

Theodore Binnema, Gerhard J. Ens and R.C. Macleod, eds. *From Rupert's Land to Canada: Essays in Honour of John E. Foster*. University of Alberta Press, 2001.

Review by D.N. Sprague, University of Manitoba

According to the great guy theory of historiography, fields open, develop, and advance. They progress. And the rate of the supposed progress of a field depends largely upon the guys with the seminal power over the subject. Upon their passing, students, pals, and colleagues huddle to compile "essays in honour of" attesting to the greatness of the guy just passed, the current greatness of the field he did so much to develop, and the bright prospects for his legacy in the future. Such is this work: *From Rupert's Land to Canada: Essays in Honour of John E. Foster*.

To give the collection the appearance of rationality, the editors have divided its content into three sections: one on fur trade history, another on Metis History, a third to document the impact of the "linguistic turn" upon the understanding of native studies in the western Canadian context. Each opens with an historiographical essay premised on the supposition that Foster, his friends and relations, have built—are building—a great edifice one solid little brick at a time rising ever higher towards comprehension in full. According to Michael Payne, the author of the inventory of the fur trade stuff, all is well and getting better: "enriched ... interesting ... complex and nuanced." Frits Pannekoek writes in a similar tone of celebration about the "virtual explosion of interest" in Metis history, suggesting that the "future in Metis studies lies ... in determining the roots of the new Metis consciousness of today" (p. 116), then backs away from that affirmation with the statement that "where Metis studies will head in the next decades is not certain." (p. 121) Gerald Friesen, however, the author of the third survey of the attainments and gaps would seem to suggest that "poststructural approaches" are the rising "concern". His identified topic is the "imagined west" (whatever this means) but his brief affirmations could be about the imaginary fur trade or the imaginary Indian or the imaginary Metis just as easily.

Judging by most of the article-length research reports sandwiched between the historiographical inventories, more serious cerebral activity is needed. If these essays provide a fair sample of the current range and depth of these branches of western Canadian studies, the inescapable

conclusion is that the field tends towards excessive detail, avoidance of theory, and an anti-critical bias with respect to any and all institutions of the economy and state. These essays contribute little towards answering the key question implicit in the covering title—the question of the social cost of the transition from Rupert's Land to Canada. Who were the villains? Who were the victims? In these essays there are none.

Though it is admitted that the transition was not easy, and in certain identified cases the pain was great, the collection suffers greatly from what Bryan Palmer has identified recently as the regrettable silences of contemporary Canadian historiography in general. Attempting to do honour to Foster, his former students, colleagues, and pals say by their complacent contentment that all is well, and heap even greater praise upon themselves. The only criticism is of the critics: Frank Tough, in muted tones, because he is “very critical of approaches to fur trade history that apply notions of partnership and the autonomy of Aboriginal producers of furs” (p. 11) and of Doug Sprague because he argues that the Canadian state was fully implicated in the marginalization of original inhabitants after 1870. The new consensus is that Aboriginal people did it to themselves. “No text [other than Tough's or Sprague's] is scrutinized with even a gesture towards a critical question. There is *no* contention here. *None!*”¹

1 Bryan D. Palmer, “Of Silences and Trenches: A Dissident View of Granatstein's Meaning,” *Canadian Historical Review* 80 (1999), 681.

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Alan C. Cairns, John C. Courtney, Peter MacKinnon, Hans J. Michelmann, and David E. Smith, eds. *Citizenship, Diversity, and Pluralism: Canadian and Comparative Perspectives*. Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1999.

Review by Alex R. McLean, University of Saskatchewan

This anthology contains the collected papers delivered at a conference held in Saskatoon, Saskatchewan in 1997. The conference aimed to illuminate the concepts of citizenship, diversity, and pluralism and to offer alternatives for policy-makers to consider. This volume addresses some

of the issues that have made contemporary political life in Canada and other complex political communities problematic. The anthology, like the conference, is infused with hope and is impeccably liberal in its approach.

Walker Connor's essay, "National Self-Determination and Tomorrow's Political Map," illustrates an aspect of modern political complexity, noting that fewer than 200 states contain approximately 3000 peoples. One of these states is Canada and many of these peoples are Aboriginal peoples. Within the volume's introduction and his essay, "Empire, Globalization, and the Fall and Rise of Diversity," Alan Cairns complicates matters by noting that cultural diversity is not as extreme as was in the past. He stresses that it is particular identities that remain pluralistic and diverse, even though we are much more alike in contemporary times. This essay ought to be read as a preface to his most recent volume, *Citizens Plus: Aboriginal Peoples and the Canadian State*.

For those students of Native Studies, John Borrow's essay, "'Landed' Citizenship: Narratives of Aboriginal Political Participation," must be read, for the author's liberal interpretation of the Two Row Wampum. Borrow's interpretation allows for Aboriginal participation within the Canadian state and for non-Aboriginal participation within Aboriginal institutions. This understanding could foster a richer and more meaningful relationship, for Aboriginal people, to traditional territory that may now be agricultural or industrial lands. In addition to Professor Borrow's essay which directly addresses how Aboriginal peoples could better fit within the Canadian polity, all the other essays address Aboriginal citizenship within Canada indirectly.

Jeremy Webber in "Just How Civic Is Civic Nationalism in Quebec?" considers the thorny issue of Quebec nationalism. He addresses the issue that some Quebecois thinkers believe that whereas the Quebecois constitute a nation, the James Bay Cree do not. Webber stresses a need to consider the particularities of groups, but also the need for an allegiance to some sort of common citizenship. Correspondingly, Keith Banting's essay, "Social Citizenship and the Multicultural Welfare State," addresses some of the conflicts between substate nationalism and a common citizenship regime.

In "Is Citizenship a Gendered Concept?" C. Lynn Smith argues that citizenship in the Western European tradition is a gendered concept, but holds hope for a universal citizenship that will render women equal with

men. Denise G. Reaume's "The Legal Enforcement of Social Norms" argues that Canada's legal system already embodies some pluralistic tendencies and is optimistic that a thoughtful approach to difference can be accommodated by a pluralistic legal design.

