

Taiaiake Alfred. *Peace Power Righteousness: An Indigenous Manifesto*. Oxford University Press, 1999.

Review by Cathy Wheaton, Saskatchewan Indian Federated College

This monograph would appeal to Native/Indian Studies scholars, political scientists, sociologists and others with an interest in Indigenous discourse as it relates to political movements. Taiaiake Alfred makes a unique contribution to Indigenous discourse and sets a standard by which subsequent Indigenous scholars can also pursue Indigenous ideologies and theoretical perspectives. Alfred articulates a critical political appraisal of mainstream political structures as they affect the autonomy of Indigenous people while also examining the strengths and weaknesses inherent in Indigenous political activity and leadership within Canada.

Alfred brings his readers a renewed concept of Indigenous meaning throughout the pages of *Peace Power Righteousness*. Through the text, Alfred challenges readers to rethink, redefine and reshape colonial discourse, and reveal an Indigenous discourse. Alfred's unique contribution emerges for his use of the Condolence ceremony, of Mohawk tradition, as his framework in attempting to reconstruct an Indigenous political configuration. Using the three main junctures within the Condolence ceremony, which he aptly renames Peace, Power and Righteousness, he reorients contemporary political activities within a traditional Indigenous ceremony. He begins by introducing the ceremony and its main components, which he uses as both a process and structure for his own writing. The main sections of the book are entitled Peace, Power and Righteousness, which coincide with key processes that Alfred asserts Indigenous people must go through when rethinking political nationhood.

In section 1, "Peace," Alfred begins with a ceremonial canon that laments the oppression that Indigenous peoples of Canada have experienced due to colonial political action and further at the hands of contemporary Indigenous leadership. Alfred then asks the following question: "What will Native governance systems be like when self-

government is achieved? His quest in his writing is to discover/articulate an ideology for Native governments through his “Indigenous Manifesto.” Throughout his monograph, Alfred talks about how Indigenous people can overcome the effects of colonialism while building a nationhood for themselves.

Alfred asserts that Indigenous nations can initiate a stronger form of Indian nationhood through the use of “traditional” forms of governance and value systems. He also indicates that Indigenous people must not expend all their energy on what has been lost, but focus instead on the strength acquired through their survival. Starting here, Alfred looks next towards decolonization and self-determination to achieve peaceful coexistence with non-Indigenous people in Canada.

Alfred’s definition of nationhood varies within this volume as he invites a variety of Indigenous conceptions of nationhood to play throughout his work during his dialogues with others. Alfred’s dialogues between himself and other Indigenous contributors who discuss their notions of concepts such as “tradition” and “Indigenous political governments” expands the breadth of the discourse markedly. His discussions with a West Coast political activist, a West Coast graduate student, a Kannawake international spokesperson and a noted Lakota scholar and activist ensure that Alfred has included voices and perspectives of Indigenous people along a wide spectrum.

In section 2, “Power,” Alfred begins his most difficult task: deconstructing colonial structures that impede Indigenous ideologies. Here he follows Michel Foucault’s process and begins to deconstruct the Western conception of power to challenge its hold upon Indigenous people. Alfred attempts to re-empower Indigenous people by deconstructing the Western conflict-ridden notion of power through a hermeneutical process. He examines Indigenous texts in order to replace disempowering Western notions of power with an Indigenous one that is more accommodating of Indigenous autonomy. His intent is to articulate a clearly Indigenous perspective on the concept of power itself—though *power* is a complex term to deconstruct, loaded as it is with social, political and economic contingencies. Unfortunately, Alfred does not completely accomplish his task. At the onset, his description of Western power is unclear. He seems at one time to

use power with coercive characteristics and then later draws in its non-coercive contexts. But his process of articulating Indigenous concepts is timely. Throughout the process of deconstruction, Alfred demonstrates to other Indigenous scholars how the careful combination of Western ideas and Indigenous ones can be skillfully integrated.

Further on, Alfred also addresses the term *sovereignty* and its ramification to Indigenous people in Canada. Alfred dialogues with Indigenous leaders on this power-laden term and through its discussion also reveals numerous barriers to achieving justice for Indigenous peoples in Canada. He also reminds his readers that attempting to work within a colonial structure is an acceptance of its presence. He relates how Indigenous conceptions of power as knowledge-power reveal true principles of Indigenous governance rather than merely resistance to colonial institutions.

Alfred then goes to greater depths when he discusses how Indigenous people must internalize Indigenous consciousness before attempting to create governance on traditional systems. However, when discussing this action, Alfred makes some pertinent omissions when he characterizes strong Indigenous nations. He mentions eight characteristics, yet nowhere on this list does he mention Indigenous peoples' relationship to the land. His discussion is considerably weakened by this oversight, especially when he directly quotes Indigenous texts that mention land relationships explicitly, such as this Paiute song on page 52:

The people talking, telling the power to come to them
And pretty soon it will come, it will come,
The moving power of the voice,
The moving power of the earth,
The moving power of the people.
That's the place Indian people talk about.

Alfred appears to have made the assumption that Indigenous people no longer possess a spatial Indigenous consciousness. The incorporation of this concept would have strengthened his ensuing discussion on the idea of alienation of Indigenous people that he dis-

cusses in later sections. Spatial alienation cannot be, should not be, overlooked when properly discussing aspects of the Indigenous psyche.

By far one of Alfred's stronger premises is the presence of co-option within Indigenous political entities. Alfred further claims that Native leadership is undermined and co-opted by colonial structures and reveals the insidious tactics that weaken and distract Native efforts to regain self-determination for their people. The divide-and-conquer method, financial dependency and incorporation of Indigenous people themselves into colonial structures are some of the co-option tactics discussed by Alfred in this regard. Alfred's discussion of the "modern treaty process" as an example of colonial co-option offers an alternative perspective on current Indigenous treaty negotiations in Canada and particularly in British Columbia. Alfred cuts through the political rhetoric of colonial discourse and identifies that Indigenous people are reacting to a "historically false idea" when "claiming" their respective lands and rights. Alfred successfully attacks the notion of claiming in this phrase: "All land claims . . . arise from the mistaken premise that Canada owns the land it is situated on." Throughout *Peace Power Righteousness*, Alfred emphasizes the inherency of Indigenous rights, despite existing colonial structures, as an *a priori* premise. This issue is also thoroughly addressed during Alfred's engaging discussion of the meaning of sovereignty when he dialogues with Atsenhaienton, a Kanien'kehaka spokesperson. Alfred also discusses contemporary leaders within Indian country who have internalized a colonial mentality and whom Alfred claims are already co-opted prior to embarking on self-determining political activity. Alfred uses the examples of Indian governments who are currently funded by state governments who also fail to challenge their dependency on the state.

Alfred ends his discussion by looking towards the future of Indigenous leadership, alluding to the changing climate of Indian political discourse into the new millennium. Alfred indicates that there is an erosion of guidance through traditional teachings, and talks about the "Indigenous intelligentsia" who will bring traditions to the forefront for future generations. Alfred ends his text by outlining what he

believes are the four principles key to attaining Indigenous autonomy: undermining intellectual premises of colonialism, activating moral imperatives for change, refusing to co-operate with the colonizer and resistance to injustice. These principles are his manifesto towards Indigenous decolonization.

Chris Arnett. *The Terror of the Coast: Land Alienation and the Colonial War on Vancouver Island and the Gulf Islands, 1849-1863*. Burnaby, BC: Talonbooks, 1999.

Reviewed by Susan Neylan, University of British Columbia

In *Terror of the Coast* Chris Arnett seeks to explore how imperial and colonial government policy towards Aboriginal lands on eastern Vancouver Island and the Gulf Islands in the 1860s was a violent affair, heavily resisted by First Nations. Given recent land claim settlements in British Columbia, such as the Nisga'a Treaty (1999), after more than a century of the province's denial of aboriginal title, Arnett's study of the collapse of the first treaty process is timely. However, Arnett's attempts are uneven and his strongest interpretative statements are sometimes obscured in narrative detail and description of dramatic events surrounding what he calls the "colonial war" of 1863. The first four chapters of *Terror of the Coast* recount the arrival of *hwunitum* (literally "the hungry people," referring to those persons of European ancestry) to southeastern Vancouver Island and adjacent Gulf Islands, and their ensuing impact on *hwulmuhw* (meaning the Aboriginal inhabitants or "people of the land") sovereignty and jurisdiction. After the fourteen Douglas "treaties" in the early 1850s, there were no further attempts to extinguish Aboriginal title to the land or purchase portions for non-Native resettlement. Arnett is harshly critical of Colonial Governor James Douglas' half-hearted attempts to address Aboriginal land claims and the encroachment on their territories that ensued. The remainder of the book is devoted to a chronology of events of 1863 when, Arnett argues, "in a little over a month . . . assaults on *hwunitum* transients would lead to military intervention, the elimination of active *hwulmuhw* resistance

and the imposition of British imperial rule over the territories of Hul'quium'num First Nations" (p. 110). The core thesis of *Terror of the Coast* claims the reason there were no other Native land extinguishment agreements in the area was "not for lack of funds . . . but through the use of armed end hwulmuhw opposition to occupation of their lands by hwunitum" (p. 11). Douglas was slow to follow through on verbal assurances to various First Nations in the region concerning the level or scope of European resettlement, and outright ignored former arrangements when confronted with petitions of complaint from would-be settlers. Here Arnett contributes to the revisionist perspectives on Douglas' colonial policy historians have been developing over the last two decades. Yet, for all the blame laid on Douglas, Arnett does not deny Aboriginal agency in this matter, which complicates his thesis that it was colonial armed force that ultimately prevented further resolution of land issues. He unequivocally states, "the real reason that land sale agreements were not made was because many Cowichan, Halalt, Larnalcha, Penelakut, Chemainus, and other si'em [upper class] would not sell their people's land at any price" (p. 98). By considering both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal motivations behind conflict over land, *Terror of the Coast* presents a balanced perspective on the events that precipitated the "colonial war." In early April 1863, a German immigrant and his teenage daughter were killed by a party of Lamalcha after stopping on Satuma Island to wait out a storm. Around the same time, two other non-Native men were attacked, one fatally, by a group of Quamichan with whom they had shared an evening meal. Throughout this section of his book, Arnett is consistently effective at illuminating the underlying motivations behind these killings, which must be viewed in the context of Aboriginal culture. "Robbery was said to be the motive behind the attacks, but in reality," explains Arnett, "they were further examples of a clash in jurisdiction" (p. 111). In response, the British assembled men-of-war, gunboats, armed launches and upwards of five hundred men to capture the murder suspects. The only engagement in which this military expedition met with armed resistance from First Nations' warriors was the Battle of Lamalcha on Kuper Island, which Arnett paradoxically proclaims "the only tactical de-

