Journey to the Heart of the First Peoples Collections

Matthew Ryan Smith, Ph.D.

The pursuit of Aboriginal and treaty rights in Canada appears to follow two divergent streams. In one direction are the judicial proceedings and Supreme Court decisions of which the names Calder (1973), Guerin (1984), Sparrow (1990), Van der Peet (1996), Delgamuukw (1997) and Marshall (2005) are familiar milestones. A different path are the less formal protests involving blockades and occupations which form the subject matter of this edited collection of essays.

The introductory section is an excellent overview of the issues involved in this somewhat understudied expression of Aboriginal rights. The book seeks to answer whether or not blockades and occupations achieve their anticipated breakthroughs. Eleven case studies are discussed, ranging historically from 1922 to more recent times. The majority of the studies are drawn from incidents occurring in British Columbia, Alberta, and Ontario. The initial study focuses on a protest by Chippewa of the Caldwell First Nation at the Point Pelee national park in 1922. The claim made by the Caldwell Band was that its members had never signed a treaty and that they were reclaiming part of the park as their reserve.

The next chapter studies the Haida blockade, in October 1985, of an access road to a logging camp on Lyell Island in the South Moresby region of the Queen Charlotte Islands. Despite a court order, the Haida continued to block the road and eventually seventy-two members were arrested. A protest at Lubicon Lake in northern Alberta occurred in October 1988, resulting in twenty-seven arrests and unprecedented media coverage over a protest involving the disputed ownership of oil and gas reserves. Between 1988 and 2009, the Innu (also known as Montagnais and Naskapi) occupied a bombing range near the Goose Bay airfield over low-flying flights. The result was the arrest of over a hundred Innu protesters and their supporters. The Oka Crisis of 1990 was perhaps the most media-driven Aboriginal protest in Canadian history and pitted the Mohawk Warrior Society against the Canadian Army. The crisis was precipitated over the proposed expansion of a golf course into a parcel of land known as “the Pines” over which the Mohawks asserted title. Quebec police corporal Marcel Lemay was killed in a raid on a barricade on July 11, 1990.

In the same summer of 1990 in southern Alberta, members of the Lownights, led by Milton Born With a Tooth, rented a bulldozer from a local construction firm in an attempt to divert water from the Oldman River away from sacred sites. A confrontation developed with the RCMP during which two “warning” shots were fired by the protesters.
This activity, however, was not sanctioned by the Piikani First Nation council or even by the elders of the Lonefighters Society itself. A protest at Ipperwash Provincial Park in September, 1995, resulted in the death of Native protester Anthony O'Brien (Dudley) George at the hands of OPP officer Kenneth Dean. The history of this dispute is long and convoluted, going back to the creation of Camp Ipperwash and the forced removal of the Stoney Point reserve residents under the War Measures Act in 1942.

The Gustafsen Lake Standoff took place in the summer of 1995 and involved members of the British Columbia RCMP and the Defenders of the Shuswap Nation. The dispute was situated on a small portion of land which was part of a privately owned cattle ranch. The Defenders claimed that this site on Gustafsen Lake was needed for a sun dance ceremony and claimed that sacred spaces needed to be protected. Violence erupted resulting in the discharge of thousands of rounds of ammunition, the wounding of one occupier, and the shooting of two Emergency Response Team officers.

The Burnt Church protest of New Brunswick involved a fishing dispute which continued from September 1999 until August 2002. In this case, the threat of violence was ongoing between Native and non-Native fishermen, although direct allegations were few. Another dispute in Ontario occurred in 2006 near the community of Caledonia in which several protesters from the Six Nations of the Grand River occupied a housing development project. Initially, the protest attracted little media attention; however, tensions escalated over time between the Six Nations people, the Caledonia populace, the Ontario Provincial Police, and provincial politicians. Eventually, in an attempt to defuse the ongoing dispute, the Provincial Government of Ontario purchased the disputed property for $21.1 million.

The list of cases is long. The question remains, therefore, as to the effectiveness of these various protests, blockades, and occupations in achieving any long term, positive results. The editors of this volume provide only a partial answer to this question because the circumstances, characteristics, and underlying issues of these various protests vary so considerably from case to case. Nonetheless, Ipperwash is referred to as a tragic success, the Gustafsen Lake standoff is called an unmitigated failure, and the Burnt Church protest is said to lend itself to no clear assessment. As far as Caledonia is concerned, the dispute “accomplished little beyond alienating fellow community members and tarnishing the community’s reputation” (p. 39). An overall conclusion is that “the general Canadian society is becoming increasingly disillusioned with Aboriginal barricades, while losing patience and faith with current government policy and its application” (p. 40).

Surprisingly, there is no concluding chapter which would have provided an opportunity to discuss similarities and differences in these

various protests and disputes. A particularly useful discussion could have focused on the various relationships between the dissenters, elected band councils, government officials and even the nearby non-Native townspeople. For example, the editors comment that federal government officials “were careful not to convey political legitimacy on ‘dissent’ groups that acted without clear community support” (p. 25). The dynamics of this relationship would have been interesting to discuss, as well as the reasons why official legal and political channels were apparently not open to resolve the various disputes.

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This relatively short, yet comprehensive book on Aboriginal gangs offers the reader a thoughtful examination of the genesis and proliferation of street gangs in Manitoba, and in Winnipeg specifically. Indeed the authors do an excellent job illustrating the ways in which gangs have developed as a means of fulfilling a number of needs not met by other institutions and as a means of resistance to colonization processes.

One of the many noteworthy contributions of Indians Wear Red is the way in which the authors seamlessly integrate the significance of historical and current processes, including colonization, residential schools, neo-liberalism, discrimination, and racism, as the foundation for their analysis. The reader gains insight into Aboriginal street gangs as well as gains a detailed explanation of how trauma trails have contributed to the present day situation and plight of many Aboriginal peoples and Aboriginal gang members. This deep understanding of the context and history beneath the gang landscape in Winnipeg and Manitoba is complemented by the thoughtful manner in which the authors give voice to their participants throughout the text.

The authenticity of Indians Wear Red is grounded in the fact that the authors have spent years working with and researching the population about which they write. The book grew out of genuine relationships with gang-involved individuals. As the authors explain, several Aboriginal gang members approached one of the authors (who works with Aboriginal gang members in the community) about talking with him and the “university people” he worked with. This initial contact blossomed into a project that resulted in 18 interviews with five men.

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over three years, the final product of which is *Indians Wear Red*.

Chapter one provides a broad review of the literature on gang issues, including racialized poverty, street socialization, resistance identities, street gangs as business, the importance of drugs, prisons, and violence to gangs, and the local context of gangs in Winnipeg. The second chapter provides a careful examination of 'the trauma trails of colonialism' and how colonialism is fundamental to understanding Aboriginal gangs. Chapter three provides, from the perspective of those directly involved in the life, honest and poignant portrayals of the factors that lead to gang involvement and the entrenchment of these experiences in some communities (for example, Winnipeg's North End) that make gang involvement, despite its drawbacks, a viable life choice. In chapter four, the authors provide a detailed exploration of the centrality of the drug business to gangs; their conflict analysis provides an alternative look at gang members as entrepreneurs with business savvy, motivation, creativity, and initiative.

One of the many remarkable contributions of this text is the nuanced analysis it provides, through the words of the study participants, of the critical significance of prison - and serving time in prison - to the proliferation of gangs, and also to the credibility and respect gang members receive. It illuminates the centrality of prisons to Aboriginal gangs and their operations. This is highly relevant considering the overrepresentation of Aboriginal peoples in prisons. The discussion of the collective power of one Aboriginal gang, the Indian Posse, behind bars and its mission to claim "the racialized space inside the prison" sheds light on the role that Aboriginal overrepresentation plays when it comes to gangs, the significance of serving time, and the prominent role incarceration plays in definitions of normality, respect, and status within these communities.

Another impressive contribution of this text is the manner in which it humanizes gang members and dispels some of the myths surrounding gangs that currently exist. Through the words of the participants we gain insight into the ordinary operations, and agendas (organized or not) of the groups, and are privy to the pain, suffering, hurt, abuse, and neglect that makes gangs a feasible option for these individuals, often starting at a very young age. It is heartbreaking and heart wrenching, but it puts a face on the issue of Aboriginal gangs. Accessing the innermost thoughts and feelings of these 'hardened criminals' and reading in their own words what life has been like puts a different twist on gangs. The reader is left with a deeper understanding of the social, historical, political, and racialized processes that have made gangs an attractive option for some young Aboriginals. In light of the trauma trails the authors describe, one is left wondering why more Aboriginal youth do not opt for the gang route in life.

Ultimately, the authors effectively show the myriad ways in which
Aboriginal street gangs are a form of resistance, albeit dysfunctional, to ever present colonialism. Chapter five is the concluding chapter of the text and in it the authors discuss ways to deal with gangs and facilitate gang exit. What is refreshing about this chapter is that instead of suggesting the usual vague, abstract, and general recommendations often offered by gang researchers and practitioners, the authors draw on the words of Aboriginal elders and ground their recommendations in a call for decolonization, with Aboriginal peoples and communities at the centre of this process. They call for the rebuilding of Aboriginal communities and strengthening family ties. In keeping with the local emphasis of the book’s subject matter, the authors also point to the importance of decolonizing spaces, including Winnipeg’s North End. To this end they offer concrete examples of the work that is currently being done in schools, day-care centres, training centres, programs, and neighbourhoods. Thus the book ends on an encouraging note with examples of good work currently being done to address the issues identified and suggestions for future directions and ways to build on this good work. Indians Wear Red is a must-read for academics, students, practitioners, front-line workers and anyone interested in Aboriginal gangs in the Canadian prairies.

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This collection of essays looks at a wide range of media, including print, film, theatre, hiphop, dance, photography, poetry and interviews. It examines the ways media producers and consumers construct, negotiate and rearrange Indigenous identities in the process of making and using these varied images, words and texts.

