

BOOK REVIEWS

Baillargeon, Morgan and Leslie Tepper: *Legends of our Times: Native Cowboy Life*. Vancouver: UBC Press; Seattle: University of Washington Press. (Published in association with the Canadian Museum of Civilization) 1998, ISBN 0-7748-0656-7 CDN \$45.00.

This book is a pleasure. Produced in an 8.5" by 11" format, it is large enough to do justice to the well chosen, often illuminating selection of photographs that grace its pages, yet trim enough to avoid the stigma of coffee table pretension. It will delight readers drawn to it by curiosity or by personal involvement at any point along the broad purview of its concerns. *Legends of our Times* neither overreaches nor underestimates. It tells an important and surprising story in a most convincing way. It speaks with conviction, but never soils its accessibility and easy grace with rhetoric.

The authors are curators at the Canadian Museum of Civilization, Baillargeon specializing in Native life on the western plains and Tepper on the plateau area. The book serves as a kind of enriched catalogue and documentation of the exhibition by the same title curated by the authors in 1998. The final stage of the project is a travelling exhibition slated for 2000. The authors claim their primary objective to be the "breaking of stereotypes"—a worthy project, given that the "cowboys and Indians" syndrome has had a long life in popular culture. This desire gives the text a moral as well as an educative dimension. Beyond the myth and the degrading humor, however, the real cowboy culture thrived, one that not only included Natives but, in significant measure, was created by Natives.

This book provides a broad view of the life, personalities, and underlying cultural framework that supported, then and now, Native ranching and rodeo. Its structuring is most effective in providing scope and depth—especially so given the authors' contention that the book is but a "beginning." Stories, testimonials and remembrances written by Native persons accom-

pany the historical and descriptive information. Organized in three large sections, the book cuts a clear path from the deepest source (the land) to the outer edges of the product (sport, entertainment). In so doing, it passes through levels of "culture" that relate the ranching and rodeo life to both serious issues and to matters that are no less than delightfully frivolous.

Part I entitled "Sacred Beings" begins with the creatures of the plains and plateau, primary factors in the formation of Native culture and an immediate link between pre-European Native life and the social and economic structures that developed out of interaction with Europeans. The deep integration of the buffalo, the horse, the deer and the coyote/wolf in pre-19th-century Native life opened easily to an ease and advanced competence in working with the cow, the horse and the dog (already an established fixture of Native life well before the advent of Europeans). A "sense" of the creature, a "relationship" marked by understanding, knowledge and reverence equipped the Native person brilliantly for working with livestock. The eleven traditional stories that follow illuminate the opening essay more penetratingly and engagingly than additional information could ever do.

Part II, "Ranching Life," explores the participation of Native persons in the raising and management of livestock from its beginnings as slave labour for the Spanish, to employment on large ranching operations, to Native enterprise in ranching on American and Canadian Reserves. The relation between the disappearance of the buffalo and the corresponding involvement of Native persons in ranching life is established. The entry of Natives into this primary western enterprise thus is described in the context of the all-too-familiar history of impoverishment, disenfranchisement and denial of treaty obligations. But the skills and knowledge of Natives were valued if underpaid commodities in the Western ranching economy, and large numbers of Native persons, men and women, were employed or self-employed in the industry in both the Canadian and American West.

The rodeo and similar entertainments are given quite comprehensive treatment. As a sport, rodeo is understood to flow from two sources: the cowboy's practical working skills, and that peculiar form of mid-19th century showbiz known as the "Wild West Show." The conversion of traditional cowboy skills such as bronc riding and calf roping into competitive events amounts to only a simple recontextualization of what had been undertaken on the cattle drive itself. To these was added a bevy of clearly less "useful," daredevil or humorous events that, amongst others, included the horse and travois race, the rawhide race, rubber band race, wagon race and even wrestling on horseback. The horsemanship and traditional skills of Native persons led quite naturally in the direction of rodeo. Many rodeos such as

the Omak Suicide Race and Stampede were, in fact, entirely Native initiatives while others included wide-ranging Native participation. On the other hand, the invention of entertainment moguls such as P.T. Bamum and William ("Buffalo Bill") Cody, kept "Wild West Show" audiences spell-bound well into the current century. Such extravaganzas quickly attained iconesque status not only in the cities of North America but also in Europe (the "Wild West" display at EuroDisney continues to be a popular draw) and in Australia.

Right from the early years of rodeo, however, the cowboys frequently were the Indians. It should come as no surprise, then, that Native participants excelled in the world of rodeo. Tom Three Persons (Kainai) was the only Canadian to take a first place in the first (1912) Calgary Stampede, while "Buffalo Jackson" (Jackson Sundown, Nez Perce) held not only the world bucking championship but also the all-around title at the Pendleton Rodeo of 1916. The record of excellence—excellence that includes female as well as male participants—continues today. The authors provide much useful information on the growth of various Native rodeo associations and the major role that Native-owned firms have played in providing stock and managerial expertise to the rodeo industry.

The short articles, personal recollections and poetry completing Part III include a number of vital contributions but none more telling than the reproduction of the speech of Chauncey Yellow Robe (Dakota/Lakota) delivered at the 1914 annual conference of the Society of American Indians. It is a deeply conservative message deploring Native participation in rodeo as "commercializing the Indian." While never a dominant position, his speech represents a point of view never entirely absent in the response of the Native community to rodeo.