Space precludes a comprehensive consideration of these essays, but the remaining essays by Anthony H. Birch, John Erik Fossum, Heribert Adam, Virginia Leary, and Charles Taylor are equally important. They consider citizenship in the comparative tradition, from a human rights' perspective, and in relation to democracy. All inform the idea of how Aboriginal peoples ought to exist within political communities, such as Canada, and how Aboriginal peoples ought to exist within the world of states.

If there is a weakness in this volume, it is that it may be perceived as being too liberal. Indeed, it might be too liberal. There is little dissent. It would have been interesting to have had a nationalist and a radical feminist consider citizenship, diversity, and pluralism. Within the introduction, Professor Cairns discusses citizenship and the "real world." Recently, I was drinking coffee at the Indian and Metis Friendship Centre in Saskatoon and felt that the "real world" of citizenship that these scholars were discussing said little to the life of those "citizens" who are worst off within our liberal, hopeful society. After all, citizenship has often been extended by way of conflict. For instance, there is a direct relationship between the striking of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples and the Oka Conflict. As Sir Isaiah Berlin has often stated: "Out of the crooked timber of humanity no straight thing was ever made."

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Marlene Brant Castellano, Lynne Davis, and Louise Lahache, eds. *Aboriginal Education: Fulfilling the Promise*. University of British Columbia Press, 2000.

Review by Jean-Paul Restoule, Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, University of Toronto.

The Report of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, Volume Three, Gathering Strength has an extensive chapter (five) on education. Comprehensive in nature, yet brief by necessity, one could sense there

was much more behind the sidebars and case studies. While the research reports and hearings concerning Aboriginal education are available on the CD-ROM *For Seven Generations*, not many Canadians have found this format accessible. *Fulfilling the Promise* makes available several of these works in a collection providing greater depth to *Gathering Strength's* chapter five, and should not only inform, but inspire educators, policy planners, and administrators.

Considering there are only thirteen chapters, the editors have represented a diverse number of approaches to Aboriginal education. Many regions are represented in the case studies from Vancouver to Nunavik, and the Northwest Territories to Akwesasne. If any place is underrepresented, it may be the Atlantic region. Several of the authors, taking a review approach, are comprehensive in their research as in Abele, Dittburner and Graham's review of the shifting understanding of Aboriginal education in policy. These authors deserve special mention for condensing their original work (Graham, Dittburner, & Abele, 1996) into the present chapter that still manages to clearly convey their central thesis. Other "review" approaches include Fettes and Norton's examination of language policies, Davis' review of distance education initiatives, and Hodgson-Smith's welcome deflating of uniquely Aboriginal "learning styles."

The case studies include the Gabriel Dumont Institute, the First Nations House of Learning, Akwesasne Science and Mathematics Pilot Project, and education in Nunavik. Any one of these examples contains a wealth of ideas that places elsewhere might draw on for success in Aboriginal education. They cannot, however, be simply picked up and placed down in a new environment. Indeed, the most important theme to take from this collection is the need to be respectful and responsive to local community desires and traditions in education planning.

Two chapters are not based on a prior submission to the RCAP. One is Castellano's endorsement of the *For Seven Generations* CD-ROM. Certainly it is a useful resource for educators. Its cost has made it prohibitive for individual use but institutions should budget to make it a part of their collection. Hampton's revisiting of RCAP's recommendation 3.5.32 to establish an Aboriginal Peoples International University was especially inspiring to this reader (All of RCAP's recommendations on education are reprinted in an appendix, a handy inclusion). In a book full of examples of the best practices in Aboriginal education, this chapter

provided impetus to dream of what has yet to be done.

But it is not all smiles and sunshine, to paraphrase one of the authors. The challenges are great and throughout the book we are continually reminded of the barriers that exist in terms of funding, and institutional resistance to change as just two examples. Still, the authors allow us to glimpse what is possible. I think the editors sum it up best in their conclusion: "This collection of case studies and research reports presents a snapshot of the complex landscape in which Aboriginal education is taking place – a landscape in which hope and possibility live side by side with constraint and frustration" (p.251). It is an inspiring collection, but with a dose of reality.

If there is any weakness with the collection, it is that some case studies appear dated several years after their initial submission to RCAP. Davis acknowledges such a limitation in her chapter on distance education as her research predated the proliferation of Internet resources and more widespread use of this medium in Aboriginal education. Valaskakis' recounting of Aboriginal broadcasting was written prior to TVNC's becoming the national APTN. Similarly, LaFrance's epilogue on the Akwesasne Science and Math Pilot Project leaves one wanting more details. The material in this collection, based on research undertaken in the early to mid-nineties, is probably as recent as it can be; yet new challenges and new resources in Aboriginal education have appeared in this short amount of time.

This is indispensable for educators and should be read by policy planners.

References

Katherine A. Graham, Carolyn Dittburner and Frances Abele. *Soliloquy and Dialogue: The Evolution of Public Policy Discourse on Aboriginal Issues*. Ottawa: Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, 1996.

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Jo-Anne Fiske and Betty Patrick. *Cis Dideen Kat, When the Plumes Rise: The Way of the Lake Babine Nation*. University of British Columbia Press, 2000.

Review by Brian Thom, McGill University

Cis Dideen Kat is an important new book on indigenous customary law. It is a highly dynamic and engaging study that looks at customary law of Lake Babine First Nation who live in the central-northern region of British Columbia. At the core of the study is an investigation of the *balhats*—or potlatch—and how the cultural practices around the *balhats* form the basis of Lake Babine customary law. Throughout the book the authors link the issues surrounding tradition, *balhats* and customary law to contemporary issues, making this an excellent book for those interested in understanding how tradition can inform contemporary justice, land claims and self-government issues.

The first two chapters describe the social and political context of this study in a contemporary First Nations community and the methodological and theoretical issues that arise in a study of customary law principles. The authors describe customary law as “a continuously unfolding body of principles” (p. 18) based on fluid processes of meaningful action. As such, they are careful not to create an artificially definitive set of customary laws based on their findings. From a “traditional” point-of-view, traditional stories of the Elders are the law. The meanings and interpretations of customary law have changed with the pressures of colonialism, and are now fairly heterogeneously conceived of within the present-day community. Throughout the study, the authors are attentive to these different visions of customary law held by community members intersects with those held by the state.

