The *Marshall* decision is a legal case in a long line of other such cases, from *St. Catherine's Milling and Lumber Company* (1888) through *Syliboy* (1928), *White and Bob* (1965), *Calder* (1973), *Guerin* (1985), *Simon* (1985), and *Sparrow* (1990) to *Van der Peet, N.T.C. Smokehouse, Gladstone* (1996) and *Delgamuukw* (1997). Together these cases form not only a body of law on issues of resource, treaty and Aboriginal rights but have come to symbolize a hope for greater opportunity (chapter 4). Apart from *Simon* (1985), though, none of these cases are specific to the Maritimes. *Thomas Peter Paul* (1997, 1998) involving the harvesting of bird's eye maple with the intention of selling it for profit, really represented one of the first. Here at issue is whether First Nations have a treaty right to harvest trees for commercial purposes. Although Thomas Peter Paul loses on appeal, what it does bring about is serious negotiation on the part of the government of New Brunswick and the allocation of 5% of the total permissible timber harvest for the province to First Nations collectively (chapter 5).

In the wake of the *Marshall* decision, Aboriginal fishers rush to exercise their right to fish, resulting in confrontations both on and off the water. Burnt Church, an Aboriginal community on the shores of Miramichi Bay in northern New Brunswick, quickly becomes one of the flash points of this controversy. At one point, in the early morning hours of October 3, 1999, non-Aboriginal fishers destroy some 3,000 Aboriginal lobster traps. Caught in the middle, Herb Dhaliwal, Minister of Fisheries and Oceans, calls for calm and works to establish short-term agreements with Aboriginal fishers while insisting that violence will not be tolerated. In the end, the fury ignited by the *Marshall* decision subsides to be replaced by an "orderly, conservation-oriented Aboriginal fishery, without interference by commercial fishers" (chapter 6). Throughout the early months of 2000, while most bands enter into fishery agreements with the Federal government, only Burnt Church refuses (chapter 7). It serves as a reminder of just how complex and contentious the issues raised by *Marshall* have become for Maritimers (chapter 8).

Written in a journalistic style, much like the source material from which it is drawn [almost exclusively from newspaper accounts of the events], Coates provides little evidence of any direct contact with the individuals caught up in the events covered by this book. There are no interviews, for example, or descriptions of the actual events themselves. This is unfortunate since during the writing of the book, Coates is well positioned to do so, being situated at the St. John campus of the University of New Brunswick. A further failing of the book are the numerous typos and glaring errors such as the "persecution arqued... a significal" (p. 41). Others include: Restigouche which becomes "Lestigouche" and is repeated several times, "sadly" in place of "stated," "take" when "talk" is required, and several instances of "persecution" in place of "prosecution," All speak to the relative haste with which the book was prepared and edited.

There is, Coates writes, "a fundamental bias in the debate surrounding the Marshall case, it is the predominance of non-Aboriginal perspectives... First Nations perspectives and insight are generally not well canvassed (xii)." Given the approach taken by Coates, there remains a question as to whether he has remedied this situation. Indeed, there lingers a sense of lost opportunity in failing to seek out and give greater "voice" to both Mi'kmaq and Maliseet perspectives.

Gillian Cowlishaw, *Rednecks, Eggheads and Blackfellas: A Study of Racial Power and Intimacy in Australia,* Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1999, ISBN: 0-472-08648-0.

Reviewer: *Elizabeth Furniss*
University of Calgary

"Rednecks, Eggheads and Blackfellas" is a study of the complex relationships that developed over an 80-year period between the Rembarrgna, an Aboriginal group in Australia's remote Northern Territory, and the white pastoralists, anthropologists, and government officials who in successive waves sought to impose forms of cultural domination and forcibly transform Aborigines' lives. Writing against a conservative Australian anthropological tradition that emphasizes studies of "traditional," bounded Aboriginal culture (p. 4), Cowlishaw instead highlights the ways in which Aboriginal lives were fundamentally intertwined with both those of regional settlers and of government agents seeking to enforce destructive state policies. Unwilling to simply denounce these relationships as "racist," Cowlishaw instead seeks to trace the "everyday manifestations of cultural hegemony" and to emphasize the "ambiguities, contradictions, and forms of compromise" that defined "race relations" on the outback frontier (p. 4).

Cowlishaw draws upon both documentary sources and ethnographic fieldwork carried out in the Northern Territory since the 1970s. Through a focus on the lives of individual Aborigines and a liberal use of interview material, Cowlishaw conveys a strong sense of the diverse ways in which different Aboriginal people have been affected by, have understood, and have sought to cope with practical, concrete forms of cultural domination. At the same time, Cowlishaw never loses sight of the overarching structural conditions—the fundamentally "racialized" system of social relations of unequal power—that sets the context for outback Aboriginal-white relations. Her facility for moving between a rich description of individual life histories and localized events and a critical examination of the broader structural and ideological contexts of Aboriginal-settler-state relations is one of the greatest strengths of this fine and challenging ethnography.

Cowlishaw begins with a review of early representations of the Northern Territory, assessing how images of "primitive" Aboriginality and ideas of progress and modernity coalesced into a discourse justifying white settlement and Aboriginal dispossession. Following Foucault, she explores how the state enacted particular "techniques of governance" that sought to "civilize" and reproduce its own forms of social relations in the outback region. This project was not merely one of economic transformation, the creation of capitalist social relations and the transformation of Aboriginal people into autonomous labourers, but was also one of the codification of "knowledge" about Aboriginal peoples, a project in which government officials, pastoralists, and anthropologists all participated, and which resulted in an "enclosing [of] Aborigines" lives in a net of knowledge owned by others" (p. 92).