The historical range stretches from the 1800s to today. Topics include an analysis of Tecumseh’s speeches, popular artistic representations through Buffalo Bill’s Wild West shows, various films and plays from the past twenty years, and a conference panel presentation from 2012.

A theme running throughout the book is that Indians are invented, as Vizenor famously said in 1981. How Indians were invented historically and how we might challenge those inventions through critical interpretation and analysis is the focus of roughly a third to a half of the book. Contemporary expressions of how artists, Indigenous or otherwise, invent ever newer images of Indianness by playing with and
against expectations, forms the rest. The chapters tend to home in on one media text, or figure, and sustain a focus on this very particular example. The larger story seems to emerge from reading the collection as a whole. Reading this collection introduced me to some artists I hadn’t encountered before and made me want to revisit some of the works I’d already seen but would now view in a new light. For instance, I can’t wait to watch Jim Jarmusch’s 1995 film Dead Man again, or to have an opportunity to view Eric Gansworth’s 2008 multi-media performance Re-Creation Story or the Ute community coming out in the spring to participate (or not) in the Northern Bear Dance. I was enlightened about Tecumseh’s rhetoric, an interesting piece that would be quite current in the bicentennial commemorations of the War of 1812 and have gained a new appreciation for Sequoyah’s encoding of the Cherokee worldview within the syllabary developed for Cherokee writing. Similarly, the discussions of Okah Tubbee, the racial border-crossing performer of the mid-1800s who may have played Indian to access social opportunity and escape the limiting confines of a Black identity in that era, are eerily indicative that the cultural phenomenon of playing a raced identity for personal gain (Rachel Dolezal?) has an entrenched history in North America.

The book is dedicated to Anishinaabe writer Gerald Vizenor and his influence upon the other contributions is visible throughout the work. Indeed, he is even listed as a guest contributor, having the last word, closing the book with a poem. If you like to think about the world through notions like Native survivance, filiation, and transculturality, then you will love this book. If you fall on the side of eschewing obfuscation in your vocabulary, then you may find it frustrating to read. I’m unsure how many times palimpsest appeared in the preface to describe later chapters in the book, but it seemed to stand out for me. Indeed, had I read only the preface, I would likely have not continued. But I dipped into and out of chapters that held content I thought would interest me and the individual contributions did just that. Some were fascinating; some enlightening; some needlessly alienating. Bookended by discussion of the 2012 Media and Learning Conference (MEDEA) in Europe that featured a Mediating Indianness panel, the collection, in its playfulness and situatedness in cultural theory, may end up alienating some Indigenous readers with technical jargon. Nevertheless, this book may be of interest to scholars of Indigenous studies, English, cultural studies and communication/media studies.

In addition to Cathy Covell Waegner, contributors include Billy Stratton, Sonja Georgi, A. Robert Lee, Ellen Cushman, Chris LaLonde, Christine Plicht, Ludmilla Martanovschi, Kimberly Blaeser, Evelina Zuni Lucero, Jane Haladay, Sally McBeth, Nicholle Dragone, John Purdy, Kerstin Schmidt, Gordon Henry Jr., Molly McGlenen and Jesse Peters. Subjects and artists discussed include Tecumseh, Okah Tubbee,

Those familiar with the many books (there are no fewer than twenty of them) by Hugh Dempsey will not be surprised by the quality of *The Great Blackfoot Treaties*, although I would rank this book as one of his most important. In some of his earlier work, especially his biographies of Crowfoot and Red Crow, and in a report written for the Department of Indian Affairs in 1987, Dempsey has previously examined the history of Treaty 7, but this book should now be regarded as the best book on the history of that treaty, despite the fact that its treatment of other Blackfoot treaties is disappointingly brief.

*The Great Blackfoot Treaties* exhibits the same great strength as much of Dempsey's work: his ability to combine fine story-telling with exhaustive research. Indeed, the depth of Dempsey's archival research, and his access, since the 1950s, to the collective memory of the Blood people, means that this is a book which no one else could possibly have written. In that sense, this book is an invaluable contribution.

Treaty 7 is at the centre of this book. Four of the eight chapters deal with that treaty (from prelude to aftermath). Dempsey relied on many accounts preserved before the 1950s of Blackfoot people who attended the negotiations, and on almost all relevant documentary sources, to offer a detailed reconstruction of the events surrounding the treaty. Dempsey does mistakenly state (citing a manuscript that William Parker wrote in his old age) that the Blackfoot held their dramatic sham battle before the treaty negotiations began, while Parker's journals kept at the time of the negotiations show that the exhibition actually occurred after the negotiations were concluded. This is a potentially significant mistake, depending on how one interprets the significance of that event. Nevertheless, those chapters provide the best narrative account of the treaty available.

Hugh Dempsey's work is highly regarded among professional historians, but Dempsey has always written for a wide audience. The demands of writing for that audience mean that he does not engage in
the same level of analysis and interpretation that professional scholars are accustomed to. In this case, none of the scholarly literature published about Treaty 7 since the beginning of the 1970s even appears in Dempsey’s bibliography. Dempsey is clearly aware of it; those familiar with the scholarly literature will recognize when Dempsey alludes to it. But he cites none of it. Plainly, Dempsey rejects most of the Treaty 7 scholarship published since the early 1970s. For example, he firmly rejects the argument that has emerged since the mid-1970s that Treaty 7 was not a land-cession treaty. Dempsey presents documentary and oral evidence that the Blackfoot understood that Treaty 7 included a cession of land rights in exchange for various promises. In a footnote (p. 248) Dempsey also implicitly rejects the relevance of accounts of those Blackfoot people who did not actually attend the treaty negotiations. Although he does not cite scholarly literature on the use and interpretation of oral evidence, he does lay out his approach to oral evidence in that footnote. Dempsey also argues that, although the Blackfoot could not possibly have understood all of the ramifications of the treaty, the interpreters were competent, and the Blackfoot were sophisticated negotiators who understood, broadly, what they were getting into. Finally, although Dempsey is very critical of the conduct of the Canadian government during the very difficult years after the treaty was signed, the Canadian government’s poor conduct did not represent a breaking of the terms of the treaty. Dempsey makes a strong case for each of these arguments.

Aside from the four chapters on Treaty 7, Dempsey devotes an introductory chapter to treaties concluded between and among Aboriginal communities. He sums up the argument of that chapter this way: “These were all peace treaties, not land-based or territorially based agreements, and in spite of all the fine words, no one really expected them to be permanent” (30). Dempsey also devotes a short chapter to the other Numbered Treaties, defending the argument that the previous Numbered Treaties set a precedent for Treaty 7—one that it would have been unrealistic for the Blackfoot to have expected to have been able to negotiate significantly better terms for themselves than the Canadian government had conceded in the previous treaties.

When I first encountered the title of this book, I anticipated with delight that Hugh Dempsey had probably finally placed Treaty 7 solidly in the broader international context in which it belongs. Thus, I was disappointed to see that the book devotes only one chapter to the other Blackfoot treaties: the ones concluded in the United States. Although the Blackfoot were not party to the Treaty of Fort Laramie (1851), that treaty did set out a description of Blackfoot territory. The Lame Bull Treaty (1855) was the first treaty concluded between the Blackfoot and any government. In 1865 and 1868, the Blackfoot negotiated two more treaties with the United States government in which they agreed to re-
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linguish claims to a considerable portion of the territory set aside as theirs in 1855. The 1865 and 1868 treaties were never ratified by Congress, but in the early 1870s the United States government did unilaterally take the land ceded by the Blackfoot in those two treaties. Given the very significant similarities and differences between American treaties and Canadian treaties; the fact that several Blackfoot signatories to the 1855, 1865, and 1868 treaties were also signatories to Treaty 7; and the obvious evidence that the Blackfoot were mindful of the American treaties when they negotiated Treaty 7; it ought to be uncontroversial to say that the Blackfoot were influenced at least as much by the history of their relationship with the United States government as they were by the Numbered Treaties when they came to Blackfoot Crossing in the fall of 1877. Indeed, any careful reader of the accounts of the negotiations will sense that the Blackfoot and the Canadian officials were mindful of how this treaty would be like or unlike the American Blackfoot treaties. Unfortunately, Dempsey covers the Treaty of Fort Laramie in about a page, the 1855 treaty in twelve, the 1865 treaty in only one, and the 1868 treaty in three (although the full text of all but the Treaty of Fort Laramie are included in the appendices). So, while The Great Blackfoot Treaties should now be seen as the standard book on the history of Treaty 7, I cannot help but be disappointed that Dempsey missed an opportunity to make a profoundly more important contribution than he did.

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Formations of United States Colonialism is an excellent collection of state-of-the-art essays that critically examine US colonial discourse and grapple with the complexities of cultural decolonization.

The front doors of the Royal Ontario Museum, not far from where I work, have since 1933 borne the proud inscriptions "THE RECORD OF NATURE THROUGH COUNTLESS AGES" and "THE ARTS OF MAN THROUGH ALL THE YEARS". All of time and space, all of human history, are subordinated to what Arnold Iturbi, in the 1994 book Closed Entrances: Canadian Culture and Imperialism, calls the 'imperializing eye'. Having subordinated all of nature and humanity to itself, the imperializing eye then performs a double gesture: it defines the value and meaning of all things through this imperializing relation; and it defines itself as neutral, natural, objective: not a record, but the record.

The essays in Formations of United States Colonialism do a wonderful
job of disrupting this naturalization. Every chapter draws on critical cultural theory, but the core of each chapter is a detailed empirical examination of the process by which a particular moment in colonial discourse has been constructed, and how it could have been constructed otherwise.

This potential alterity is important because, as Vicente L. Rafael points out in the volume’s final chapter, it takes more than armies and bureaucracies to establish empires. It takes cultural hegemony: that colonization of the imagination which makes it painfully difficult to think outside of the existing social order. Colonial discourse doesn’t just make specific truth-claims; it constructs the basic categories of thought within which truth claims are made, debated, and judged. Disrupting these categories requires retracing the process of their formation.

