

BOOK REVIEWS

American Indian Studies Center: *Proceedings: First National Conference on Cancer in Native Americans*. Los Angeles: *American Indian Culture and Research Journal*, Special Issue: Volume 16, Number 3, 1992, viii + 246 pp. ISSN 0161-6463, Paper, U.S. \$5.00.

This "Proceedings" volume, a special issue of the *American Indian Culture and Research Journal*, includes the conference agenda, opening remarks, brief roundtable recommendations, a glossary of terms, as well as a comprehensive bibliography (1800-1989) of research on cancer in Native Americans (including Alaska Natives). The volume contains the usual book reviews at the end, but none pertaining to cancer research. There is a total of 9 articles, including the Introduction. They are primarily written by cancer specialists, medical doctors, clinical professors of medicine, government public health experts, pathologists, epidemiologists, and Indian Health Service nurses. The authors are trained in medicine, public health management, and in the social sciences. The agenda indicates that panel discussions (not published as part of the Proceedings) focused on such topics as minority cancer issues, cultural beliefs about cancer, tribal participation, and education and prevention programs. This volume may be of specific interest to Canadian medical anthropologists/sociologists and others interested in issues relating to cancer among Aboriginal and minority/economically deprived groups.

As the volume title suggests, these articles represent a first national conference on the topic, held in 1989 at the Arizona Cancer Center (Tucson). The conference was motivated by the National Cancer Programs' mandate to address the cancer needs of all American citizens, and to achieve a 50% reduction in cancer mortality by the year 2000. This requires looking into the specific and unique issues relating to the incidence of cancers, their treatment, prevention and control in all minority groups, including American Indians, Eskimos and Aleuts. With respect to demographics, we are told that there are some 1.5 million Native Americans living in cities, on 278 Reservations, and in over 200 Alaska Native villages (collectively representing some 450 tribal groupings). Over one-half of all American Indians live in Arizona, California, New Mexico and Oklahoma; 54% of Indian people live in urban centers, the rest in rural and Reservation areas. In addition, there are some 65,000 Alaskan Eskimos as well as over 200,000 Native Hawaiians. Compared with the general population, American Native people have quite different malignant disease patterns and

cancer incidence as well as cancer mortality rates than the general population, and indeed, other minorities.

Research on the health status of American Natives has, in the past, tended to focus on such health issues as accidental injuries, alcoholism, diabetes, mental health and infectious diseases. The aim of the conference was to review present knowledge of etiology, cancer types, incidence and cancer-related mortality rates among various Indian groups (rural and urban) and between Indians and other population groups, and, given existing and new knowledge, to explore the problems of education and the development of effective culturally-sensitive cancer prevention strategies that would lead to improved survival rates. Older research seemed to suggest that overall incidence rates for Indians for all cancers were actually less than rates for all American ethnic groups, including Whites and Blacks. This was seen as positive. New research presented in several of the articles shows that inter-tribal (or inter-ethnic) cancer rates vary considerably, and shows where in some instances cancer incidence is becoming a very serious health concern among specific groups.

Some tribes show extremely high rates of cancers rarely seen in non-Indians or even in other Indian groups (e.g. Alaskan: nasopharyngeal carcinoma, esophagus, stomach, liver, cervix uteri; Tohono O'Odham (Southwest): gallbladder cancer). New research reported in several of the articles also reveals that some American Indian groups have genetic susceptibilities to and familial concentrations of certain cancers (e.g. Navahos: colorectal; New Mexican: osteosarcomas, retinoblastomas). In other instances, primary types of cancer rarely diagnosed before the 1970s are seen for the first time and in surprising incidence. Squamous cell carcinoma of the cervix, for example, exceeds by 100% the rates for all races in the United States, including Whites and Blacks. Overall, it is reported that the following cancers/cancer sites have significantly higher incidence rates among American Indians than among other Americans (both sexes combined, where applicable): stomach, primary liver, biliary, gastric, gallbladder, cervix uteri, multiple myeloma, prostate, primary hepatic.

Three articles in particular are devoted to special studies, one (Lowenfels), an investigation of gallbladder cancer in Southwest Indians (which occurs at 10 times the rate of other Americans), the second (Justice), a detailed cancer profile of two Indian tribes (the Oglala Sioux from the Northern Plains, and the Tohono O'Odham from the Southwestern desert). The purpose of this study was to discover the distribution of primary cancers in two tribes from very different cultural, genetic and environmental backgrounds. The third study (Lynch, *et al.*) focused on Lynch Syndrome 11, an autosomal dominantly inherited disorder (colorectal cancer), in a Navaho family. Supporting articles include one on data sources for cancer

statistics, and one on a case study of prevention and control programs in a particular Indian Health Service area (South Dakota).

Of special interest in these articles are the discussions relating to mortality and survival rates. While one would predict Indians to be a high risk group on the basis of low socio-economic status and accompanying risk factors such as smoking, other use of tobacco, diet, alcohol abuse, occupational risks, sexual and child-bearing practices, and non-use of preventive medical services, *overall* they have low cancer incidence rates (one-half that of Whites, for example, notwithstanding their *specific* cancer burdens, and taking heredity into account, where applicable). What is significant is their low survival rates and high mortality rates, once diagnosed with cancer. Five-year survival rates are the lowest of any racial group in the United States. Higher-than-expected mortality rates are for cancers of the stomach, gallbladder and cervix uteri. Yet, the latter is virtually 100% curable when detected early with a Pap smear. Low survival/high mortality rates may therefore be attributed to poor stage distribution at diagnosis, delayed acceptance of treatment, literacy/language problems, a fatalistic attitude (not uncommon among Native people) towards the outcome of a diagnosis, and perhaps a preference for traditional healers rather than Western medicine. However, not unlike the rates and incidence of different kinds of cancer, survival/mortality rates likewise differ among Indian groups and between Indians and other minority populations.

The Proceedings conclude with the recommendations of round-table/panel discussions, focusing on identifying research gaps, establishing education and prevention programs, setting up support care services, and increasing tribal participation in cancer programs. It is recognized that there are numerous opportunities for reducing and dealing with the cancer burden in Indian and minority group populations, notwithstanding mitigating factors such as isolation from medical centers, environmental stressors, and cultural values.

As a medical anthropologist, I appreciated the detailed treatment of inter- and intragroup differences, and the recommendations pertaining to efforts designed to reduce incidence by decreasing the prevalence of risk factors through prevention, education, early detection, screening and testing. Interventions that include language and Native cultural considerations would be especially valuable, as would the involvement of tribal leaders, Indian health care workers and the families of patients. There exists the potential for similar research in Canada; to my knowledge little has been done with regards to cancer research among Canadian First Nations peoples, at least not by medical social scientists. Cross-border comparisons would be especially interesting, for example between Alaskan Eskimos/ Aleuts and Canadian Inuit, or between Canadian Athapaskans and

the American Navaho (who are a subgroup of the Athapaskan linguistic group that migrated to the southwestern United States from eastern Alaska and Canada about 1000-1200 AD). Productive, too, would be investigations into the prevalence of "New World Syndrome" in Canada, that is, possible gene/environment interaction with respect to the high rates of association between cholelithiasis and cancer of the gallbladder, observed especially among Indian females.

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Barnholden, Michael (Translator): *Gabriel Dumont Speaks*. Vancouver: Talonbooks, 1993, 80 pp., 6 Black and White photos, ISBN 0-88922-323-8, CDN. \$11.95

Gabriel Dumont, the famed Métis military leader, dictated his memoirs on two occasions. The first time was in December, 1888 when he gave an account of the events of 1885 which was transcribed by the Recorder of Montreal, B.A.T. de Montigny. On 14 January 1889 this account was read back to Dumont, and he verified its authenticity. It appeared in French in 1889 in *La Verite sur la question Métisse*, a book intended to gain support for the Quebec Liberal party. The document was translated into English by George F.G. Stanley and published in *The Canadian Historical Review* in 1949.

Dumont's second memoir was dictated in 1903 and, with the publication of *Gabriel Dumont Speaks*, now appears in print for the first time. Michael Barnholden, who has translated the memoir from French into English, suggests that Dumont probably dictated these reminiscences "in the confines of some friend's parlour, over drinks and food" and perhaps on two consecutive evenings. The identity of the person who wrote down Dumont's words is not known, but the original manuscripts, consisting of 104 handwritten pages, have been preserved in the archive of L'Union Nationale Métisse de Saint Joseph in the Manitoba Provincial Archives. Most of the pages are the same size, but at least two pages have been ripped from smaller notebooks. There are two page ones, but neither is the first page. Barnholden has decided to treat the 1903 dictations as one complete manuscript. He has also taken certain liberties with the text, altering "awkward sentence structures, usually by making two short sentences out

of one long one,” and changing the third person narrative of the original to a first person narrative. Eschewing a direct, literal translation, Barnholden provides what he calls an “interpretation.” The difficulty with this approach is that the reader is left guessing how faithfully the “interpretation” represents the spirit and intent of what Dumont actually said. Another problem is that the translation is without explanatory footnotes for the proper names and specific references that occur in the text. Unless the reader already has a fairly good understanding of the events of 1885, he or she is apt to find the memoir somewhat confusing.

Such caveats notwithstanding, *Gabriel Dumont Speaks* is an interesting and worthwhile book for students of Métis and Canadian history. Barnholden credibly makes the claim that the 1903 memoir is a more “politically trenchant text” than the 1888 memoir because the former presents the “rebellion” not as a French revolt against English-Canadian authority, but rather as a war between two nations. Whereas the 1888 account confines itself to military events, the 1903 account deals with the broader political issues at stake. The second memoir, for example, discusses the agitation in 1880 or 1881 by the Métis of Batoche and St. Laurent against the government order that they pay fees for the wood they cut for planks and firewood. Dumont quotes part of a speech he gave at a meeting at Batoche: “We left Manitoba because we were not free, and we came to this new wild country to be free. And now we have to pay to cut firewood? Where can we go? What can we do? We cannot let this happen. The government has made its first move against us and if we let them get away with it, there will be more laws coming.” As the Canadian government, ignoring Métis protests, encroached more and more on the Métis settlements, Dumont states: “We did not want to have to fight for our rights which had been won in the rebellion of 1870. But we were resolved to demand our rights from the government ... We wanted a treaty like the one he [Riel in 1870] had negotiated with the government.” When the moment of armed resistance comes in 1885, Dumont says: “No people in the world are as strong and good as the Métis. Given a choice between riches and their rights, they would choose their rights and everything would be right in the end.” In the second memoir, unlike the first, Dumont speaks of the Métis as a nation seeking to defend its rights against the invader. This is nowhere more clear than when he accuses the Canadian forces of using “exploding balls,” that is exploding bullets, an allegation he did not make in 1888. Dumont characterizes the use of this type of ammunition as “a huge crime against humanity and against the rights of the men of the Métis nation.”