Chapter two provides a discussion of Lake Babine social organization which forms the foundation for the analysis of the basic legal principles that the *balhats* govern. In chapter three the authors discuss changing local land tenure and governance practices through the voices of Elders who have observed a transformation from an orderly community 30 years ago when it was more “traditional”, and when hereditary clan chiefs managed the land and resource locations. Today, social problems in rural Babine communities are often said to stem from being too remote to receive good services, while those located in or near towns have problems which community members describe as originating in the loss of traditional lands and resources, and the false solace of readily available alcohol and drugs. The authors argue that a part of the explanation for these problems lies in the shifting social roll of hereditary *balhats* names. These names, or titles, create responsibilities under the protocol of traditional laws. Today few adults ($n = 93$ out of 700 adults & 1300 young

people) hold these names. Without having to follow the responsibilities required of named people by *balhats* law, it is difficult for customary laws to maintain their social force. Chapter four and five give a nuanced, careful description of potlatch events and their contemporary and historic significance. It is a welcome and refreshingly alive addition to the already massive literature on the potlatch, offering new insights into the relevance of this potlatch “tradition” in contemporary political and social settings. The authors review funeral *balhats*, memorial *balhats*, name-taking *balhats*, female rites of passage *balhats*, clan-transfer *balhats*, shaming *balhats*, and dispute settlement *balhats*, in order to make specific observations about the ways in which customary law is given social force. They do this by moving from historic texts (taken critically) to contemporary interviews with community members, carefully documenting continuities and changes in practice and meaning. Throughout this discussion several examples are provided of how potlatch laws conflict with Canadian law. An example of this is funeral *balhats*. Provincial laws do not recognize the mourning periods required before trap lines can be inherited, creating conflicts for Babine who uphold the customary laws. Despite the difficulties, the authors demonstrate how the *balhats* system continues to be viable in ways consistent with the social practices observed by early writers in the 19th century.

Chapter six refines the discussion of Babine traditional law by drawing parallels between the principles that emerge from the *balhats* and those found in the contemporary legal and justice system. *Balhats* laws are the legal basis for succession and inheritance, territorial laws and resource management, family law (including marriage, divorce and mourning), dispute settlement, village governance, special rules of conduct for women and principles of justice taught to children. The authors recognized that it would not be possible in a book such as this one to codify all the customary laws, but they do provide a solid methodology to begin to codify customary law through the study of potlatch principles. Principles of customary law recognized in the *balhats* continue to provide community leaders a way to manage lands and resolve disputes. In areas such as rules of women’s conduct, however, dramatic social changes have made these laws difficult to follow today.

Chapter seven outlines how imposed colonial legal orders, such as the Hudson Bay company, the Durieu system, the laws introduced by magistrates and Indian Agents, and contemporary legal pluralism have

provided conflicts and challenges to the traditional system of customary laws. Today, the authors argue, the community operates under a kind of “plural legalism” where different forms and visions of the customary laws provide a multitude of strategies from which people can think about the legal issues encountered in their lives. The authors give life to this abstraction of Babine legal life through descriptions of traditional and non-traditional laws to legitimate claims over disputed land. Their discussion of how plural legalism can create very different solutions to the current problem of overlapping claims in the BC Treaty Process powerfully highlights this discussion.

Contemporary justice issues are the topic of chapter eight, particularly problems of sexual and substance abuse, family violence, vandalism and conflicts with the dominant legal system. The authors pay particular attention to understanding the different strategies of articulating and striving for justice provided by women and men, and the kinds of justice solutions that these community members have suggested in improving education, health, resource allocation, and community relations. The book concludes with a look outward from the highly specific discussion of Lake Babine *balhats* to the analogous legal principles that could be articulated from potlatches and narratives in neighbouring Northwest Coast and Athapaskan societies.

This is a book that would be well situated in upper undergraduate level courses on Contemporary Native Issues or Traditional First Nations Culture. The frequent framing of the material into a larger theoretical and scholarly context makes this an important study on the dynamic interplay of a traditional legal system with contemporary justice issues. The book is well informed by current post-colonial scholarship, making it theoretically engaging, while richly locally situated.

It would also serve as excellent material for those in Government or the Civil Service who are trying to grapple with how traditional laws can be envisioned. Given the importance of these laws in forming part of the basis of such constitutionally protected principles as Aboriginal title and rights, the book is a guide to how traditional laws can be conceived and written about, and the kind of careful understanding of history and contemporary community life that is needed to characterize such legal principles. Too often in the past these laws have been characterized in simplistic or a-historical terms. Fiske and Patrick’s work brings the lived experience of these customary laws together with history and a well

grounded theoretical position about the importance of power relations in understanding something as complex as traditional laws in contemporary First Nations society.

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Renée Fossett. *In Order To Live Untroubled: Inuit of the Central Arctic, 1550 to 1940*. University of Manitoba Press, 2001.

Reviewed by Robert MacDonald, The Arctic Institute of North America, University of Calgary

Recent years have seen a growing interest in aboriginal history. In piecing together this history, in the absence of indigenous written record (particularly for the distant past where oral history falters), scholars and others have to use European and Canadian sources, recognising the ethnocentric limits of these materials. For the Arctic, Richard Condon's *The Northern Copper Inuit: A History*, and more limited Lyle Dick's recent *Muskox Land: Ellesmere Island in the Age of Contact* are illustrative of this trend. Renée Fossett's study of the Central Arctic or Nunavut (except the Copper Inuit) fits well into this area of scholarship. Using archaeological studies on pre-contact history, and explorers' accounts from Frobisher to Schwatka, she attempts to craft a history of The Inuit. Important are the fur traders' accounts, especially those of the Hudson's Bay Company. Occasionally Inuit stories from the area and elsewhere are used to substantiate concepts. The focus of the book is the Central Arctic but while some material is drawn from the Baffin area, Labrador and Ungava, and the Hudson Strait, even Alaska and the Mackenzie Delta, the emphasis is really on the Keewatin region to King William Island, Boothia Peninsula, Melville Peninsula and Somerset Island. This is not surprising given the explorers' literature (including the search for Franklin) and HBC records. Fossett herself lived in the region for some time.