The emphasis on discourse does not entail an exclusion of the practical and material stakes of social struggles. On the contrary, the essays in this volume connect the formation of discourse to historical or contemporary struggles for resources, rights, and self-determination. Each chapter is a history, but a ‘history of the present’ in which even wild and forgotten rumours and infamous colonial forgeries bear tellingly on the terms of current politics.

The chapters in this volume range broadly in time and space, from Indian slaveholding in the Antebellum south to translators in present-day Iraq and professional football recruitment in Samoa. Some identities appear in more than one chapter, viewed in terms of more than one struggle: Hawai’i appears as an object of apology and of multiculturalism; the Navajo Nation appears as a site of 19th-century colonial mapping and of 20th-century gender politics; two very different trajectories of Hispanic nationalism are discussed. One chapter stands out from the others as a critical examination of international law and the grounds it provides for Indigenous self-determination. Alyosha Goldstein’s introduction ties it all together, noting that “the United States encompasses a historically variable and uneven constellation”, not a smooth Euclidean but a rhizome.

Each case study attends carefully to the complexities, contradictions, and incoherence of events. If the dominant narrative of colonizers constructs a binary opposition between emancipatory progress and oppressive tradition with colonizers on the side of progress and Indigenous groups on the side of tradition, a thorough decolonization of the imagination does more than simply flipping who is on which side of the divide: it disrupts the dichotomy altogether.

These essays will be useful for scholar-activists engaged in the decolonizing struggle within academia. Scholars without particular activist commitments will also find this work exciting for the ways it opens up new interpretations and new lines of investigation in the study of America’s past and present colonial practices, and of the ongoing for-
formation and reformation of American identity.

Activists outside of academia may find the theoretical parts of each chapter somewhat abstract and difficult. The ideas are complicated, which is fair enough, but I often wished the authors had found simpler ways to express them. This is more than a stylistic problem: it speaks to the limitations of this mode of theorizing. Each chapter, at its core, involves the same method: an examination of documents organized by the counter-hegemonic intuitions of the scholar. Theory appears as a means to justify unsettling questions which the colonizer would prefer to leave settled, but does not go so far as to sketch the elements of a decolonized social order.

For instance, in the introduction Alyosha Goldstein writes, "this book argues that it is precisely the complex reciprocities, seemingly opaque disjunctures, and tense entanglements evident in the diversity of US colonial pasts and presents that reveal the epistemological antagonisms and affinities that offer new insights for anticolonial struggle and new possibilities for critical inquiry" (2). This is an excellent point and well taken, but as a theoretical statement it says less than the sum of its words. More complicated than complex, statements like these (and there are many throughout the book) have many moving parts, but these parts do not fit together into a productive machine. Instead they lie together all jumbled up like the pieces of an indeterminate puzzle which the reader must assemble, and which each reader will assemble differently.

As an intellectual paradigm, post-structuralism has been with us for some four decades. In that time, Foucault has become the most-cited scholar in the humanities, deconstruction has become a household word, and the implication of power in the construction of knowledge has become a kind of common sense. We (that is, critical scholars) all know that rationality is social and political; we know that dominant narratives are the expression of dominant social forces; we know how, at least in the relative safety of academic scholarship, to destabilize a regime of truth. What then? How do we build a decolonized social order? The essays in this volume raise that question but do not answer it. Perhaps social movements will provide the answer. But I cannot help wondering if we, as socially engaged scholars, cannot do better.

Still, *Formations of United States Colonialism* deserves attention for its historically grounded insights into the complex and dynamics relationship among power, identity, and knowledge. Within its pages, one cannot yet see the outlines of a decolonized world, but one can sense which direction to take to reach it.

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Stuart Kirsch’s *Mining Capitalism* is a provocative account of the resource extraction industry’s flagrant disregard for the environment and how it wreaks damage upon the traditional ways of life for Indigenous peoples around the world. The author demonstrates his argument with several ethnographic examples, but mostly focuses on the Yonggam people of Western Papua New Guinea and the devastation caused by the open-pit copper and gold mine on the Ok Tedi River. It is, unfortunately, not an atypical story.

The central idea behind Kirsch’s book is that, without the strictest First-World standards of environmental protection, the so-called “development” seeded by creating a mine does far more harm than it does good. In the case of the Ok Tedi mine disaster in 1999, waste sediment was extruded from the mine into the river and this cheap carelessness for the environment caused widespread destruction, stripping the waterway of life and causing the Yonggam to be unable to feed themselves. This scenario is the “resource curse,” wherein an area is mineral-wealthy but its citizens economically disadvantaged. In this specific case, while the nation of Papua New Guinea may make money from the mine in which it has an investment, it is also suffering losses, both in natural resources such as fish and agricultural space and in human resources, due to thousands of people being displaced from their traditional lands by the development. Kirsch points out that while it was indeed lucrative for the government of Papua New Guinea to invest in the mine, there is an enormous conflict of interest involved, as the body meant to regulate environmental standards is also a large shareholder in an industry where environmental protection only gets in the way of profits.

Anti-mining sentiment in Papua New Guinea was strong early on and culminated in the Bougainville Civil War which killed thousands of people in the late 1980s and through most of the 1990s when the Papua New Guinean government used their military to put down any resistance. The people who were affected by the Ok Tedi mine were averse to meeting the same fate as their Bougainville counterparts, and thus they sought legal action rather than resorting to violence. The series of legal battles that followed is a large focus of Kirsch’s book, although the anthropological context of the case underlined by environmentalist sentiments made it much more enticing for me to read than it might have been otherwise.

Central to Kirsch’s account is the story of a group of people affected
by the Ok Tedi site who targeted the majority shareholder of the mine, BHP, and sued the company in an Australian court. One problem with the case was that the victims were hunter gatherers and did not have a Westernized economy per se, meaning that calculation of the damages owed in a form of currency, as is orthodox in Western justice systems to make the injured party whole, was difficult. By the end of the legal proceedings in which the Yonggom people received US$28.6 million in an out-of-court settlement, BHP only dumped waste at a slightly reduced rate and many locals deemed the river too contaminated to save. BHP was granted legal indemnity from future mine related damages.

From here, the text shifts into an analysis of the extraction industry and its manipulation of both science and public sentiment. Particularly, the author compares mining corporations to the tobacco industry, as both use many of the same deceiving tactics and both pose a serious threat to academic freedom. Scientists and other scholars working for these industries are not allowed to publish data which is counterintuitive to profit: corporate research only serves to defend the company from any obstacles which may negatively affect its sales. A study which highlights how harmful the industry’s product is or which expresses skepticism about its benefits is either silenced by the corporation as internal work that is not meant for general publication, or it is attacked in other research sponsored by the corporation which refutes the science of the negative study. Too often, the most prominent researchers in the field are co-opted by being financially compensated with good salaries and large research grants in exchange for their co-operation with the industry, giving the corporation a monopoly on the data.

Kirsch’s book is essential if one wishes to have a good understanding of the manipulative power of corporations and how they all too often negatively impact indigenous peoples in a rapidly globalizing world. Overall, the piece is an inter-sectional scholarly adventure which combines economic anthropology, human geography, and a sociological neo-Marxist perspective with some environmentalist underpinnings. We would recommend it to anyone interested in any of these subjects from either a personal or a scholarly perspective.

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The main aim of Nationhood Interrupted is to detail how Nêhiyaw people can live lawfully. After reading, I am of the opinion that McAdam makes an excellent contribution to our knowledge of what it means to live lawfully as Nêhiyaw people. I am also Nêhiyaw and grew up in Maskwacis, a community referenced in the book. Nationhood Interrupted is a welcome addition to the field of Nêhiyaw literature and will be an important point of reference for Nêhiyaw people and for other Indigenous and non-Indigenous people who are concerned with Indigenous law.

For me, McAdam makes two key contributions to Nêhiyaw literature. First, McAdam discusses the important role of women in Cree law and how colonization and genocide have impacted women. Second, McAdam does an excellent job of setting the work within a relational framework, one based on Cree understandings of wâhkotowin. Wâhkotowin is a term that translates as kinship but it is also a philosophical concept that “is used to describe the kinship connections to all of creation” (60). Scholars seeking to work within the nascent relational paradigm will find a great deal of value in this book and I would also recommend it to those seeking to research and learn about Indigenous understandings of Treaty Six.

The core of Nationhood Interrupted is chapter three, manitow wîyininêwina. This chapter discusses four aspects of Cree law. Pâstâmowin deals with harmful language against humans. Ochinêmowin, in comparison, deals with harmful language against other elements of creation (39). Likewise, pâstâhówin is when a law is transgressed against other humans, while ochinêwina is when a law is transgressed against other elements of creation (43). For example, repeating a tale as told by Juliette McAdam Saysewahum, the author discusses some of the reasoning behind laws of pâstâmowin: An old woman heard a young man gossiping to his friends. The woman takes the young man aside and asks the young man to help her pluck feathers. She takes him to the top of a hill and says, “Throw the duck feathers into the wind.” She and then tells the young man to pick up the feathers. After a long time “he returned to the old woman and said, ‘I can’t pick up every feather, it’s impossible’. The young man is then told when you gossip ‘you don’t know where your words have gone and to take back what you say is nearly impossible’” (48-49). I liked the way this passage conveyed the importance of following laws of pâstâmowin in how we chose to speak about others.
The other chapters of the book also offer many important insights and analysis. Chapter two discusses the importance of raising children "to become lawful néhiyaw citizens" (29). Chapter four focuses on the relationship between land and pimâcihowin (livelihood) and discusses how the treaties were meant to ensure pimâcihowin for future generations. In the concluding chapter on Idle No More I came to understand McAdam’s motivation in launching the Idle No More movement as a responsibility to follow Cree law: "I also wanted people to know, I’m not an environmentalist, nor an activist – I’m defending and protecting the lands, waters, and creation with whom I’ve been taught I have a kinship. My relatives are all of creation. I follow the laws of my people to the best of my abilities; that is all I can do."