dex, which makes much of Arnett's careful documentation very difficult to access by those researchers and students searching for specific topics. Also absent is a table of contents for the book's forty-nine illustrations. To his credit, Arnett includes Aboriginal interpretations of events, where available in oral and written sources, and diligently employs contemporary spellings for tribal designations (curiously, except the Heiltsuk). Generally, his consistent use of Hul'qumi'num place names and descriptors for Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people is a direct attempt to correct the tendency of many written histories to Eurocentrism. This is an admirable gesture of respect. However, with no glossary or index, the non-specialist reader must pay careful attention so as not to confuse the true meaning of certain passages. In a similar vein, the first map of the entire region uses only Hul'qumi'num place names (p. 2), and would have been far more effective accompanied by an identical map using contemporary designations. This would allow readers to better locate the many photographs of places connected to events described in the book. The only general map of the entire area using place names that non-Native readers would be familiar with is a difficult-to-read reproduction of an 1865 map, placed two-thirds into the book (p. 211).

In the end, Arnett successfully achieves his goal of counteracting "the colonial myth . . . that the British resettlement of British Columbia was benign, bloodless, and law-abiding" (p. 14). However, Arnett did not convince me that the armed response of the British navy in 1863 was the paramount "strategy to alienate hwulmuhw lands" (p. 98). There is little evidence that the gunboat response, in itself, was a land grab. If this truly was the colonial government's preferred method of subjugating First Nations, why did the war end with the executions of the five Native men in Victoria? Nor was I convinced by Arnett's argument that this violent method eliminated "active hwulmuhw resistance" (p. 110). For a thorough assessment of the true impact of the "colonial war" as a deterrent to Aboriginal resistance, Arnett should have examined the post-1863 period in greater depth than his ten-page epilogue allows. Moreover, Arnett offers numerous examples of the continuance of Aboriginal protests, though non-combatant ones, to challenges to their autonomy and lands. My criti-

cisms aside, if we take *Terror on the Coast* as an exposition of an episode within a larger process of colonialism, then this book has an crucial story to tell.

feat ever inflicted by a tribal people on the Royal Navy,” although the village of Lamalcha itself was utterly destroyed and the British suffered only one fatality (p. 135). In the ensuing weeks, through threat and further destruction of Native villages, physical coercion and humiliation of prisoners or the use of hostages as human shields, and through the co-operation of several First Nations, the British eventually apprehended their suspects. Arnett thoroughly documents the inequity of their murder trial, which, even at the time, was heralded by many Natives and non-Natives alike as a terrible miscarriage of justice. The five Aboriginal men executed for the murders, Arnett concludes, acted ‘as a warning to all Hwulmohw people of the futility of asserting their sovereignty in those areas where aboriginal title had not been extinguished’ (p. 301).

To be fair, the strength of this book lies in the compelling story, not in Arnett’s analysis of its significance. The book’s generally poor organization may be partly to blame, although by his own admission it leans towards empiricism. Arnett buries much of his analysis amidst his description and detailing of events and historical players. Few chapters have explicit introductions or conclusions, and I found many of his key arguments in tantalizing statements somewhere mid-stream in his chronology of events. Occasionally, because of his stress on primary historical sources, important scholarly reinterpretations have been omitted. For example, he reproduces the erroneous assumption that the Chinook jargon was invented by Europeans by relying on a 1909 source (pp. 63, 178). Given Arnett’s discussion of Aboriginal lands, resettlement, and methods of intimidation, control and subjugation, he might have consulted Cole Harris’s interpretations on these very issues in *The Resettlement of British Columbia: Essays on Colonization and Geographical Change* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1997), particularly when assessing the violent colonial policies within the wide range of strategies of power invoked by European explorers, traders, miners and settlers. Also missing is a history published by the Cowichan Tribes, which shares many

of Arnett's perspectives on Native resistance to European intrusion—Daniel P. Marshall, *Those Who Fell from the Sky: A History of the Cowichan Peoples* (Duncan, BC: Cowichan Tribes, 1999), although its spring 1999 release may account for its exclusion from Arnett's bibliography. *Terror of the Coast* also suffers from a series of structural problems because of decisions made by Talonbooks. Typeset in a rather small, condensed font with tight spacing, block quotations appear almost indistinguishable from the main text. There is no index, which makes much of Arnett's careful documentation very difficult to access by those researchers and students searching for specific topics. Also absent is a table of contents for the book's forty-nine illustrations. To his credit, Arnett includes Aboriginal interpretations of events, where available in oral and written sources, and diligently employs contemporary spellings for tribal designations (curiously, except the Heiltsuk). Generally, his consistent use of Hul'qumi'num place names and descriptors for Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people is a direct attempt to correct the tendency of many written histories to Eurocentrism. This is an admirable gesture of respect. However, with no glossary or index, the non-specialist reader must pay careful attention so as not to confuse the true meaning of certain passages. In a similar vein, the first map of the entire region uses only Hul'qumi'num place names (p. 2), and would have been far more effective accompanied by an identical map using contemporary designations. This would allow readers to better locate the many photographs of places connected to events described in the book. The only general map of the entire area using place names that non-Native readers would be familiar with is a difficult-to-read reproduction of an 1865 map, placed two-thirds into the book (p. 211).

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Constance Backhouse. *Colour-Coded: A Legal History of Racism in Canada, 1900-1950*. Toronto: Osgoode Society for Canadian Legal History and University of Toronto Press, 1999.

Review by Terry Provost, Concordia University

This text duly undermines the popular collective notion of Canada being a more ethnically and racially tolerant society than the United States. With *Colour-Coded*, Backhouse digs up important pieces of historical evidence from archives across Canada related to legal practices and proceedings, scrutinizing their discriminatory interplay in the greater Canadian society. This means legislation, law amendments, licit prejudices, judicial practices, and court rulings are studied within a sociocultural and sociopolitical context linked to ideological perceptions of race. The analysis is presented in the very accessible format of case studies. And these are narrated comprehensively, in rich detail. All are accompanied by illustrations and photographs of the events or individuals involved. The visuals enhance the re-sketching of historical reality in post-Victorian Canada. What may be particularly jarring for certain readers, however, is Backhouse's racializing of every individual in her discussion. Thus, the adjective "White" becomes just as commonplace in this text as "First-Nations," "Black" or "Chinese." Whereas some readers may consider this an annoyance that burdens the text, it nonetheless de-normalizes the position

of White subjects who take for granted that their views of the world are universal. For a change, the subject, individual and discourse of Whiteness, from a Canadian perspective, are made visible and open to criticism.

In studying the shared cross-cultural ideologies about race taxonomy and White supremacy, Backhouse demonstrates how, in Canada, European anthropology influenced the making of legal rights and privileges, with preference given to Whites. She also examines the manner in which White men took liberties with determining who was of which race or of which ethnicity, without consulting the people in question. This is the incident of the first case study in which the Inuit, labeled by White administrators as Eskimo, were legally defined, not as a distinct people, but as a subset of the vague category "Indian." These problematic racial classifications—White, Red, Black and Yellow—also appeared, as Backhouse notes, on the Canadian federal government's census of 1901, with instructions characterizing each colour category by an ethnicity.

Also treated in *Colour-Coded* is the criminalization, begun in 1884, of the First Nations' traditional dances in the Prairies, and the injustices suffered by Wanduta, a Dakota elder and healer of the sacred Dakota society. Although invited to perform in a traditional Grass Dance in Rapid City, Manitoba, he was arrested and imprisoned in 1903 for his participation. In this chapter, Backhouse reveals how the federal Department of Indian Affairs, delegated exclusively by White men, was in theory established to legally protect First Nations traditions, cultures and values, but in actuality became highly instrumental in wreaking havoc with the political, spiritual, financial and cultural well-being of myriad Native communities.

Another analysis concerns the legal case of Eliza Sero, a Mohawk widow from the Ontario-Great Lakes region whose fishing net was unlawfully seized by the Canadian government. Backhouse explains that this confiscation deprived Sero of personal earnings. As the descendant of a Mohawk matriline, whose traditions were founded on female economic autonomy, Sero had woven most of the seine net and agreed to share half its catch with the fishermen of her community. Backhouse pieces together Sero's individual history, as well as

the judicial recourse she sought against the seizure of her net.

Also supplied is a sampling of the discriminations Chinese male employers confronted in Saskatchewan. They demanded that their hiring of White women be legalized. Restaurant and rooming-house owner Yee Clun, an Asian Canadian, endured great opposition when requesting such an authorization in 1924 from the Regina city council. At the time, not only White men, but various White women's organizations contested Asian men's employing of White women for their small business. The Women's Christian Temperance Union and the Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA) were but a few of those displaying their disapproval of Clun's petition. Moreover, supporting the predominant racist views of White legislators, certain White clergymen produced pamphlet propaganda regarding the moral hazards of White females working in close confines with Asian men. They allegedly became susceptible to smoking opium, rape, sexual temptation and interracial marriage. Here, Backhouse investigates the implicit prejudices of the White Women's Labour Law of 1912 and its application to Clun's case.