Although the first memoir gives a more complete and coherent account of military events, the second memoir is at times more graphic. Compare the following two accounts of how Dumont was wounded at the battle of

Duck Lake. The 1888 version states simply: "Since I was eager to knock off some of the red coats, I never thought to keep under cover, and a shot came and gashed the top of my head, where a deep scar can still be seen...." The 1903 account is more vivid: "Just as I came upon the enemy who were firing right at me, I fell, seated on the snow. A bullet creased the top of my head making a furrow, and the ricochet whistled away. Blood spurted into the air." Compare also the two descriptions of Dumont coming upon the bodies of slain Canadian soldiers at the Battle of Fish Creek: "I went to search their dead for cartridges and arms, but they had been stripped of them" (1888) versus "As we advanced, we found many dead, and no doubt there were many more in the underbrush because the water in the little creek was red" (1903).

In addition, the personality of Dumont comes through more clearly in the second memoir. His strength of character and leadership abilities have always been evident, but now the gritty guerrilla fighter is more fully revealed. For example, in the first memoir he recounts without elaboration: "It was daybreak before we were in sight of Middleton, who was encamped at the McIntosh farm. I thought it wise to retire and go and wait for the enemy at Fish Creek Coulee..." In the second memoir Dumont expands on what he would have done had he arrived at Middleton's camp a few hours earlier: "My plan had been to surprise the enemy camp during the night, to spring a prairie fire on them, take advantage of their confusion, and massacre them. If we had found the English camp that first night, Middleton's soldiers would have been lucky to get out alive."

Michael Barnholden has performed a valuable service in translating and making available in published form the hitherto buried 1903 reminiscences of Gabriel Dumont. They make an interesting contrast with the previously published 1888 reminiscences and throw new light on one of the most intriguing and impressive figures in Métis history.

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Berlo, Janet Catherine (Editor): *The Early Years of Native American Art History: The Politics of Scholarship and Collecting*. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1992, x + 245 pp., preface, index, 39 Black and White illustrations, ISBN 0-7748-0433-5, Cloth, CDN \$36.95.

The seven papers presented in this volume arose out of two conferences on the historiography of Native American art history held in 1985. The resulting publication is not only well worth the attention of art historians interested in Aboriginal art, but of museum workers, ethnographers/ethnologists, as well as First Nations artists carrying out research in museum collections. The book is important for its addition of detailed case studies to the more general works such as Stocking (1985), Lumley (1988), and Karp and Lavine (1991) which deal with the politics of using and interpreting another's culture.

The period covered by the book ranges from the last quarter of the 19th century until 1941 (the year of an influential exhibit discussed below). This era coincides with the great age of almost frantic museum and private collecting among Native North American cultures which were perceived as nearing extinction at the time. The papers focus on art history as a discipline rather than on a series of artists or a particular art, although basketry is the subject of three of the seven papers.

In her introduction, editor Janet Catherine Berlo makes several crucial points. She argues that we need to seriously question the meaning and validity of Indian art history, ethnography, as well as museum exhibitry. Finding a good deal of support in the following papers, she argues that, although museums in this period ostensibly were concerned with preserving the "oldest" and "most authentic" representations of "traditional" Native material cultures (i.e. the "salvage paradigm"), the collecting politics and policies of the time actually served to impose a non-Native definition upon what was "authentic" and "traditional" in Native cultures. It must be remembered that these collections were gathered at a time of unprecedented upheaval among First Nations societies which were not stranded in an unchanging past, but rather were adapting on a continual basis to the forces of historical change brought about by increasingly intimate contact with European cultural, economic, and political forces.

This form of "imperialistic Native American art history" contributed to the creation by museums and art historians of what were essentially "invented cultures." New forms of production such as miniaturization of large objects (e.g. totem poles) were specifically commissioned by museum anthropologists such as Franz Boas, and it is these items which have tended to become "canonized" as representations of traditional production. An examination of the real meaning of such objects commissioned by non-

Natives has tended to be ignored by museums (Thistle, 1984). In addition, many of the Native informants who were employed by museums at this time proved to be as much individualistic innovators as traditionalists. The paper by Aldona Jonaitis, for example, examines the case of the celebrated and innovative Haida artist Charles Edenshaw's relationship with museum anthropologists such as Franz Boas and John Swanton.

Beyond the influence exerted by the institutional policies and biases of collectors, the paper by Diana Fane reveals that organisations such as the Brooklyn Museum used recreations of Zuni materials crafted by non-Native ethnologist Frank Cushing in its exhibits rather than Zuni artifacts themselves. Quite apart from this kind of misrepresentation, the article by Marvin Cohodas reveals the deliberate and near complete falsification behind the marketing of the basketry of Washo artist Louisa Keyser by her patrons and dealers. Indeed, the lies generated by this marketing activity continue to be represented as facts in modern publications (p.127).

Another important contribution is the paper by W. Jackson Rushing dealing with the major exhibition "Indian Art in the United States" which, in 1941, occupied all three floors of the premier art institution in America, New York's Museum of Modern Art. Significantly, this exhibit was recognised at the time for legitimizing the placement of Indian art among America's fine arts as "part of the artistic and spiritual wealth" of that country. Although not for the first time, but certainly as the most noticed and acclaimed occasion, it presented Indian art as a potentially powerful stimulant to American art, demonstrating that Indian art "harmonized with the artistic concepts of modernism" and that it continued to be both vital and adaptable to modern life. The exhibit had a "profound and immediate impact on the development of avant-garde art in New York" such as the work of Jackson Pollock who was influenced by the Navajo sand painting included in this exhibit (p.223).

Unfortunately, the temporal limitation on this volume prevents what would be a fascinating discussion on how this significant impetus eventually dissipated. Neither the celebrated position given to Native American art nor its influence was sustained. Fifty years after this important exhibit, we are confronted with criticisms by Native artists and others concerning the "artistic cultural apartheid" practised by major institutions which display Native art only in ethnographic museums (Houle and Hargittay, 1988; Danzker, 1990) rather than following the early lead of the Museum of Modern Art which had accepted the premise that First Nations artists could in fact change without forfeiting their cultural legitimacy and make unique, authentic contributions to the artistic universe of modern society.

This volume is a very well documented discussion of what amounts to the "pseudo-ethnography" practised by both private and institutional collectors during the period in question. It would serve admirably well as the

starting point for any study of First Nations art, ethnography, or representations in museums. As well, it provides important cautionary tales for First Nations artists who may be using these collections for research.

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Bowers, Alfred W.: *Hidatsa Social and Ceremonial Organization*. Introduction by Douglas R. Parks. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1992, xlv + 528 pp., maps, illustrations, notes, bibliography, index, ISBN: 0-8032-6098-9, Paper, U.S. \$15.95.

(Reprint of 1963 volume. Originally published as Bulletin 194, Bureau of American Ethnology, Smithsonian Institution.)

During the late 1800s, governments and missionaries concentrated their efforts on suppressing Aboriginal traditional beliefs and customs and replacing them with Christianity and its attendant value systems. The legacy of this policy can be found in the ensuing decades of impoverishment and marginalization that was the lot for most Aboriginal people. After World War II, a wide range of changes resulted in a gradual movement to reestablish the old languages and culture. However, the greatest difficulty for those engaged in the rebirth/resurgence process was that the lines of communication to the older knowledge had been broken. In spite of the handicaps, answers were found from living Elders and from those who still remembered the teachings of their youth. Another source were the many books written about the customs and ceremonies of the First Nations, books such as Mandelbaum's *The Plains Cree* (1940, 1979), Neihardt's *Black Elk Speaks* (1932), and others. Among the list of academic exercises of this genre, Bowers' 1962 work on the Hidatsa stands out as "a classic of American anthropology" (p.x).

The history of the Hidatsa follows the familiar pattern of precontact and self-determination, contact and disease, treaty and enforced change, and finally, survival on pitiful remnants of their former territory. In the case of the Hidatsa, contact was particularly devastating. Their spiritual leaders tended to keep their secret knowledge to themselves and did not usually hand it on until they were well-advanced in years. When the smallpox epidemics raged through Hidatsa country, the Elders often died before they could impart their secrets. As the people lost control over their destiny and were forced onto Reservations and into a foreign way of life, younger Hidatsa saw little benefit in learning about the old ways, as they had appeared to fail. Much of the traditional knowledge of social and ceremonial organization, the mainstay of Hidatsa life, was lost in this manner or was retained by the surviving Elders without being passed on to the next generation. Knowing that the Elders' secrets were about to die with them, interested parties set out to preserve this knowledge. During the latter years of the 19th and the first few decades of the 20th centuries, Aboriginal people, anthropologists, and others recorded the knowledge held by living Elders who still remembered the old ways. Since it had often been less than fifty years since traditional Hidatsa ceremonies had been practised, there were still many individuals living who had either participated in these ceremonies

or who knew someone who had. It is this relatively freshly-preserved knowledge which Bowers used in his study of the Hidatsa Nation.

The Hidatsa, like the Mandan and the Arikara, have been described as "semisedentary riverine tribes" (p.xi) located in the upper Missouri region of what is now North and South Dakota in the United States. Their first contact with Europeans occurred when LaVérendrye met them around 1739. Sustained contact began after 1780 and the smallpox which accompanied the Europeans killed over half the populations of these tribes. Prior to this, the Hidatsa had maintained their civilization quite successfully in several large villages located along the local river valleys. The massive loss of life due to disease, however, forced them to adapt to new strategies in order to survive and prosper.

Around 1800, the Hidatsa Nation consisted of three village groups, each with its own dialect and territory. By 1845, under the pressure of losses to disease and increasing settler advances, the survivors combined forces with the Mandan in one village. The next decades saw the worst years of American military depredations against the plains peoples and by the late 1800s the combination of military force and missionary activity had transformed the Hidatsa/Mandan coalition completely. The last major Hidatsa religious festival took place in 1879 and was soon followed by the disastrous disappearance of the buffalo. The subsequent enforced move to individual allotments on Reservations in the late 1880s marked the end of the traditional Hidatsa village way of life.

Bowers began his work in 1932 when he set out to reconstruct Hidatsa culture. His first experiences in learning the language and developing contacts with the Elders convinced him that Hidatsa social and ceremonial practices had united their natural and sacred orders. He then determined to record the ways by which the Hidatsa had controlled their world in order to preserve what was about to be irrevocably lost. While he was doing this, he encouraged the Elders to speak freely and without interruption and accepted digression in a positive manner. The result was a compilation of sacred and profane Hidatsa ceremonies and a record of their social organization told in the words of the people themselves.