I learned a great deal from McAdam but there are subjects where I would like to hear more. Foremost would the issue of conflict. Questions of conflict and law are never far away from each other but the book does not grapple with the issue of conflict outside of sections that discuss colonization. What about conflict internal to Cree communities? If everyone followed Cree law to perfection we could avoid conflict, but this is not the case today and we have many stories of people transgressing the law in the past. It seems necessary that we talk about conflict because it is a normal part of life. Of course, discussing conflict internal to our communities is difficult because we are suspicious that such talk will be taken up by settlers in ways that could undermine our status as self-determining peoples. This logic draws on representations of Indigenous societies as rife with violence and disorder, and so we avoid conversations that can feed these negative stereotypes. Nonetheless, discussing conflict within Indigenous societies is a necessary conversation to have.

The second issue is how we deal with situations when Cree people have different versions of Cree law. McAdam does an excellent job of drawing from the knowledge of her family, but what if another family or community has a different interpretation? Here I think Néhiyaw people have a whole other set of laws that allow us to evaluate whom we should trust or defer to when evaluating someone’s teachings. How has that person received knowledge? Were his or her teachers reputable? Is this a person who is kind and compassionate towards others? Is she or he humble and generous and do they live their life in a way that brings good feelings to others? Is this a person who takes responsibilities towards others seriously and lives a life by wiikkohtowin? Is this a person who exhibits a high standard of ethical behavior in daily life? These are some of the ideas we might draw upon to evaluate conflicting versions of law. My list here is not exhaustive, but when talking about law we need to pay attention not only to the rules and principles that we must follow, but also to the ways we interpret and think about them.
I look forward to drawing upon this book in the future and am happy Nêhiyaw people now have such a resource to help spur on future practices and discussions about Nêhiyaw law.

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...the indigenous-immigrant relationship was carefully developed over hundreds of years and largely in good faith. What followed from the 1870s on was quite different. Increasingly, non-Aboriginals did not act in good faith. And each of these betrayals we undertook in order to help them disappear. For their own good. (14)

So writes John Ralston Saul in his latest work The Comeback: How Aboriginals Are Reclaiming Power and Influence, an easy-to-read book that follows logically from A Fair Country: Telling Truths about Canada (2009). While the latter set out to demonstrate Canada’s development as a (supposedly) metis nation, The Comeback traces how Canadian governments have “one after the other” (35) abused their power and betrayed the honour of the Crown. Saul furthermore argues that settlers have rewritten Canada’s history, erasing the importance of Indigenous peoples. Penned for a settler audience, The Comeback is ultimately an appeal to settler Canadians, asking them to listen to and support Indigenous peoples in their “remarkable comeback...to a position of power, influence and civilizational creativity” (5). According to Saul, the choice is clear: settlers can stand in the way of this comeback, slowing it and imbuing it with bitterness, or they can support it, writing a new narrative that reflects, through conceptual and financial policies, the foundational importance of Indigenous peoples past, present and future.

Saul focuses a substantial part of The Comeback on Canada’s current political situation. He addresses, for example, the difference between power and authority, arguing that elections are increasingly seen as a way to win power, and then apply it in a relatively unlimited way (30–31). He also discusses the breakdown of Canada’s parliamentary democracy as reflected in recent omnibus bills—bills that lump together masses of unrelated laws, to be passed with little room for parliamentary discussion (112). Saul explores these issues as a way to explain the impetus for Idle No More, and to explain why chiefs and Idle No More
leaders have insisted on the importance of the Governor General. This insistence has been misunderstood by many settlers, and Saul sets out to clear up this misunderstanding. While such is the overt purpose of Saul’s discussion of Canada’s present political state of affairs, a secondary thread runs through his work positioning the Indigenous comeback as hope for political change (see, e.g., 172), especially hope for a return to a more truly democratic political system.

If Saul’s target audience were to read The Comeback en masse and be open to its message, the negative and paternalistic attitudes held by many settlers would likely soften. This is because the book challenges some common assumptions. Saul notes, for example, that many Indigenous chiefs are underpaid, and that a government-led inquiry found that only a few chiefs were delinquents (just as some Canadian mayors are corrupt or incompetent); yet these few chiefs have been used to tarnish the reputation of Indigenous chiefs more broadly, leading many settlers to believe that there is widespread corruption. Further challenging the assumption of Indigenous culpability and settler innocence, Saul adroitly exposes the dishonest and illegal behaviour of the Canadian government with respect to the treaty relationship; in particular, he points out that the Canadian government has spent vast amounts of money trying to avoid living up to its treaty obligations, and that the courts have, time after time, sided with Indigenous peoples. Saul moreover provides a small glimpse into the powerful work being done by Indigenous peoples, replacing settler images of Indigenous peoples as subjects of pity with images of Indigenous agency, political engagement, hard work, and creativity.

The Comeback is not, however, without faults. Most problematically, Saul does not truly acknowledge the sovereignty of Indigenous nations. For example, he holds up the Canadian courts as Indigenous peoples’ greatest allies; yet no court has ever acknowledged the sovereignty of Indigenous peoples, an issue that Saul does not interrogate. In fact, his praise positions this detail as unimportant. Furthermore, some of his arguments seem to deny the distinctiveness of Indigenous peoples vis-à-vis the Canadian state. This is evident in the continuation of his theme from A Fair Country—that is, that Canada is a métis nation. If we are indeed a métis civilization, do Indigenous nations have rights that are distinct from those of settlers? Chris Andersen in Métis: Race, Recognition, and the Struggle for Indigenous Peoplehood (UBC Press, 2014) provides a rebuttal to the métis civilization argument. Saul’s use of the term ‘Canadian languages’ to describe Indigenous languages (150) collapses the distinction between Canada and the sovereign nations whose territories are now claimed by Canada. Similarly, Indigenous peoples are positioned as a resource for Canada (able to save its crumbling democracy) rather than distinct from Canada. Perhaps such was not his intention, but Saul ultimately does not decentre Canadian
authority over Indigenous nations.

A second problematic aspect of *The Comeback* is the muting of Indigenous voices. Although Saul ends his book with a lengthy section titled “Other People’s Words” (which includes speeches/articles by Indigenous leaders), his main text does not acknowledge or otherwise cite the work of Indigenous scholars as often as it should; and when he does include the voices of Indigenous leaders, the quotations feel disjointed, stuck in rather than integral parts of his argument. Certainly, the reader is left with the impression that the work of Indigenous scholars did not shape the very foundation of his book. This problem could have been addressed through Indigenous co-authorship—a decision that would have resulted in a much more compelling book—or at least more careful attention to Indigenous scholarship. For example, he does not explain his choice of the term ‘comeback’ instead of ‘resurgence.’ Perhaps, linking this issue to the above discussion, it is because Indigenous resurgence is understood as a flourishing of the Indigenous inside that is occurring without regard to, or even in spite of, Canada. Saul’s adoption of the term ‘new elites’ raises similar questions. Is this term accepted by Indigenous leaders? Is this how they want to be identified?

Despite its problems, *The Comeback* brings discussion of Indigenous/Canadian relations to a broader audience, and Saul’s discussion of Idle No More is important. Ultimately, Saul asserts that the relationship between Canada and Indigenous peoples is the “great issue of our times” and appeals to settler Canadian to listen to Indigenous leaders. And that is a message that we (settlers) need to hear.

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This is a passionate, thought-provoking, and disconcerting book. Reading through the pages, one sentence and one lyric constantly echo in my head. “Black lives matter” and Bob Dylan’s song *Blowin’ in the Wind*: “Yes, how many times can a man turn his head pretending he just doesn’t see?” Indeed, Indigenous lives matter and we cannot pretend that these lives are being lost weekly without consequences.

The thesis of Sherene H. Razack’s book is decidedly provocative: settler societies have a profound investment in “disappearing Indians” (193). Her literature review covers the studies of Native peoples from Australia, to the USA, and to Canada. Her focus is on the deaths of
Aboriginals in Canada, but her research implications are not limited to Canada. They pertain to all Indigenous peoples in the world. Her argument's validity is bolstered by her personal interviews with victims' families and friends, by revisiting inquests and inquiries, and by the stalwart official data from Saskatchewan. Razack has presented a striking alternative to the long-held belief that deaths of Indigenous people in custody are the results of being sick, genetically incapable to withstand disease, dysfunctional, or self-destructive. While her interpretations may not be acceptable to all, the core of her research findings represent sociology at its finest. This book will surely exert an enduring impact, standing alongside other well-known works that indict the police and Canadian society as a whole for their indifference or failure to respond.

Razack raises the central question in her introduction: "Why is Indigenous death nearly always considered a timely death, a death that no one could prevent or cause?" (4). She maintains that Indigenous people who die in custody are treated like the detritus of modern society and that these deaths have been "state sponsored attacks" on Indigenous people since the late nineteenth century.

In the following six chapters, Razack elaborates her thesis and beefs up evidence for her arguments. In Chapter 1, she describes the death of Frank Paul who was dumped by police officers and was left to die, as an outcome of a long history of marking the body as placeless. In Chapter 2, she revisits the inquest reports and inquiries into the death of Paul. She tears apart these documents with a rigorous context analysis to expose what they really tell us about a systematized dehumanization that is everywhere. She concludes that these reports are tailor-made for redemptive gestures, establishing settlers as caring in the moment when the very opposite is true. The title of the book derives from a statement found in Chapter 2: "a ninety-three-year-old elder warns about improvement as a process that ends in death" (81).

Chapter 3 considers the death of Paul Alphonse and advances an apocalyptic metaphor: the Indigenous body as frontier. Razack shows that the relationship between police and Indigenous people is one of regular, intimate, and violent contact, a relationship in which the Indigenous body itself is treated as the frontier, a place where law has authorized its own absence, and where the police can violate Indigenous peoples with impunity. Colonialism as a material project remains at the edges of any explanation about the boot print on Paul Alphonse's chest. In Chapter 4, Razack continues with the case of Alphonse and rebuts the idea that Indigenous people who die in custody are considered to have died a noncontroversial death. She demonstrates that these deaths are a killing of pervasive indifference among hospitals, police, and prison personnel. Furthermore, suicides of Indigenous people are interpreted as acts resisting the dehumanization of these institutions.

