorities and Indigenous people. Marie Wadden's position is quite clear, and her straightforward account awakens unflinching indignation in the reader.

In her concentration on the specific case of the NATO training centre, and in her honest attempt to view this current conflict holistically from an Innu perspective, Wadden has produced an important contribution to the general understanding of the on-going debate between the Canadian nation-state and its First Nations. Consequently, I have no hesitation in recommending the book to a wide spectrum of potential readers, including scholars and students interested in problems related to the northern Fourth World. Certainly it does not leave the reader indifferent. Finally, may I also endorse the statement made by Chief Daniel Ashini in his foreword, "after

reading this book many people will come to know us better.” Perhaps there is a future for the Innu in this; at least I hope so.

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