Next analyzed are the mob activities of the Ku Klux Klan (KKK) in Ontario, encouraged by the complete nonchalance of the White police. The core biography of this chapter, however, concerns Ira Johnson, a young man of Black and First Nations heritage. Backhouse charts out the intimidation Johnson suffered at the hands of the KKK, the court and law enforcers. The terrorization began one day when Johnson and his White fiancée, Isabel Jones, were forced from his home by the Klan. Johnson was then advised to keep away from Jones; and this threat led to the KKK setting fire to his house, which burnt to the foundation. Numerous incidents are picked apart in Backhouse's historical reconstruction. She gives the history of the origins of the Klan, their ideologies, their rituals of cross burning, their terrorist tactics in different Canadian provinces in the 1920s, and more particularly their target groups in Oakville, Ontario during the 1930s.

The last case study deals with the ejection of Viola Desmond from the Roseland Theatre in New Glasgow, Nova Scotia, due to her racial identity. Refusing to sit upstairs in the "Black" designated area

of the Roseland Theatre, Desmond found a seat with a better view downstairs, her defiance flustering the White ticket-takers. Shortly thereafter, she was arrested, jailed overnight for 12 hours, and forced to share a cell with men. Adding to her humiliation, upon her release, Desmond was fined twenty-six dollars for supposedly violating the provincial Theatres, Cinematographs and Amusements Act.

The ambiguities in legalized discrimination and in discriminatory language are especially probed in this case study. Backhouse traces the amendments of certain laws, and deciphers the ambiguous meaning that encodes them. She also illustrates how legal amendments were constantly carried out in order to inhibit the rights of certain groups seen as a threat to the racial purity, financial enterprise and political dominance of White Canada. This legal ambiguity in itself created crevices in the laws that would subsequently work either for or against the initial intent of the amenders.

Through Backhouse's rich descriptions, the readers see how ethnic and First Nations peoples, singled out for socioeconomic and sociopolitical subjugation by the Canadian government, organized and resisted legally sanctioned discriminations. As well, certain of these case studies exemplify how, although marginal, there were those Whites who believed in, and fought for full equality of individual rights, privileges and freedoms, regardless of race, ethnicity and gender. The substance of this work proves that Canadian democracy, voting rights, civil liberties and individual/ collective entitlement were doubtless coded "White" during the period studied. The endnotes are a wealth of information and thus an asset to *Colour-Coded*. Backhouse has not only meticulously documented archival data; she has placed them in expanded form on a web site, with a count exceeding 400 pages. From academic to layperson, this book is a must read. This elaborate, well-mapped analysis of the history of Canadian discriminatory legal (mal)practices and miscarriages of justice during the first half of the 20th century provide a clear and insightful understanding of the continued and inherent strands of racism in the legal structures of Canada today.

F. Laurie Barron and Joseph Garcea (editors). *Urban Indian Reserves: Forging New Relationships in Saskatchewan*. Saskatoon, SK: Purich Publisher, 1999.

Review by Allison M. Williams, Department of Geography,
University of Saskatchewan

Urban Indian Reserves provides a timely analysis of the urban-reserve phenomenon in Saskatchewan. Although provincial in scope, the collection provides a model for the country. The deliberate choice that Saskatchewan First Nations have made in adding urban areas to reserves—without comprising their Aboriginal and treaty rights (via the Treaty Land Entitlement Framework Agreement)—as part of long-term economic and political development strategy is unique and novel. This is evident in the commercial and institutional activities in which the four urban reserves—Saskatoon, Prince Albert, Fort Qu'Appelle, Yorkton—featured in the collection are designated. In addition, the ambitious role that municipal governments in Saskatchewan have taken on in defining their relationship with urban reserves is unusual and progressive and provides a framework from which others can operate.

The strength of this volume is the mix of contributors, representing a cross-section of academic disciplines and municipal practitioners from both the Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal communities. To illustrate, the Aboriginal perspective is presented in at least four chapter contributions written by First Nations administrators. Other authors include civic administrators representing municipal planning and economic development departments, and various social scientists at the University of Saskatchewan and the Saskatchewan Indian Federated College. A short section containing a brief descriptive paragraph about each contributor would have added context to his or her contribution, and thereby added perspective to the overall volume.

The editors deserve congratulations for staging the book's contributions so well. They frame the thirteen-chapter collection with a strong introduction, which sets the stage for the reader; and then provide a summary conclusion, which operates as a reflection on the

chapters while suggesting areas for future research. Recognizing that the book examines the creation of four reserves, the book would have been better organized and somewhat easier to read (and use as a reference) if the stories of each of these projects were presented in sections. Two sections could have encompassed the four stories, with the first section representing the two reserves that were created amidst great bitterness, and the second describing the two reserves nurtured between the local municipality and the First Nations band council in political harmony. By dividing the book into these two sections, repetition specific to the Treaty Land Entitlement Framework Agreement (where funds to acquire land in fulfillment of treaties were received by First Nations) would have been minimized.

Although the collection is a “must-read” for every scholar working on contemporary urban planning and/or First Nations issues, both First Nations and municipalities would be amiss if *Urban Indian Reserves* were not on their reading list, given the practical value of the analysis presented.

John M. Coward. *The Newspaper Indian: Native American Identity in the Press, 1820-1890*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1999.

Review by Mark C. Anderson, Department of History, Brock University

The Othering of Indigenous peoples is easy to establish from Christopher Columbus’s diaries (noted in this book) to Disney animated features released in the 1990s. This scourge is endemic, has deep historical and cultural roots, and exists all around us. Yet, though the images of Indians that surface in the mass media frequently appear to be simplistic (that’s the nature of cliches), their manufacture and origination are difficult to ascertain.

To that end, this historical field tends to focus on the images themselves, and not on their production. John M. Coward’s ambitious study does both—and, as a result, offers a major contribution to the literature.

The study explores American press characterizations of Indig-

enous peoples of the United States during the 19th century. That Native peoples suffered prejudice and pejorative typecasting in the media is a given, and Coward, a journalism professor at the University of Tulsa, attempts to explain why and, importantly, how. The results are splendid on most counts.

In the former case, for background purposes Coward sketches White American perceptions of Indians and Indian culture since the time of Christopher Columbus. Not surprisingly, he identifies a centuries-old legacy of alleged Indian inferiority that he dates to first contacts. The attributes of the Indian Other that Coward distinguishes will not surprise readers. He provides a fairly standard take on the Good Savage/Noble Savage. That said, he wisely stresses the porous nature of the liminal area separating the two general versions of the related hackneyed images. A chapter on how the press depicted Sitting Bull over time is especially instructive and insightful on this. He observes that “it is more accurate to think not of a single Indian identity but of several related and connected identities, all created within the bounds of Euro-American culture.” (p. 9). Further, he notes, even the so-called Noble Savage still represented, after all, a deprecatory depiction.

The considerable strength of this work lies in explaining how the press qua institution promoted cultural visions of alleged Indian inferiority. For example, he shows that, not only did reporters internalize and reflect the larger culture, they also promoted it, frequently in exaggerated fashion. As another example, Indian war reporters relied more or less entirely on the government and military for information—the “facts.” Naturally, because such “facts” were tainted, they tended to reinforce negative attitudes about Indians to an extreme.

Coward couches this discussion against an excellent presentation about the development of a professional news media in the last century. The press in the early 19th century was informal, *ad hoc*. But the industrial revolution transformed it by making it easier, cheaper and more imperative to publish news. He discusses the emergence of the penny press in the 1830s and emphasizes especially how the Civil War remade the business of news gathering and re-

porting in the 1860s. The study amounts to a veritable primer on the development of the press in the American West. And while he makes no claim for statistical representativeness of media outlets, his sources reflect an impressive breadth of primary news sources.

Significantly, the text charts the advent of the press's normative tendency for inaccuracy. While he assiduously eschews the application of postmodernist theory and jargon, Coward strives to demonstrate that the collecting and presentation of ostensibly objective "facts" in reality echoed racist and/or ethnocentric ideologies. He concludes that the conventionalizing "was less the product of intentional racial prejudice than of an informal ethnocentric belief system that operated on and through the press, creating and reinforcing racial differences and limiting the formation of fully rounded, alternative Indian identities" (p. 62).

That said, Coward also underscores that prevalent categorizations were on occasion contested. Yet, here again, he resists the temptation to sketch the accepted classifications as binary opposites, once more supporting the idea that the stereotypes were neither monolithic nor inflexible. The result is not to diminish the power of prejudice but, rather, to illustrate its formidable ability to resist rationality. Flexibility offers the rigid formulas strength.

This excellent study might have provided more pictorial evidence, which might then have been integrated into the text, not set apart from it. The prose is balanced and dispassionate. Coward resists moralizing.

This book will naturally appeal to journalism scholars and students but should become required reading for those with an interest in the American West and the history of Native peoples in North America.

Renee Hulan (editor). *Native North American: Critical and Cultural Perspectives*. Toronto: ECW Press, 1999.

Review by Molly Blyth, Trent University

"Much has been said about Aborigines in Canadian literature; much

more remains to be said,” writes Agnes Grant in her contribution to Renee Hulan’s important new collection of essays on Native North American literary and cultural criticism. While certainly fulfilling Grant’s call for more work in the field, what is exciting about this anthology of thirteen essays is its primary focus on an analysis of the cultural production of Indigenous North Americans rather than, as has been too often the case in Canadian literary criticism, a focus on the representation of the Native in the writing of non-Natives. Its cross-border approach to the field and subsequent repudiation of the colonist concept of the nation-state, in which Indigenous writing is assimilated into either a Canadian or American cultural context, is also a most welcome innovation as is its interdisciplinary reading of Native American “literature” through the lens of history, media studies and the law.

