

bringing vividly alive the peoples described. I would, though, question whether Indians actually ate fish raw, which is so un-characteristic of the subarctic peoples (p. 55). Furthermore, whitefish do not spawn in the spring but rather in the fall (p. 56). These, however, are minor points. Following this sketch of what life must have been like at different times in the past, is a discussion of known factual data for each period.

There are several features of this book which add greatly to its attractiveness. The photographs are well chosen and illustrate clearly what they are meant to portray. In addition, line drawings are sometimes employed to supplement a particular photograph thereby enhancing its value while at the same time the photograph adds to an understanding of the drawing. There are other drawings, of artifacts and reconstructed scenes, which add to the pleasure of the reader.

What Mrs. Kehoe has to say regarding the training of archaeologists and their interpretation of archaeological remains is of considerable interest.

"Part of an archaeologist's training is intensive study of artifacts and the descriptions of their manufacture and use that have been collected by ethnographers. Comparisons between excavated sites and the camps and villages of primitive peoples today are the means by which the archaeologist puts flesh upon the dry bones he digs up." (p. 10).

Much more stress should be given these two points by the archaeologist both as teacher and as excavator. Mrs. Kehoe, for example, has published in this book an aerial photograph of the Indian Days Celebration camp, Blackfoot Reserve, Montana in contrast to an aerial photograph, placed just below on the same page, of tipi rings (p. 65). This brings into sharp focus the possible use of ethnographic data.

Finally, Mrs. Kehoe's plea for the preservation of archaeological sites from vandalism presented in the "Epilogue" is well taken and it is hoped that this will be read widely and the advice followed. All in all, this is a very worthwhile book and one which the public should enjoy.

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Kabloona and Eskimo in the Central Keewatin. F.G. VALLEE, Northern Co-ordination and Research Centre, Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources, Ottawa, 1962. 218 pages.

Ostensibly a study of Eskimos in the Baker Lake region, *Kabloona and Eskimo in the Central Keewatin* is useful as a contribution to our under-

standing of Canadians. By describing "white" Canadians as *Kabloona*, the Eskimo term for them, Vallee stresses the interactional nature of any colonial situation, and seeks to show how Canadians and Eskimos get along amidst shifting winds both weathery and political.

Vallee's research methods and concepts lend confidence to his findings. His study is informed by that sensitivity and flexibility without which research of this nature becomes administration, not science. Though the Federal Government sponsored the project, Vallee has struck a pleasantly independent note in his analysis and investigation. And while the report should arouse no very hard feelings on either side of the Northern Affairs officer's desk, it has nonetheless a quiet contentiousness which should be useful in stimulating some reconsideration of the overall situation. His excellent discussion of social control, for example, must precede any humane attempts to affect by law and usage the basic tone and meaning of Eskimo society. His comments on Eskimo economy, while "economically naive" as he himself stresses, clearly underline the importance of managing racial and psychological factors first, and he properly indicates that any form of *Kabloona* economic assistance to the Eskimo which maintains the present attitude of psychological dependency is in the long run uneconomic and bleakly unrewarding to both groups. And though in the *Introduction* there is an over-modest evaluation of his findings as "rather superficial" it is apparent that Vallee's style of analysis is deftly appropriate to the present situation.

Best of all, the report should stimulate the kind of discussion which follows here. Possibly Vallee has not gone far enough in his assessment of some of the political-racial implications of official policy. The contemporary situation, whatever the handbooks say, uncomfortably resembles a rudimentary colonial situation, if not in practice at least in values. There is a belief (not supported in Vallee's work), that the *Kabloona* somehow represent a more agreeable form of society, and because of numerical and economic inferiority Eskimos are amenable to control by *Kabloona*. At the profoundest level, whatever the individual merits of clerical personnel, it is difficult, for example, to draw another conclusion from the sanctioned effort of missionaries to convert "pagans" with such fatuous gallantry that "...most Eskimos... attend chapel services for between seven and ten hours per week." (p. 178) The lack of genuine physical intermingling between *Kabloona* and Eskimo, the frequently expressed need for the *Kabloona* to keep up racial face lest Eskimos doubt the idealized picture of *Kabloona* society offered them, the ban on fraternization in some larger communities, suggest an attitude which if not altogether appropriate to a caste situation, nonetheless implies an amount of racial aggression incompatible with official theory that all Canadians are equal.