Essentially the book's thesis is that the Inuit and their predecessors adopted several means of survival and transition, in response initially to physical/environmental changes and later also to the European/Canadian presence. It tries to identify those aspects of society they chose to change, and why practices were adopted or rejected (p. xiv). Before contact, the archaeological record suggests transition to a new environment by aban-

donment of areas, mobility of communities, and new strategies to obtain shelter and game. Some discussion is given regarding the relationship between cultural groups, especially Dorset and Thule. After contact, Fossett indicates several basic strategies: hostility (to protect resources), trade (for new resources), migration, increased production (especially if the climate favoured this), and expansion of territory. She later suggests strategies of mobility, storage, diversification, and technical innovation (when there was a benefit to change) (p.199). Overarching these strategies is the climate change which she suggests is a catalyst for social change.

In discussing the element of hostility, where there is a threat to resources, the author challenges the concept of the friendly Arctic and Inuit (such as projected by Stefansson). As early as Frobisher and Davis, there are examples of hostile action, though some incidents reflect curiosity and trade: even at this time Inuit employed what the anthropologist John Matthiasson called a "wait and watch" attitude, one of cautious observation. Hostility or goading of strangers, whether in Alaska, with the early explorers or later with Chipewyan, occurred particularly if there was a sense of superiority of arms: but action was not to overwhelm but to protect resources. Later, in the nineteenth century, the aggressiveness of the Netsilik is explained by the desire to protect spoils from the abandoned *Victory* of John Ross or the abandoned *Erebus* and *Terror* of the last Franklin expedition. Even whalers, it is suggested, were initially opposed in Cumberland Sound.

The second strategy was trade, which was also present in pre-contact times. As early as Frobisher this occurred, though Best's account also speaks of theft of desired objects. In the eighteenth century, the Inuit of the western Hudson Bay took advantage of the trading sloops plying the coast from Churchill. In exchange for surplus furs, tools sought had the advantage of enhancing subsistence. As the climate grew colder later in the century, Inuit were more likely to come to the posts for trade. A century later the HBC records confirm the shifting nature of trade to become a more regular pattern of cyclical life. Included were jobs in the fur trade (and whaling).

Migration and relocation also figure in strategies of survival. Inuit in Labrador as well as around Hudson Bay employed the strategy as climate changed bringing them into conflict with neighbouring Cree, for example. The dialectical distinctiveness of the people of the Keewatin

coast is explained in terms of abandonment and relocation. During the cold of the nineteenth century, Inuit in the Keewatin moved inland in the summer (abandoning summer sealing for winter sealing), while in mid-nineteenth century, Somerset was depopulated and areas of southern Keewatin were deserted as game disappeared. Along with relocation was the shift to smaller hunting groups. The migratory strategy helps to explain the splitting of the Keewatin Inuit into distinct groups, namely Padlirmiut, Ahiairmiut, Hauniqtormiut, Harvaqtormiut, and Tassiujormiut (pp.185-6). A corollary of relocation was the need to reassess and adjust to the new flora and fauna and topographic features. Incidentally the experience foreshadows the challenge to those relocated in the 1930s and 1950s.

An alternative to relocation was increase in production, both for survival and for trade. In mid-nineteenth century in Boothia, this took the form of hunting over a large area. Earlier along Hudson Bay, new sources of food, namely muskox and caribou, were sought, especially as the seals in the estuaries were less plentiful, and sealing became more of a winter occupation. Of course, increase in production had its limits, especially during the stages of the "Little Ice Age". Moreover increase in production was limited by game populations which also fluctuated such as declining caribou herds in the Keewatin in the nineteenth century (which had an effect on number of dogs).

Finally the strategy, as Fossett presents it, included expansion of territory. Closely associated with relocation, it also included the expansion of the Netsilik to King William Island to protect the newly-found resources of the *Erebus* and *Terror* wrecks. It was this expansion that explains the reluctance of the people in Pelly Bay to accompany John Rae west during his search for Franklin.

Fossett divides the narrative and analysis into distinct periods, from the pre-contact to the Elizabethan-Stuart contact, and then, during the cooling period from 1670 on, various multiples of decades namely 1670-1700, 1700-1790, 1790-1830, 1830-1860, and 1860-1940. The real strength of the treatment probably lies in the period from 1790 to 1860, especially from 1790 on when records of explorers and traders are more extensive, and the effect of climate clearer.

Although the title suggests to 1940, in effect the detail of the study does not go much beyond 1900, a time when Inuit became much more integrated in the fur trade with the trapping of the Arctic fox. Use of oral

history on whaling, such as Eber's *When The Whalers Were Up North*, might have been used to strengthen the treatment. As well, by and large the religious intrusion of the Euro-Canadians, which was occurring later in the nineteenth century and which intensified in the Central Arctic in the period to 1940 (leading to some "hysteria") tends to be omitted from the study. Also the role of the police in bringing law and order during the early twentieth century is not indicated. From Fossett's perspective this was a period not of autonomy but of colonisation.

The title suggests a history. In large measure it is an economic history of Inuit groups in the area. To some extent this is understandable for, as the author notes, the traders (and whalers) were less interested in ethnographic studies, though the explorers from Best and Davis (who compiled one of the first lexicons) to Ross and Hall made extensive commentary on the societies, as did whalers such as Ferguson. After the great detail in earlier chapters, the final chapter deals with the social organisation and world view, drawing on earlier sources and particularly studies by Franz Boas and Knud Rasmussen's Fifth Thule Expedition. The oral tradition is used to illuminate kinship, leadership, attitude to strangers and relationship to nature, though the Frobisher-Davis skirmishes suggest institutionalised leadership was not entirely absent.

Not only does the book illustrate adaptive strategies through history, but the discussion gives insights into suicide, infanticide, famine, cannibalism in times of shortage, sharing, and reliability of information. Illustrations, partly integrated to the text, also give insights into Inuit history. But as Fossett acknowledges, more work on available rich resources is necessary for a comprehensive history.