The authors successfully transpose a visual event into a book that is absorbingly well written, informative, clear, well edited and entertaining. Given its complex structure and the participation of an enormous number of individuals who contributed in many ways, it is also a marvel of organization. Contributors of original material and collectors include Eleanor Brass, Garry Gottfriedson, Gregory Scofield, Mari Sandoz, Herb Manuel, Old Lady Horse (Spear Woman), James Teit, David Pratt, Clark Wissler, D.C. Duval, Tim Ryan Rouillier, Bob Boyer, Alex Harvey, Leonard Lethbridge, Harold Thompson, Thelma Poirer, Clara Spotted Elk, Buffy Sainte-Marie and Phil Baird. There is also a long list of individuals whose contributions in the form of interviews and photographs are fundamental to the book's success.

Readers of the book will not have to be reminded that the book retains much of the impact of a visual event. With its excellent integration and

balance of written and visual text, the photographs and reproductions provide not only information but interpretation that would be otherwise inaccessible.

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Calloway, Conlin (Editor): *The World Turned Upside Down: Indian Voices from Early America*. Boston: Bedford Books, 1994, ISBN 0-312-08350-5 Paper.

This decade has seen the emergence of Colin Calloway as an authority on American Aboriginal studies and as a spokesman for the need to hear their voices, especially since "most of what we know about them comes from the biased and distorted writings of European-Americans, people who were literate but alien" (p.v). In 1995 he wrote *The American Revolution in Indian Country: Crisis and Diversity in Native American Communities*. This study of original Native sources detailed the devastation of Indian communities, whether they chose stances that were neutral, pro-British or pro-Patriot, but Calloway also drew insightful portraits of daily life within those communities that set his writing apart from more general histories. In *The World Turned Upside Down* he again has used archival materials to create those portraits discounting the assumption that Native people were silent and left no contemporary comments, and asserting that "many of their words survive for us today if we know where to look for them and how to read them" (p.v).

Calloway divides his sources thematically, with each section having an introduction that sets the stage for the documents that are to follow. Beginning with creation stories and reactions to the arrival of the Europeans, he follows the Indian response to European culture and land acquisition through the period of the American Revolution to the post-revolutionary period when the Indians realized that theirs would be a continuous struggle to survive as a people. Some of the Native spokesmen are famous, such as Powhatan, Pontiac and Joseph Brant. Many are basically anonymous—Native chiefs whose names have been lost but whose speeches at councils and treaty gatherings have been preserved. The sampling of documents that Calloway supplies provides recurrent themes that echo throughout the

collection: the loss of land to the colonists and the resultant threat to tribal identity, the effects of continual warfare upon the communities, divisions created by Christian missionaries, the education of Indian youth and its effect upon communal and national solidarity, the devastation caused by European alcohol and disease, the effects of the fur trade and European technological advances, and the overall political upheaval in the Native world caused by the tension between those who maintained traditional forms of political organization and those who followed the new ways of the Europeans. Through a study of these documents Calloway reveals a world in which American Indians felt there were issues worthy of discussion both among themselves and with the Europeans who were creating them.

It is to Calloway's credit that he realizes, despite his eagerness to heighten awareness of Indian voices, there are areas of Native life about which they were silent. His research indicates they were silent about sacred rituals and places, aspects of Native life that not only would be in danger if exposed to the Europeans but also which gave the Indians a stability and a central purpose for existence in a world turning upside down. No matter how much we are to analyze and hopefully appreciate the early American Native world, there are aspects which remain beyond our scrutiny and within the mystique which continues to preserve the inner core of Native identity to this day.

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Cormack, Elizabeth: *Women in Trouble: Connecting Women's Law Violations to Their Histories of Abuse*. Halifax: Fernwood Publishing, 1996, ISBN 1-895686-61-X Paper CDN \$15.95.

Cormack offers an important and powerful little book. It is a user friendly publication with a thesis that is both clearly written and persuasive. Based on lengthy interviews with women prisoners, mostly Aboriginal, Cormack's analysis reveals the connectedness of law violations to abuse experiences. Her work calls for informed, appropriate assistance for abused women, so that abuse will cease leading to behaviours that lead to law violations in an endless cycle. The law and the criminal justice system cannot do what the community, with its social and economic resources, should do to break the connections.

Cormack, a sociologist at the University of Manitoba, set out to interview women prisoners because she felt "the women's own voices needed to be heard" (p.157). She brought expertise to the task having already done a quantitative analysis of women prisoners' histories of abuse. *Women in Trouble* contains verbatim excerpts from individual interviews with twenty-four women prisoners, nineteen of Aboriginal ancestry, taped in private in 1992 within prison walls. Cormack provides readers with enough information and analysis to give the prisoners' words great resonance.

At the outset, some of Cormack's narrators explain how they came to commit their law violations. In the second chapter, several narrators share their childhood or adult experiences of abuse. Next, they explain how they dealt with their abuse, and finally, they talk of their "prisoning," the processes and experiences of imprisonment.

Using both socialist feminism and standpoint feminism, Cormack theorizes that abuse experiences and the strategies used to deal with them (coping, resisting and surviving), are directly connected to law violations. The evidence and analysis are clearly presented and decisive. Importantly, Cormack establishes that little occurs in prison to help these women deal with their histories. In fact, prison circumstances often ensure that abused women will emerge with their debilitating troubles unresolved.

This study is important, insightful and illuminating. My only regret is the lack of an index. The distressing lack of public attention to the problems highlighted so well in this volume is another matter.

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Dickason, Olive Patricia: *Canada's First Nations: A History of Founding Peoples from Earliest Times*. Second Edition. Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1997, ISBN 0-19-541358-X CDN \$34.95.