From his field notes, which began in 1932, Bowers wrote on the Hidatsa intermittently from 1936-1948 and eventually published this work in 1962. The text includes major sections on Hidatsa social and ceremonial organization. The hallmark of both is Bowers' attention to detail and his willingness to include Hidatsa voices speaking about their world and how they lived as a people. Although not the type of book to be read at a single sitting, it is a valuable contribution to our knowledge about the riverine plains First Nations. The inclusion of diagrams dealing with ceremonies is an additional boon to those who might be daunted by the wealth of material presented.

Overall, this is one book which should be part of the library of anyone who is involved in the study or development of Aboriginal culture.

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Brownstone, Arni: *War Paint: Blackfoot and Sarcee Painted Buffalo Robes in the Royal Ontario Museum*. Foreword by James Dempsey. Royal Ontario Museum, 1993. ix + 84pp. 38 Colour plates, 18 Black and White Illustrations, ISBN 0-88854-408-1, Paper, CDN \$24.95.

In the late 1870s, Edmund Morris spent a significant part of his childhood in western Canada where his father, Alexander Morris, was Lieutenant Governor of the districts of Manitoba, Assiniboia, Keewatin, and the North West Territories. When the younger Morris returned to the prairies between 1909 and 1911 to paint portraits and take photographs of the Native leaders, he commissioned and was given a large number of Native artifacts. Among these was a series of hides covered with pictographs of war exploits which he had had made for him by seven aging warriors of the Peigan, Blood, Siksika and Tsuu T'ina nations. The analysis of these robes is the focus of Brownstone's book.

The work begins with an overview of the Morris robes. Brownstone is careful to note that, as commissioned works, the robes had no function within the Blackfoot and Tsuu T'ina cultures. In fact, they seem to reflect Morris' own wish to recreated the "buffalo days" of the mid-1800s. As they depicted scenes from the past, but were done for a Euro-Canadian market, Brownstone suggests that these robes may provide keys to understanding the difficult transition for the First Nations between the pre-Reservation

culture and that which was imposed by the Euro-Canadian newcomers.

The tradition of pictograph robes is placed within a cultural context through a review of the role of warfare in the Blackfoot culture. Brownstone follows many other researchers in equating success in war with material wealth: the most venturesome warriors captured the most horses, and horses were a measure of a man's wealth. However, he also notes the importance of supernatural help in achieving success and status. The paintings on the robes served, Brownstone speculates, as mnemonic devices to aid a warrior's memory as he retells his stories at ceremonies and social affairs. Unfortunately, Brownstone does not reflect upon the role of this story-telling. Was it merely self-aggrandization or did it play a role in the spiritual aspect of the occasion? If story-telling had a deeper purpose, perhaps the robes had (and may still have) a meaning more complicated than that of mnemonic device.

The most significant contribution of this volume is found in the analysis of traditional Blackfoot pictography and the European influences which appear on the Morris robes. Brownstone defines the pictography by first analyzing of rock pictographs and petroglyphs and paintings done on articles made by the Blackfoot for their own use before the establishment of reserves. These are then compared with thirteen articles made after settlement on reserves. The Morris collection is an addition to the latter. It is not clear if Brownstone has examined all of the paintings discussed or if he has referred only to photographs of them. Certainly, the quality of any reproduction could inhibit an analysis of motifs, symbolism and artistic style.

Some important differences emerge between the early and the later sets of images. Later paintings exhibit a greater tendency to geometrical abstraction while, at the same time, inanimate objects tend to be drawn in a naturalistic and graphic manner. In addition, the later set has more figures which were overlapped as a means of depicting three-dimensional representation. In general, however, the purpose of the robe images was very different from that of European paintings. The images were conceptual in nature, using space much like a map. The artist had no intention of replicating accurately what was seen.

Brownstone concludes with some speculation about why some artists merged the traditional style (seen in early paintings and pictographs) with a European influence. Some paintings were executed by the sons of the men whose exploits are recounted. These young men may have had greater exposure to Euro-Canadian culture. Other artists may have assimilated Western practices to gain government rewards. After the Reserves were established, the Canadian government's concerted effort to eradicate Native culture. was coupled with widespread starvation among the Natives.

However, it remains speculative whether the artistic style changes reflect posturing by these men to gain favour with the authorities.

The presentation of the robes and the reproduction of the paintings consumes the second half of the book. This is a very valuable contribution and enables the reader to read the paintings and evaluate Brownstone's arguments. This section also includes brief biographical notes on each of the artists.

Many of Brownstone's remarks are speculative and couched in terms of 'I may be' and "perhaps". Some of these uncertainties could have been resolved had the author consulted at length with people of the Blood, Peigan, Siksika and Tsuu T'ina nations. Much of the symbolism is known to people today and some even recurs on various articles they produce. The images on these robes are truly stories which have been written from a different cultural perspective and in a unique language. A good translator would have helped greatly in the interpretation. As it is, some symbols are misinterpreted (e.g. the discussion of the sign for "scout" in the caption for figure 20) and others are not given enough emphasis (e.g. the 'I' medicinell images near various warriors) . Even the distinction between animate and inanimate objects bears review, for the Blackfoot and Tsuu T'ina concept of animate/inanimate is very different from the Euro-centric understanding.

Another significant flaw pervades this work. The title indicates that Sarcee (or Tsuu T'ina as those people now refer to themselves) robe painting is part of the analysis and, indeed, Bull Head did contribute a robe. Unfortunately, Brownstone offers no cultural context for Tsuu T'ina robe painting, but rather lumps that culture within a general Blackfoot rubric. I'm not sure Tsuu T'ina would agree with this approach.

Painted robes constitute impressive elements in many museum collections. Brownstone is to be congratulated for making the Morris collection more accessible. His work is also important for underscoring the necessity of working closely with First Nations to achieve an understanding of the nature and meaning of their material culture. Traditional knowledge has not been lost completely. It is an urgent challenge for researchers to recover as much as possible for posterity.

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The State of Native America: Genocide, Colonization, and Resistance,
 Edited by M. Annette Jaimes. Boston, South End Press, 1992

The State of Native America: Genocide, Colonization and Resistance, a volume in the "Race and Resistance Series," is a collection of fifteen perceptive articles focusing on most of the issues affecting Native North Americans today. Many of the contributors are noted American Indian scholars or activists who are involved in the field of American Indian studies and who have something significant to say. The articles are intellectually disruptive and overturn conventional accounts of events by giving us a view from the inside—that is, from the perspective of those people whose ancestors were directly affected by the clash of cultures, intrusive government policies and present day practices against which Native North Americans continue to offer resistance. The triple themes of genocide, colonization and resistance inform the perspective of the articles by providing a platform from which the authors discuss issues affecting Native North Americans today. In a very large way, this collection of articles purports to tell the truth about what happened to Native American Indigenous cultures as a result of contact with European culture.

Chapter I, Demography of Native North America, is a cautionary tale about how demographic statistics can be manipulated to make subtle judgements about the relative level of development attained by Native North Americans and the impact of the contact and conquest on them. Manipulation of the figures downward by "experts" (here the doyen of anthropologists, Alfred L. Kroeber, comes in for criticism) created an entirely erroneous picture of the severity and disaster that contact and conquest produced for Native inhabitants. The term *genocide* to describe the impact of European diseases—whether unintentionally or deliberately—is not inappropriate here. Lest we think that the numbers game is limited to past encounters the authors remind us that:

...the federal government has persistently and deliberately utilized the "full-blood/mixed-blood" dichotomy it has contrived as a way to destroy the unity and undermine the cultural integrity of indigenous societies. In simplest terms, this has amounted to a long-term policy of rewarding those of mixed racial ancestry, especially those of some Indian-White admixture, while penalizing those of fully Indian genetic composition (1992:41).

The implications of the numbers game are of course that a larger grouping of Native people would better be able to wrest their lands—reserved, treated and Aboriginal (one might add stolen)—back to their control. The moral of the story is clear: examine the ideology behind the demo-

graphics. This is truly a haunting chapter!

Chapter II is a sudden jump to the international scene and a comparative look at the plight of Indigenous peoples or Indigenous Nations worldwide. The terminological change reflects the fact that these groupings were at one time self-governing entities who were left in disarray after conquest and are attempting to once again become self-determining. These Indigenous Nations were sovereign at the time of conquest when the European Nations entered into negotiations with them. Recognition of this sovereignty?so the argument goes?resulted in a century of treaty-making by a host of European Nations. Though today the courts have ruled that treaties must be interpreted liberally in favour of Native peoples, Nation States refuse to accord these treaties the status of treaties under international law and instead consider them matters of domestic or internal concern. Nevertheless, strong arguments can be made for according these treaties international status. Looming large behind the denial is the issue of self-determination which, though it receives support internationally, sends shudders down the spines of domestic governments who view it as equivalent to dismemberment of the state. Again, strong arguments can be made, and have been made lately, for according self-determination to the *peoples within*. The August, 1993 Draft Declaration of the Working Group on Indigenous Populations (WGIP), affirms the right of self-determination for Indigenous peoples. Yet Nation States continue to feel threatened by the notion rather than seeing it as a basis for the accommodation of culturally distinct groups within their borders. They generally fall back on the status of the concept under international law.

Chapter IV is an intriguing article originally published in 1988 by M. Annette Jaimes about Federal Indian identification policy. Jaimes explores the consequences of the fact that membership in various groups, that is sovereign nations, is preempted by the dominant society, in this case the federal government. The control over membership is pivotal to the notion of self-determination, for without exercising this power no nation can really define itself nor can it be free from external control. The tussle between the federal government and the Indian nations is usually over the extent to which the Federal government seeks to minimize its obligations to the Indian nations. The notorious *blood quantum* (degree of Indian blood) test for determining who is and who is not an Indian was originally (in 1887) a means of severing Indians from their land and hastening their assimilation. *Blood quantum* was intimately linked to the *eligibility factor*, the primary means by which non-Native people determined, for their own purposes, who was Native.

As Jaimes remarks:

Much of the original impetus toward the federal preemption of the sovereign Indian prerogative of defining "who's Indian," and the standardization of the racist degree-of-blood method of defining Indian identification, derived from the budgetary considerations of a federal government anxious to avoid paying its bills (1992:126-27).

These cost-cutting measures which are at the root of the federal government's policy on membership exacerbate tension in Indian communities over who is and who is not an "Indian." In the future, resolution of this matter will be a good indicator of how far Indian communities have moved along the road to full sovereignty.

There is a long essay, Chapter V, by Ward Churchill on the struggle for American Indian land. The struggle—both historically and contemporaneously—is based on the attempt of the Euro-American cultures to deprive Indians of their land to get at the natural resources contained therein. There are several infamous land invasions reviewed by Ward Churchill—the Black Hills Land Claim, for example—which show that treaties were broken by the U.S. government in its quest to obtain the valuable mineral resources located on Indian lands.