Vallee carefully points out that the Central Keewatin situation may be milder in this respect than in larger communities such as Frobisher Bay. I spent two summers at Frobisher during the construction of the DEW Line during 1955-57 and it was there simply impermissible to have normal human relations with Eskimos on any other than purely official bases. While there

may not have been an official ban on contacts, it was believed there was; the Eskimo town was clearly out-of-bounds, and Kabloona certainly felt that something akin to a caste distinction was to be maintained between Kabloona and Eskimo. The effect of this was to reinforce racial biases among the Kabloona and probably to affirm for Eskimos that they had some special and second-class relationship to Canadian society. While no one said Eskimos were second-class citizens, they were clearly different; in any relationship with Kabloona, a paternalistic racialism was the dominant mode of hierarchy. While the word may have been unknown in Keewatin, Eskimos in Frobisher were "Skeemos", to non-official whites at least, and the far-from-residual racial attitudes implied in this term and the nature of its use, did not conduce to confidence in the broad genuineness of white pretence to liberality. While this was far less marked among officials in the area, the overall situation could not help but be defined in fairly crude racial terms. And Vallee's description of official behaviour in Keewatin implies a set of underlying attitudes distressingly comparable to those maintained by pre-Independence officials in some West African territories; the practical and ethnical irrelevance of these views has been rapidly demonstrated, and the fatherly goodwill which accompanied them in many individual cases was properly regarded as no excuse for permitting them to persist.

In short, with respect to Eskimos as well as Nigerians or Algerians, there is no legitimate white man's burden. While there are obviously serious and trying responsibilities which Canadians of any genetic endowment must face in the Arctic, there seems little reason in view of contemporary racial sophistication to ignore an important reality of Arctic social life — its assumptions of racial competence and incompetence. In this connection, Mannoni's candidly provocative examination of the colonialist mentality,¹ should be required reading for all officials involved in Eskimo (and Indian) affairs and for those social scientists who believe that these groups suggest scientific and practical problems of uniquely powerful poignancy.

Contained in Vallee's report are hopeful indications of possible change. Revised patterns of Federally-supported secular education should inject the younger generation with healthy reality and a relatively cogent view of the nature of inter-group relations. Increased technical and administrative sophistication of Eskimos — or, rather, the increased use and equal rewarding of the competence which obviously exists in the Eskimo community — should conduce to changes toward less unbalanced society. In this connection, the strange belief that Eskimos are incapable of handling money and must have their credit supervised for them by the Hudson's Bay Company, suggests 1) an unpleasant consequence of a monopoly trading position, whatever its economic justification, and 2) contains a dynamic for retention of the system; the self-fulfilling prophecy will function perfectly. While there would no doubt be periods of stress while self-governed expenditure became common among

¹ I.O. MANNONI, *Prospero and Caliban; A Study in the Psychology of Colonization*, Methuen, London, 1956.

Eskimos, the long-run loss in understanding and dignity implied in the present system seems too important to ignore; anyway, *who* says "the natives are not ready for self-government?"

It may be felt that what is needed in the Arctic is further research. But while reports of the quality of Professor Vallee's are obviously of great utility, they should not be regarded as substitutes for more sensitive and unbiased Kabloona official behaviour. Less research might even be desirable, if this would affirm that the Eskimo problem is also a Kabloona problem, not some special grand responsibility of a racially charged nature.

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The Kapauku Papuans of West New Guinea. Leopold POSPISIL. Case Studies in Cultural Anthropology. New York, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1964. 101 pp., 1 map, 2 plates.

If one is looking for an account of a native people which strongly contradicts a popular image of a native tribe, this new addition to the Case Studies in Cultural Anthropology should fulfil the purpose. At least it appears to be the intention of the author to challenge the preconceived ideas on native life in the spheres of economy, political and legal structure, ceremonial activities and world view. This theme is clearly stated in the "Introduction" (pp. 3-4), and is consistently carried throughout the book.

Thus we are told that instead of a "primitive communism", the Kapauku economy resembles something that may be better labelled as "primitive capitalism". The cowrie shell money which comes in various "denominations" would purchase all the agricultural produce, of which sweet potatoes are of major importance, either after the harvest or while growing in the field. Pigs, fed on the sweet potatoes, have economic and social significance in the society, and they again may change ownership in exchange for certain amount of shell money, or may be farmed out for care for monetary compensation. The shell money is used not only for the purchase of tangibles, such as artifacts, but also for labour in the gardens, service of a wife, various specialist services, lease of land, and compensations for criminal and contractual delicts. While the gift in the strict sense does not exist among the Kapauku, it is mainly through effective lending of shell money that an individual could rise to the position of political leadership, as the debtors, for fear of demand of repayment or withdrawal of future loans, would form a following for the creditor.

This "complex and rather sophisticated type of true money economy", matched with a highly developed numerical system, is said to be co-existent with a most primitive technology. While agricultural methods are rather elaborate, material culture is quite simple and carrying-nets are the only