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Chapter 5 brings in the death of Anthany Dawson and explores a full-blown medico-legal alliance that operates inquest: the investigation indicates that where mental frailty and dysfunction prove difficult to establish, they must simply be invented. Razack locates police brutality in a broader context in which police accountability is hard to pursue. She posits that at the very least there must be a naming of the colonial and the racial and an interrogation of the patterns they produce.

In Chapter 6, Razack considers the most iconic of Indigenous deaths: freezing deaths in Saskatchewan. She proposes that the structural relations of settler colonialism produce and sustain ongoing, daily evictions of Indigenous people from settler life. The land belongs to the settler, and Indigenous people who are in the city are not of the city. Indigenous presence in the city inevitably contests settler occupation. The dumping of Indigenous people to the outskirts of the city is a practice born of the settler’s need to maintain the colonial city’s lines of force. Police, as state actors, simply perform the rituals of purification.

In the concluding chapter, Razack examines the official data. Between 1995 to 2013, out of 116 known deaths in custody in Saskatchewan, at least forty percent of deaths were Indigenous. The facts presented and conclusions drawn are haunting. Razack calls for anti-colonial education that reveals colonial terror, past and present, so that we will be able to reject the fantasy of settler civility and refuse the game of improvement and work for Indigenous sovereignty and towards the relations of reciprocal respect. This upshot resonates the challenge in her introduction: people of colour and white settlers alike must confront our collective illegitimacy and determine how to live without participating in and sustaining the disappearance of Indigenous peoples.

The book is a milestone in the study of deaths of Aboriginal people in Canada, and it will animate the academy on the relationship between the police and Indigenous peoples in Canada and abroad. Written and structured well, it is a true voice from a Canadian Aboriginal. In his 1978 book Orientalism, Edward Said cultivated the issue of representation and he encouraged people to speak up for themselves. This book represents such a voice. The Canadian governments, both federal and provincial, are implicated for doing little more than window dressing for too long. It is time to do something different, something real, and something substantive for (not to) our Aboriginal brothers and sisters and for their communities. Indigenous lives matter and we cannot let the answers to these lost lives blow in the wind forever.

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The Canadian Museum of Civilization (renamed the Canadian Museum of History in 2013) is a public cultural institution located in Gatineau, Quebec. The amendment of the museum’s name serves to reposition Canada’s historical events and cultural production within a framework that can include a special focus on its relationship to the global sphere. Established in 1856, the museum is not only one of the oldest cultural institutions in Canada, but it also holds the highest visitor attendance rate in Canada. The National Collection comprises over four million visual materials of relevance to scholarly disciplines including, but not limited to, art history, archeology, anthropology, geology, and ethnology.

This edited volume comprises fifteen interdisciplinary essays by Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal artists, writers, curators, and scholars who engage broadly with the museum’s collection of Aboriginal visual material and artwork titled the First Peoples collection. The editor and curator at the museum, Marie-Paule Robitaille, divides the work into five distinct sections. The first section, “The National Collection Built over Many Years,” includes four essays that investigate the complex history behind growing the museum’s substantial First Peoples collection. The first essay by Robitaille is arguably the most consequential because it maps the social origins of the museum—first opened as a display centre for the Geological Survey of Canada—as well as the often unrelated donations, purchasing, and collection practices that contribute to the heterogeneous scope of objects, artifacts, artworks, and specimens. The authors in this section do not shy away from the close relationship between collecting and colonialism, acknowledging that the participation between Aboriginal peoples and Canada’s cultural institutions is a way into decolonization (48).

Three essays comprise the second section “The Musées da la civilisation Working Closely with the Nations.” Here, the texts employ a postcolonial methodology to explore ways that foster Aboriginal inclusivity in Canadian cultural institutions systematically, beginning with the active participation of Aboriginal peoples in exhibition and collecting planning, design, and execution. Though the authors cull from various experiences and sources, at the centre of their arguments is a desire to respectfully address the ways that progressive intellectual property rights, repatriation, and co-management policies hold potential for greater agency while facilitating cultural renewal. In particular, Boye G. Ladd’s (Ho-Chunk Nation) essay on the traditional meaning of gift-giving offers a fresh perspective on how Aboriginal epistemology related to collecting is often in conflict with European values and
conventions, the same values and conventions that still govern some Canadian cultural institutions.

"Collections and Exhibitions, a Vital Link" is the title of the third section, which includes both an essay and research notes. The first text examines how the 1991 exhibition "L’Œil amérindien regards sur l’animal" at the museum remains an archetypal example of a rigorous curatorial premise, selection of works, and design principles. In effect, the author argues that the exhibition’s "content-container" relationship posits a useful strategy for ethnographic museology with suggestions as to how to adopt it for today’s exhibitionary environment (147).

"Museum Research Notes," written by Diane Dittemore, curator of the Arizona State Museum, in conjunction with Robitaille, illustrates the collaboration between the museum and the Arizona State Museum in providing collection inventories to Aboriginal peoples in the United States and Canada. Their notes provide a useful schema for negotiating North American law and ethics in relation to Aboriginal peoples and the construction of productive inter-institutional relationships.

The fourth section, "The Expanding Perspective of Indigenous Collections" includes essays on particular Aboriginal peoples who contribute to the First Peoples collection, from the work of Western Métis artists to the donation of the Amazonian Collection by Italian doctor Aldo Lo Curto. While the essays speak to the aesthetic and social breadth of visual materials produced by these peoples from such diverse geographical regions and cultural practices as the Western Plains, Oceania, and the Amazon, the texts support the idea that collections may teach us as much about the collectors as it does the collectees.

The final section of the work, "The National Collection, a Venue for Learning and Disseminating," presents three essays that point to the ways that critical pedagogy informs the museum’s mandate of inclusivity towards Aboriginal peoples in phases of collections and exhibitions development. This latter point is fleshed out in the final contribution by Jameson C. Brant (Kanien'kehâ:ka) who examines how the museum’s internship programme invites First Nations, Métis, and Inuit young scholars throughout Canada to contribute pragmatically in the museum’s policy and planning initiatives.

In the work, full and half-page spreads of beautifully-reproduced photographs and documents remain contextually and pedagogically instrumental; however, the overall layout of the pages is often busy with essay text, didactic text, images, headlines, and footnotes confusing the page. Moreover, a brief introductory text dedicated to providing socio-historical context and critique of the different sections might have proven beneficial. Such descriptions can be found in Ruth B. Phillips’s excellent book Museum Pieces: Towards the Indigenization of Canadian Museums (McGill/Queens UP, 2011) which provides specialist and non-specialist readers with a survey of issues and concerns at the start.
of each chapter.

The work is written in English with very little French language interspersed, which is problematic considering the bilingual mandate of the museum (and its location in Quebec specifically). The issue of representation and agency is once again central because, as far as I can tell by the “contributors” page located at the end of the work, four of the seventeen writers are of Aboriginal descent, putting to question the more pragmatic application of inclusiveness. Since the idea of decolonization leaks into most of the essays involved in the text, it may be time to consider what a decolonized monograph, edited volume, or exhibition catalogue may look like: what organizational structures, languages, images, writers, and subject matter are essential to a decolonized body of writing.

_Journey to the Heart of the First Peoples Collections_ is a strong contribution to our understanding of the history of the Canadian Museum of History’s collection of Aboriginal visual materials. It remains of interest to scholars, museum professionals, and non-specialists interested in critical museology related to Aboriginal peoples in Canada.

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This edited volume is an important and necessary contribution to not only studies of Indigenous peoples of Western Mexico, but Mesoamerica and the Americas as a whole. It very productively brings together archaeologists, ethnohistorians, and ethnographers to examine how and why Indigenous communities of this region – the “Tarascan and Caxcan Territories” that occupied all or parts of the modern Mexican states of Michoacán, Jalisco, Guanajuato, San Luis Potosí, Aguascalientes, Zacatecas, Nayarit, and Sinaloa – have changed over the past millennium at least. While studies of Indigenous peoples in Mesoamerica have been at the forefront of analyzing prehispanic communities and the social processes by which they have been transformed, Western Mexico has not greatly contributed to this historicized anthropology and analysis of culture through time. This state of affairs is not due to a lack of talent and dedication of the scholars working in this region – the present volume demonstrates that very good researchers of various stripes work there – but due to the relative paucity of researchers and scholarly focus on the area. This is in spite of the fact that the area is
currently home to a large number of Indigenous communities as identified by Kemper and Adkins in their longitudinal analysis. What makes research in this area, given such numbers of Indigenous peoples, all the more pressing is the radical shifts in how these Indigenous peoples relate to the modern Mexican state. These shifts are due to changes in the national constitution in response to UN declarations regarding the rights of Indigenous peoples, as discussed by Roth-Seneff in his introductory chapter.

Framed in this way, the volume coherently traces the histories of communities of the region from the prehispanic era onward as not only a way to study various time periods for their own sake, but to analyze how the past, both in terms of durable structural arrangements passed down from the past and the active process of producing and reproducing representations of the past (histories, maps, testimonies, etc.) in the present, shapes the present and future of these communities. Particularly in the work of Phil Weigand, the importance of trade routes and migrations of people both within and apart from those routes in the Caxcan and Guachichile areas of Jalisco, Zacatecas, and their immediate environs did not merely pertain to the prehispanic era. Rather, these histories had long-lasting effects that shaped Indigenous responses to intruding Spanish (and allied Indigenous peoples from other parts of Mesoamerica) forces at the onset of the colonial era, as Weigand reconsiders and contests the Spanish colonial historiography of the Mixtón War. So, too, Helen Pollard discusses Indigenous Purépecha communities through the lens of a long temporal view in which a dominant pattern of basic economic autonomy at the community level was coopted but not radically transformed by the emerging elites of the Tarascan (Purépecha) state in the century or two before the arrival of the Spaniards. This transformation was little altered by the Spaniards, accounting for much of the pattern of Indigenous self-sufficiency still observed today.