Chapter VI shows the consequences of the separation of land and water rights for the Indians of the arid and semi-arid regions of the West. Water rights involve the states, the federal government and the Indian nations. As part of its trust obligation to Indians the federal government preferred negotiated settlements between its wards and the state. (In many instances the federal government had traded away Indian water rights without their consent.) Often times they ended up watching part of their land disappear through expropriation so as to appear reasonable at the negotiating table and still retain use of their land and have access to the waters. In other words, the Indians had to voluntarily relinquish their rights over water if they wished to continue to enjoy its use under the practice known as the *Winters* doctrine. The situation post-*Winters* was for Indian nations to try to bury the judiciary in water rights lawsuits. Such moves—that is, water rights litigation which threatens to tie up use of the water in whole or in part—purportedly gave them better bargaining power at the negotiating table. When used in conjunction with other approaches to disputes over water rights, the results can be somewhat favourable to Indians. The Pyramid Lake Paiutes of Nevada are a case in point of how this multifaceted approach works.

Chapter VII discusses the struggle emanating from treaty-guaranteed fishing rights in the Pacific Northwest and in the State of Wisconsin. The preservation or restoration of Native peoples' traditional economies forms the backdrop for their continuing struggles. For example, in the Northwest

as the article notes:

despite clear treaty language permanently ensuring such prerogatives, treated peoples suffered more than a century of systematic deprivation of their rights to fish. Consequences, not just to indigenous economies, but to social and cultural practices, have been pronounced. Beginning in the late 1950s, a series of increasingly severe clashes with federal and local authorities (and area non-Indian commercial and "sport" fishers), as well as lengthy series of court cases, challenged the denial of native fishing rights, especially in the state of Washington (1992:217-218).

One result has been an end to flagrant abuses of Indian fishing rights and the emergence of terms like co-management and cooperative resource management to cover the new ways of thinking about the fishing problem. The main point here is not simply that fishing is important to the maintenance of the Native way of life (that is undeniable), but that it strikes right at the heart of tribal sovereignty. For as the federal government maintains the presumption of preeminent jurisdiction over Indian fishing these management structures may become the source of tribal self-governing authority. There is a fascinating account of the *Sohappy* case which is instructive in how frustrating judicial reasoning on fishing rights can be. Nevertheless, changes based on legal and extra-legal means have brought about an improvement in Indian fishing rights in the Pacific Northwest. Once again, the emergence of co-management schemes is essential to this new attitude among various interests in the fishing industry.

The Anishinabé of Wisconsin, as in the Northwest, found that state restrictions eroded treaty guarantees of their hunting and fishing rights by the end of the 19th century. By the 20th century the Anishinabé were among the poorest people in North America forcing many of them to defy game regulations. After a long period of litigation and consultation the Wisconsin Department of Natural Resources announced that "it would no longer attempt to enforce state regulations over Indians engaged in treaty-protected subsistence activities, including spear fishing and netting." This brought down a tremendous reaction from anti-Indian political organizations and "sporting groups" who lost no time in engaging in particularly odious forms of misinformation. These led to incidences of violence against Native people over Native fishing rights. Happily, these racist campaigns were countered by respectable organizations which decried the violence and the lack of law enforcement. The Anishinabé responded by soliciting advice and support from the Indigenous nations of the Pacific Northwest and from a number of Indian organizations and engaged in litigation designed to force the restoration of their treaty rights. After decades of conflict, the right of

the treated peoples of the United States to harvest and manage fish and other resources seems closer at hand.

Chapter VIII by Ward Churchill and Winona LaDuke focuses on the issue of control over land and the resources located within and upon it. They apply the concept of internal colonialism to characterize the state of American Indian nations in North America and the horrendous fate suffered by Indian nations in the United States and Canada as a result of their dependent status as economic hostages of the uranium industries. Churchill and LaDuke term this *radioactive colonialism* as it has particularly disastrous consequences for communities caught up in the web of uranium extraction on their lands. The *new colonialism*, as it is called, creates radioactive colonies which must now suffer from the piled up uranium tailings threatening their health and way of life. The fate of the colonies is sown as their natural resources—principally uranium—are extracted from their lands so as to enable the U.S. empire to meet its foreign and domestic energy interests. The essential point is that the physical well being of American Indians is threatened by the mounds of uranium tailings piled on their lands, a condition which gives rise to the charge of genocide. The James Bay project in Quebec similarly endangers the integrity of the Cree people by threatening to destroy their habitat, lifeways and self-sufficiency. The process whereby Indigenous people opt for transient extractive industrialism as a solution to economic problems leads them, according to the authors, along the road to “auto-genocide.” As they write:

Whatever the short-run benefits in terms of diminishing the, by now, all but perpetual cycle of American Indian disease, malnutrition, and despair generated by neocolonialism, the looming longer-term costs vastly outweigh them (1992:255).

Prosperity and self-determination can only be illusory under these conditions because any wealth generated by reference to uranium mining means either that their homeland becomes uninhabitable or the market for uranium bursts stranding many Native miners without transferrable skills and the community with significant clean-up costs. The Laguna are a case in point. The authors' discussion concludes that it is fruitless for Indigenous people to enter into agreements about energy resource extraction. The corporate and governmental representatives of the colonizing and dominant industrial culture are the only true winners; the tribal elites experience limited advantage. The answer, posit the authors, is for communities to resist uranium extraction on their lands.

Chapter IX deals with the erosion of American Indian rights to religious freedom, the assertion coming from two Supreme Court cases. The author Vine Deloria Jr., discusses the two cases—*Lyng v. Northwest Indian*

Cemetery Protective Association (1988)? a case which has aroused much comment in the scholarly journals? and *Employment Division, Department of Human Resources of Oregon v. Smith* (1990). Deloria asserts that the rulings in these two cases have stripped American Indians of the protection provided by the federal courts and the American Constitution on traditional religious practices. As Deloria notes:

Lyng attempts to deal with Indian rights as defined following the passage of the American Indian Religious Freedom resolution, and *Smith* confronts the question of the relationship of religion and state. Thus, while *Lyng* can be cited as precedent in federal Indian law, *Smith* examines much broader questions of constitutional law.

The *Lyng* case provides an opportunity to examine three major paths that federal law has taken in the course of American history: the treaty relationship; the Trust Doctrine; and property ownership of the public domain by the federal government. The author reviews each of these ideas in turn as they have developed historically and currently how the federal government sometimes uses these ideas in combination in the belief that Indians are at their mercy. There follows an extensive review of *Lyng* which shows how the government manipulates these approaches by emphasising one path at the expense of the other to bring about a most favourable solution.

Chapter X, which deals with Leonard Peltier, is one of the most disturbing accounts of false justice that one is likely to read. Adopting a political tone Vander Wall reviews the evidence? especially its fabrication? presented by the F.B.I. to secure the conviction of Leonard Peltier, Anishinabé-Lakota. The details are too numerous and the road much too winding to recount here, but it does repay close study. After reading the article I defy anyone to conclude that justice was served. Significantly, each side uses the Leonard Peltier case as a symbol: the Indigenous people regard him as a symbol of defiance against the loss of their lands and the destruction of their culture; whereas the government sees this case as a demonstration of the need for the repression of some political movements and the periodic disregard of human rights.

Chapter XI is an account of the important contribution women have made in the resistance against genocide and colonization over the years. These women were often at the forefront of the struggles over fishing rights, land rights (from threats of expropriation to corporate interests) thus putting to rest myths of male dominance. Along the way the authors take a swipe at influential writers and moviemakers (including the creators of *Dances with Wolves*) who perpetuate stereotypes of Indian society and women's

roles for political purposes, and thus subvert a true understanding of Indigenous societies and the power women exercised. As the authors note:

The disempowerment of native women corresponded precisely with the extension of colonial domination of each indigenous nation. During the first half of the 20th century, federal authorities developed and perfected the mechanisms of control over Indian land, lives, and resources through such legislation as the General Allotment Act (passed in 1887, but very much ongoing through the 1920s), the 1924 Indian Citizenship Act, and the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934. All of this was done under the premises of the "Trust" and "Plenary Power" doctrines...and all of it was done for profits taken at the direct expense of native people (1992:323).

The point is that Indigenous nations were denied use of and benefits from the residual lands left to them, hence they became dependent upon government subsidies for survival. In the contemporary world the federal government's activities have broken the family apart and fostered cycles of violence and familial disintegration on Reservations (I hesitate to use the word dysfunctional to characterize the state of some families as the word is overused today). What the chapter most painfully conveys is the breakdown of family life caused by systematic impoverishment, and the cycles of family violence which are fostered where substance abuse plays a key part.

Chapter XII deals with state use of American Indians in the military. It is a paradox that the very people who are most repressed by the dominant society end up volunteering to fight in its foreign wars. The author estimates that nearly 10 per cent of all living Native Americans in the U.S. are military veterans. Compared to the general population, nearly three times as many Indians have served in the armed forces as non-Indians during the 20th century (1992:345). The author reviews various reasons that minorities were recruited to fight the United States' wars. As the author makes clear the racist notion of Indians as members of a martial race goes back a long way into early U.S. history. (I remember a professor intimated to the class that the Canadian military recruited Canadian Indians as snipers during the war for just this reason?he scowled as he said it!). The author reports on the other stereotype that Indians experienced during the war?the scout syndrome.

In Korea, my platoon commander *always* sent me out on our reconnaissance patrols. He called me "Chief" like every other Indian, and probably thought that I could see and hear better than the white guys. Maybe he thought I could track down the enemy. I don't know for sure, but I guess he figured that Indians

were warriors by nature (1992:352).

In fact, if history is to be believed the opposite is true. Warfare (if it can be called that) between Native American groups involved very little, if any, significant number of casualties.

Anthropologists have shown that the concept of honour was an element in these ritualized combats more than the death of one's foe. But the author's main point is not to refute those who think that militarism is somehow natural for Native Americans but to show how they have been betrayed by fighting for their colonial masters. It has not brought Second World War veterans the rights which they strove for; rather the Federal Government rewarded them with the policies of termination and relocation. As the author writes:

Each year that has passed since the ends of World War II and the Korean War has led to a greater sense of betrayal by American Indian veterans of those wars. The result was a sort of lost generation of Indians who felt sold out by, and that they had unintentionally sold *themselves* out to, the government they sought to serve. The consequent confusion afflicting this group, placed as it has been in the position of representing Indians while forever seeking to reconcile the unreconcilable in its relationship to the United States, has increasingly beset Native North America through the present day (1992: 362).

The result, the author argues, is a perverse condition in which Native Americans deny the extent of the betrayal by overindulging in exhibitions of patriotism. With the Vietnam war Native Americans became aware of the contradictions in fighting for their oppressors while they were turned into a kind of warrior for which they had no stomach (the infamous body-count as a measure of success). One of the consequences of this involvement in the Vietnam war was that Native Americans began to reconstitute warrior societies during the 1960s and 1970s during the period of *new Indian militancy*. It occurred to the members of several warrior societies that they adopt the notion of *wars of national liberation* (as had the Vietnamese). The American Indian Movement (AIM) was the best known. The Federal Government quickly countered AIM with every available resource, thus devastating its leadership so that by the 1980s it was largely in tatters. As for a prescription for the 90s, the author surmises that it may come from a revitalized AIM or some other movement, but in any case Indians must keep on searching for a model that works.