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Ron F. Laliberte, Priscilla Sette, James B. Waldram, Rob Innes, Brenda Macdougall, Lesley McBain, F. Laurie Barron, eds. *Expressions In Canadian Native Studies*. University of Saskatchewan Extension Press, 2000.

Reviewed by Joseph (Jay) H. Stauss, University of Arizona.

The editors of this text which is aimed, primarily at the university student market have produced a somewhat uneven collection of scholarly

articles, stories, commentaries and other materials with the goal of presenting “critical interpretations offered by aboriginal scholars” (preface, x). Another stated goal is to provide a “state of the field” by including other than “traditional scholarship” (preface, xi). It may have been an impossible task from the beginning. Scholars may be disappointed that the state of the field will not be found in a organized or comprehensive way in this book, while individuals looking for stories from elders will find this volume’s contributions too little and too fragmented.

Having made this overall observation, I would argue, just as forcibly, that this eclectic collection provides the reader some excellent contributions. It is a beginning point for future contributions that will help define the field of Canadian Native Studies.

Peter Kulchyski’s piece presents an interesting approach to defining the field when he argues “Native Studies is the setting right of names” (p.13).

Neal McLeod’s work brings a fundamental native studies issue sharply into view. The connections between native people, their communities and the work that goes on in academic institutions.

Indigenous Studies should help empower Indigenous people and be a forum for the articulation of Indigenous stories and languages, a vehicle for Indigenous people to describe themselves on their own terms. (p. 28)

However, I was hoping to find a comprehensive review of the field early in this collection. The reader is left without a feel for the growth and development of Canadian Native Studies or the current state of the field.

Chris Andersen’s legal and historical treatment of Metis hunting and fishing rights intertwined in the concept of lifestyle is an important and timely contribution. Two historical pieces on the fur trade by Arthur J. Ray and another by Bruce M. White alert the reader to the valuable archival data yet unmined and the important roles native women played. Both of these topics have previously received considerable attention in the literature.

Memno Boldt’s reprinted chapter from an award-winning book provides valuable analysis and insights in the federal government policy arena. The focus on The Delgamuukw Decision and acceptance and use of oral history by the courts illuminated by Peter R. Grant and Neil J. Sterritt is an important issue. Joyce Green’s work on aboriginal women

and aboriginal government provides a strong argument that there may be a continuation of the exclusion of native women's interests in favor of the political interests of First Nations. Margaret A. Jackson follows Green and raising the question of equality for aboriginal women given the return to traditional ways.

David R. Newhouse's piece on the development of modern aboriginal societies is, arguable, the strongest contribution in the volume. It appears in the section on looking to the future and stands out for its strength of analysis and focus on the future. The work by F. Laurie Barron and Joseph Garels which highlights the history of urban satellite reserves is timely. This social experiment is not widely recognized nor well documented and this thoughtful piece is an important contribution. The story about how the sun and moon came into being by Karla Jessen Williamson is a powerful blend of storytelling with something important to say about the future. This piece is a model for interdisciplinary analysis and deserves wide-spread classroom exposure.

This volume also includes a number of maps, historical documents and guides to critical reading and writing, which are useful references. In addition, contributions also include an Ojibway creation story by Edward Benton-Bavai; some humorous commentaries on topics such as "looking native" and "who should date who", or "is the erotic Indian a contradiction in terms". They are interesting and entertaining but fall short of the editor's intention to balance the scholarly literature with important works from aboriginal writers that reflect the state of the field.

Expressions In Canadian Native Studies deserves your attention and some selected use in the classroom. Had the 588 pages been pared down to 350 more focused and carefully chosen works the book would have more closely realized the editor's goals and been more useful as a college text.

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Kathleen Ann Pickering. *Lakota Culture, World Economy*. University of Nebraska Press, 2000.

Reviewed by Robert L. Bee, University of Connecticut

This is an excellent study of Lakota economic attitudes and strategies,

set on the Pine Ridge and Rosebud reservations in South Dakota. Pickering asks two basic questions: 1) How can Lakota culture be sustained despite the people's incorporation into the world economy; and 2) given their "cultural resistance," how are Lakotas being drawn into the world economy (p. xii)? The answers are pursued mainly through interviews with 100 Lakota individuals, plus her own observations and documentary research. Her interviews included almost twice as many women as men. She did not employ detailed financial records or reports or make extensive use of other sorts of quantitative data.

Yet the statistics she invokes emphasize the dismal economic peripherality of the two reservations, a condition shared by many other indigenous land areas. For example, Bureau of Indian Affairs data for 1989 showed unemployment on Pine Ridge at 73% and on Rosebud at 86% (p. 15). In 1992, unemployment was at 3% in South Dakota and 7.5% in the U.S. as a whole (p. 97). The Indian household median income in 1990 was \$10,513 in Pine Ridge and \$10,211 in Rosebud (p. 62).

What emerges from the Dakota's reflections is the importance of the household as an economic unit of production and consumption. It is also a fundamental structural basis for maintaining Lakota culture, demanding loyalty to the Lakota tenets of cooperation and sharing as a price for its continuing economic advantages.

The household is a safety net in the perpetual hard times of reservation economy. Individuals suddenly out of a job can rely on the household for support. Various forms of public assistance and pensions coming to individual members are pooled for the benefit of all. Elderly members provide child care; living rooms become tiny factories for beadwork or quilts, and often serve simultaneously as hands-on vocational training sites. Because job opportunities are so severely limited on the reservations, household members typically supplement the income pool with microenterprises such as quilting, beadwork, or various kinds of repair work. They also continue to hunt and gather. The ideology and structure of the household unit enable the alternative economic coping strategies that sustain the individual tribal members. Wage work alone cannot meet even minimal needs.