Subsequent discussions of the colonial era analyze how these Indigenous communities of the region sought to contest the ever-shifting nature of the colonial and then national power structures of New Spain and then Mexico. Hans Roskamp discusses how Purépecha communities used land titles to defend their territories, essentially building on Indigenous historical traditions while adapting them to the demands of colonial and national authorities. Rather than cursorily give the provenance of the various documents that he analyzes as a matter of formality, Roskamp places the ways in which titles changed hands and were used by known actors at the center of analysis to highlight the changing ways in which these titles were utilized and at times appropriated by specific parties in Indigenous communities. José Román Gutierrez’s chapter traces the religious and millenarian aspects of Indigenous resistance in Nueva Galicia in the sixteenth century in an excellent ex-
ample of the historicization of anthropology mentioned above. Additionally, Paul Liffman's presentation of activism in contemporary Mexico highlights the bold claims on ideological and metaphysical grounds by Huichols that they deserve (modest) compensation from the Mexican government along with access to sacred sites because they provide for the wellbeing of the natural environment that the state is dependent upon. John Gledhill traces the problematic relationships between head-towns (cabeceras) and subject towns (sujetos) and the often radical actions instigated by the need to protect resources from one another. Finally, Roth-Seneff's concluding chapter is an interesting counter-point to Felipe Castro Gutiérrez's earlier point that "identity" among the Purépecha people in the prehispanic early colonial periods did not conform to what social scientists call "ethnicity." Roth-Seneff's analysis of contemporary Purépecha activism takes ethnicity at least as an ideal of solidarity for granted, but at the same time details how various Indigenous political groups' actions and interests within the problematically defined larger Indigenous Purépecha community reveal contentious relationships as they attempt to use traditional idioms of ritual exchange to shape favorable relationships with or contest the national government.

Taken as a whole, the volume is vitally important to archaeological, historical, and ethnographic analyses of West Mexico and helps to round out our understanding of change in relation to internal processes and extra-community interactions, both Indigenous and colonialis/nationalist. It accomplishes this with analyses of an impressive array of cultural and temporal case studies. Each of these studies by themselves are worthy of praise but together they provide a deeper understanding of the means and the stakes of variously contesting and participating in national politics. Their struggles are both for specific communal rights of individual communities at the same time that they are responding to and further shaping larger discourses surrounding the fate of Indigenous communities and peoples in the Americas in general. As the volume demonstrates, while "Indigenous rights" is a global movement, Indigenous practices are uniquely historically constituted and yet also highly innovative. In such innovation coupled with social scientific understandings of the fluidity of ethnicity and indigeneity, there might be some risk in presenting evidence, for example, that the Purépecha did not conceive of themselves as an ethnic group until somewhat recently. The authors, or perhaps the editors, could have done more to anticipate the possible negative consequences of research that historicizes and problematizes the nature of Indigenous identity in public and nationalist discourse. It seems that there is a need to balance accurate and non-ethnocentric accounts of the complexity of indigeneity while also understanding that to some extent status as Indigenous peoples is subject to broader discourses and legalities. As it stands, the volume
makes the essential contribution of bringing us closer to keeping an analytic focus on both history and tradition as well as cultural innovation and novel forms of discourse and contestation; for this reason it will be an essential piece of any collection concerning the place of Indigenous communities in the Americas.

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In *Wampum and the Origins of American Money*, Marc Shell takes an innovative and creative approach to the study of money in America, establishing a linkage between Aboriginal wampum and contemporary European money. Shell’s study of numismatics goes beyond the traditional definition of money. Specifically, the wampum is shown to be fundamental to commerce in the early years of America and representative of cultural engagement between European and Aboriginal peoples and nations.

Money is traditionally characterized as a store of value and a means of commercial exchange in the market place (i.e., its use value). Marc Shell demonstrates, however, that the wampum exhibited use value, but also embodied the cultural institutions, social governance, and nation-to-nation agreements involving Indigenous and European nations/peoples (that is, the socio-cultural and political value of money).

Shell’s book is comprised of an introduction and nine chapters, including extensive references. The Introduction is entitled “Why Wampum?” The author suggests that wampum became the means of exchange and commerce between Europeans and Native Americans in early colonial times: “Until around 1700, wampum per se often served as currency for the North American Indians both among themselves and in dealings with Europeans; also in early colonial times, between Europeans for the payment of small amounts” (1). The interaction between settlers and Indigenous Americans soon gave rise to paper wampum beginning in the 1690s. The author suggests that “pluralist interaction between indigenous and European exchange systems, both linguistic and monetary, helped make for the cultural and political foundation of North America as we know it.” (3)
Chapter one is entitled "Money and Language". The author quotes Aphra Behn's famous witticism from *The Rover* (1681) that "Money speaks sense in a Language all Nations understand" (5). Shell further points out that the hallmark of national sovereignty is the right to create money. This power is key for the financial independence of a people because money involves commercial arrangements between peoples and nations. Hence, the wampum constituted the governance and judicial system (i.e., laws) of at least some Native American peoples.

Chapter two is "Foreign Legal Tender". The control of the economy and commerce within a jurisdiction is supported by the supply of money, making it important to the future of the nation. Thomas Jefferson is quoted as stating, "a country, in order to be a real country, must have a mint of its own" (11). As a corollary, the wampum produced by local Indigenous peoples served as an underpinning of the Aboriginal nations that used it as part of their trade and nation-to-nation agreements. The establishment of a rival American currency, the printing/minting of paper wampum by Europeans in America, and counterfeit wampum all increased the supply of wampum. Correspondingly, the increased supply caused the value of the wampum to decline and, with it, the nation-to-nation agreements and governance arrangements based in wampum, especially those between Indigenous peoples and Europeans.

Chapter three is entitled "Translation and Conversion". The idea of bilingual or bi-cultural currencies relates to currency which has meaning or value in more than one language and culture and dates back to ancient Greek and Macedonian times. In the same manner, Shell argues that the American dollar and the wampum co-existed within a bi-cultural context when images of the wampum appeared on American bank notes and vice versa.

In chapter four, "Coins on Paper", the author demonstrates how coin images were combined with the more newly emerging paper money in the same way that Aboriginal images (reflective of wampum) were incorporated into paper money images (i.e., bi-cultural and inter-linguistic money). These were used as recently as 1899 (i.e., Banknote, Wamsutta Bank, Fall River, Massachusetts, Five dollars, 1889, shown on page 32 of the book). Indeed, the evolution of the relationship between peoples paralleled the development of money in the Americas.

Chapter five is entitled "What is Wampum?". It is interesting that the full definition of the wampum is formally left until this chapter, but the read prior is well worth it. He starts by saying "wampum" refers to "tubular beads made of clam or conch shell" (36) and ends the chapter by stating the wampum belt "formed an alliance with the Indians" (41). I can provide a contemporary example: paying for a coffee using printed money (use value) emphasizes the transaction and commercial use of money while leaving a tip implies the underlying historical, cul-

tural and social norms and relationships between people within a society or social setting (socio-cultural/political value). In the same way, the wampum represented both components of money (commercial and cultural values) as well as the Jeffersonian view of the foundation of nations.

Chapter six is called "Indian Giving and Willie Wampum" and chapter seven is entitled "Money Writing". In both these chapters, outstanding examples and pictures are presented of wampum as well as the interaction with paper money. It is suggested that well into the late 1800s wampum was used as a complementary currency to government-issued American paper money.

In chapter eight, "Civilization", Sheel outlines how the wampum was used as legal tender at the early stage of the development of the New World colonies (a new civilization). Nonetheless, as early as the 1700s, the printing of paper wampum and, ultimately, paper money started to displace the authorization of wampum as legal tender. Sheel further suggests that, in the early New World, multi-currencies (or foreign currencies) were used alongside printed money authorized as legal tender and, in this way, wampum (or vis-à-vis) represented a co-existing foreign currency within at least a part of North America.

In chapter nine, "Wall Street and Democracy", Sheel highlights how the manufacturing of wampum by the Europeans undermined the value of the wampum within Aboriginal nations and its use as a co-currency. Because the idea of a nation is linked to the control of its mint, "The American Revolution was essentially about counterfeiting" and paper wampum "not only enabled the Revolution, it was the Revolution" (79). The revolution translated into a decline of nation/culture based in wampum (Indigenous nations) and a rise in the other based on paper money (European nations in the Americas). A similar transition occurred in the 1900s with the decline of the British pound and rise of the American dollar. The revolution from one currency to another therefore represented a fundamental change in terms of trade, including relative power of nations.

In chapter ten, "What Happened to Wampum", the author suggests that the wampum and its history and culture have not been fully forgotten, although it primarily exists in museums today like the ducat and the drachma of the past. A Canadian linkage to the wampum is made in relations to trade in the Americas.

Much has been written on the role of military power and conflict in the evolution of nations. The ultimate contribution of this book may be to preserve the memory, knowledge and understanding of the wampum and, more generally, the role currency (money, including bi-cultural or complementary money) plays in the evolution of nations and people. Indeed, there is a message for us today with the evolution of co-currencies and e-currencies. No doubt each reader may find her or
his own message. If for only this reason, the book is worth reading by those interested in the history of money and nations.

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E. Leigh Sym has written a book that takes the reader on a journey through space and time. As the landscape emerged from the Ice Age, it became habitable and continually in flux, modified by its inhabitants and their actions. As the reader we are invited into the lives of those who held the Lee River as a place of importance. This is not done through the story alone, but is supported by the numerous pictures, tables, charts and maps that dot the pages, connecting us to the story. This book is not just about archaeology. It is a holistic blend of disciplines, bringing together physical anthropology, archaeological science and the understanding of Native American life and culture courtesy of the late Anishnaabe elder, Mark Thompson.