It is said that Napoleon once defined history as "lies agreed upon". From the perspective of Indigenous peoples, Napoleon was correct because history, by and large, has been written by the victors. Because of the process of invasion and colonization, Indigenous history in Canada and elsewhere seems to have disappeared. Olive Patricia Dickason, Adjunct

Professor of History at the University of Ottawa and a recipient of the Aboriginal Achievement Award, attempts to redress this wrong in the updated edition of her work: *Canada's First Nations: A History of Founding Peoples from Earliest Times*. Dickason's work seeks, from an interdisciplinary approach, to establish Indigenous peoples as founders of Canada's history as a whole.

This second edition is organized into twenty-eight chapters, divided into five parts from the earliest to contemporary times. A new part added to Section Five deals with contemporary issues such as stand-offs, coercion, and the report of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal People released on November 21, 1996. The text presents a mass of material which could well be divided into two volumes for greater accessibility to students, the two sections to be pre- and post-confederation. The author reinforces her text with several illustrations, photographs, and maps.

As in the first edition, the opening section, "In the beginning", combines a wide range of disciplines in a search for the origins of Indigenous peoples in what we call today the Americas. Dickason resorts to anthropology, archaeology, geography, linguistics, and demography, among other disciplines, to accord with the non-Indigenous proposition of the Bering Strait theory, in which "humans were present in the Americas at least by 15,000 BCE." but in the same breath Dickason recognizes that more recent evidence in part suggests "a date that some would push back to 50,000 BCE" (p.15). She does not concern herself with the difficulties behind the dates, leaving open the question whether western academia will keep moving the date back for "a crossing" over the Bering Strait to accommodate new evidence about people inhabiting the Americas.

One of the first actions of European conquerors was to apply their own naming to geographies and peoples. Even though Dickason strives to establish Indigenous history as existing before the arrival of Whites, her speech becomes tangled in European naming. She attempts to refute the idea that Canada is a young country. However, in all rigor Canada *is* a young country. The land people inhabited before the arrival of Europeans was not called Canada. Indigenous peoples had their own naming for the lands we collectively call Canada today. Any effort to retell Indigenous history previous to the arrival of the Europeans must acknowledge that fact, even though the original names might not be known. Misused language only subscribes to the colonizers' conception of the world that surrounds us. Thus, to call Indigenous peoples of the Andes "Peruvians," as Dickason does on p.24, or to use expressions such as "New World" (p.18), perpetuates the Eurocentric approach to telling the story and conveys, therefore, a

linear understanding of autochthonous peoples' growth and development in what we call the Americas.

Professor Dickason's analysis of the role of the First Nations in pre- and post-Canadian history is a welcome addition to the growing body of scholarly material now available. Of course, she necessarily had to consider the early European documents still available. Although she does not argue that those documents are the only valid source for the interpretation of Canadian history, she does point out that the re-interpretation of available evidence is problematic for the contemporary historian because the voices of Indigenous peoples have virtually been silenced by the "official story" throughout time.

In the sections "The Outside World Intruders" and "Spread Across the Continent" Dickason examines the impact of European colonization. The autochthonous peoples' voice is particularly weak in these parts. This is not to blame the author. It is near to impossible to recreate Indigenous peoples' experience during the 16th to the 18th centuries. Nevertheless, based on European accounts Dickason offers a new vision of what she calls the Amerindians' dealings with the intruders.

The final two sections of *Canada's First Nations* examine British policy, prior to Confederation, and Canadian policy, after 1867, towards Indigenous peoples. Lumped into one construct—Indians—these peoples had to be protected and assimilated into main stream society. Section Four is largely a chronology, and therefore more like a Western approach to history. In contrast, in Section Five Dickason uses a thematic approach, reflecting the experiences of the various autochthonous nations in contemporary life.

Canada's First Nations is an important contribution toward a realization of what has been and is the role of the autochthonous nations in this country. It is a starting point for a challenge to the "official story" and many of those "lies agreed upon".

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Goddard, Ives (Editor): *Leonard Bloomfield's Fox Lexicon: Critical Edition*.
Winnipeg: Algonquian and Iroquoian Linguistics, Memoir 12, 1994, ISBN
0-921064-12-8, Paper CDN \$40.00.

The language described in this book is Fox (or Mesquakie), an Algonquian language related to Sauk. Fox is spoken by several hundred people in eastern Iowa (Dahlstrom, 1996:iii).

In this edition, the Fox wordlist based on Leonard Bloomfield's notebooks compiled in the 1920s is supplemented by an introduction, an appendix, and an extensive index. The introduction (pp.1-8) outlines the sources and methodology used by the editor and includes a list of abbreviations and references. The lexicon itself (pp.9-186) comprises a Fox-to-English glossary with the main entry being Bloomfield's citation form. Each citation form is followed by an exact transliteration in the standardized orthography. Corrections, changes and additions made by the editor to the original forms are systematically noted, and English glosses are provided. Sub-entries for each form are indented and the sources for each entry are noted in parentheses. All of these editorial procedures are represented according to a system which is indicated on each page in a running footer.

The Appendix (pp.187-207) includes a brief introduction and a set of verbal inflectional paradigm tables for both independent (main) clauses and conjunct (subordinate) clauses for the various verb categories. These include indicative forms for the transitive and intransitive verbs in general as well as paradigms for diminutive, dubitative, imperative, prohibitive, and potential stems. These provide information about the inflectional morphology which is vital for the interpretation of the complex verb forms found in Fox texts.

The Index (pp.209-296) consists of an English-to-Fox wordlist of all entries in the lexicon and includes examples to illustrate their usage together with sources for each. This section has been added by the editor and also includes a brief explanatory introduction.

As noted by Goddard, Bloomfield's original wordlist has been expanded with additional entries from his card files and from early published articles (Bloomfield, 1925; 1927). These were supplemented with words from texts by William Jones (1907) and Truman Michelson (1921; 1925 and other sources cited). This lexicon does not, however, comprise a complete dictionary of the language.