Fundamental incongruities and incompatibilities beset reservation economic behavior at every turn. Perhaps the most fundamental is the continuing absence of anything resembling economic development on

the reservations, while the nation as a whole at the same time has enjoyed almost unprecedented prosperity. Pickering and the Lakotas argue that in fact their continuing poverty has helped to generate some of the prosperity among non-Indians: surplus food commodities, for example, feed the Lakotas but pour federal money into agricultural interests who otherwise could not sell the products; Indian land allotments provide relatively low-cost and low-risk range mostly for non-Indian cattle ranchers; reservation program contracts awarded to both Indian and non-Indian contractors inevitably benefit primarily the non-Indian administrators and experts. Federal government attempts to offer economic incentives to Indians are smothered by a spreading bureaucratic goo of stringent eligibility criteria, application delays, and finicky record-keeping demands. "Indian preference" continues to be a frustrating oxymoron. (Perhaps the most tragically silly of the Catch-22s is the Temporary Aid to Needy Families [TANF] program as implemented among the Lakota: Recipients must find a job within a specified time, then the benefits cease. The aim is to get people off welfare and into the job market. But there is virtually no attractive job market on the reservations.)

These and similar situations are seen by Pickering as examples of how Lakota "social identity" is controlled and manipulated by outsiders for the outsiders' benefit. The social identity she refers to in this context evidently is their historical and legal status as "Indians."

Then there is the basic incompatibility between capitalism and Lakota culture. Pickering offers numerous examples of the tension this produces in the community. Often it boils down to the question of whether to share and thus bolster the social networks of family and community, or to save and budget for the future and thereby jettison the social networks. The latter may entail leaving the reservation. Yet often the level of education or other training received by individuals on the reservation does not offer them much hope for a more rosy economic future off-reservation and away from friends and relatives. So they stay, increasingly offering cash instead of lovingly-wrought articles at giveaways, and, for too many, turning to substance abuse to avoid the tension. (A new ideology is emerging as a possible deterrent to abuse: "Sobriety is increasingly being regarded by Lakotas as an assertion of their identity" [p. 104].) In this economic context, sharing becomes a form of "Indian insurance" against future downturns.

One wonders whether this tension would be as high if the Lakotas

were relatively more prosperous, and if there were some real and widespread local economic opportunities for individuals. Then perhaps the issue would not involve either-or decisions by tribal members, but rather a positive and creative mutual reconfiguration of both capitalism and Lakota culture. Possibly the few “casino tribes” entering into unprecedented prosperity could offer some important insights into this possibility. But clearly such a hypothesis is presently irrelevant for the Lakotas and thousands of other Native Americans on reservations.

For surely the conditions described and analysed by Pickering exist on other reservations. In fact they have existed with startling detailed similarity since the 1960s, and in general for at least a century before that. (Pickering helpfully provides some brief Lakota historical overviews to create a context for the present.) As useful as her insights into Lakota are, some readers will be reminded that they are another local instance of a distressing sameness despite and because of the actions of the larger system that has incorporated them.

I wish Pickering had explored the nature and dynamics of Lakota identity more systematically and thoroughly. For example, granting that the persistence of the giveaway ritual is one key feature of what it is to be Lakota, how has the increasing use of cash in lieu of materials affected notions of Lakota-ness? How has the increasingly problematic economic position of the elderly affected the fundamental Lakota tenet of respect for them? How have the teachings of White Buffalo Calf Woman been reconfigured ñ if they have been reconfigured by Lakota incorporation into the world economy? (Brief anecdotal passages recount changing Lakota behavior in specific instances, but the more abstract ideology issue is not fully addressed.) “Social identity” at times becomes ambiguous, referring both to the identity constructed and applied by non-Indians to the Lakotas, and the Lakotas’ own construction. To be sure, the two constructions are interactive; but some more consistent conceptual distinction would have helped. “Racism” as both an explanation and a type of behavior could also use more extensive analysis. The concept could be more insightfully interwoven with the discussion of the “mixed-blood/flubbed” division among the people.

The study is well-organized and well-written, useful to both scholars and students. It is also an important work for those actively involved in Native American economic “development” if only they will read it as a prelude to more empathic and effective action.

Jocelyn Proulx and Sharon Perrault, eds. *No Place for Violence: Canadian Aboriginal Alternatives*.

Reviewed by Lynne Davis, Trent University

The healing movement is gaining considerable ground in Aboriginal society, and a body of literature is emerging that documents the successes and challenges of trying to break the cycle of inter-generational violence first put into motion through the repressive policies of colonial governments. RESOLVE, a program and policy-oriented research network focussing on family violence in the three Prairie provinces, has launched "the Hurting and Healing series on intimate violence." In this, the first of their publications, editors Jocelyn Proulx and Sharon Perrault have brought together an impressive collection from university and community contributors, including two community-based research papers and three men's treatment/healing programs in Manitoba. The editors frame the volume in the broader context of colonial relations which has resulted in a web of inter-connected lesions such as family violence, substance abuse, incarceration, foster care and adoptions.

Reporting their survey results in seven northern Manitoba First Nations, Elizabeth Thomlinson, Nellie Erickson and Mabel Cook have produced an account of the nature of family violence/abuse through the eyes of adults and youth who live with violence on a day-to-day basis. This interesting attempt to define, map, and identify solutions to family violence/abuse from a community perspective is particularly important, because it points to how the community members identify possibilities of change given the complex ways in which violence and abuse are intertwined with family and community life. Community members also reported a high incidence of attempted suicides, lending a sense of urgency to the development of viable appropriate solutions.

Anne McGillivray and Brenda Comaskey's "'Everybody had black eyes': Intimate Violence, Aboriginal Women and the Justice System" draws on their book of the same title. They summarize a qualitative study with 26 women in Winnipeg who were assaulted and had contact with the justice system. A significant contribution of this study is their analysis of the continuing violence in the lives of the women, from witnessing and suffering abuse in their childhood through to later experiences of violence in relationships with partners. The normalization of

violence/abuse in communities, community denial of abuse, lack of local services, perceived leniency of sentences for partners who abuse are some of the issues that need to be addressed. The authors indicate that the women see a symbolic value in imprisonment of the offender, as well as bringing relief because of safety concerns. This is in contrast with current efforts to introduce community-based dispute resolution methods.

All three of the case studies in this volume discuss services in relation to the justice system. In each of the case study articles there is valuable discussion related to the theoretical grounding of the program interventions, offering readers a good foundation for understanding their rationale. Aboriginal Ganootamaage Justice Services of Winnipeg, an alternative sentencing program, is discussed by Kathy Mallett, Kathy Bent and Wendy Josephson. Sponsored by agency partnerships, this diversion program is mandated to help “broken spirits” who take responsibility for their wrongdoing, for a proscribed set of offences. Individuals are helped through an array of holistic support programs, which become part of the individual’s healing plan. Preliminary statistics indicated the program is having positive impacts.