*Stories of the Old Ones from the Lee River* is not a technical report about an archaeological site. It is, as the title states, a story. All stories have their beginnings and this story began in 1987 when what is now known as the Rivermouth site was discovered in south-east Manitoba by the late avocational archaeologist Ray Tuokko. As Sym explains, it was at that time that the first of three ancient First Nation individuals allowed their remains to be discovered. Human remains were again discovered in 1996 as the final two individuals revealed themselves. These Old Ones have come to be known as the Owl Inini, Carver Inini and Dancer Ikwe, named for the grave goods they were buried with. The first part of this story is theirs.

The burials of the Old Ones were situated along an eroding bank of the Lee River, a by-product of the construction of hydroelectric dams along the river. Each individual was found with an assortment of grave goods; these as well as thorough analysis of the Old Ones are detailed in their personal stories. The Owl Inini was buried with two owl talons: these birds were used in Ojibwa sacred ceremonies and considered omens of good fortune. The Carver Inini was found with a cache of 102 beaver incisors. Some of the teeth were used for woodworking and others were likely items of personal adornment. The Dancer Ikwe was buried with 17 finely carved antler arm bands that would have been loosely attached to the sleeves of garments so that they rattled when the woman danced.
The next part of the book addresses the many different cultural groups that occupied the region. The Riverrouth site is estimated to have been occupied numerous times over the past 9,000 years, playing host to a wide array of First Nation cultures. Brief descriptions of these cultural groups are provided, and in some cases leave the reader longing for a little more information. Some are discussed more in depth than others, highlighting what they are most known for, such as the Laurel culture and their distinct conoidal pottery. The story comes full circle, closing with how the knowledge of the Old Ones was discovered.

It can be easy to forget that history lays at our feet. We do not have to travel to the Pyramids of Egypt or the Colosseum in Rome to discover a different way of life. *Stories of the Old Ones from the Lee River* is a tribute to what is here at home and has something for everyone. Whether you are an academic, a student, an avocational archaeologist or anyone with a budding interest in local archaeology and history, this book is a wonderful chance to step back in time.

*Stories of the Old Ones from the Lee River, Southeastern Manitoba: The Owl Initii, Carver Initii and Dancer Ikwe* is published by the Manitoba Museum. E. Leigh Symns served as the Manitoba Museum Curator of Archaeology from 1981 to 2003 and continued as a Research Associate from then until present.

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At times, while reading *The Queerness of Native American Literature*, I found myself wondering for whom this book was written. I tried to imagine the audience as I negotiated my own position in reading this book. The challenges of intersectionality and multiplicity, one imagines, are that we are always occupying several, but never all, spaces. Thus, I read this book as a literary scholar working in queer theory, but not as a scholar working deeply and meaningfully (at least not as much as I would hope) on Native American Studies. So this book was as much an education as it was a reminder of the kinds of questions queer theory and literary studies need to be asking.

Literary studies has had a troubled relationship with the canon, the Western canon, and even just the mere idea of a canon, and *The Queerness of Native American Literature* is certainly no exception, even as it seeks to affirm the canon’s “value.” Early on, Lisa Tatonetti explains
that the project seeks to "expands the archive" and "to provide new ways of seeing" (ix). Expanding the archive often seems like a strange analogy, for the archive is a kind of limitless possibility that has been deployed in hopes of expanding the canon, but importantly, Tatonetti encourages her reader to think about new ways of seeing, of new ways of reading these texts that have, for too long, remained uncovered in the archive. In thinking about "new ways of seeing." I've read this book as a timely and important intervention in literary studies and queer studies, both of which need to take account of queer and Native intellectual traditions.

In many ways, what I value so much in The Queerness of Native American Literature is its treatment of canonical questions. For instance, in the second chapter, devoted to Maurice Kenny, we are asked: "What might be learned from erotic parodies of Wordsworth, A. E. Houseman, and Byron?" (29) Indeed, such a question requires that readers recognize the source of the parody. The author, at no point, imagines moving so far beyond the canon that the canon serves no purpose; instead, we are reminded, time and again, that the value of the canon may well be in the ways it can be subverted.

A second, and perhaps more important, "value" that I appreciate in this work is its insistence upon close reading. In the same chapter, we read: "Or what's to be made of a reverie on a misplaced apostrophe in a homophobic slur?" (29) Queer theory, in the space of literary studies, is, to my mind, at its finest when it is reading closely, dealing with the finer details of its texts, and exploring what a "misplaced apostrophe" might mean for a given text (and Tatonetti will do just that in this chapter).

In this chapter, we also find an important critique of the work of the late José Muñoz. Tatonetti notes that Muñoz "stops short of recognizing the importance of Indigenous voices to his project of queer recovery" (39). While certainly true, one wonders what happens then to the Indigeneity of "feeling brown," Muñoz's project, or what happens to Indigenous bodies in Latino contexts. While the critique is welcomed, it is also a condition of writing: we can never write about everything. Tatonetti, thus, "take[s] up the invitation here by arguing that if we are really to 'desire differently,' as Muñoz suggests, we must listen for reverberations of queer indigeneity" (39). Queer theory would do well to engage, to listen to, and to learn from this project of listening for those very reverberations.

In the third chapter, the project of expanding the canon moves in another direction, thus, we continue "the process of recovery, recognition, and reconnection by turning to the work of one of the most renowned authors in American Indian literature, Louise Erdrich," and the author argues that "queerness was already at the heart of Indigenous literature." This chapter "argues for a reevaluation of our extant
literary genealogies by analyzing how, over the course of more than twenty years of queer characters and images, Louise Edrich maps relationship" (67). One of the central tropes of this chapter, and the work in general, is the "re," the chance to do over, to look once more: we are, in many ways, encouraged to uncover what has already been (un) covered, to look anew, and to ask a new set of questions. This method, of course, is what queer theory has been doing for decades (one thinks here of Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick reading Henry James, or Michael Moon reading Walt Whitman, and so on). In this chapter, we work closely through "a spectrum of possible responses to queer desire—from romantic dreaming to violent denial to the everyday possibility of unexpected love" (73). As with the previous chapter, we find a critique of queer theory:

In Indigenous literature, this reorganization of masculinity necessitates a recognition of what Halberstam's theory, as useful as it is, omits—that female masculinities signify differently in Aboriginal and American Indian cultures, where, to name just a few examples, historical evidence of warrior women in Plains nations and gender complementarity among the Haude-nosaunee challenge heteropatriarchal gender binaries. (73)

Critiques of queer theory are important, especially for its (sometimes? often?) failure to attend to race; however, again, in a less paranoid gesture, I want to imagine that these critics simply cannot do everything, and in a reparative gesture, we as readers and interlocutors, might use these theories anew. After all, "Halberstam suggests we can find meaning and value in lack, in absence, in difference" (76). This chapter, in many ways, is a chapter that also needs to be read by theorists and scholars of men and masculinities, precisely because of the work it does in exploring, critiquing, and defining masculinity outside of the settler context.

The fourth chapter turns our attention to Queer Indigeneity in Film. While not wanting to dismiss the critical work at play in this chapter, some of the most valuable pages are those that list the incredible range and diversity of queer Indigeneity and film (120-125). These pages introduce an unfamiliar viewer with a canon of material to engage. This chapter affords detailed and nuanced readings of three films: Big Eden, Johnny Greyeyes, and The Business of Fancydancing. Ultimately, while being led through these three films, we learn: "queer Indigenous studies offers nuanced imaginings of Indigeneity in which queerness is not apart but a part of Native literature and lives" (143). Once more, an intersectional truth that needs to be recognized. So much work is spent in the realm of "apart" rather than "a part," and in so doing, we may well miss out on those new readings which are so central to Tatonetti's

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project.

In the final chapter, "Indigenous Assemblage and Queer Diasporas in the work of Janice Gould," Tatonetti encourages us to imagine how "Gould's assemblages provides an example of queer Indigenous writing as critical method," rather than "applying Puur's or Deleuze and Guattari's articulations of assemblage" (146). Indeed, one of the challenges of theory is always the context or the misdirection of theory. To these ends, we learn that "Gould's depictions of family demonstrate that Indigenous ties are not fixed, linear maps strictly bounded by and confined to mission, reserve, or reservation geographies but are instead breathing, active entities capable of transformation and continuation. These flexible assemblages are deterritorializing Indigenous traces in both Gould’s family history and her writing" (147). This chapter is, in many ways, one of the most theoretically rigorous chapters and, as such, requires a great deal of its readers; however, this challenge is welcome and valuable. Throughout, we work through translation, territory, deterritorialization, assemblage, and queer desire, all of which are braided together in a rigorous and provocative discussion.

The conclusion of the volume reminds us that "the study began by looking at moments that attempt—but never quite manage—to sever queerness from Indigeneity, arguing that we examine queer Native literature and theory more closely, we find a map of complex relationship(s)" (174). Indeed, this task has proven itself to be quite difficult, but in the hands of Tatonetti, we have been led through those literary and theoretical challenges with great care. This volume is one that will prove to be valuable to scholars of queer theory, literary studies, and Native Studies, and the intersections therein. Tatonetti’s project is one that encourages us to challenge the boundaries of our disciplines and to ask about what texts we are not reading, or what readings we are not seeing in texts. A most welcome contribution that will undoubtedly inspire a range of discussions in the years to come.

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Voyageur, Brearley, and Calliou’s edited book, *Restoring Indigenous Leadership: Wise Practices in Community Development* offers a scholarly look at contemporary initiatives in Indigenous leadership in Canada, Australia, and the United States. With the exception of Brear-
ley's chapter on "Deep Listening" and Michelle Evans' chapter which explores artistic leadership in an Indigenous Australian context, the volume focuses on nation building, entrepreneurship, and development of business capacity. The work also focuses heavily on case study research, which is closely associated with "stories" based on direct experience.