Bloomfield's handwritten notebooks were reproduced in facsimile in 1984; anyone who has tried to read that work can appreciate the editorial task undertaken here. The handwritten entries were often unintelligible to a reader lacking Goddard's long association with Fox (and with Algonquian

languages in general). Basically, one had to know already what forms to expect in most instances. Accordingly, the expressed purpose of this edition of Bloomfield's Fox wordlist is "to make it more readable, useful, and reliable as an aid to those interested in the Fox lexicon, particularly those attempting to read and analyze the published texts (p.1)." This, I believe, has been accomplished.

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 1921 *The Owl Sacred Pack of the Fox Indians*. Washington: Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin 72.

Harring, Sidney L.: *White Man's Law: Native People in Nineteenth-Century Canadian Jurisprudence*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press (Osgoode Society for Canadian Legal History), 1998, ISBN 0-8020-0530-9 Cloth CDN \$45.00.

Since the *Calder* decision of 1973, Canadian courts have played a major role in defining Aboriginal rights. This intervention has led to the re-examination of 19th-century Aboriginal rights cases, from which developed the idea of distinctive-but-dependent Aboriginal legal status. One of the most recent and welcome additions on this subject, *White Man's Law: Native People in Nineteenth-Century Canadian Jurisprudence* discusses the development of Canadian legal culture and colonial Native policy. Its primary focus is the examination of Aboriginal legal issues in Upper Canada/Ontario. Although it also deals with the Maritime provinces, Quebec, British Columbia, and the Prairie provinces, the discussion there is primarily based on secondary sources. The geographical bias is due to Harring's contention that Upper Canadian Aboriginal policies laid the foundation for post-Confederation federal Indian policies throughout the rest of Canada except for the Métis and Natives in British Columbia.

Harring espouses the Upper Canada Indian Act of 1837 as the major turning point in Canadian Native policies. Prior to the legislation, he asserts that a "liberal policy" had characterized the way the colonial governments dealt with Native people. This policy consisted of "orderly" land purchases, the reservation for the Indian nations of "sufficient land" (p.11), gift-giving, and the full application of legal rights under English common law. After the 1837 act, paternalistic language dominated both legislation and court decisions. For Harring, paternalism represented the essential nature of British-Canadian colonialism in 19th-century legal culture. However, Harring does not assume here that paternalism simply displaced liberalism after 1837. Rather, he contends that 19th-century paternalism coexisted with liberal policy; and this duality often caused and still causes a legal and political muddle in understanding Aboriginal rights. Chief Justice John Beverley Robinson's decisions in the mid-19th century and the *St. Catherine's Milling* case of 1888, among over sixty others, are instrumental for tracing the evolution of the basic idea of Aboriginal rights in Canadian jurisprudence. Harring notes that Robinson was the first judge who incorporated paternalistic language into Canadian jurisprudence by declaring that the Natives were legally "dependent" on the Dominion government. Succeeding judges followed Robinson's footsteps. They applied Canadian criminal and civil laws to Aboriginal persons who were charged with selling liquor, timber, and fish, while a succession of Indian Act amendments

further circumscribed their right to conduct potlatch or wendigo rites. After examining these issues, Haring concludes that "the First Nations' legal history is replete with examples of illegality in Canada's treatment of Indians" (p.275).

The author makes heavy use of technical legal language and loosely coordinates the voluminous court cases, an approach which will have a limited appeal to readers outside of the legal community. Readers will also need a strong sense of 19th-century Canadian history to appreciate fully this book. However, for those studying Canadian Native legal issues, *White Man's Law* will stand out as one of the most resourceful accounts of 19th-century Canadian jurisprudence on Aboriginal law.

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Hodgins, Bruce W. and Kerry A. Cannon (Editors): *On the Land: Confronting the Challenges to Aboriginal Self-Determination in Northern Quebec and Labrador*. Toronto: Betelgeuse Books, 1995, Paper CDN \$14.95.

Based on the 1995 Trent University Northern Lecture series on Aboriginal land rights in northern Quebec and Labrador, *On the Land* provides the views of Native leaders and professional people on economic and political issues that have affected the Native population since the 1960s. In this vast northern region, where about ninety percent of permanent residents are Indigenous, the Cree (*Eenon Astchee*), the Inuit (*Nunavik*), and the Innu (*Nitasinan*) people have claimed their self-determination and economic rights throughout the debates over the Quebec secession movement, hydro-electric projects, and mining. The book starts with the eloquent statements of the leaders of the three groups and follows with essays by a legal expert, an anthropologist, a geographer-environmentalist, and a journalist-writer.

The contributors look at Aboriginal rights issues from different angles but with persistently explicit emphases on Aboriginal perspectives. For instance, the Grand Chief of the Grand Council of the Cree, Matthew Coon Come, and the President of the Makivik Corporation of the Nunavik, Zebedee Nungak, similarly contend in the first two chapters of the book that

their people have inherent rights to their territory as Aboriginal people and flatly reject the idea of portraying them as minority groups within Quebec. The essay by legal expert Mary Ellen Turpel upholds their contention and concludes that "[m]uch of the separatist platform restates colonial presumptions about sovereignty over Aboriginal peoples and Aboriginal territories" (p.84). An editorial essay on historical background also demonstrates that the idea of Quebec as French owes much to René Levesque and the Parti Québécois nationalistic movement in the south of the Province since the 1960s. They imposed their ethnic vision on the northern region that was and still is non-francophone and very much Indigenous.