Since beginning its work in 1987, the Native Clan Organization’s Forensic Behavioral Management Clinic has developed a treatment model for Aboriginal sexual offenders in federal penitentiaries. Lawrence Ellerby, in “Striving Towards Balance,” traces its evolution from a cognitive-behavioural approach, to a “blended model” that incorporates principles of holism, wellness and spirituality. Ellerby provides valuable detail of the model, together with challenges faced in implementation. Interestingly, Ellerby notes that only a small number of Aboriginal offenders choose to participate in this traditional healing program. Consistency and continuity of care are a priority, and offenders are able to work with the same team of clinicians and Elders over the course of their sentence, regardless of the site where they are serving their term in the federal correctional system in Manitoba. Community programs linked with those in the prisons help to facilitate the offender’s community reintegration.

Authors Jocelyn Proulx and Sharon Perrault describe the Winnipeg-based Ma Mawi Wi Chi Itata Family Violence Program, and in particular the Stony Mountain Project that is directed towards male family violence offenders. They too advocate a “blended” model that incorporates contemporary and traditional approaches. The model emphasizes the social learning of violent behaviour. Offenders need to understand the

reasons for their violent behaviour and to learn and practice new responses to the cues that trigger violence. Using quotes from inmates talking about their experiences and learning, the authors report a program evaluation that has helped shape an expanded program. As with the program described by Ellerby, helping offenders re-enter the community is considered a crucial activity. A community-based program in the same format of open and closed groups and counselling by Elders is accessible to offenders once they have been released.

Because there are few road maps, practice in Aboriginal healing and wellness requires innovation, creativity, and risk-taking. This rich collection, written in highly accessible language, shares experiences, analysis and reflection from the front line. It makes an important contribution to the emerging literature on Aboriginal healing and wellness which is of considerable benefit to practitioners, researchers, and policy-makers who are trying to design, implement, support and evaluate programs based on the needs of Aboriginal people. Scholars and students also have much to learn from this integration of research and practice. Readers might attend to a concluding chapter in which the editors have pulled together unique tidbits from all the articles that suggest directions for further discussion, research, analysis and community action—an agenda for the future.

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Paul C. Rosier. *Rebirth of the Blackfeet Nation, 1912-1954*. University of Nebraska Press, 2001.

Review by Alexandra New Holy, Montana State University,
Bozeman

Paul C. Rossier contributes a detailed, nuanced study of Blackfeet political economy during a timeframe little considered previously, a central factor in the book's fresh perspectives, analysis, and conclusions. The author contends that while U.S. Indian policy periods oftentimes differ dramatically from each other, their academic study as discrete and bounded units artificially constrains and limits our understanding of their implementation and impacts.¹ Rossier "bridge[s] the gap that exists between studies of the Indian New Deal [1928-1945] and the termination eras

[1945-1961]”² (2). From the Department of Interior’s (DOI) perspective, Termination meant the end of “federal overlordship” and was really the last stage of the Indian New Deal, and not one of two discrete, opposed, and unrelated periods (2).

The insights developed through a trans-policy period perspective, in this case one spanning an entire period (Indian Reorganization, 1871-1928) and parts of two others (Allotment and Assimilation 1871-1928, and Termination 1945-1961) suggest there is much to be gained from untying our consideration of tribal politics from rigid definitions of federal policy periods. Rossier brackets the *Rebirth of the Blackfeet Nation* roughly from the time of Blackfeet allotment in 1907 until their establishment of a relatively stable democratic polity signified by the meaningful integration of the “full-blood” population into the democratic process, and the end of the threat, for the Blackfeet, presented by Dillon Myer’s radical vision of Termination. What is revealed may come as a bit of a surprise for those, like me, schooled in anti-IRA rhetoric and studies. For the Blackfeet, the IRA provided a relatively effective “sense of political efficacy and the means to produce change” (273). Not so surprising, this accomplishment, following Rossier’s evidence, can in no way be attributed to the skill, diplomacy, management, or compassion within the Office of Indian Affairs (OIA), later the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA).

Although specific to the Blackfeet located in Northwestern Montana, the book provides considerable insight into the politics and practices of DOI personnel involved in Indian affairs. Superintendent Frank C. Campbell, for example, embraced Blackfeet “full-bloods” and organized them into small gardening and sheep grazing cooperatives (35). His Piegan Farming and Livestock Association (PFLA) became an OIA model program. He spent considerable time off reservation promoting it to the detriment of a comprehensive economic development plan for the Blackfeet (52). His influence with the “full bloods” turned them against the Blackfeet Tribal Business Council (BTBC) and in support of the OIA and federal supervision creating a tribal split for years to come (40). Among other colonizing maneuvers, favoritism of non-Indian stockowners, “sloppy” accounting, and the “loss of more than two hundred thousand of the Blackfeet’s most valuable acres” during his watch led to his reassignment on another reservation (59). Superintendents such as Campbell can be interpreted as corrupt and/or incompetent but they,

their superiors, and replacements underscore the imperialistic results of Federal Government policies during a critical time of Native “adjustment” to American democracy when official rhetoric and policy advocated Indian self-sufficiency.

Rebirth of the Blackfeet Nation, however, is far from just a chronicle of the corrupt and colonial politics of 20th century Federal Indian policy players. It also adeptly and honestly emphasizes relevant Blackfeet values, motivations, and actions retrieved through scrupulous use of government documents, local newspapers, Blackfeet tribal archives, and interviews with Blackfeet. The result is an account that traces the subjectivity of both the Blackfeet and Federal government actors in concert with each other and, especially the shifting subjectivity of Blackfeet mixed- and full- blood factions, and those in-between. The dynamics between “full-bloods” and “mixed-bloods” are not reduced to a static bifurcation; rather Rossier provides the changing motivations, tactics, alignments, and re-alignments fueling their common and disparate interests.