Chapter XIII sees American Indian education as indoctrination for subordination to colonialism. The system of education foisted on Native Americans from the outset was a means to supplant Indigenous culture,

thus demolishing the internal cohesion of Native societies. This rendered them unable to resist conquest and colonization. In addition, Western schools produced Indigenous elites who served as intermediaries between colonizer and colonized. As Jose Noriega writes:

...education has been the mechanism by which colonialism has sought to render itself effectively permanent, creating the conditions by which the colonized could be made essentially *self*-colonizing, eternally subjugated in psychic and intellectual terms and thus eternally self-subordinating in economic and political terms...(1992:374).

The author adopts Albert Memmi's ideas on the relationship between colonizer and colonized and specifically the effects on the psychological and intellectual situation of the colonized.

The net result has been an inculcation of beliefs among the oppressed that their collective impoverishment results, not from the ravages attending colonial rule, but from innate deficiencies within their *own* characters and cultures. The obvious resolution to this malady?when viewed from this carefully engendered perspective?must lie in an ever closer embrace of the very entity which placed them in such dire straits in the first place (1992:375).

There follows an historical treatment of the development of the tussle between Native North Americans, who want some measure of control over the education of their children, and the federal government which seeks to make them like their White peers, as one Commissioner of Indian Affairs put it. Education has been one of the avenues by which dominant societies try to assimilate minorities. The right to maintain one's own educational institutions is essential to the maintenance of any culture.

Chapter XIV discusses the phenomena of *whiteshamanism* which refers to what Geary Hobson, a Cherokee critic, defines as:

the apparently growing number of small-press poets of generally [W]hite, Euro-Christian American background, who in their poems assume the persona of the shaman, usually in the guise of an American Indian medicine man. To be a poet is simply not enough; they must claim a power from "higher sources" (1992:403).

Not all *whiteshamans* are American, poets or even White, witness the popularity of Carlos Castaneda whose writings on the Yaqui sorcerer "Don Juan" purport to report his innermost secrets. What is instructive here is the process of *cultural imperialism* (Hobson's felicitous expression) whereby outsiders become the resident experts on Indigenous culture eclipsing

even the words and thoughts of genuine members of the Indigenous cultures. The author of the article, Wendy Rose, herself a Native American poet and anthropologist, relates how on numerous occasions she attempted to correct the false notions of the experts on a given culture only to be ignored because her views did not coincide with their expert views. For example:

A basket specialist assured me that basket-hats are no longer worn by California Indian women. Yet, nearly every weekend such women attended the same social function as I, wearing basket-hats that had been passed down through their families and, more importantly, were still being made (1992:406).

The many examples of these kind of experiences reveal a pattern of usurpation by Euro-Americans of American Indian reality and culture. What then are the implications of this phenomena? As Wendy Rose observes about the place of Indigenous knowledge in the realm of universal knowledge:

Always and everywhere, the inclusion of non-European intellectual content in the academy is absolutely predicated upon its conformity to sets of "standards" conceived and administered by those adhering to the basic precepts of Euro-derivation (1992:407).

Agents are socialized in centres of higher learning to carry out the teaching of the universality of Euro-derivation which forms the basis for interpreting non-European societies. The purpose is "to occupy and consume other cultures just as surely as their land and resources have been occupied and consumed" (1992:407). The question then becomes who owns the cultural knowledge appropriated by outsiders in the name of science? Does the discipline of anthropology own Native American literature in the academy? Apparently English departments don't recognize Native American literature as part of English literature. The author notes that an English department granted a degree to a non-Indian on the basis of a dissertation on "Native American Literature," though the authors discussed in the thesis were all *whiteshamans*. Native American literature warrants a separate section in many bookstores, so the reasoning goes, because it will not be bought by the public unless it is classified under "Indian." The author points out that *all* literature is ethnic in a sense, and pigeonholing American Indian literature tends to imbue it with a stigma as quaint or different. The contradiction surfaces when a Pulitzer Prize is awarded to an Indian author and then the assertion is made that the author is not really an "Indian" and that anyway, the literature now falls suddenly within the mainstream of American letters. The question is also raised of

exactly who is a genuine Indian? The answer is very often the *whiteshamans* who write copiously on Indian subject matters, but are not themselves of Indian descent. The phenomena of *whiteshamanism* is really part of a larger issue, not only that of the colonization of American Indian literature (discussed above) but the notion of the linkage of art and freedom. As the author writes:

I have found that much of the controversy over *whiteshamanism* involves fundamental, cherished concepts held by Europeans and Euroamericans involving art, freedom and what it means to be an artist. These ideas do not, as is often claimed by their advocates deviate from much less transcend the more directly and overtly imperialist manifestations discussed above. To the contrary, they dovetail quite nicely with the rest of Pioneer Spirit (1992:410).

There follows a most illuminating discussion on the link between *whiteshamanism*, art and freedom from the perspective of the author, who is Native American, a poet and an anthropologist. The phenomenon of *whiteshamanism* responds to a need in the dominant society for spiritual regeneration through the incorporation of Native American values in answer to the spiritual barrenness they now experience.

Chapter XV continues the discussion on art, literature and American Indians on visibility, that is, the ramifications of the “presence of the absence/absented Indian body” in American discourse. The author relates a few anecdotes about the visibility of American Indians in U.S. society (similar to those told by Wendy Rose in Chapter XIV). The other theme running through this article is the notion that:

the [I]ndigenous people of the Americas are colonized and that the colonization is not simply the language of some political rhetoric from past decades. Europe may be passing through a post-colonial time, but we in the Americas still live in a colonial period. Our countries were invaded, genocide was and is committed against us, and our land and lives are taken over for the profit of the colonizer (1992:425).

In contrast to the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America who have legitimate political struggles within the context of human rights, the American Indians are not seen as Americans. They are seen anthropologically as “Amerinds” or American Indians with the consequence that they are:

...effectively removed from the arena of political discourse in exactly the same way we are removed from artistic, literary, and cinematic discourse. Instead of fundamental human rights, we have more specialized and esoteric “Rights of Indigenous

Populations" (1992:429).

The main point the author makes is that America tends to create myths about the American Indians, assimilate knowledge about them and then move on to other things. Because after all the public are consumers; it is the American way.

The Epilogue, by John Mohawk, takes its jumping-off point by citing an observation by Ruth Benedict in her book *Race, Science and Politics* (1945). In it she asserted that ethnocentrism is a key component of all societies who claim that they are somehow the "chosen ones." He calls for a reevaluation of thinking by overthrowing old conceptions about who Native Americans are and embracing the idea that differences between people actually exist. The best resource humans have for this is human compassion which could help us "to make best use of the human family." The provocation for this comes from the fact that we can now talk to Indians in South America at conferences to find out what they think about the world we and they live in. John Mohawk delivers an impassioned plea for adopting a rational course in designing the human family and thus finally burying the legacy of Columbus.

This collection of essays exploring the themes of genocide, colonization and resistance is an angry book whose tone is intentionally polemical, yet packed with insight into the many issues confronting Native North Americans. In fact, from their perspective these articles analyze how the dominant society has had an effect on every facet of the lives of Native North Americans much to the detriment of their cultures. The perspectives offered by these articles are significant counterweights to mainstream accounts of Native history. This book is inspiring and is guaranteed to expand one's awareness and understanding, from an entirely new perspective, of many of the issues confronting Native North Americans. I believe that some of the essays in this volume have appeared elsewhere, but collecting them in one book has the effect of delivering a particularly poignant portrait of the plight of Native North Americans in contemporary North America.

Polemical will continue over whether mainstream historians and others can accept that terms such as genocide, colonization, racism and resistance are accurate terms to describe the experience of Native North Americans from contact to the present. A case in point is found in the *New York Review of Books* (Vol. XL, No.17), which recorded a recent exchange of views between a noted European historian and an American academic. The topic was the applicability of the terms genocide and holocaust to cover the condition in the Americas of mass death by forced labour or introduced diseases. The European historian rejected the use of 20th century terms

to talk about past events, such as the phenomena of the Aztec's sacrifice of 15 or 20 thousand Indians, on the grounds that such occurrences are not suitably covered by those terms. The debate continues. Surely, however, we are able to extend those terms to describe past events, if only to enable our modern sensibilities to acknowledge that such things also took place then, and that the destruction of Native societies in the Americas following contact still remains a monumental tragedy. A recent issue of *The New Yorker*, dated November 15, 1993, contains an article on the Holocaust which discusses the disintegration of the physical structure of the Auschwitz death camp and the relics it holds. The problem now faced by historians and survivors is how to preserve the memory of the Holocaust. Will it fade into memory so that a hundred years from now it will be impossible to prove that the event actually happened, as the revisionists of today would have it? Similarly, how will Native Americans remember what happened in their collective and tribal pasts? How will they know the import which those cataclysmic events held for what continues to happen to them today, as the articles in this book make abundantly clear? The thrust of these articles is that a kind of revisionism has been hard at work minimizing, diminishing and attenuating the bitter experiences of Native societies as internal colonies; Native Americans, however, continue to resist attempts to make them become invisible.

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Maracle, Lee: *Sojourner's Truth and Other Stories*. Vancouver, Press Gang, 1990. 143 pages. ISBN 0-88947-023-2.

Maracle, Lee: *Ravensong*. Vancouver, Press Gang, 1993. 199 pages. ISBN 0-88947-044-5.

The steady literary production of Lee Maracle is rapidly making her the most prolific Native writer in Canada today. Her writing career began slowly with *Bobbi Lee: Indian Rebel* (1975) which was revised and reissued in 1990 following the success of *I Am Woman* (1988). This was followed by *Sojourner's Truth* (1990) and her novels, *Sundogs* (1992) and *Ravensong* (1993).

That Maracle is fascinated by Sojourner Truth, the Black slave woman who lived a hundred years ago is evident. The title *I Am Woman* is derived from Sojourner's indignant question, "Ain't I a woman?" and this remarkable woman surfaces again in the title of the short story collection. The story "Sojourner's Truth" is both the longest and most complex story in the book.

Maracle's short stories are brutally frank, disturbing and hauntingly beautiful but they can also be unpredictable and funny. Not all the selections in the book can be correctly called "stories". There also are, for example, an autobiographical essay called "Lee on Spiritual Experience" and a thoughtful discussion on the difficulty of cross-cultural communication called "Yin Chin". The stories range from simple tales of peoples' tortured lives ("Bertha", "Charlie" and "Maggie") to carefully crafted stories with layers of meaning to which a reader can return time and time again.