Along with these political issues, economic exploitation is the most pressing problem dealt with in the book. Harvey Feit, Alan Penn, and Boyce Richardson commonly focus on the James Bay Cree's struggle against the encroachment of Quebec's hydro-electric projects in their traditional territory. Felt provides a particularly interesting analysis of the federal government's paternalistic policy regarding the James Bay project of the 1970s. He argues that the impact assessment of the federal government failed to recognize Aboriginal rights and legitimated the project by emphasizing the "dependency" of Aboriginal people on government aid and non-Indian materials, thus leading the argument that Aboriginal people no longer needed to depend on the use of their traditional land.

Even though these stories will capture the interest of most readers, *On the Land* best serves those who seek a general understanding of Aboriginal rights issues in northern Quebec and Labrador. The book is better on Quebec than Labrador. It does not deal much with the Innu people and their protest against low-level training flights by NATO countries. Furthermore, some may wonder why there is no mention of the Métis in Labrador.

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Isaac, Thomas: *Aboriginal Law: Cases, Materials and Commentary*, Second Edition. Saskatoon, Saskatchewan: Purich Publishing, 1999, ISBN 1-895830-11-7 Paper CDN \$45.00.

Mr. Isaac's Second Edition of *Aboriginal Law*, like the first, is a welcome guide to the dynamic political and legal environment of the rapidly changing

field of Aboriginal law in Canada. In the face of colonial, federal and provincial legislation as well as general federal policies, Aboriginal rights are not easily understood. Isaac organizes case law and legislative initiatives under the headings of Aboriginal Title; Treaty Rights; Federal-Provincial-Territorial Legislative Authority; Hunting, Fishing and Trapping Rights; The Métis and Inuit; Taxation; Aboriginal Rights and The Constitution Act, 1982; Self-Government, and Aboriginal Women. The clear principles of organization present the issues to the reader without losing the unique qualities and complexities of each particular area and case.

In the introduction of each chapter, Isaac contextualizes the issues, illustrating for the reader how pervasively Aboriginal issues are embedded into Canadian political and legal life. For example, in the chapter on Aboriginal title, Isaac not only provides a concise history of Aboriginal title case law from Canadian, Commonwealth and American perspectives, he makes reference to important commentary which has helped shape this jurisprudence. Likewise, in the chapters on treaty rights, legislative authority, hunting, fishing and trapping rights, taxation, Aboriginal rights and the Constitution Act, 1982, and self-government, the issues are clearly and straightforwardly laid out, followed by concise and accurate summaries of the particular case law, and, where necessary, excerpts of judgements and/or statutes that have regulated or defined the practice or relationship.

Though much of the legislation and jurisprudence has focused on "Indians" or First Nation peoples, and much of the basis for Aboriginal law rests on principles involving First Nation peoples, Aboriginal law is equally applicable to Métis and Inuit peoples. However the Métis and Inuit concerns have resulted in particular negotiated settlements such as the *Alberta Métis Settlement Act* and the federal *Agreement between the Inuit of the Nunavut Settlement Area and Her Majesty the Queen in Right of Canada of May 25, 1993*. Isaac refers to such in order to illustrate the changing landscape and relationships of Aboriginal law in Canada. Isaac also draws on excerpts from the *Sechelt Indian Band Self Government Act*, the *Cree-Naskapi Agreement*, the *Teslin Tlingit Self Government Agreement*, the imminent *Nisga'a Final Agreement* and the halted *Charlottetown Accord* to elucidate the new direction of Aboriginal and Crown relationships, as well as possible area of future litigation, with respect to Aboriginal self-government.

The chapter on Aboriginal Women addresses the complex historical issue of who is an "Indian" in Canada and how the Federal government, through exclusion, has severely undermined the economic and social opportunities of Aboriginal women in their own communities. Some of these issues are being tackled by First Nation communities through litigation, yet most of the redress is at the hands of Aboriginal women writers. Isaac turns

to their words to depict the injustices that will take more than court victories to address.

Aboriginal law is an evolving area, and even since this Second Edition has been printed, there has been the Supreme Court's decision in *Corbiere v. Canada*¹ concerning off-Reserve First Nations members' right to vote in Band elections—an issue that directly affects Aboriginal women and their descendants who fall under Bill C-31. Moreover, there has been the *Regina v. Marshall*² decision (and subsequent clarification) regarding Treaty fishing rights of the Mi'kmaq and Maliseet people in New Brunswick and Nova Scotia. We may need a third edition before too long.

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Notes

1. *Corbiere v. Canada (Minister of Indian and Northern Affairs)* (1999) S.C.R. May 20, 1999 [cited to www.droit.umontreal.ca/doc/csc-scc/cgi-bin/].
2. *Regina v. Marshall*, (1999) S.C.R. September 15, 1999 [cited to www.droit.umontreal.ca/doc/csc-scc/cgi-bin/].

Kasten, Erich (Editor): *Bicultural Education in the North: Ways of Preserving and Enhancing Indigenous Peoples' Languages and Traditional Knowledge*. New York, München, Berlin: Waxmann Münster, 1998, ISBN 3-89325-651-2 Paper DM 49,90.

This book is the proceedings of a conference of anthropologists, linguists and educators held in Germany in 1997. It includes 23 papers ranging from scholarly studies to informal first efforts. The focus of the conference was on the former Soviet Union, and half the papers deal with this region. Other papers discuss Alaska, British Columbia, Oklahoma, Iceland, Finland, India and Germany. The languages which are addressed include Itelmen, Sámi, Komi, Selkup, Khanty, Evenki, Siberian Yupik, Sorbian, Ladakhi, Icelandic and Sauk.

Concern over the loss of languages and the loss of traditional cultural knowledge is a main focus of the papers, and models of bicultural education

aimed at balancing traditional and modern knowledge are promoted as a means to stem the decline. Authors emphasize that language shift is the result of social, political and economic forces. To halt or reverse it, the cultural environment must be protected and restored.