Early on the significant difference between full-bloods and mixed-bloods is blood quantum and geographical location, but it quickly becomes based more, but not entirely on, class consciousness (58). “A growing disparity of economic distribution and political representation” develops due to OIA ideologies and practices. The burgeoning social-economic injustice is ignored and cultivated, rather than addressed by the OIA (122). Interestingly, the “full-blood” factions at first empower themselves by contesting BTBC authority and advocating for OIA’s greater control over tribal affairs. “Caught between paternalistic whites and enterprising mixed-blood Indians, many full-bloods chose the former over the latter in part because their sense of history suggested that they would be in better hands with the federal government than with the tribal government” (265). Because the “full-bloods” were persistent and vocal, if not a voting bloc, and represented marginalized Blackfeet, both the OIA and the BTBC paid attention. This minority faction “succeeded in waging a remarkable campaign to keep the “poor Indian” – both mixed-blood and full-blood – involved in and the object of Blackfeet politics” (208). Eventually, the full-bloods formed a “legitimate political opposition crossing boundaries of race, ethnicity, and class,” and used IRA mechanisms for changing the tribal government, rather than just advocating for its rescinding (255). It is this careful chronicle of the “full-

bloods” who experienced the complete overhaul of their political systems from pre-reservation to reservation circumstances and saw their demographic power wane in the wake of considerable inter-marriage that defines the greatest value of the book. Rossier details how they asserted themselves, defended their sense of meaning, and then used IRA tools to empower their political voice, restore their social status, and preserve the idea of a tribe as family rather than corporate entity (265).

Full-blood maintenance of their sense of Indianness and adaptation to democratic political life is not the only factor leading to the success of the IRA on the Blackfeet reservation. Other factors also contributed to its success. First, prior to a vote on acceptance of the IRA, Blackfeet had already transitioned to democratic forms of organization. In 1915, the BTBC organized after years of intense factionalism, adopting a Constitution and by-laws in 1922, years before the introduction of the IRA (3). Hence, the Blackfeet were more politically “developed” by the New Deal period than many Native nations (85). Second, the BTBC prior to the IRA vigorously pursued economic development and consistently confronted OIA obfuscation and favoritism towards non-Indian landowners and interests (69). Government reports circulated among the Blackfeet documented pervasive OIA corruption in its handling of Blackfeet resources and monies (59). The IRA provided the political power needed to control their own resources and access to credit to develop those resources, things they had been requesting for 20 years (90). Third, their “acceptance of the IRA was the result of an open and organized debate about the tribe’s future and remembrance of a past largely influenced by the vagaries of OIA management” (96). On a stormy winter day, 46% of eligible Blackfeet voters favored IRA acceptance. Of the 994 votes cast, 171 voted against it (96). Unlike other IRA acceptance elections where very small minorities within tribes carried the decision to accept,³ the Blackfeet started with solid tribal support for an IRA form of political organization. Moreover, and to the point of Rossier’s book, the Blackfeet success derived from their collective persistence and willingness to productively negotiate with each other over core values essential to a functioning Native American Indian nation-state.

For example, the question of whether natural resources, significantly oil and pastureland, should benefit individual entrepreneurs or tribal members as a whole answered in favor of a tribal benefit (58).⁴ This value was sustained in the face of 20 years of OIA bias toward individual

development including implementation of paternalistic rules preventing collective development (69). Distribution of per capita payments from tribal revenues, an important focus of the book, consistently challenged and ultimately helped define core tribal values. Under the BTBC's IRA Charter it had the authority to determine the amount of tribal revenues for per capita distribution (127). Revenues could also be reinvested in tribal infrastructure such as irrigation and livestock (147). Many Blackfeet, especially the "full-bloods," perceived per capita payments as analogous to the give-away, a Blackfeet method of wealth distribution. For most Blackfeet, revenues produced through communal oil fields and grasslands were "psychological and financial gifts from Mother Earth" and necessarily should be distributed per capita amongst tribal members (215). Infrastructure development, like irrigation and livestock purchases, did not equally benefit everyone. Council members "faced constant pressure from relatives, friends, and constituents to release funds in per capita payments or loans" (240). The pressure caused council members to juggle financial records so as to be able to make per caps; the practice was "endemic and not isolated to one or two professional politicians" (239). Commentators familiar with the Blackfeet do not characterize the Blackfeet value of generosity, institutionalized in the give-away, and later under the IRA as tribal loans (never to be paid back) and per capita payments, as corruption like many in the OIA did, but rather as a syncretic form of cultural tradition (240).

Certainly under non-Indian standards the emphasis on distributing per capita payments slowed the economic development of the tribe (268). Rossier's focus on the role of per capita payments in formulating Blackfeet self-determination and vice versa under the IRA however is never loaded with non-Indian judgment and values but rather seeks to interpret as far as possible Blackfeet perspectives. With regard to per capita distributions of tribally owned assets, he concludes that they "represented both a form of economic justice and a symbol of the Blackfeet Nation "taking care of its own," an institutional form of the give-away custom that governed traditional Blackfeet social relations" (266). In 1946 and 1947, the Blackfeet chose to make per capita payments "rather than continue to fund a social worker and a tribal welfare program." In this way, each Blackfeet received "the same dividend from any revenue generated from tribal enterprises" (228).

In conclusion, Rossier documents how the unique historical and so-

cial context of the Blackfeet, as well as their determination to preserve and extend core cultural values within the IRA framework, provided the means for the Blackfeet to successfully use it as a means of self-determination.

- 1 A commonly known exception being the surfacing and discussion of Removal — removing Native American Indians from the eastern part of the nascent US to west of the Mississippi river — documented in Secretary of War Henry Knox's report to Congress in 1789. Yet, the official start of the policy period is marked by the passage of the Removal Act in 1830, some 40 years later. Getches, David; Charles F. Wilkinson; Robert A. Williams Jr. (1988). *Cases and Materials on Federal Indian Law*, 4th ed. St. Paul, MN: WestGroup. 94, 98.
- 2 The policy period timespans I rely upon are those demarcated in the popular law school casebook, (ibid.).
- 3 Getches, Wilkinson, and Williams, 199.
- 4 This response however does not imply that all Blackfeet subscribed to it, or that it has been actualized even today.