While the thirteen contributors to this volume both Native and non-Native, respect the diversity of Native North American cultural practices, they celebrate here an imagined community of Indigenous peoples—a community grounded in the shared experiences of resistance and survival. Indeed, for Patricia Monture Angus, these two characteristics thematically organize Native American writing in English; however, Henry Lutz in his essay on German perspectives on First Nations literature, notes that “survival” is not to be understood according to an “Atwoodian stereotype . . . luxuriously wallowing in feelings of victimhood.” Instead, Lutz, as well other contributors, argue that “resistance” and “survival” are necessarily predicated on “agency”—on actively choosing, as in Monture Angus’ case, for example, to speak and write in the enemy’s language:

What is overlooked is what my people have done with language! We have taken a language that does not speak for us and given it new life. Perhaps we break all of the structural, stylistic and grammatical rules. But we learned to use a language that was forced upon us to create powerful messages that convey to you our experience. I do not call this a problem—call it creativity. It is time my people give themselves credit for the great things we have accomplished against

great adversity, rather than continuing to accept and embrace our exclusion. I am proud of my people.

Jo-Ann Thom's excellent ideological readings of *The Almanac of the Dead* advances this thesis further in its argument that, "Like many contemporary Indigenous writers, Leslie Marmon Silko subverts the rhetorical practices of European colonizers in order to advance Indigenous attitudes and ideas." So, too, does Marianette-Jaimes-Guerrero's essay, even though its focus is on a critique of the image of Native women in mainstream media and is, therefore, a recycling of earlier "images of Native" criticism. Despite this drawback, the last two sections introduce readers to the exciting liberatory work of Native women media artists, writers and producers who work to disrupt and undermine, with humour and panache, mainstream racist and sexist stereotypes.

All contributors to this collection hold academic positions in Canadian or American universities; however, the accessibility of their essays for the general reader works to destabilize the boundaries between the academy and outside world. As such, this collection radically questions contemporary literary theory's reputation as just another elitist academic discourse lacking the potential for political transformation. When Gerald Vizenor's writings, perhaps some of the most notoriously difficult in the field, can be read intelligently and his ideas made meaningful to a wide spectrum of North American readers—as they can here in "Native American Indian Literatures: Narratives of Survivance"—then the problematic concept of "the Native" as the exotic object of anthropological or sociological knowledge will, as he hopes, begin to lose its charm and place of curricular prominence in our educational institutions.

If "art is a more effective vehicle to bring about social change on behalf of Indigenous peoples than political confrontations like that employed by the American Indian Movement," a point made by Leslie Marmon Silko and cited by Jo-Ann Thom's essay and if, as Jaimes-Guerrero claims in her essay, working for change means, at one level, confronting the ideological power of our institutions and "indigenizing education in schools and colleges . . . to challenge those who would

maintain the racist and sexist status quo,” then Renee Hulan’s new anthology, *Native North America*, is a most welcome and necessary tool of this liberatory practice and should be a required text on university English courses in this country, in the United States and abroad.

Karl Kroeber. *Artistry in Native American Myths*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1998.

Review by Laura Murray, English Department, Queen’s University

Karl Kroeber has produced an odd book. On the one hand, this is an anthology, in which thematic groupings of Native stories are followed by critical essays—one might, then, suppose that it would be appropriate for a general readership or classroom use. After all, Native stories are not transparent in meaning, and there would be a place for a collection that, unlike Erdoes and Ortiz’s widely known *American Indian Myths and Legends*, offered clarification and cultural context for the material it presents. Kroeber has selected some fine stories: tellers range from the laconic Jack of Murek to the literary James Welch, and transcriptions represent both 19th-century and “state-of-the-art” approaches (Canadian content is the Beaver story “The Girl and her Younger Brother,” told by Antoine Hunter and translated by Robin Ridington). Kroeber clusters complementary tellings of bear stories, trickster stories, Yurok blood money stories, Blackfoot Feather Woman stories and Lakota Stone Boy stories. However, Kroeber’s commentaries are mostly preoccupied with larger critical concerns of his own, and he only eventually directly engages with the stories themselves: as the title suggests, this is really a monograph, with stories included for handy reference. The most extreme case is the first section, in which the Iroquois story of Tekanawita and the cannibal is followed by a critique of Tristram P. Coffin’s 1961 *Indian Tales of North America*, an examination of the anthropology exhibits at the 1893 Chicago Exposition, and a defence of American, as opposed to French, anthropology. Kroeber’s parents were, of course, illustrious Boasian anthropologists, and he seems here more con-

cerned with defending the family name than illuminating Iroquois mythology — although it must be said that his discussion of the Americanizing function of the study of Native Americans for a generation of immigrant anthropologists is very interesting. Kroeber's claim that his own anthology is "radically different" from Coffin's, since Coffin was "unable to develop a valid intuition of the difference between Western written literature and Indian oral narratives" is risky, since it provokes a reader of Kroeber's book to test him on this question. And unfortunately, it is not at all clear that Kroeber passes.

Kroeber argues that there is an essential difference between the mythic imagination and the literary imagination. He proposes that Native American myths, rather than being static pillars of a static culture as they have often been thought to be, "are told in order to be retold." That is to say, they are essentially variable, and it is in this variability that allows them to continue to produce meaning for a changing culture — whereas Western written artworks are designed to produce particular effects. Non-Native readers or listeners, he notes, not familiar enough with the nuances of the stories, see only overt repetition and are blind to variations and intentional ambiguities crafted by individual tellers. "Studies of oral practices in our [Western] culture tend to mislead, because all our discourse is significantly contaminated by literacy," Kroeber writes. "Indian cultures exist through the fashion in which every part of their world is both the object and the inspiration of continual imagining and reimagining." Now, Kroeber is definitely onto something. When I teach traditional Native stories, non-Native students often balk at the apparent lack of causal relationships, of moral clarity, of "take-home message." So, for example, after reading the Lakota Stone Boy stories Kroeber includes, they (and I) might ask, Why does the old woman kill men by inviting them to kick her? Why does the boy kill the girls while sledding down the hill? What are we supposed to think about these apparently unmotivated violent events? And so on. Kroeber makes the important claim that Native stories are told in an open way to permit cultural and individual adaptations, and to make audiences work out moral and aesthetic issues on their own. But it seems to me that his categorical distinction between oral and literate, Native and

non-Native cultures, just doesn't hold. I should say that I don't rule out the possibility that there *isn't* some essential difference between these modes and cultures—but Kroeber doesn't get at it here. "Mythic" stories in Western culture are open-ended too. Consider the story from Genesis of Jacob and Esau. Jacob only gives his hungry older brother food under the condition that Esau give up his birthright, and when their blind father lies dying Jacob represents himself as Esau to receive his blessing—and yet neither God nor Old Testament passes judgment on Jacob. When I present the story to students, those who have been raised as Christians say, oh well, Esau was lazy and so he deserved it: the story is about how you have to earn your birthright. Students who have not been raised as Christians, think Jacob is a sneak and a liar. I tell them about another valence the story has often borne: Esau, the "red" and "hairy" man, has been viewed as a figure for the "savage" who won't farm and expects handouts. My point here is that meaning accrues around stories, not just between their lines. The story of Esau and Jacob, too, has many meanings, and which we privilege has most to do with where and who we are. In the case of Native stories, it would be entirely arrogant of latter-day non-Native readers to presume that the meaning they construct when they confront the story on the page is as valid as that of a more informed or "insider" reader. But to deny their own responses is perverse as well, and can amount to a refusal to participate in the open interpretive economy Kroeber identifies. A non-Native reader (or a Native reader from a different time or nation) can never come up with an insider reading, but they can try to stitch together their own responses, the story itself, other versions of it (here I agree with Kroeber) and the responses of more informed interpreters. The cultural differences Kroeber is concerned with are both larger than he thinks and smaller than he thinks. Larger than he thinks, because open-mindedness and facts won't bridge them: Kroeber's one-to-three-paragraph ethnographic and historical footnotes on the culture from which each story comes are almost laughably inadequate as foundations for interpretation. Smaller than he thinks, because many of Kroeber's observations about myth and meaning apply to non-Native cultures. Furthermore, his polarized sense of the

difference between oral and literate cultures doesn't address the situation today in which Native writers Gerald Vizenor, Betty Bell, James Welch, Maria Campbell, and so on and so on, are "contaminated" (to use Kroeber's word) by literacy, but tell stories nonetheless in breath and ink.

Kroeber is primarily known as a scholar of late-18th-century British romantic poets. It would be a bit crude but not totally wrong, I think, to suggest that he admires Native Americans as the only ones who have ever really implemented Percy Shelley's ideas about the essential role of art in keeping the world running (Shelley does come up in his discussion of the function of the mythic imagination). For Shelley, art was both transcendent and instrumental. Kroeber wants to protect Native American myth, as an embodiment of art and culture so conceived, from the "vapour trails of high-flying theoreticians," from contamination. But sometimes those theoreticians are Native Americans, showing once again the adaptability of myth Kroeber himself celebrates: Kroeber's protective aim is impossible, but could it be achieved it would be paralyzing according to his own claims. Kroeber's fascination with the voice as inherently more poetic than the written word sounds like Wordsworth, and Kroeber suffers the same contradictions as Wordsworth, who was, after all, a writer of poems. Of course, this isn't bad company, and I don't for a minute doubt Kroeber's sincere interest and appreciation for Native stories and traditions. Some of his local insights are telling, and his reading of Bad Wound's Stone Boy story, for example, is very rich. However, teachers or story-learners who want to think about Native stories in action would do better to look first at Julie Cruikshank's *Life Lived Like a Story* or Greg Sarris's *Keeping Slug Woman Alive*, brilliant books both.

Jean L. Manore. *Cross-Currents: Hydroelectricity and the Engineering of Northern Ontario*. Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1999.