Only a handful of Elders still speak the Sauk language. There are efforts to save this and other languages from death, yet only 10% of the 6,000 or so languages spoken today are likely to survive past the end of the next century. Authors compare this rate of loss with the loss of biodiversity. It will rob us all of the variety which has made our survival possible. Residential schools are blamed for their role in language loss, yet readers may be surprised to learn that residential schools are still a model for education delivery in Khanty and Evenki.

Alexia Bloch discusses the role of ethnic minorities who excelled at higher education in egalitarian Russia, despite the residential schools. Stalin's policies may have had devastating consequences but in her article on "Ideal Proletarians and Children of Nature," Bloch shows how in the post-Soviet era one of these educated minorities can return to teach her people very selectively about their cultural history. Ignoring repression, what is left is an idealized ethnographic present. Evenk identity is also being "interpreted and remade" from "new markers of belonging to a broader, global community" (e.g. Cheerio boxes). She stresses that identity is not static. It reacts to many forces beyond a people's control, yet "collective and individual resistance" also play a role.

David Koester looks at children's conceptions of traditional Icelandic culture. He finds when institutions such as schools make "valued cultural traditions, cultural artifacts and ideas—objects of children's attention" that the children will play with them. He argues that "playful mocking, resistance to authority and irreverence" should be expected from children, and need not mean their rejection of their culture in adulthood. Other papers describe the role of museums, soccer, CD-ROMs and the potential of the internet in the survival of threatened languages and cultures.

This book is most useful in making us aware of recent developments in bilingualism and biculturalism in the former Soviet Union and elsewhere.

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Mauzé, Marie (Editor): *Present is Past: Some Uses of Tradition in Native Societies*. Lanham, Maryland, Oxford: University Press of America, 1997, ISBN 0-7618-0684-9 Cloth US \$49.00; ISBN 0-7618-0685-7 Paper US \$29.50

Present is Past is a collection of thirteen essays examining the construction and use of tradition in Native North America. Eight of the essays are by European anthropologists, and the remaining five by North Americans. Most are revised versions of papers presented at a 1993 Paris symposium entitled "Tradition in North Amerindian Societies: Continuity and/or Invention" organized by the Association pour la Recherche en Anthropologie Sociale.

The contributors take as their point of departure the concept of invented tradition introduced by Hobsbawm and Ranger (1983). As Mauzé explains in her introductory essay, symposium participants agreed on the concept's basic principles: traditions are dynamic and alive, they encompass change as well as continuity, and invention is a normal feature of tradition. Agreement on these points, however, still left considerable room for debate. Indeed, *Present is Past's* greatest strength lies in the debates created by the juxtaposition of varying perspectives.

One of the more hotly debated issues concerns the utility of the dichotomy often drawn between tradition and history. As Gérard Lenclud notes in his essay, "History and Tradition", scholars conventionally view societies as relating to the past in one of two contrasting ways, by receiving it as established tradition, or by approaching it as an object of knowledge. While acknowledging that oral traditions may not meet western standards of critical objectivity, Lenclud warns that they are not passed unthinkingly from one generation to another. They are, rather, "processed by an active memory" and reshaped in a "continually created narrative". He argues that an insistence on setting non-western and western historical traditions against one another is more likely to hinder than assist attempts to understand either.

Christian Feest, however, finds the distinction between tradition and history useful. While "rare history traditions" (those with written records) and oral history traditions both accommodate change, only the former leave a paper trail that allows researchers to document this process. The invention of tradition, he contends, therefore can only be studied in rare history traditions, where "the past of claimed tradition happily co-exists with the past of recorded history."

Robin Ridington counterbalances Feest's perspective by showing how contemporary Native Americans make use of both kinds of historical

tradition. His discussion of the revival of ceremonies centred around *Umon'hon'ti*, the Sacred Pole of the Omaha, notes how ethnographic texts and oral traditions alike inform tribal members' debates over how—and whether—to reintegrate the Sacred Pole into Omaha society.

A second topic of debate concerns the authenticity of invented traditions. In his essay "Avocational Medicine Men", James Clifton debunks the efforts of a self-proclaimed Algonquian medicine man to re-introduce an allegedly traditional ceremony. Clifton reveals that the ceremony is based on a ritual learned from a (non-Native) Eagle Scout troop leader. Clifton portrays the episode as a sad attempt to "instill some meaningful, satisfying content where there is much too little." Although he acknowledges that all traditions have been invented at one time or another, Clifton leaves the reader with the impression that the invention of tradition is an inherently fraudulent process.

This line of argument is sharply challenged in Michael Harkin's essay, "A Tradition of Invention". Traditions can be authentic, Harkin argues, even when they are "artificially" constructed, provided that they "move" people emotionally. He illustrates his argument with a discussion of the Heiltsuk potlatch, recently renewed after decades of government suppression. Key elements of the potlatch have been recast in terms that are acceptable to Christian members of the community; the *hámac'a* dance, for example, replaces images of cannibalism with symbols of Christian sacrifice. Far from turning the contemporary potlatch into a fraud, this departure from past practice has secured the potlatch's acceptance by community members and solidified its status as an authentic tradition.

Essays by Massimo Carocci and James Waldram exploring how people use tradition to construct personal and cultural identities provide another interesting juxtaposition. Carocci examines how lesbian and gay Native Americans "revamp" the traditional third gender category of the berdache to create an identity more in keeping with contemporary western constructions of gender. Waldram, meanwhile, analyses the impact that pan-Indian Aboriginal spirituality programs have on inmates in western Canadian prisons. He argues that individuals raised in authentically traditional environments experience confusion when they encounter the "fractured, incomplete and somewhat stereotypical model" of Aboriginal culture that these programs promote. For these inmates, exposure to an invented tradition may hinder rather than enhance cultural awareness and self-knowledge.