Maracle draws upon Native oratory and European story techniques for inspiration. She attempts to combine the Native sense of metaphor with traditional European metaphor and story form. She explains, "Each story is layered with unresolved dilemmas; each story will require the engaged imagination of the reader." (Preface)

There is a definite anti-European bias in both of these books. When it is healthy anger at past injustices, outrage at current conditions or just plain confusion about the different ways in which White people think and act, it serves Maracle well. When it assumes patronizing overtones as when she generalizes and states that European readers/listeners are disturbed unless a story is framed in "orthodox European story style" (Preface) she does herself a disservice. Maracle is a powerful writer with important messages for everyone but she needs to be more discerning about who her friends and who her enemies are. The recurring theme of the difficulty of communication and trust between people from different cultures permeates both books.

In Ravensong, Maracle displays a mature writing style and a superb

storytelling ability. It is a profound sociological novel set in a West Coast village in the 1950s. It tells of the lives of the villagers as a 'flu epidemic devastates their community once again, while doctors in the nearby White village stand idly by because it is not their area of jurisdiction. Finally, the Aboriginal people steal the intravenous equipment from the hospital they need to save lives but the death toll is still great.

But the novel does much more than simply tell a story. The anti-White bias which is used as a literary device sheds unusual light upon what it is to be a dominated minority. This makes the book a valuable contribution to the body of Canadian literature which has long turned a blind eye to the "others" in "our" society. Through the thoughts of Stacey, the protagonist, Maracle expresses Native prejudice and misconceptions about White people. Just as the non-Native reader wishes to protest, she drives home her point with such vigour that no words of protest can be voiced. It does not occur to Steve, the son of a doctor, that his attraction to Stacey can never be reciprocal because of his father's inaction during the epidemic. When Stacey has to drive the point home in order to discourage his advances, Steve finally does suffer shame - but it is shame long overdue and the reader fears it is shallow. Like Stacey, the reader has no regret at watching his receding back as he crosses over the bridge to be with his kind where he need never deal with the realities of the situation. We are left with no hope that Steve will bring about any change.

Though most of the interactions between White people and the Native community are anything but funny, the irony is delightful as the reader is privy to the Native people's thoughts about their White neighbours. Many members of mainstream society have never considered the fact that Aboriginal people even have thoughts about them, let alone what these thoughts might be!

There are few pressing social issues that Maracle does not allow to surface in this book: death, suicide, wife abuse, sexual abuse, sexuality, organized religion, segregation, parochialism, enfranchisement, the effects of historical education practices and contemporary conditions which smother identity, poverty, unbalanced power relations and racism. Government is never mentioned in this book - at best there is a vague reference to "them" as when Stacey's son asks at the end of the book, "Why did anyone pay attention to them?" (p. 198). Maracle makes it quite clear that there is no one culprit. There is no one institution which can be blamed. There is little hope of redress or wrongs when there is only a faceless, voiceless "them" to blame.

Maracle does not gloss over issues whether it is the callousness and ethnocentrism of the White community or the callousness and ethnocentrism of the Native community. She does not pass judgements or say one

way of life is better or worse than another. She simply says to the readers that this is how it is to belong to a suppressed minority. The seventeen year old Stacey recognizes that she must combine the strengths of both worlds in order to survive.

Maracle combines traditional Native literature themes in the form of Raven and Cedar with contemporary events. Stacey's sister Celia is tuned in to their voices and sees historical events clearly. However, Stacey, in her quest for an education, turns a deaf ear to these spiritual helpers. Raven fights for the soul of Stacey who sees a successful future only in abandoning the past.

When she decides to further her education at UBC she believes it is because she wants to become a teacher in her own village. Raven knows better, and through the words of her Gramma, Stacey comes to understand her mission: "We will never escape sickness until we learn how it is we are to live with these people. We will always die until the mystery of their being is altered." (p. 192)

Stacey did get an education but the community was not allowed to open a school and the village would not hire a Native teacher. Stacey understands that she was ahead of the times. She was not destined to make major changes because in the 1950s there were not enough White people who understood or shared Steve's shame.

From the viewpoint of the 1990s the book leaves the non-Native reader with mixed emotions. Great changes have taken place in attitudes toward Aboriginals and unprecedented strides have been made toward self-determination. Can we call this progress? Surely the shame must continue until all inequities have been fully addressed. Recent changes, promising as they are, have not restored Aboriginal people's right to self-determination, and racism is hardly being addressed at all in Canada today.

Stacey's son could not fully understand the story his mother and aunt told him about the book: history of the village and of the epidemic of the 1950s. He felt he had turned some wheels in the women's minds that he could not comprehend. He was sure of one thing, however: that the "story was not over" (p. 199). The reader agrees with him and hopes that the next story will be happier.

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McClintock, Walter: *The Old North Trail. Life, Legends and Religion of the Blackfoot Indians*. Lincoln: Bison Books, University of Nebraska Press, 1992, xii + 539 pp., ISBN 0-8032-8188-9, Paper, U.S. \$14.95. (Reprint of 1910 volume.)

At the turn of the century, the Native people of the Plains had been on their Reserves for less than thirty years. As they adjusted to a new way of life, Euro-Canadians and Euro-Americans began settling their homeland. With these newcomers came a number of men who set about recording what they believed to be a dying culture. Some, such as Clark Wissler of the American Museum of Natural History, compiled a number of anthropological descriptions of social structure, material culture and ceremonies. Others, such as Walter McClintock, chose a narrative format as the vehicle for portraying the life of the First Nations.

McClintock arrived in Montana in 1896 as a member of a United States Forestry Commission. There he met and worked with Siksikakaon, an Indian scout who had fought in the Indian Wars of the 1870s. When the Commission returned east, McClintock remained behind and was introduced to the Blackfoot people and their culture by Siksikakaon. They travelled from Montana to southern Alberta and met with such notables as Mad Wolf, Spotted Eagle and Brings Down the Sun. The thirty-four chapters of *The Old North Trail* present a compelling description of the eastern slopes of the Rocky Mountains, biographical sketches of ceremonialists, and insights into Blackfoot religion and worldview.

In the Preface, McClintock outlines his reason for writing this book: " I saw that the younger generation was indifferent to their tribal customs, traditions and religion. I also observed that they had no written language, and it seemed inevitable that, with the passing of the old chiefs and medicine men, their ancient religion and folk-lore would fall into oblivion." (p. xi) . This fit well within the Boasian anthropological paradigm which set itself the task of recording the "vanishing" cultures of the First Nations of North America. However, unlike the anthropologists, McClintock was interested neither in cross-cultural comparisons of various aspects of Plains culture, nor in a structured, scientific description of Blackfoot culture. Rather, he chose a narrative form "in the belief that this method would furnish a more faithful portraiture of the environment, family life and personal character of this tribe of Indians, and would enable the reader to form a better conception of their religion, tribal customs and social organization ... " (p. xi-xii) . This choice does seem particularly well-suited to a culture wherein the arts of oratory and story-telling was and is so very important.

McClintock is a superb story-teller. His narrative weaves tales of

hunting and surviving winter storms among descriptions of holy ceremonies as they took place with him as a full participant. In this way, the importance of those ceremonies to everyday life is manifest. When discussing the ceremonies, McClintock draws out the reactions and interactions of all who participated. Having attended many similar ceremonies., I was struck by the clarity of McClintock's writing. He manages not only to provide an accurate record, but also relates the appropriate tenor (a mixture of seriousness, humour and compassion) of the participants. One can read Wissler's descriptions and have a prescription for a particular ceremony without ever understanding what might be going on. The narrative form of *The Old North Trail* provides the required atmosphere from which some understanding may follow.

The Old North Trail has been republished several times since it first appeared in 1910. This University of Nebraska Press edition has clearer photographs than some of the other volumes and has an Introduction by Sidner J. Larson. It also includes the Preface by McClintock, which had been omitted from the University of Nebraska's 1968 edition. Larson's major contribution is to emphasize that McClintock was restricted by Euro-American traditions of narrative. Thus, Larson argues, McClintock does not entirely succeed in translating the Native voice for a non-Native audience, and many stories are conveyed as "sepia-romantic" tragedies (p. x). This an important caution to bear in mind when reading writers such as McClintock, who may have over-emphasized the romance and nostalgia of the fading west.

The most significant judgement of a book such as *The Old North Trail* comes, inevitably, from the people of whom he wrote - the Peigan, Blood, Siksika and Blackfeet. The book is held in esteem by many of these people. This stems, in part, from the portrayal of leaders such as Brings Down the Sun and Mad Wolf. But McClintock's descriptions of ceremonies are also referred to and he is regarded as someone who came close to "getting it right." This is significant praise, considering the ephemerality of a ceremony and the importance of that intangibility. At a time when ethnographers are rediscovering the vitality of the narrative form, McClintock's *The Old North Trail* offers a valuable example of the art.

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D'Arcy McNickle, *Native American Tribalism: Indian Survivals and Renewals*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1993, xxvi + 182 pp., ISBN: 0-19-508422-5, Paper, CDN \$15.50. (Reprint of 1973 volume with new introduction.)

Originally published in 1973, *Native American Tribalism: Indian Survivals and Renewals* has been reprinted with a new introduction by Peter Iverson. The author, William D'Arcy McNickle, a member of the Flathead Tribe of northern Montana, was born in 1904 and died in 1977. His name lives on at the D'Arcy McNickle Center for the History of the American Indian at the Newberry Library in Chicago. Through its fellowship programs, its conferences and workshops, and its own publications, the Center has had a notable and beneficial impact on the writing and teaching of Native American history. The central theme of *Native American Tribalism* is that despite all that North American Indians have endured at the hands of non-aboriginals--the wars, the diseases, the attempts at forced assimilation--Indians have not "vanished". They have survived. Each decennial census since 1930 has shown that the rate of growth of the Indian population in both the United States and Canada has exceeded the rate of growth of the general population. However, McNickle measures survival not only in terms of numbers, but also in terms of culture. He writes that "while scholars dispute among themselves over the question of cultural survival, the people who are the subjects of the dispute continue to think of themselves as Indians, to act like Indians, and perhaps to puzzle over why their existence should cause so much confusion."