Review by Martin Loney

The generation of hydroelectric power was central to the develop-

ment of mining and industry in northern Ontario. Manore examines the history of the Moose River watershed in northeastern Ontario, focusing on the interplay between the natural environment, developers and the competing users of the rivers including the First Nations. Manore argues that the doctrine of the mutuality of rights led to efforts to ensure the balancing of competing interests: resources were to be developed for the common good. This afforded legitimacy to the interests of others using the rivers to seek to profit from northern development where these were in conflict with hydro regulation. This ensured the protection of the interests of commercial loggers, using the rivers to transport timber. The doctrine did not, however, provide any assistance to First Nations: because mutuality of rights was tied into the common good principle, it would not acknowledge the rights of Aboriginal people to use the waterways to pursue their traditional vocations. The common good principle looked after the interests of the developers and urban communities, not the few Aboriginal people who lived in the North.

The power companies were prepared to provide narrow compensation to Aboriginals affected by hydro regulation, primarily by addressing any loss of land, but they did not afford protection to Aboriginal harvesting activities that were adversely impacted. Recognition of such interests would have had a significant impact on the shape of development: Hydroelectric development under the progressive ideology of the early 20th century could not have occurred unless the sustainable ideology of the First Nations was swept aside. The result was that, while hydro development accelerated the growth of mining and other enterprises, it did so at a continuing and escalating cost to Aboriginal harvesting. The political intervention, which sought to balance the competing interests of various power users and suppliers, was absent when it came to representing the interests of Aboriginal stakeholders.

Much of Manore's account details the nuts and bolts of hydro development and the interplay between the different corporate and governmental actors. It will provide a useful resource to readers seeking further information on the contested history of the rivers and the impact on Aboriginal interests.

Calvin Martin. *The Way of the Human Being*. New Haven & London, 1999.

Review by Neal McLeod, Saskatchewan Indian Federated College

Calvin Martin throughout *The Way of the Human Being* discusses the importance of Indigenous stories and world-views in the context of contemporary life. Early on in the book, Martin discusses the methodology of his first book, *The Keepers of the Game*, which was based primarily on archival sources. However, in the present volume, Martin seeks to engage the beliefs of Indigenous people on their own terms through their own words. Martin credits the shift in his methodology due to some of the time that he has spent with various groups, including the Yupi'it Natives of Alaska. The result of his approach throughout the book is an indispensable aid to anyone teaching and studying Indigenous narratives, religions and philosophies.

The book has an easy flow and is richly layered with various narrative dimensions. While Martin articulates some of his own experiences throughout, he does refer to other accounts of Indigenous narratives. The result is a dynamic and thoughtful account of the manner in which Indigenous peoples have struggled to maintain their identities in the pressures of modernity. Particularly striking are the narratives of some of the people from whom he has recorded stories, including those found in chapters 5 and 6.

The Way of Being Human raises central philosophical questions about the relationship between various world-views. Being a historian of Indian-white relations, Martin is conscious of the impact of European material culture and beliefs upon the life-world of the first peoples of North America. In chapter 2, "...to the skin of the world," Martin attempts to demonstrate the manner in which reality is constructed as series of interrelated narratives and perspectives. In chapter 4, Martin poetically describes the use of "myth" as a way of passing "through the membrane" (p. 45) of our everyday conceptions. Thus, Martin is extending some of the ideas from his earlier book, but he also suggests that Indigenous narratives may describe layers

of reality that are not evident in a more empirical examination.

Throughout the book, Martin also discusses the relationship between Indigenous peoples, their lands and their stories. There is much in the book that complements contemporary studies such as TEK (Traditional Ecological Knowledge). Martin discusses the conflict between government agencies who are trying to keep track of various species and the beliefs and practices of the Yupi'it people of Alaska. The descriptions of Martin's own experience in this regard are quite helpful. Through his discussion of his friend Robert's narrative, the importance of hunting and living off the land are stressed (p. 125).

Martin provides many lush descriptions of the manner in which Indigenous people cited throughout the book voiced themselves. For example, he describes an old man at a meeting in Alaska in the following manner: "as though he we saying something sacred and somehow fragile—like a spider's web in its inclusiveness" (p. 110). In another passage, Martin notes: "Spoken words were articulated by dancing hands and intricate finger movements" (p. 133). However, one of his friends, Harold, notes that words themselves have declined in the dislocation of Indigenous people from their land and their livelihoods: "Words themselves have died in the great die-off" (p. 130). Martin throughout the narratives he has collected tackles the very difficult and important question: how does a group of people remember something that they cannot explain? In the case of the Indigenous people of Alaska, this change was the transformation of their lives in a relatively short period of time.

However, some questions linger in my mind after reading the book: did Martin get permission to record the stories that he writes in his book? Were the people from whom he received the stories aware of how their narratives would be used? Also, I wondered if Martin had actually changed their names in order to protect the privacy of those who was writing about, particularly when he was discussing the effects of alcohol and other difficulties.

The book is a powerful and creative dialogue with Indigenous stories. In discussing the work of Barry Lopez, Martin subtly urges us to see Indigenous cultures as dynamic and organic. In discussing

Lopez, Martin notes that many of the papers at a particularly conference were dull because they did not deal with real Indians but rather “anthropological Indians” (p. 211). The challenge in research and writing is to not ossify a culture (as many ethnographic approaches tend to do), but rather to see cultures as a dynamic living force in the present. On this score, Martin’s narrative offers us a highly successful template on how this could be done. The book is poignant, powerful and reflective. The book points to the possibilities of an alternative paradigm for understanding Indigenous history and experience.

Ian S. McIntosh. *Aboriginal Reconciliation and the Dreaming: Warramiri Yolngu and the Quest for Equality*. Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 2000

Review by Suzi Hutchings, University of Adelaide, Australia

McIntosh presents a powerful and passionate argument for postcolonial governments to listen to the voices of wisdom of Indigenous peoples if meaningful reconciliation between the two is to be achieved. He reveals important information about the cultural mechanisms that these people have developed in order to cope with the escalation of encroachment from government workers and development companies into their lives. In so doing McIntosh has fulfilled a major criteria of the philosophy behind the series of which this book is a part. *Cultural Studies in Ethnicity and Change* is a set of volumes edited by anthropologists Maybury-Lewis and Macdonald. The studies have been sponsored by the organization Cultural Survival, which according to the forward is aimed at “promot[ing] multiethnic solutions to otherwise conflictive situations” (p. ix), particularly for Indigenous peoples in their ongoing relations with the state.

It cannot be denied that the intentions behind the philosophy of this organization, and in turn the studies, are noble in providing a space for Indigenous and minority voices on the international stage. However, there is also a danger that they may actually mask a

reinvention in literary form of relations of domination and oppression in their very presentation. If Macintosh's book is one by which we may judge the rest of the series, this danger is ever-present. McIntosh takes up the position of speaking on behalf of a particular group of Yolngu Aborigines, the Warramiri Yolngu of northeast Arnhem Land in the north of Australia.

Chapter 1 and most of the second half of the book (from Chapter 4 on) presents to the reader the Yolngu ideology of membership and remembrance, which is central to a unique Yolngu philosophy of reconciliation. From Macintosh's rendering this is a complex ideology that "refers to the interplay of 'inside' and 'outside' and mythical and historical narratives" (p. 86). It is a system in which the Yolngu remember their history and membership to each other through the law embodied in the Dreaming. But it is also an ideology, which explains and maintains their links to outsiders or *Balanda* (Macassans and European Australians). It is this philosophy that McIntosh argues establishes for the Yolngu a method for a future of successful interaction between Yolngu and outsiders, which at the same time maintains Yolngu cultural power and integrity.

Chapter 1 is written in a lyrical storytelling style. It may be that this style was chosen in order to lead the reader into imagining how the Warramiri may describe their own history and their interrelations with outsiders. Whatever the aim, this is certainly the effect. The chapter interweaves oblique references to the Dreaming and its concomitant laws about kinship and relations to land and country with the history of Yolngu dealings with both Macassans (from Indonesia) and later European missionaries. Most importantly, the chapter introduces the reader to the late Warramiri leader and elder, Burrumarra. It is here that McIntosh appears to be setting himself up as a voice through which the Warramiri Yolngu speak in a bid to bring their story to a national and international audience.

This style continues in much of the second part of the book. Burrumarra is an essential character in this section. According to McIntosh he was a driving force in the presentation of a Flag Treaty proposal of reconciliation to the federal government of Australia. The philosophy behind Burrumarra's reconciliation proposal, it turns

out, was highly dependent on Burrumarra's idiosyncratic interpretation of a particular Yolngu Dreaming provided a template for Warramiri cultural and economic relations with outsiders. Central to this unique philosophy of reconciliation was the concept of membership and remembrance.

What McIntosh has achieved in this book is to provide the reader with insights into an Indigenous world-view on Aboriginal sovereignty, reconciliation, race-relations and economic management that may otherwise be unavailable other than to a very small audience. Of particular significance is the proposal for Yolngu management of the sea (chapter 9). This presents a position on sea rights and marine management in which Yolngu have cultural and historically based expertise. If taken seriously by Australian governments and the Indonesian government it is suggested such a strategy would help to improve diminishing fish stocks and reinvigorate seriously damaged marine environments between Australia and Indonesia.

However, while speaking on behalf of particular Yolngu this does not mean that McIntosh is Yolngu. While it is extremely important to bring Indigenous voices to an international forum, McIntosh has achieved this through the filter of academic distance, which he has failed to make explicit. The reality is that he speaks as an academic who is in fact part of the dominant society. On page 136 he comments that non-Aborigines must adhere to Aboriginal law in order to achieve some specific goals of reconciliation. Yet how realistic is such a policy? While some Yolngu may equate an Indigenous policy of adoption of outsiders with government policies of assimilation of Indigenous peoples, this does not mean that McIntosh need simply reiterate this theory without putting government assimilation policies into historical context for the reader. Such policies affected Aboriginal people Australia-wide and were not confined to the Yolngu. Implicit in these policies was a template for cultural destruction, not an attempt at adopting for the benefit of the nation the culture of Aboriginal people.