Other contributions include Armin Geertz's analysis of Hopi prophecy as an instrument of political strategy, Jonathan King's review of how the souvenir industry markets Native art, and F. Allan Hanson's discussion of

the political challenges facing anthropologists who use the invention of tradition approach.

While *Present is Past* is a thought-provoking compilation, it does have flaws. Contributions by Pascal Boyer and Jean Pouillon, neither of which refers to Native American subject matter, seem out of place. Ubiquitous misspellings, deleted phrases, and the recurrent use of nonexistent words (e.g., "outrightly" and "adorants") make for an unnecessarily challenging read. The quality of the six black and white photographs is mediocre at best. These deficiencies are difficult to excuse given the book's cost and may discourage its purchase by those with limited budgets.

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1983 *The Invention of Tradition*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
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- Speck, Frank G.: *Midwinter Rites of the Cayuga Longhouse*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1995, ISBN 0-8032-9231-7 Paper US \$8.95.
- Winslow, Bernice Loft: *Iroquois Fires: The Six Nations Lyrics and Lore of Dawendine*. Ottawa, Ontario: Penumbra Press, 1995, ISBN 0-921254-75-X Paper CDN\$ 19.95.

Two of the three works under review here are reprints of works originally published nearly a half century ago or more. The third is an unpublished manuscript of equal vintage, originally completed in 1947. All three reflect both the strengths and weaknesses of their authors and the strengths and weaknesses of the intellectual climate of their time.

For professional anthropologists and other students of Iroquois culture, the most important of these three is Frank Speck's *Midwinter Rites of the Cayuga Longhouse*. Speck was an early student of Franz Boas at Columbia University and is primarily known for his studies of Algonquian peoples of the northeast. He did early contract work for the Geological Survey of Canada (ancestor of today's Canadian Museum of Civilization) and maintained an interest in the material culture of traditional Native North America. Speck should also be remembered as a field worker because he was a man who thoroughly enjoyed conversing with Native North Americans from the eastern half of the continent. Speck's research interests stretched from the Labrador peninsula to Newfoundland and the Maritimes south through Maine and New England to Virginia and North Carolina.

Later students have concluded that Speck was sometimes wrong (notably on the Aboriginal origin of the "family hunting territory"). The work under review is, however, Speck at his very best. He developed an interest in Iroquoia and the rituals of the Longhouse late in his career, and through it a strong relationship with Alexander General (Deskáheh). The collaboration of these two men produced a fine descriptive ethnography of the Midwinter Rites at the Upper Cayuga (Sour Springs) Longhouse on the Six Nations Reserve. The book itself was long in germination. Speck did his initial field work in 1931. He witnessed the entire Midwinter Ceremony in 1933 and 1936 and parts of it in 1934, 1935, 1944, and 1945. On later field trips he reviewed the manuscript with Cayuga informants and collaborated with Alexander General (Deskáheh). The book was first published in 1949.

The Midwinter Ceremony is the longest of the calendrical rituals of the traditional Iroquois religion as practised since the message of the Prophet Handsome Lake was delivered in 1799. Held five days after the first new moon to appear after the Pleiades appear directly overhead at sunset (early January), it is the time for providing names for the newborn and the newly adult, a time for the practice of the four sacred rites of the Iroquois (the Great Feather Dance, the Individual Thanksgiving [Adowa], the Skin Dance, and the Bowl Game), and, as Speck thoroughly documents in this study, a time for the public performances of rites of the Medicine Societies, sponsored or requested by individuals who have been cured in the past. He also discusses social dances performed at the request of individuals as part of the Midwinter ceremony.

While a superb and detailed study, Speck's is not the best book written dealing with the Sour Springs Longhouse. Annemarie Shimony's *Conservatism Among the Iroquois of the Six Nations Reserve* is the stronger study, yet it is a tribute to Speck that his field work in the community paved the way for the complete cooperation they provided Shimony in 1953. Persons

with a serious interest in Iroquois culture will want to have both, and it is good to see Speck's outstanding study back in print. William N. Fenton has provided a useful introduction to this edition, discussing in some depth Speck's methods and strengths as a field worker.

When Speck was a fledgling student of anthropology at Columbia University, he spent a great deal of time in the back rooms and collections of the American Museum of Natural History. There he met Arthur C. Parker who had similar interests. Parker was of Seneca ancestry and had been raised on the Cattaraugus Reservation in western New York. Parker's great-uncle was Ely S. Parker who worked closely with Lewis H. Morgan in the research which resulted in the pioneering and still classic ethnographic description of Iroquois culture (Morgan, 1851). Parker resisted the urging of Speck that he enroll in the anthropology programme at Columbia, but he was still able to forge a lifetime career in anthropology, first with the New York State Museum and then as Director of the Rochester Museum of Arts and Sciences.

Parker often aimed his work at a general, even youthful audience. *Skunny Wundy* is so targeted. This is not to say that adults will not find things that interest or charm them. They will. Perhaps the most interesting aspect of the book is its reflection of Parker's formative years on the Cattaraugus Reservation in western New York. There Parker was strongly influenced by his grandfather, Nicholas Parker. As author of *Skunny Wundy*, Parker assumes the voice of a Seneca Elder, telling the stories to a younger kinsman. Parker doubtlessly has remoulded the stories, just as Nicholas Parker did when telling the stories in the 1880s to his grandson. A distinctive feature of the collection is the strong oral quality to the text, with Parker writing as would an uncle telling the tales to his nephew.