Although McNickle's thesis seems less innovative and fresh than it did twenty years ago, the book holds up well as a survey of the Indian experience in the United States and Canada from the time of first contact with Europeans to the present day. He begins with an analysis of the policies of Spain and Britain with respect to the aboriginal people of the New World. While the Spanish Laws of the Indies, proclaimed in 1542, and the British Royal Proclamation of 1763, were enlightened statements of Indian rights, neither European power defended those rights in actual practice. The acquisitive drive of settlers and developers overpowered humanitarian principles. After the American Revolution, the Continental Congress in 1787 adopted an ordinance guaranteeing that "the utmost good faith shall always be observed toward the Indians, their lands and property shall never be taken from them without their consent..." This declaration was followed by Justice John Marshall's Supreme Court rulings in the 1830s affirming Indian rights of self-government and describing tribes as "domestic dependent nations". Once again, however, words were one thing, and actions quite another. As settlers pressed westward, Indians

were rounded up and forcibly removed from the east to the west side of the Mississippi River. Some of the tribes had hardly settled down in Kansas, Iowa and Nebraska when they were told they could not stay. After 1871 the United States government refused to enter into any more treaties, henceforth legislating, rather than negotiating, Indian matters. Then in 1887 Congress adopted the General Allotment Act or the Dawes Act, which provided for the division of tribal lands into individual allotments with the "surplus" made available to white occupiers. The result was the transfer of some 90 million acres from Indian to white owners in the next 45 years.

One of the interesting features of McNickle's study is that in each instance of United States government aggression against Indians, he quotes white politicians who condemned the government's actions. For example, in the debates on the Act to remove Indians from the territory east of the Mississippi, Senator Frelinghuysen of New Jersey ended a two-day speech with the question, "Is it one of the prerogatives of the white man, that he may disregard the dictates of moral principles, where an Indian shall be concerned?" When the Dawes Act was being discussed, a minority report of the House Committee on Indian Affairs protested: "If this were done in the name of greed, it would be bad enough; but to do it in the name of humanity, and under the cloak of an ardent desire to promote the Indian's welfare by making him like ourselves, whether he will or not, is infinitely worse." By bringing forward evidence of this kind, McNickle makes it clear that the past actions of the United States government cannot be excused by asserting that the moral standards of the nineteenth century were different from what they are now. The policy makers and decision makers of past centuries were exposed to the same moral arguments and were aware of the same principles that have currency today. They simply chose not to follow them.

In the latter part of the book, McNickle reviews twentieth century developments. He applauds Roosevelt's Indian New Deal and praises the efforts of Indian Affairs Commissioner John Collier to strengthen tribal communities. At last there was a government-sanctioned alternative to assimilation. Indian people were allowed to live within the dominant society without being obliterated by it. After the war, however, the New Deal came under attack, and the "Termination" policy was introduced. Congress declared in 1953 that "at the earliest possible time" Indians should be freed from federal supervision and control and that treaties should be abrogated. Indians fought back, revealing the depth of their commitment to their own sense of identity. McNickle chaired the steering committee of a conference held in the summer of 1961 at the University of Chicago that attracted 500 Indians from all parts of the United States and observers from Mexico and Canada. It was a major consciousness-raising event leading to affirmations

of Red Power and the renaissance of the Indian political movement. The author discusses various initiatives under the Lyndon Johnson administration including Head Start, VISTA, and the Indian Community Action Programs. Unfortunately, he fails to mention that north of the border at the same time similar developments were occurring as the Department of Indian Affairs experimented with community development programs, government funds began to flow to Indian-controlled organizations, and Indians lobbied for the appointment of a Claims Commission.

McNickle sees a parallel between the stimuli given to Indian leadership and seer-determination by the 1969 White Paper in Canada and the termination policy in the United States. He is undoubtedly correct about this, but in other respects his discussion of Canadian issues has fallen out of date. He states that the ruling judicial opinion (*Campbell v. Hall*, 1774) holds that "Indian nations" in Canada lost their independent status and became subjects of the king, and the Indian Act of Canada is based on this assumption of plenary power. The recent discussions of aboriginal rights have gone far beyond this point, and a consensus has emerged supporting the principle of aboriginal self-government. Another of McNickle's comments about Canada is factually wrong. After describing the diminution of Indian territory in the United States on account of the Dawes Act, he writes that "in Canada, it could be said that there was less official hypocrisy. The Indians, once placed on their reserves, were not subjected to schemes for further reduction of their holdings." Stuart Raby, Sarah Carter and others have demonstrated that Indian bands on the Canadian prairies were coerced by government authorities into surrendering hundreds of thousands of acres of their reserve land.

Despite such shortcomings, McNickle's book has stood the test of time and continues to be a thorough and concise survey of native American history on both sides of the 49th parallel. Its theme of Indian survival in the face of oppression and hardship is an eloquent one, made even more so by the restrained, dignified prose in which it is expressed.

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Solomon, Arthur: *Songs for the People: Teachings on the Natural Way, Poems and Essays of Arthur Solomon, A Nishnawbe Spiritual Teacher*, Michael Posluns, Editor. Toronto: NC Press Ltd., 1990, 191 pp. Paper, ISBN 1-55021-058-0.

There are two roads. Choose one.

- Art Solomon

It was through *Songs for the People* that I first became aware of the work of Art Solomon. An Ojibway elder, he was given his honour-name *Ke She Ya Na Kwan*, (*Flying Cloud*), by the Kasabonika Cree. For years Solomon travelled extensively on behalf of northern Ontario Native craftspeople, many living on Reserves reachable only by pontoon plane. His efforts involved, among other things, opposing the importation of "machine made junk" (p.52), souvenirs debasing to the artistry of Native craftsmanship. In 1964 Solomon travelled to New York to help found the World Craft Council. A few years later he became disillusioned by Indian Affairs' half-hearted support for his and others' efforts to help Native craftspeople to expand production of and receive fair returns for their work.

Fittingly, my introduction to *Songs for the People* came via a Native artist, an ex-drinker who, during the summer of 1991, at a meeting of our local Coalition to Help Save James Bay, read us part of Solomon's poem which concludes

being an Indian is not only a matter of birth, It is also a State of Mind. (p.33)

The present reviewer is no literary critic, but rather a woman, a mother, a teacher/researcher of Native history, and a resident of Kingston, the prison capital of Canada. Here, suicide and attempted suicide by Native prisoners in the notorious 'P4W' Prison for Women are common occurrences:

The wheels of "Justice" ...
It seems like they grind
Forever And what they grind
Is Human Beings. (p.126)

The approach taken here is thus quite different from that of reviewers such as Moses (1991) or McGrath (1990).

Born in 1913, Solomon was, like most of his generation, a victim of residential schooling. He began his working life very young, first as a road-builder, later working as, among other things, a carpenter and a miner. For nearly 60 years his life-partner has been Eva Pelletier-Solomon, a beautiful woman with whom he has a family of ten children. Although for years in far

from good health, he jokes that he's "too young and good lookin'" to die yet. The first time I met him, he was reading African-American writer Alice Walker's *Possessing the Secret of Joy*. Asked whether he was enjoying it, he replied he didn't know yet, he'd only just bought it because he liked the title! But peoples' needs and the nature of the era in which we are living, when "only the Creator knows how much time we have left" (p.26), weigh very heavily on him. Raised as a Christian, in mid-life Art found his way onto the path of Mede'wiwin traditional Anishnawbe spirituality (Benton-Benai, 1979):

... only by returning to the sacred ceremonies that were given to us by the Creator can we again find the meaning and purpose for our lives. (p.113)

Thus it was as a "born-again pagan" that in 1987 he received an honorary doctoral degree in Divinity from the Theological College of Queen's University. He also holds an honorary degree in Civil Law from Laurentian University, Sudbury.

Like its author, *Songs for the people* can be viewed from many angles. This can be seen in the fact that, thanks to over-rigorous adherence to the principles of the United States Library of Congress classification system, libraries shelve *Songs for the People* beside other works of American Literature rather than with other works relating to Native spirituality and Native struggles. The book contains eight sections - 'The Singer and the Songs', 'The Singer', 'In a Weary Land', 'War Songs', 'Songs of Hope.', 'Stone Walls and Prison Bars', 'A Song of Association', and 'Into All the World'. Each begins with an introduction by editor Michael Posluns, putting Solomon's essays and poems into the context of a life of struggle. Many of the poems are actually prayers in which he usually addresses the Great Spirit as 'Grandfather'.

One previous reviewer, Six Nations playwright Daniel David Moses, has written that although *Songs for the People* succeeds in documenting "a life full of economic, political, and spiritual activism on behalf of Native people" (Moses, 1991:47-48), editor Posluns fails to provide us with enough of the human context. If this is so, it is likely due to Solomon's own reticence. Not long ago, asked whether he would be willing to work with a labour historian to record his memories of the years when he was active in the Communist-led Mine, Mill & Smelter Workers' Union, Solomon replied that he couldn't spend any of what he elsewhere described as the remaining "five minutes to midnight" (p.68) on what he seemed to feel were matters of purely academic interest.

Moses also complained in his review that *Songs for the People* "gives us too much of the spiritual teacher ranting against the Great Evil One that

rules mainstream society ..." Moses fails to take account, however, of the fact that in addition to being a teacher and a counsellor, Solomon is also a Warrior - *for* creatures living on mother earth, *against* the workings of what has quite appropriately been termed 'the genocide machine'.

If we chose to be on the side of that great Positive Power
We have no choice but to set our hearts and minds
Against the destruction around us. (p.67)

In the 1970s Art wrote about the American Indian Movement in which he was then active: "A.I.M. is Native people who see that there are only two roads to walk on this world, one is the road of peace and harmony with the universe of *life*, one is the road of power and greed, *materialism*, and *death*" (p.61). Although he *is* angry, at no time does one feel that Solomon is more interested in bringing about the embarrassment of the oppressor than in helping the lost recover their human dignity. He quotes Paulo Freire to the effect that, in liberating themselves, the oppressed also liberate their oppressor.

A considerably more negative reviewer was J. McGrath, who declared *Songs for the People* "Of possible interest only in senior collections concerned with studies in Comparative Religions and with Political Science courses relating to Canada's First Nations" (1990:235) McGrath's ignorance of an important part of the book's background is suggested by his confusing P4W with the maximum security facility for men, Kingston Pen. Recognizing that "Some of Solomon's strongest feelings are expressed on behalf of ... Native women [prisoners]", McGrath opined that "many people will find his views on the power and potential of women offensive and ill-formulated". Who? Certainly not Native women.¹ McGrath fails to appreciate that the affirmation of "women people" at the heart of Solomon's message is also firmly within Native traditions. He sees women's potential sexuality, spirituality, intellectualism, morality, and "many undefinable things more besides"(p.82). Exerting the 'power for good' which is the opposite of domination, women-people have "four times the power of men". Not only must women 'pick up their medicine to heal this sick and troubled world', but, having won the lonely spiritual struggle to value herself, "woman *is* the medicine".² Although Art's conviction that women need affirmation has led him to be rather tolerant of some New Age trends, this does not include the "spiritual hucksterism" of 'plastic medicinemen' and their non-Native counterparts effectively critiqued by, among others, Ward Churchill (1990).

The prophetic traditions of many First Nations have urged Native people to keep to their spiritual beliefs in the expectation that, as the diabolical machine which we call the world economy rolls the planet toward spiritual and physical destruction, some members of the dominant society will awaken and seek out Native guidance. This reviewer is convinced that

Art Solomon's vision has healing power for anyone sickened by the greed, waste, racism, and indifference to injustice which surround us. One need not be an 'Indian' to walk on 'the good red road'.