There is a further danger in this. McIntosh has argued the case for Burrumarra's vision of reconciliation as if it has an actual basis for influencing the Australian federal government's policies on rec-

conciliation for all Indigenous Australians. The reality is that it has had very little impact. As can be seen by other recent events in Arnhem Land, Prime Minister Howard misread the significance of Yolngu ceremonies performed for him, which were aimed by the Yolngu at changing the government's intention to amend the Federal Native Title Act.

In the first part of the book McIntosh has gone some way to putting the Yolngu into a broader political context. It is here that McIntosh discusses the history of the implementation of Aboriginal land rights in Australia. His history, however, is sweeping and descriptive. As such, McIntosh has missed important legislative moments in Australia that were aimed at an improvement of the rights of Indigenous peoples in this country. On page 19, for example, McIntosh has forgotten to mention the historically significant implementation of land rights in South Australia for the Pitjantjatjara/Yankunytjatjara people. Such an omission only serves to reinforce a perception from the book that the experience of Yolngu is the experience of all Indigenous Australians.

In a volume which purports to present Indigenous solutions to National issues (especially Yolngu proposals for management of marine resources — chapter 9), the history of relations between Yolngu and the Australian government cannot be ignored. However, it needs to be remembered that this is also part of a broader history of relations of domination and subordination between the nation-state and Indigenous Australians living across the country. Yolngu are not the spokespeople for Indigenous Australians. Yet McIntosh gives the impression that there is only one Australian Indigenous view on issues of reconciliation and broader race-relations in Australia. He does not adequately discuss the multiplicity of Indigenous opinions, which may differ from, or confer, with those of Yolngu.

If, as the forward to the book states, the series *Cultural Survival Studies* is aimed at the general reader and students, McIntosh has certainly achieved this goal. His book is generally easy to read and his arguments do not rely heavily on an esoteric academic body of knowledge in order for the reader to grasp the trajectory of his arguments. However, by failing to theorize, rather than merely describe,

the history of Warramiri with the state, these people come across as being naive and simplistic in their beliefs, especially in the assumption that they may influence the Australian government to change national policies on Aboriginal affairs and reconciliation, which affect all Indigenous Australians.

McIntosh has provided some important insights into the history of Aboriginal relations with Macassan traders. This is an area of history that has generally been neglected by academics. Yet, to compare for instance the historic relations Yolngu had with individual Macassans with their contemporary relations with the Australian state is simply to reinforce a paternalistic attitude for an audience who may be unfamiliar with Australian politics. This is not to deny the genius of Warramiri using their cultural and economic relations with Macassans as a template for their policy of reconciliation with the nation-states of Australia and Indonesia. However, this specific cultural world-view needs to be placed within the context of their broader domination by the state.

Offering a mediating voice for the Warramiri Yolngu does not necessarily offer a means to empower them. The Indigenous view comes out of their centred position of coping with the everyday and sometimes oppressive interactions with the dominant society. Aboriginal Reconciliation and the Dreaming is a second-order translation of this reality which is at least one step removed from an Indigenous understanding and must be acknowledged as such.

David T. McNab. *Circles of Time: Aboriginal Land Rights and Resistance in Ontario*. Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1999.

Reviewed by W. J. Newbigging, Algoma University College

It is difficult to write a balanced account of Aboriginal rights and resistance in Ontario; bias, evidentiary shortcomings and a limited number of Aboriginal sources conspire to prevent the historian from constructing a fair and accurate portrayal of the past. Where others have found these challenges insurmountable, however, David McNab

has succeeded admirably. His creative and original book stands as a model for others who are looking to restore balance to a field that has for many years suffered from a one-sided treatment. Through the use of Aboriginal modes of perception, McNab has created a history that will be accessible to academics, students, lawyers, band councilors, band research officers and others with an interest in the growing field of Aboriginal history.

The most impressive aspect of *Circles of Time* concerns the author's insistence on using an Aboriginal mode of perception—"the circle" as a methodological tool to examine the critical issues confronting Ontario's First Nations communities today. Use of the circle helps not only to correct the imbalance caused by the paucity of Aboriginal sources, it also helps the reader to develop an understanding of the ways in which Ontario's Aboriginal Peoples have understood their world and the ways in which they have identified its necessities. In addition, McNab has made use of some particularly elegant and typically English literary devices. The juxtaposition of the Aboriginal modes of perception with the stylistic elements of an old-school, university-trained scholar works marvelously well. Again and again this reviewer felt as though this juxtaposition showed how the worlds of a university-trained Canadian of Scottish ancestry and the traditionally educated, Aboriginal Canadians are not as far apart as one might assume.

Circles of Time includes a short introduction and a summary (McNab calls this a "retrospect") but is mainly comprised of eight studies that, when taken together, offer a comprehensive introduction to the history of Aboriginal rights and resistance in the province. McNab chooses his eight topics wisely. They provide a geographical and cultural cross-section of the province (though the Iroquoian peoples of southern Ontario are not well represented). McNab is writing mainly from his own personal experiences in the field. He gives an insider's account of some of the most prominent developments involving First Nations, like Batchewana and Walpole Island, who have assumed leadership roles in the struggle to regain both Aboriginal and treaty rights and to raise the profile of this struggle across the province and the country.

In addition to the Aboriginal methodology and the employment of wide-ranging personal experiences, another strength of *Circles of Time* concerns the use of examples that reveal both the depth and the breadth of Aboriginal and treaty rights in Ontario today. Non-initiates may be forgiven for thinking that the history of Aboriginal resistance in Ontario is one based on land claims. Admittedly, these claims are of primary concern to most First Nations, but McNab shows that land claims are but one facet of a multi-sided social, political and economic struggle. Title and status claims have their place in chapters on the Métis, the Teme Augama Anishinabai and Sturgeon Lake. Natural resource claims are dealt with throughout the book and especially in the chapter on the fishing claims of the Batchewana First Nation and the Supreme Court cases of Agawa and Sparrow. Water is also dealt with, especially in the Walpole Island First Nation chapter.

McNab saves his best chapter for last. In "A Spirit of Mutual Respect: the Walpole Island First Nation and Aboriginal Title," McNab outlines the challenges and successes of one of Ontario's most prominent Aboriginal communities, one that McNab knows intimately. Two aspects of this chapter distinguish it from the others in *Circles of Time*: the breadth of the Aboriginal source material employed and the detailed account of the history. The people of Walpole Island have always assumed a leadership role in recording and preserving their past and McNab uses this record to provide a thorough account of the Anishinaabe point of view. His discussion of the history of the treaty process is presented in a balanced fashion as McNab looks at the issues from both sides of the table. Most importantly, he never loses sight of the fact that the history of the Bkejwanong region is strongly rooted in the land, the rich resources and the waterways of the area itself, a focus McNab is careful to hold throughout *Circles of Time*.

If *Circles of Time* has a weakness, it concerns McNab's failure to address the past beyond 1763 and the Royal Proclamation. Aboriginal rights (as opposed to treaty rights, which date only from the signing of the treaty) must be proved to the period of contact with the Europeans, usually the early 17th century, and McNab does not ex-

amine the history of this period in real detail. Similarly, if we are to understand the nature of the land rights and resistance we must have a more developed sense of what life was like before the arrival of the European colonists. The ancestral Aboriginal lifeways are hinted at, on occasion, but a thorough pre-contact and post-contact context is not provided in the book. We are left with questions about the ways in which the circles of the late 20th century are connected to the circles of the early 17th century. McNab alleviates this problem, to some degree, by pointing out one of the weaknesses in the so-called “middle ground” thesis. *Circles of Time* provides strong evidence for the geographic and spiritual contexts that form our understanding of Ontario’s Aboriginal past.

Well-designed, engagingly written and nicely supported by illustrations, *Circles of Time* should be required reading for any course dealing with Ontario’s Aboriginal history and should certainly be read by everyone engaged in the study of historical, legal and political studies of Canadian Aboriginal peoples. For those working in the field, this book is indispensable. *Circles of Time* will certainly be on the reading list for “Aboriginal Communities in Canada” the next time I offer the course.

Paula Pryce. *“Keeping the Lakes’ Way” : Reburial and the Re-Creation of a Moral World among an Invisible People*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999.

Reviewed by Wendy Aasen, University of Northern British Columbia

“Keeping the Lakes’ Way” is an anthropologist’s account of the Arrow Lakes or Sinixt Interior Salish people of the West Kootenay region of southeastern British Columbia, and, more widely, from other places designated “Plateau,” such as the Colville Reservation in Washington State. Paula Pryce describes how the Sinixt, declared officially “extinct” by the Canadian government since 1956, have never been extinct, but rather have lived in diaspora for a hundred years. Pryce ties the dispersion of the Sinixt to epidemic diseases;

political turmoil; immigrant settlement; Canadian and American government policies; and impacts brought about by industrial development, including gold and silver mining and dam development near Sinixt fisheries and village sites.

One issue that Pryce brings to the fore is how missionaries, fur traders and government agents have recorded information based on erroneous assumptions and false categorizations, and how these assumptions and categorizations have been regurgitated by scholars and policy-makers, much to the detriment of the Sinixt. Historical and ethnographic documents have been left to “moulder,” writes Pryce, with the effect of making the Arrow Lakes people “invisible” to outsiders. Similarly, Interior Salish ethnography, she claims, has contributed to Sinixt obscurity. While I empathize with Pryce’s complaints about the problems of synonymy, she neglects to point out that these problems are common to most documents research. Similarly, Pryce’s expectation that other researchers should have thoroughly investigated and published archival and other materials on the Sinixt (sins of omission) is unreasonably misplaced. Despite this, Pryce’s work is a reminder to anthropologists and ethnohistorians that documentation must be continually re-evaluated and made public in order to avoid propagating misinterpretations.