Most of the tales take their cast of characters from the animals of the forest—Fox, Rabbit, Turtle, Owl, Gray Wolf, Buffalo, Moose and so on. One story, "How the Conifers Flaunt the Promise of Spring," depicts the trees themselves discussing the onslaught of winter and explains how Tamarack became relegated to the swamp. One story involves the Stone Coats, the powerful giants to be found in the forest. The delightful drawings of George Armstrong evoke the spirit of the forest and the personalities of the animals developed in the tales.

Bernice Loft Winslow (Dawendine) is also from a distinguished Iroquois family. In 1910 her father, William D. Loft, was selected to hold one of the Mohawk Wolf Clan titles as a Chief of the Iroquois Confederacy at the Six Nations Reserve. Her uncle, Frederick Ogilvie Loft, commanded a company in the Forestry Corps of the Canadian Expeditionary Force during World War I and returned to Canada to found the League of Indians of Canada, a

pioneering attempt to form a national Indian organization. Bernice Loft determined to follow in the path of another woman from Six Nations, Pauline Johnson. She entered into a career of public performance and writing, only retiring from the lecture circuit after the birth of a daughter.

In the course of her public career Bernice Loft Winslow became acquainted with the distinguished illustrator of Canadian history, C.W. Jefferys. Shortly after the end of World War II the two planned to publish her poems and stories with illustrations by Jefferys. Unfortunately, Jefferys died before completing illustrations for the proposed work and the manuscript by Dawendine lay buried in his papers until it was discovered by Jefferys' grandson, Robert Stacey. An encounter with Calgary historian Donald Smith revealed to Stacey the family background of Dawendine and the fact she was alive and living in Boston. The happy result is that at long last *Iroquois Fires*, written by Winslow and illustrated by Jeffreys, has come to print.

Approximately half of the text consists of poems written by the author reflecting upon what it meant to her to be an Iroquois in the middle of the 20th century. She thinks of the Iroquois dead in World War II and of the memory of her father. Another speaks of "Iroquois Exile": "I live in a city/Flanked by stone/Walls..." The prose portion of the text deals with Iroquois traditions and folklore, such as the names of the months, and includes essays about her experiences growing up on the Six Nations Reserve.

At least two errors have crept into the work. Figure 23 (p.43) reprints the wrong illustration from Frank Speck's *The Iroquois* (Speck, 1945:24). The editors wanted to show the interior of the Sour Springs Longhouse on the Six Nations Reserve but the photograph of the exterior has been inserted by mistake. On page 79 the New Years Festival (Midwinter) is described as the "Feast of the White Doe." The reference should be to the White Dog, which was sacrificed and offered to the Creator in this ceremony. All in all, though, we can be grateful Winslow's interesting and charming work has finally reached print.

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Sugden, John: *Tecumseh, a Life*. New York: Owl Books (Henry Holt and Company), 1997, ISBN 0-8050-6121-5 Paper USA \$15.95.

The title chosen for this volume puts me in mind of the fact that for many people in southern Ontario, the only mental connection they make with the name of Tecumseh is that of a company which manufactures lawnmower engines and air compressors! No doubt this unfortunate situation rises from the fact, as observed by Sugden, that although "the literature of Tecumseh far exceeds that of any other American Indian... , many aspects of (his) life have escaped the attention of serious modern writers completely" (p.ix). Sugden's interest in Tecumseh began over thirty years ago and the book is the result of an exhaustive search of the many surviving archival documents in both England and America. One has only to scan the 70 pages of end-notes and bibliography as well as the numerous illustrations and maps, to realize the tremendous amount of research involved in this project.

Tecumseh's life spanned the tumultuous years between 1768 and 1813. In 1763 what is now Ontario passed from French to English control, and Aboriginal people were caught in new political relationships which allowed for increased European settlement and caused loss of Indian lands and political autonomy. After the American Revolution and the subsequent expansion of the new republic westward, the Aboriginal people living south of the Great Lakes and in the Ohio Valley region faced similar frustrations as their lands and cultures were under constant attack from aggressive colonists fresh from victory over the English and eager to further their exploits. Many place names familiar to students of early American colonial history—Battle of Fallen Timbers, Treaty of Fort Wayne, Treaty of Green-

ville, Battle of Tippecanoe—are prevalent in the book, and Tecumseh was involved in all of them.

Sugden rightly portrays Tecumseh as an "international" figure. Born and raised within the culture of the Shawnee Nation resident in the upper Ohio Valley, his influence extended far beyond. His name is rightly associated with the immediate area of his homeland, due to his numerous councils and negotiations with the Americans from 1803 to 1811 in the Detroit area and his frequent dealings with the British in the region of the Lower Thames in Upper Canada from 1810 to 1813. But his travels and influence extended far beyond these geographic boundaries. Like his famous contemporary Mohawk leader Joseph Brant, Tecumseh saw the need for a pan-Indian confederacy as the only means by which Aborigines could contend with the ever-increasing numbers and aggressiveness of the European settlers. Sugden points out that if one were to take a map of the United States and focus on the Ohio Valley as Tecumseh's centre of operations, his range of influence would reach east to the Atlantic coast, south to Florida, west to Nebraska and north into central and eastern Upper Canada. One has only to look at the tribal affiliation of many of those who fought beside Tecumseh when he was killed in 1813 at the Battle of the Thames in Upper Canada during the American-British War of 1812 to appreciate the wide range of support given to this Native leader. There was obvious prophetic foresight in the giving of the Indian name "shooting star" to the young Tecumseh by the Shawnee Elders. His light was seen by many during his short but powerful life; Sugden has continued and amplified that heritage in a book that does admirable justice to its subject.

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