

Canada. *Going by the Moon and the Stars* is of great value to the study of Mennonite women, history and religion. It joins a growing body of works that attempt to disassemble patriarchal history and epistemology.

Eagle Down Is Our Law: Witsuwit'en Law, Feasts, and Land Claims

Antonia Mills

Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1994. xx + 208 pp. \$49.95 (cloth), \$24.95 (paper)

Reviewer: Leland Donald
University of Victoria

The Gitksan-Witsuwit'en land claims case (*Delgamuukw v. the Queen*) has become somewhat notorious among Canadian anthropologists both for the judgment rendered against the land claim and for Chief Justice Allan McEachern's negative assessment of the reports and testimony that several anthropologists provided as expert witnesses for the Native peoples. The core of this book is the report which one of these anthropologists, Antonia Mills, presented to the court in an attempt to explain the Witsuwit'en perspective on many issues that the Witsuwit'en themselves see as important to understanding their way of life and their land claims. Most of the remainder of the book consists of Mills's discussion of the background and context of her report.

This publication will allow anthropologists and others to decide for themselves about the report and Chief Justice McEachern's comments on it. The book should be read alongside McEachern's "Reasons for Judgment," and the various commentaries about this case that continue to come out (the most useful of which remains the special issue of *BC Studies* 95 [1992]).

In a scholarly context, valuable information is presented about the contemporary Witsuwit'en (an important "Carrier" group), especially on feasting, social groups and names (titles). The book is, however, neither orthodox nor "postmodern" ethnography. The author makes it clear that she is presenting a view that Witsuwit'en themselves wish presented. Her claim is validated by the fact that one of the Witsuwit'en chiefs contributed a preface to the book and that the book is copyrighted by the Gitksan-Witsuwit'en Tribal Government. The book is not, however, an "insider's" account of Witsuwit'en society and culture. It was written by an "outsider," and Mills makes no claims to speak from "inside," using aspects of traditional anthropological scholarly apparatus and ideas, while striving to communicate a Witsuwit'en perspective. Even so, this is not an anthropologist's "translation" of another culture; nor is it a standard scholarly monograph. Its role as a court document precludes this. But a comparison with the anthropological "evidence" given in many U.S. land-claims cases (see the many examples published by Garland in their American Indian Ethnohistory series) reveals great differences in approach, perspective and topics covered when the indigenous point of view controls the agenda.

This Witsuwit'en-controlled document challenges both the Euro-Canadian legal and political system, as well as anthropological approaches to ethnography. At least in the opening round, the legal system rejected the challenge. Anthropologists will, I hope, be more receptive. But many will see this new ethnographic form as a complement to, rather than a replacement of, other more traditional ethnographic forms.

One reservation that should be noted is that it is *a* Witsuwit'en view that is presented, not *the* or *several* Witsuwit'en views. Mills does acknowledge the existence of differences of opinion and disagreements among the Witsuwit'en, but the general image presented is of a degree of Witsuwit'en consensus that may well strike those familiar with North American aboriginal communities as highly idealized.

Taking Control: Power and Contradiction in First Nations Adult Education

Celia Haig-Brown

Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1995. xiv + 288 pp. \$45.95 (cloth), \$24.95 (paper)

Reviewer: A.D. Fisher

University of Alberta

Taking Control is a narrative-like account of what some participants had to say about the Native Education Centre (NEC) in Vancouver. The author focusses her attention on the political concept of "Indian control of Indian education," and on power and contradiction in relation to the people she interviewed at the NEC. The author says that, "this study is a critical ethnography. It is an investigation of the ways that people associated with a particular First Nations adult educational institution talk and act on their understandings of First Nations control" (p. 16).

The book's nine chapters are divided into three parts. There are five chapters in the first part, which is theoretical and methodological. There are three chapters in the second, the narrative part. The last part comprises one chapter.

Haig-Brown represents the views of her interviewees well. Indeed, the second part of the book is primarily composed of their words, and the research document was returned to them for review. However, these words seem disconnected from the theoretical perspective adopted in this, her dissertation, research. This is probably because Foucault's "power" did not fit easily into the discussions with the NEC staff and students about Indian control.

In the concluding chapter there is another unfortunate disconnection. Here Haig-Brown says, "it was I, the non-Native researcher, who found contradiction to be integral to the study" (p. 231). A primary contradiction was the struggle between the necessity of building and using an awareness of Native perspective (or being Native), on the one hand, and, on the other, the necessity of achieving the training and employment goals of the program and its funding agencies.

At several points, she mentions Brazilian educator Paulo Freire's work regarding contradiction, but nowhere in this work does the idea attain the central position it holds in Freire's *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (New York: Herder and Herder, 1970). Freire's book is about the post-literacy stage of adult education and the generative themes in it. Early in its investigation, dialogue uncovers "the nuclei of the principle and secondary contradictions" (p. 104) around which one could organize an educational-action program. Freire says that a program based on these observed contradictions would be more likely to succeed than one based on "decisions from the top" (p. 105).

Here is where we find the disconnection between Haig-Brown's theory about power and the narrative about Indian control. The book is a report on Ph.D. research—where theory almost inevitably comes from the top—rather than a report on applied research