Ironically, it was industrial disturbance, particularly mountain road development exposing human remains, that reconsolidated Sinixt cultural and spiritual identity. Shedding their status as invisible people, the Sinixt have had a strong presence north of the American border at the Vallican archaeological (burial) site since 1989. Pryce writes that “Their goal is to protect the gravesites from further disturbance and to repatriate those remains which have been exhumed from the site during preconstruction archaeological assessments of the area” (p. 6). The Vallican archaeological site and camp has become a focal point and core symbol where the Sinixt mobilize, reaffirm and publicize their collective identity and cultural continuity.

Sinixt member Robert Watt has recently challenged the Canadian government in federal court, declaring that the superficial Canada/U.S. boundary (or border) which cuts across Sinixt homelands should neither define who the Sinixt people are, nor limit them

from travelling freely throughout their cultural homeland. The Sinixt story itself is one of constantly expanding boundaries in time and space, and Pryce's approach to her work is one based on the dissolving of boundaries.

Through Sinixt oral history, ethnographic and historical documentation, and discussions on archaeology, geography, mapping, linguistics and religious phenomena (such as Prophet movements), Pryce continually dissolves academic boundaries, presenting us with a unique and wholistic perspective on the Sinixt. As well, she extrapolates on crucial contemporary issues such as repatriation of artifacts and human remains, landscape and land claims, social memory, cultural continuity and community identity. Chapter 4, "The Vanishing Indian v. the Resurrection of the Ancestors," is particularly thought-provoking, as Pryce challenges us to rethink anthropological notions of invented tradition, ideas of linear and mythic time, the meanings implicit in memory, or "memoryscape" and "change as continuity."

Those not well acquainted with anthropological theory and concepts may find some sections of the book difficult. I also noticed that the book becomes a little repetitive midway through Chapter 5, but is enlivened again in Chapter 6 with Pryce's discussion on the politics of research and her contention that academics should be "independent scholars" who should conduct "dispassionate research" (p. 146).

My only real criticism of the book is Pryce's persistent use of the word "ethnic" to describe the Sinixt, as in "ethnic group" with "ethnic identity." A clear definition of how the term is used in the social sciences, and why Pryce used the term in this case, as well as the debate about applying the term to a group in their own homeland was necessary here. I prefer the term "cultural identity," or simply "identity."

Paula Pryce's work appears to be thoroughly and meticulously researched. As well, it is written eloquently, and with style, and is undeniably absorbing. "*Keeping the Lakes' Way*" is a critical contribution to ethnography, to history, and to the contemporary lives of the Sinixt people it celebrates, as they attempt to set their world back into its correct moral order through the act of reburials at Vallican. In

Pryce's words, those commemorative acts of reburial are acts "which resurrect a life lived well, which asserts the proper moral relationships between land, people, and ancestors, as well as ethnic and socioeconomic vitality" (p.98). In conclusion, I highly recommend Paula Pryce's book, "*Keeping the Lakes' Way.*"

Mary Jane Warde. *George Washington Grayson and the Creek Nation, 1843-1920*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1999.

Review by James Taylor Carson, Queen's University

George Washington Grayson was born into the Creek nation in 1843, nearly a decade after the federal government had removed his people from Alabama to present-day Oklahoma. Although Grayson's parents and extended family raised him according to Creek traditions, he emerged as one of the nation's most outspoken proponents of "progressivism," the idea that Creeks needed to mimic certain facets of Anglo-American culture in order to survive in the United States. Such a seeming contradiction marks Grayson as a fascinating figure. He reconciled his Creek heritage and support for acculturation by espousing a Creek nationalism that sought to preserve his people's ethnic identity, but at the same time embraced Anglo-American political and economic innovations.

Mary Jane Warde's study of Grayson focuses on his public life and expands greatly on Grayson's published autobiography. He attended college in his teen years, served in the Confederate army in the Civil War, worked as a businessman and as a newspaper columnist, and occupied various positions in the Creek national government until his elevation to the office of chief in 1917. His involvement in the war, reconstruction, allotment and the dissolution of the nation allows Warde to offer a detailed chronicle of Creek affairs from the mid-19th century until the early 20th century. Much of the ground she covers is new, and the catalogue of problems Grayson and the Creeks had with the federal government, the courts and Congress is heartbreaking to read.

What is missing from the author's analysis of Grayson's life are

the substantive connections between him and his culture. Grayson clearly considered himself Creek and from time to time the author links him to his culture, from viewing his life in light of the Creeks' traditional four cycles of life to depicting his service in the Confederate army in terms of the Creek warrior ethic. To evaluate Grayson's relationship to his ancestral culture it is imperative to see that culture as a motivating factor in his life. A more consistent cultural interpretation would round out the author's analysis and transform the book from a narrative of a Creek history in which Grayson played an important role to an exploration of what it meant to be Creek in such a tumultuous time.

Warde hinges her analysis of Grayson's life on his service as a cultural broker. Educated in both the Creek and Anglo-American traditions, Grayson was well positioned to act as an intermediary. The term broker, however, does a disservice to the bicultural individuals to whom it is so often applied because it reduces them to ciphers who sought to mediate contact. Grayson was not a broker. To be sure, he could circulate in the halls of Congress just as easily as he could on the stomp grounds of Okfuskee, but he was not simply an intermediary. He was a leader with a distinct ideology that he endeavoured to implement through public service. To call him a broker misconstrues his ambitions and ideas.

One aspect of Warde's narrative that is sure to cause controversy is her use of terms like "mixed blood" and "full blood." The author defends her use of the terms by arguing that Grayson and other contemporaries as well as American Indians today use them to distinguish "conservatives" from "progressives." Her reasoning is specious because she does not use the various epithets Creeks and Anglo-Americans reserved for African Americans at the time nor does she refer to Indians of other tribes as "Blanket Indians" as Grayson did. The only way to escape the racist traps of terms like "mixed blood" and "full blood" is to drop them altogether, no matter whether they were used then or now in Native America. Using racial terms to connote beliefs and behaviors is simply unacceptable. A more constructive approach would be to use adjectives that describe behavior, and in characterizing Grayson as a Creek nationalist, Warde hits the mark.

It is a pity that she did not heed the words of one chief she quoted who gave the lie to the utility of such terms. "An infusion of white blood into the Creek," Moty Tiger wrote, "does not always make him a good businessman" (p. 215)

George Washington Grayson died in 1920, having devoted the better part of his life to protecting the sovereignty of his nation. Unable to stem the tide of robber barons and railroad boomers who gobbled up the Creeks' land, Grayson's resistance nonetheless offers a poignant reminder of just how awful federal Indian policy was. Another world exists, however, that Warde left alone. What was Grayson's relationship to his family? How did he behave at home? And how "Creek" or "American" was he as a father and husband? As long as such details of his personal life remain obscure, it will be difficult to fully assess his legacy as a Creek nationalist.

Keith R. Widder, *Battle for the Soul: Métis Children Encounter Evangelical Protestants at Mackinaw Mission, 1823-1837*. East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 1999.

Review by Brenda Macdougall, University of Saskatchewan

Over twenty years ago, historian John Foster encouraged scholars of Métis history to recognize that Métis people were as diverse as Indians or Europeans and to write about that diversity in a meaningful way. Unfortunately, few scholars have heeded his words and vigorously examined what Métis identity was outside the nationalistic struggles in the 19th century. Keith R. Widder's *Battle for the Soul: Métis Children Encounter Evangelical Protestants at Mackinaw Mission, 1823-1837* expands the scope of Métis history and contributes to a growing literature that seeks to understand the diversity of Métis culture. While Widder argues that Métis identity in the Great Lakes was diffuse because there was no large central community such as the Red River settlement, he demonstrates that the Great Lakes Métis nevertheless recognized their distinctiveness as a separate people. This Great Lake Métis identity was evidenced, according to Widder, by their general rejection of Americanization and simultaneous adop-

tion of those aspects of American culture introduced by evangelical missionaries that could be used to strengthen their own communities.

Widder focuses his examination of Métis identity on the Mackinaw Mission (and accompanying boarding school) opened in 1823 by Amanda and William Ferry, two evangelical protestants from New England who hoped to convert all Aboriginal people in the area into American citizens. The Ferrys and their fellow missionaries opened the Mission to transform Métis people from French-speaking, Catholic fur traders into English-speaking, Protestant farmers who accepted American republicanism. The missionaries failed in their conversion efforts, however, because they lacked any real knowledge of the people they sought to convert. Ignorant that the Métis of the Great Lakes historically acted as cultural, economic and political intermediaries between European traders and Indian communities, the missionaries failed to understand that the Métis had long integrated useful aspects of European and Indian societies. Over several hundred years, Widder argues, the Métis family became a middle ground “shaped by the tensions caused by the intersection of European and Indian beliefs, technology, and material objects” (p. xvii). This notion of a cultural middle ground is derived from Richard White’s book, *The Middle Ground*, which concluded that Indians and Europeans necessarily forged a relationship of accommodation between 1650 and 1815 because of competing political and ethnic interests vying for dominance. While White’s analysis stopped short of evaluating the development of Métis people and culture as a distinct people, Widder picks up the obvious next step to study the physical manifestation of the middle ground—the Métis. Widder asserts that, because of their origins, when the American evangelical missionaries arrived, the Métis necessarily continued trying to recreate and foster a middle ground. As they had always done, the Métis took those aspects of the new lifestyle that benefited them and rejected those that were incompatible with or undermined their lifestyle as traders and intermediaries. Métis parents, for example, readily sent their children to the mission school so that they might learn those aspects of American culture that would maximize the Métis position

within the American economy. However, never comprehending Métis motivations, instead of converting them, the missionaries had the effect of retrenching the Métis' role as cultural intermediaries and sparking a revival in Catholicism in the region.