All my relations.

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NOTES

1. Recently, Mishomis (grandfather) Art was an honoured guest at a Native Healing and Wellness Gathering for Women sponsored by the Ontario Native Women's Association (Kingston, November 5-7, 1993).
2. Solomon (1990): "...we have learned patriarchy so well, and we are all hurting and out of balance because of it".

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Tobin, Margaret and Christopher Walmsley, coeditors: *Nonhem Perspectives: Practice and Education in Social Work*. Winnipeg: Manitoba Association of Social Workers and The University of Manitoba Faculty of Social Work, 1992, viii + 96 pp. ISBN 0-9696087, Paper, \$ 1 0.00.

As a resident and educator in a northerly situated college that offers a Social Services Workers Diploma geared towards a somewhat older, rural-based and often Native teamer population, I found Tobin and Walmsley's collection of social work faculty and student essays and stories sufficiently inspiring to recommend to all my students, not just those in social work. Though I teach anthropology and sociology, and not social work, I am nevertheless sympathetic towards the challenges faced by my students and colleagues in their mission to empower the disadvantaged. Their struggle often begins with the decision to come back to college to obtain the diploma (or to come to northeastern British Columbia to teach in a small town in an even smaller college!). That decision is often their first step in empowering themselves. Empowering oneself and others is the substance of social work practice, and is best achieved in the certain knowledge of shared experiences.

The value of the essays in this book therefore lies in what they communicate about the personal lives and choices of students and staff involved in Teaming/working relationships ("My First Year"), the experiences of violence, racism and poverty in nonhem communities ("Twice Betrayed"; "Bingo and Marriage"), and, most importantly, the distinctive realities of obtaining an education and working in a northern setting ("Compassionate Colonialism"). My students (and others, of course) will benefit from reading these essays because their own unique experiences can be validated. Life in Thompson, Manitoba, (pop. 18,000), 750 kilometers north of Winnipeg and where Tobin, Walmsley and the other contributors teach, write and live, is likely as interesting and challenging as life in Dawson Creek (pop. 11,000), Mile "O" on the Alaska Highway.

The three main sections of the book deal with northern social work practice, northern social work education and northern life, respectively. The point of publishing the essays under one cover, as stated by the coeditors, is to finally do something about the general lack of available literature on northern social work and social issues. The *north* is perceived as a sufficiently distinct place that demands separate consideration with respect to training and doing social work. Life in the north, for example, generally "means a lack of autonomy, the absence of freedom, and the subjugation to external control" that unfortunately promotes both personal as well as bureaucratic dependency (p. 1). The essays articulate struggles for self-determination in the process of dealing with formidable academic, cultural,

social and geographic barriers to creating a recognized and viable rural/remote social work program. Nonhem areas are as unique in their isolation, environmental stresses, lack of services and conservatism as they are in their possession of great beauty, natural helping networks, and sense of community and tradition. A northern social work program practice developed and administered in the south cannot but miss the mark.

So great are the perceived and experienced differences between the demands of rural/remote social work and a southern-derived curriculum that one contributor described the University of Manitoba's Thompson B.S.W program (established in 1983) as a "branch plant," "another apparatus of colonial power," and as "reproducing the residential school" (pp. 73, 75). Attempts to develop specialized Native and northern social work course electives and culturally-relevant and sensitive evaluation standards are continually thwarted and discouraged by southern administrators and planners. This state of affairs prompted the same writer to propose the idea of "an alternative social work," defined as a culturally-based practice not dictated by the south, but one that is founded on "joint membership in a community," "cooperative discovery" and active participation (p. 82) between northern workers and their clients.

Readers of these essays thus not only share in the anger, sadness and even the humor of personal reflections of these northern parents, workers and students, but also in the open challenges by staff and teachers to such cherished, familiar and traditional social work practices as worker-client objectivity, strict client accountability and external "professional" therapeutic interventions. Yet, readers should take note that however well-founded the criticisms of the Thompson B.S.W program might be from the perspective of those involved in the program, they may not be applicable to northern social work programs in general. Nevertheless, the book represents a call for a new style of critical (humanistic) social work, one that I think my students, and others, should respond to.

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Jean-Paul Vinay, *Carnet de Notes Montagnais-Naskapi, 1947-1992*, Sidney (B.C.): Les Editions Laplante-Agnew, 1992; 219 pp., index. ISBN 0-9692504-3-6

This odd book is the product of the person who can be rightfully called the dean of linguistics in Quebec (he is the founder of the Department of Linguistics at the Université de Montréal), and certainly one of the foremost linguistic students of Amerindian languages of his time. I say 'odd' because the book is almost literally what the title says: pages 75 to 177 are photoreproductions of the author's *carnets*, his previously unpublished field notebooks from 1947 and 1948, including his sometimes indecipherable hand-written transliterations of his informants' Montagnais-Naskapi translations of words and expressions -- in a few cases, the ink from the original recto page leaked through, thus causing a bit of confusion on the front page. Vinay used the *Questionnaire Linguistique* developed by Marcel Cohen in the 1930s (it is reproduced between pages 75 to 80), which was largely based on the French colonial experience in Africa; for example, no. 81 asks "*animal de transport principal: mulet, ou cheval ou chameau, etc.*" Vinay obviously crossed out the rest and left '*animal*'. All in all, there are about 600 words and expressions in the questionnaire (including Vinay's additions, which take account of Montagnais-Naskapi reality); about 10 percent are blank because they are inappropriate ("*charrue*", "*chèvre*") or because his two main priest-educated informants declined to answer ("*verge*", "*testicules*", "*vulve*").

There is very little one can say to criticize or evaluate Vinay, and it is useless to point out the several errors and omissions that dot Vinay's text (though not the notebook pages since they are photographically reproduced). The material could only interest a specialist in the field, someone who might be interested in examining linguistic change nearly fifty years on, though there are problems here too: Vinay provides an index of about 700 French words, but unfortunately only gives as a reference the questionnaire number where the Montagnais-Naskapi equivalents are found. As I mentioned above, quite a few -- perhaps 10 percent -- are illegible, and no printed transcriptions in IPA are provided. This means that only a person who knows what to look for -- a Montagnais-Naskapi speaker -- can decipher these entries.

The other sections of the book are Vinay's brief descriptions of the difficult journeys to the Montagnais-Naskapi homeland, while only pages 39-52 provide any phonological analysis of the material. Again, the analysis is competent and was ground-breaking in the late 140s, but today would not serve as much of a guide to a student of the language. Pages 179 to 204 are the text of a conference on life at Mistassini, but written in a popular

style for a non-specialist audience., so there is not a lot of material that can be considered evidence if one was interested in a comparative or ethno-historical study. There is a short (three pages) bibliography and twelve pages of photographs and line drawings of people and things like tents, stretched furs, etc.

All in all, this seems to be a book of odds and ends left over after a distinguished career, and while it might have been defensible to publish the notebooks as a data base, the lack of IPA transcriptions and the illegibility of many entries limit the usefulness of this book. In brief, this is a publication that can only interest specialists in Montagnais-Naskapi, and only then those who can decipher the hand-written material.

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Weibel-Orlando, Joan *1991 Indian Country, L.A.*, Urbana and Chicago, University of Illinois Press, pp. 354, \$34.95.

This book is a meticulous and authoritative study of how American Indians maintain an ethnic community in a large urban complex. The author has undertaken a longitudinal ethnography focusing on the "synergistic, dynamic, and symbiotic nature of relationships between individuals and their community" (p. 7). Part one of the book presents an historical, demographic and cultural profile of the Los Angeles Indian community. The author examines the concept of community in part two both from a personal level embodying her experience in the field as well as the various theoretical definitions that have been offered. A description and analysis of the various Indian institutions (well in excess of two hundred) which emerged and some of which went out of existence over the two decades is the focus of part three. Section four presents an exceptionally rich discussion of three regularly occurring Indian community events or what the author refers to as "social arenas" where community is embodied in collective action. The last major section describes three Los Angeles Indians who have figured prominently in the Indian community over the past decade. These life histories demonstrate how ethnic identity and involvement can be experienced over time. The book concludes with the author addressing the "community as expressed in institutional crisis". Specifically the author

addresses the issue of Indian self government and how the community responded to an internal crisis. Throughout the book, numerous graphs, charts, tables, maps and pictures are liberally interspersed which give the reader a better image of the community and its members.

The author addresses an issue which has both intrigued and frustrated academics, service providers and policy makers. Beginning with the question as to whether or not there is an Indian community in Los Angeles, the author compiles her data and then synthesizes it to provide a tenable answer. An holistic picture of the ethnic community is presented which reveals its impact upon the identity of members as well as how they engage in the political, economic and cultural dimensions of their lives. To be sure, the Indian community is a fragile, complex mosaic but it is an important element in the daily lives of Indian people. The author concludes that a viable ethnic community does exist in Los Angeles. The community members have created a negotiated community that requires the constant support of its members. For example, they have chosen to ignore traditional "markers", e.g., tribal affiliation, which have instigated divisiveness in other communities. They have tried to use those differences in a way which integrates the different constituencies into a single pan Indian community. *These bricoleurs* (jack-of-all-trades) have been extremely innovative in their attempts to forge a community which is highly creative, sustainable and dynamic.

One of the more detailed sections of the book is an identification and description of the various institutional structures that encapsulate the activities of the urban Indians. Ranging from religious gatherings to week end pow wows to more elaborate and formal organizations such as the Los Angeles City-County Native American Indian Commission, the author traces their genesis, functions and in some cases, their demise. Using crisis event analysis, the author traces the closure of the Indian Centers Incorporated, one of the oldest and most important Indian institutions in Los Angeles, and the impact such a closure had upon the Indian community.

The author presents and develops her model within a context of previous theoretical standpoints. Unfortunately nowhere is there one direct and concise summary of her assumptions and model. Furthermore, there are too few instances of empirical illustrations that she, at several points, effectively uses to make her model clear. The author states that this book will help the reader develop a deeper understanding of the concept community and will allow insights into how communities are created and sustained. I'm not convinced that a clear model emerges from this book but I want to be fair. Perhaps the book is not intended to have much theoretical content but simply to serve as an in-depth ethnography over time. Nevertheless, it has the virtue of being clear and readable.

In conclusion, having absorbed the authors rich and detailed material, the reader is still left with the question of just how the concept of community is negotiated, how the institutional arrangements of the community facilitate (or retard) community development and how crises impact upon the identity of individuals and their community. Perhaps if some comparative ethnography's had been entered into the text, these questions might have received a more sympathetic hearing and led to a more definitive answer. These cautions notwithstanding, *Indian Country, L.A.* makes a valuable contribution by describing and codifying the largely invisible history and activities of Indians in the Los Angeles area.

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