In the area of leadership studies, scholars note that the concept of "leadership" is, in and of itself, a contested notion and based almost exclusively on context. Thus coming up with any standard definition of leadership provides an opportunity for Indigenous scholars to focus on the context of specific tribes and nations as well as delicately attempt to provide a theoretically sound general approach to Indigenous leadership.

In the Introduction, Voyageur, Brearley, and Calliou offer a thorough review of existent Indigenous leadership literature. This chapter should be required reading in any Indigenous leadership course because it provides an excellent foundation for this important discourse. In Chapter One, Calliou and Wesley-Esquimaux offer a strong rationale for replacing the standard notion of "best practices" with "wise practices." Their argument is that wise practices are more in accord with traditional knowledge systems as well as contextual applications. Throughout the entire text, we come to understand the dilemma of defining Indigenous leadership while walking between the two worlds of traditional Indigenous values/practices/knowledge and the contemporary world, especially when it comes to politics, governance, and business.

In Chapter Four, Voyageur offers a summary of Indigenous women in politics and business in Canada. This chapter is extremely timely as women begin to take on more and more leadership roles in Indigenous communities. She writes:

Indigenous women are now more directly involved in their world. They have more power and authority than they had in the past, and they are not waiting for permission to act. This new attitude allows them to bring positive change to themselves, their families, and their communities through employment, programs, and services. They are serving as role models to the youth and are giving them hope. They also serve as ambassadors to the non-Indigenous community, since success in politics and business can open many doors for future interaction. (150)

Several authors take on the specific dilemmas of the strengths and limitations of the groundbreaking research coming out of the partnership between the Harvard Project on American Indian Economic De-
velopment and the Native Nations Institute at the University of Arizona in which Cornell and Kalt coined the concept of “nation building” so popular today in the U.S., Canada, and around the world (1992). Contributor Miriam Jorgensen offers a serious critique of the original results of this partnership, which clarified the fundamentals of Indigenous nation building: sovereignty matters, institutions matter, culture matters, strategic thinking matters, and leadership matters. Jorgensen advises that although the Harvard/Native Nations case study research was done 20 years ago, the result of this work is still applicable and meaningful today. However, she also states, “It is the job of community and political leaders to bring new thinking about nation building into their communities, to apply it in appropriate ways to meet their nations’ needs, to tell the story of how things can be different, and to stick with the changes that work.” (205)

Michelle Evans offers a powerful chapter, noting several points that relate to every aspect of the international Indigenous world. She writes, “Shaded by tensions of identity politics and lateral violence, and hemmed in by discourses of managerialism, Indigenous arts leaders enact what it means to belong.” (156). As an Australian artist and scholar, she dives deeply into the core of identity and a sense of belonging. She also points out the unique contribution that artists can make to conversations about leadership:

Indigenous artists are the navigators and leaders of the twenty-first century. They see and feel the world and interpret it in novel ways. They traverse time and space through the bodily and cognitive engagement with both. They connect the past, present, and future through practices and outcomes of their work, sharing with us visions of their world(s). They are the cultural producers, the content makers, the cultural movers and shakers of our world. We can learn more about leadership by studying their practice and the context they practise within. (179).

The eight chapters and case studies in Restorying Indigenous Leadership are a welcome addition to the discourse among Indigenous leadership scholars and the literature that attempts to illuminate the uniqueness of Indigenous leadership within the discipline of Leadership Studies as a whole. Its value also rests in an important contribution to stories about successes in Indigenous communities through a strengths-based approach.

I missed a more “storied” voice in the writing style of most of the chapters, which is a bit ironic given the title of the book. The exceptions are the chapter on artistic leadership in Australia by Michelle Evans and some of the writing in the last chapter by Cora Voyageur. Much of

the writing is decidedly academic as opposed to literary.

The title of the work was also a bit disorienting for me. I understand the play on restorying/restoring. But how can we re-story? Stories are stories. We cannot rewrite history. We can add new stories and make new narratives that question the old ones. But history, though it often is a sad history, is also our strength and represents our resilience to create new stories and thus new lives.

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In my travels across Canada participating in conferences, courses and professional development events with academics, graduate students and schoolteachers, most people I speak with confess to how little they know about Arctic regions and peoples. Many are unfamiliar with the pronunciation of Nunavut ("nou-na-voot"—not "none-of-ut"), let alone its history, education system and the cultural and linguistic distinctiveness of Inuit. It sometimes seems like Canadians are perpetually forgetting their Arctic homework, or letting it fall off their desks entirely.

At the same time, in the Arctic, schools staffed by an often itinerant teacher work force struggle to achieve sustainable improvements, positive environments, and community partnerships. Inuit and long-term resident Qallunaat [those whose ancestors are not Inuit] can be extremely patient with those who arrive in their communities to take up school jobs that cannot be staffed locally. But they also, understandably, express impatience when people from southern Canada arrive without some degree of cultural competence, flexibility or openmindedness. These attributes are necessary for relationships that can support quality schooling in an Indigenous northern context.

Arctic schools are characterized by strengths and challenges that can only be understood with a great deal of historical context. Especially important to understand are the recalcitrant and pervasive residues from the recent, profound, and dislocating experiences of colonization. On the other hand, there is great potential provided by established political mandates in Inuit Nunangat [homelands] to change schools for
the benefit of Inuit families. Inuit educators understand these conditions deeply.

For these important reasons, along with many others, there has been a long and persistent call for more Inuit educators to staff and lead schools. With the Inuit population growing quickly, it is all the more necessary. However, the responsibility for addressing these needs does not rest only on Inuit shoulders; the Canadian education community shares in it. How will the educational needs and desires of Inuit be better met—from kindergarten through post-secondary, teacher education, and graduate education—if Canadian educators continue to be unaware of the Arctic, its histories, its conditions, and its peoples?

The powerful book *Sinnumut ųpJc Towards the Future Together: Inuit Women Educational Leaders in Nunavut and Nunavik*, edited by Fiona Walton and Darlene O’Leary, shows the way towards an informed and open conversation about Arctic and Inuit education. It breaks ground in advancing Inuit scholarship. It promises to mobilize Inuit women educators’ stories amongst people living and working in the Arctic, offering role models needed for encouraging future Inuit educators. For readers from elsewhere, it also serves as an invaluable introduction to contemporary Arctic life. The book will be particularly interesting to teacher candidates and teacher educators in Faculties of Education, as well as graduate students and professors in Indigenous studies, northern history, or Indigenous governance and administration.

The contributors each bring forth their stories with honesty, courage and humility. Prominent themes include resilience, respect for elders, love of children, strength of community, pride in cultural resurgence and language promotion, life-long learning and commitment to Inuit values. The authors warmly acknowledge the strength of their ancestors. They convey admiration for traditional educational practices that continued amongst their families until their generation, and in some cases, through the vast changes within their lifetimes. These features are at the heart of Inuit schooling. The authors write as educators and leaders, but also as women with families, feelings, memories and dreams. They are, in the same moment, learners and experts. They express high expectations for what education should be, and willingness to continue the hard work involved in getting there. In that sense, the title of the book is truly appropriate.

Alongside the similarities, each author’s unique contribution makes more space for the diversity of Inuit experiences with colonization, schooling, and decolonization. As Arnaquq reminds readers at the opening of the book, “recognize that this is one person’s experience or version” (12) — do not assume that all Inuit have experienced things the same way, she advises.

Arnaquq, Tootoo and Kauki, in particular, illustrate impacts from the introduction of day and residential schools on relationships among
family members, the changing role of elders in society and the dynamics of community leadership. Arnaquq, Ittusardjuat, Pitsiulak and Kunilusie describe how colonization brought pain, bewilderment, and often silence, associated with drastic moves towards enforced settlement and assimilation. Putulik, Anoee and Kauki speak to and celebrate some of the recent reforms by the Nunavut Department of Education and Kativik School Board that have moved school programs closer to the expectations of Inuit community members. Anoee, Palluq-Cloutier and Kauki also mention positive experiences of learning Inuit language in school from Inuit educators, and being inspired by Inuit mentors. Putulik, Palluq-Cloutier, Anoee and Tootoo introduce readers to Inuktut terminology, which continues to be used widely in Inuit schools, and they effectively explain how it can be applied in practice.

Walton and O’Leary brought this edited collection together thanks to a Masters of Education program developed specifically for Inuit educators through a partnership between the University of Prince Edward Island (UPEI) and the Nunavut Department of Education. It is a model of graduate education deserving of greater attention for its dual commitments to educational excellence and Indigenous ways of knowing, being and doing. The editors effectively selected and sequenced the chapters to carry readers through a significant vision for educational leadership.

My critiques of the book are minor. Inuit place names, regions and communities are important to understand, and the authors share many such references. Without a map or any pictures in the book, it is left to readers to seek out such place orientations themselves.

Readers will notice that there are no male authors in the collection, and indeed there were no men among the 37 Inuit educators who earned MEd degrees through the UPEI/Nunavut program. Many of the authors in the collection quote Inuit male leaders or elders, and Becky Tootoo’s research is focused squarely on strengthening support for Inuit young men. However, the editors could have said more about this imbalance within the collection, and by extension within Arctic schooling broadly speaking.

In my view, the editors — perhaps in collaboration with the authors — could also have begun theorizing an emergent field of Inuit educator memoir or autoethnographic writing. There is more to be said about the distinctiveness of this style of writing, the cultural practices and nuances it evokes, and the potential place of writing or publishing in Inuit education, school relationship-building and professional reflexivity. Perhaps that is a project worth pursuing in future.

In my own recent research I emphasize the responsibility of non-Indigenous or settler educators to first educate themselves — to listen (or read), to ask questions of themselves, and to ask respectful questions of Inuit and Northerners — in order to become more responsive
participants in such education systems. Notwithstanding that responsibility, I wished for a few more hints as to what Inuit educational leaders would advise non-Indigenous educators as they collaborate in creating the conditions to support more Inuit to become teachers and leaders within their territories and outside them. That, hopefully, will be another part of moving towards the future together.

I heartily congratulate the authors and editors of this work on their accomplishment in bringing forward this book.

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