What Widder has accomplished with this study is to shed greater light on a group of Métis people overlooked by Canadian and American scholars alike. Straddling a region that was historically both Canadian (British) and American, scholars in both contemporary nation-states have asserted that the Métis did not or could not have a distinct identity. Clearly, as demonstrated by Widder, the Métis of Mackinac Island did regard themselves as somehow distinct from either local Chippewa or Odawa communities and the newly arrived Americans. While it could be argued that the Mackinac Métis perhaps did not comprise a "nation" (in its modern political usage), their insistence on retaining their religious and social autonomy is evidence of an underlying sense of distinctiveness. Widder notes that, while the Métis may have accepted American legal, governmental and commercial dominance, they could and did reject its religious and, to a lesser extent, its social institutions if they were incompatible with their own cultural sensibilities. Today, as Métis political organizations on the Canadian side of Lake Superior proclaim that the first Métis identity emerged in the Great Lake fur trade, it appears that scholars are finally helping to substantiate that claim.

Review Essay: Aboriginal Peoples and Democracy in Canada

Alan C. Cairns. *Citizens Plus: Aboriginal Peoples and the Canadian State*. Vancouver: UBC Press, 2000.

Tom Flanagan. *First Nations? Second Thoughts*. Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2000.

Joseph Fletcher (editor). *Ideas in Action: Essays on Politics and Law in Honour of Peter Russell*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999.

Alex McLean, University of Saskatchewan

Much political discourse in Canada concerns how liberal and/or democratic the Canadian state ought to be. The thought of Alan Cairns, Tom Flanagan and Peter Russell concerns liberal democracy in Canada. All three thinkers have addressed Aboriginal political issues, which Flanagan describes as "vital matters of contemporary public policy." Cairns identifies with the likes of Will Kymlicka and Jeremy Webber; Flanagan describes himself as a "classical liberal"; and the Russell anthology concerns itself with Canada's basic institutional arrangements and how they can be made to made more democratic. It should be noted that the books by Flanagan and Cairns explicitly address Aboriginal political issues, whereas the Russell anthology devotes one part to Aboriginal political issues. However, the other parts (Constitutional Politics; Security Intelligence; Law and the Courts; and Rights and the Charter) are important for Aboriginal politics in Canada.

For most of Canada's history, the assimilation of the Aboriginal peoples has been the preferred method of dealing with Aboriginal identity. This culminated in the 1969 White Paper. The White Paper argued that the inequalities between status Indians and other Canadian citizens derived from the special status of registered Indians.

The White Paper proposed to bring status Indians into a situation of equality through the ascription of a common Canadian citizenship; that is, all citizens ought to belong to the Canadian state in the same way. Status Indians resisted this proposal and were able to pressure the government into withdrawing the White Paper.

In *Citizens Plus*, Alan Cairns argues that it was the concept of “citizens plus” that was used to undermine the assimilationist recommendations of the White Paper. Status Indians, it was argued in the Hawthorn Report, possessed a *right* to all the benefits of Canadian citizenship *plus* a bundle of rights based on treaties and agreements between status Indians and the Canadian state. Cairns argues that the “plus” aspect can be pruned and adjusted so as to encapsulate ideas such as an inherent right to Aboriginal self-government and Aboriginal nationalism. The concept of “citizens plus” would allow for a distinct identity and for the participation in the collective project that is Canada.

Cairns notes how the conceptual sway of the concept of “citizens plus” was eclipsed by Aboriginal nationalism. Cairns argues that an emerging consensus is emerging around the “nation-to-nation” approach that is endorsed by, among others, the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples (RCAP). This approach advocates a nation-to-nation relationship between Aboriginal peoples and the Canadian state.

Cairns argues that this approach will lead to a distance between Aboriginal people and other Canadian citizens. Furthermore, the conclusion of agreements, such as the Nisgaa Agreement and the Nunavut Agreement, does not eliminate Canadian citizenship. Thus, the concept of “citizens plus” ought to be preferred to concepts such as assimilation and “nation-to-nation.”

Cairns recognizes that the time for “citizens plus” may have come and gone. He notes that this may be due to the language of citizenship used in the White Paper. Aboriginal people may be skeptical of policies and laws that use the language of citizenship. Cairns argues that the “plus” aspect is capable of reconciling Aboriginal nationalism with Canadian citizenship. This will be for only those Aboriginal nations that do not aspire to possessing their own state. The con-

cept of “citizens plus” is likely to reconcile only “thin” or civic nationalisms, such as the nationalisms that exist in Saskatchewan. The “nation-to-nation” concept is better able to deal with “thick” nationalisms, such as that of the Mohawk nation. *Citizens Plus* is an extremely useful text in that the concept of “citizens plus” can be understood as an early version of the recent differentiated citizenship theorizing, such as that of Will Kymlicka or Charles Taylor.

Flanagan’s book is a response to RCAP. He describes the ideas and principles that underlie RCAP as the “Aboriginal orthodoxy.” Flanagan proposes to analyze these fundamental ideas and principles. *First Nations? Second Thoughts* argues that if RCAP’s vision is achieved, the Canadian state will be understood to be a multinational state that contains an archipelago of Aboriginal nations.

Flanagan’s argument is composed of eight arguments against eight dubious propositions that are part of the “Aboriginal orthodoxy.” One chapter of analysis is devoted to each proposition. These propositions are:

- 1 Aboriginal people possess differentiated rights, since they were here first.
- 2 The colonization of North America was justified, since Aboriginal people were uncivilized.
- 3 Aboriginal peoples possess sovereignty (inherent right to self-government).
- 4 Aboriginal peoples are nations.
- 5 The inherent right of self-government can be exercised on reserves.
- 6 Aboriginal title is communal and inalienable except to the Crown.
- 7 The treaties need to be modernized (reinterpreted or renegotiated) to recognize an ongoing relationship between nations.
- 8 On-reserve Aboriginal people can aspire to self-sufficiency through the combination of transfer payments, resource revenues and local employment.

Flanagan dissents to these aspects of the Aboriginal orthodoxy, but his dissent is based on his understanding of classical liberalism. Associations are acceptable in Flanagan’s view, but not nations. For

Flanagan, Canada is a nation-state. Citizens will belong to the state as individuals and they will belong in a similar manner. Representative government is to be preferred, since it is the only form of government that promotes individual freedom. Canada, based on the civilization of Western European peoples, is progressing to some higher state of being, although Flanagan does admit that history is not marching towards Utopia.

First Nations? Second Thoughts is a melancholy read. Flanagan yearns for some sort of golden age where individuals belong to homogeneous nation-states. Against the backdrop of civilization (brought to North America through colonization), the free market and representative government would contribute to individual freedom. Unfortunately, the homogeneous nation-state has been akin to the unicorn. There have been few, if any, nation-states. Flanagan would prefer a political community in which the individual possesses a primary allegiance to the state. However, individuals are much more complex than Flanagan's classical liberal self. They belong to various clans, gender, unions, and/or this or that nation. Flanagan's classical liberalism does not differ much from the liberalism of the 1969 White Paper. Although Flanagan advocates progress, it seems curious that *First Nations? Second Thoughts* would advocate ideas that were found to be unacceptable thirty years ago.

Ideas in Action, edited by Joseph Fletcher, is composed of essays that focus on broad problems at the intersection of law and politics. The volume is intended to illuminate some of the ways Peter Russell's scholarship has affected key issues of public policy, shaping dimensions of political life in Canada. One common theme that can be identified in almost all of the essays is Russell's commitment to democratic deliberation.

Fletcher has organized this anthology into five sections: Constitutional Politics; Aboriginal Peoples; Security Intelligence; Law and the Courts; and Rights and the Charter. Each section reflects some practical aspect of Russell's engagement with Canadian law, politics and society. *Ideas in Action* offers a close analysis of Canada's basic institutional arrangements and explains how to strengthen their democratic core. The central ideas that inform these essays are notions of

deliberation and diversity, and identity and inclusion.

For those persons who have an interest in Aboriginal politics, the entire volume ought to prove interesting. The section concerning security intelligence should alert the reader to the possibility of the Canadian Security and Intelligence Service monitoring Aboriginal constitutional activity. The sections concerning constitutional politics, law and the courts, and rights and the Charter have a more direct connection with Aboriginal political concerns. The section on constitutional politics addresses federalism and how the Canadian state can better reflect the diversity it contains. This section is especially interesting when the reader keeps in mind that self-government for the residents of Nunavut is based on Canadian federalism. The section concerning law and the courts touches upon issues such as how the composition of the courts can affect the actualization of the rule of law. Those with an interest in Aboriginal rights ought to find the section on rights and the Charter to be provocative in that it includes an alternative *legislative* approach to protecting rights in Canada.

The section on Aboriginal peoples is comprised of essays by Paul Chartrand, Georges Erasmus and Christine Fletcher. Paul Chartrand argues that Canadian federalism can be invigorated through shared rule in Canadian institutions and self-rule for Aboriginal peoples. Georges Erasmus' essay summarizes the overarching philosophy and vision of RCAP. He argues for a process of treaty extension and adjudication. Christine Fletcher's essay is a comparative study of Aboriginal rights in Australia and Canada. Fletcher argues that Canada and Australia cannot become fully sovereign until Aboriginal traditions and culture inform these states' basic social and political arrangements.

Ideas in Action is an excellent reader on law and politics in Canada. The volume reflects Peter Russell's own work in that it posits piecemeal reform of Canada's institutions in order to increase the democracy within them. Furthermore, the authors advance recent ideas, such as that found in RCAP, to older notions, such as reforming Canadian democracy to better suit the times. This anthology should enhance the reader's appreciation of the complexity of reconciling democracy and diversity within Canada.