Cowlishaw then narrows her gaze to examine social relations as they developed on the pastoral station of Mainoru in the heart of Rembarrgna country. Drawing on Foucault's exploration of power in the form of "technologies of human training" (p. 129), she traces the regime of tutelage that was established at the station, and outlines the myriad way in which the station owners and staff, government officials and patrol officers implemented forms of discipline and surveillance geared to regulating "race" relations and transforming Aboriginal culture and society. The state-introduced permit system regulating Aboriginal employment, the system of rationing of food and clothing, the creation of a local school for Aboriginal children all were expressions of a regime, which sought to break down Aboriginal forms of domestic and social life and to transform Aborigines into autonomous individuals who could enter the "civilized," progressive modern Australian society. While the state and its agents presumed they were imposing forms of "civilization" upon a blank, cultureless slate, Aborgines' persistent commitment to enduring forms of social life and culture meant that this regime had only limited effect.

The state did not limit its efforts to regulating the economic life of Aborigines. Intense anxiety about "racial mixing" resulted in efforts to keep black and white socially separate: "cohabitation" between Aboriginal women and white men was prohibited, marriages were regulated through a special permit system, and "half-caste" children were forcibly removed from their communities to be raised in white institutions. Despite this anxiety, Cowlishaw shows that forms of intimacy and love between black and white did persist in the outback, between co-workers, bosses and employees, lovers and companions, illustrating the incompleteness of the state's regulatory efforts (p. 150).

The most compelling chapters of the book describe the ways in which Aboriginal-settler relations in the outback have been transformed since the 1960s as a result of both economic changes and shifts in government policy. The new "anti-racism" era of the 1960s and 1970s brought with it an abolition of the exploitative system of unequal wages to Aboriginal workers, resulting, paradoxically, not in greater equality but in a severing of the old economic relationships, an ejection *en masse* of Aboriginal people from pastoral stations, and even greater Aboriginal dependence on the state. Cowlishaw reserves her most stinging critique for the contemporary policies of Aboriginal "self-determination." She describes in detail the absurdities and failures of government policies implemented by a new cadre of well-meaning, anti-racist bureaucrats who sought to initiate programs of community economic development at Bulman and other Aboriginal settlements. What self-determination meant, says Cowlishaw, was not the withdrawal of white bureaucrats from Aboriginal lives, but rather a burgeoning white bureaucracy whose front line workers sought to impose new programs of assimilation by essentially transforming Aboriginal people into small businessmen, and who drew upon older racist frameworks to explain the failures of such programs on Aboriginal people's stubborn unwillingness to comply with programs designed to benefit them (p. 218). As Cowlishaw argues, the practical failure of these assimilation programs can not be reduced to the failure of individual bureaucrats to be culturally-sensitive, but rather reflects "the cultural characteristics of those positioned structurally within the realm of state power"(p. 248), and the more general difficulty of the Australian liberal democratic state to recognize and fully accept distinctive forms of Aboriginal culture and social life.

In the final chapter, Cowlishaw describes the effects such programs have had on the Rembarrgna. She points out that Aboriginal people have responded in varied ways to the new assimilation programs and to the "seductive rewards" offered by new forms of modernity, resulting in growing forms of inequality and an undermining of loyalties to the older clan and lineage systems (p. 257). At the same time, more positive responses can be seen in the "outstation movement" by which some Aboriginal groups are moving away from settlements to more remote regions where, freer from white interference, they are exploring different possibilities for reforming relationships with white society (p. 260).

One of Cowlishaw's central arguments is the ongoing relevance of race to understanding the dynamics of power and social inequality in the Australian outback. In the current era of liberal anti-racism, contemporary social scientists tend to avoid the issue of race, as if, "by examining the use of 'race" and making its dynamic explicit, we are somehow giving succour to racism itself; that is, to racial inequality, to essentialism or to racial hostility. This fear has meant that, rather than racial processes being analysed, the notion of race is outlawed." (p. 12). In contrast, throughout the book Cowlishaw demonstrates the ethnographic salience of socially-constructed notions of "race," and insists that concepts of racial difference persist today, with notions of immutable, inferior "cultural difference" replacing older concepts of biologically-based "racial" inferiority (p. 296). One may question to what extent this rather loose definition of "race" is analytically useful if it is used to describe any expression of cultural difference. Its use here seems to be more as a moral weapon; indeed, there is a strong moral polemic throughout the book, in which white settlers ("rednecks"), government officials and anthropologists ("eggheads") alike are strongly criticized for their complicity with state ideology. Cowlishaw, an anthropologist herself, positions herself largely outside of the constellation of outback social relations she is describing. An assessment of outback social relations that recognizes the presence of a significant component of white settler culture critical of both racist ideology and government Aboriginal policy, and capable of setting aside racial ideology and interacting with Aborigines as equals and humans, would provide a more complete picture of Aboriginal-settler relations and allow Cowlishaw to situate herself more fully within the constellations of social relations she is describing. Indeed, Cowlishaw gives examples of these very processes, yet their theoretical importance is not fully integrated into her rather polemical model. This point aside, *Rednecks, Eggheads and Blackfellas* is a powerful ethnography that through its scope, methodological approach and rich ethnographic description not only succeeds in filling an important silence in Australian ethnographic tradition but will be of much interest to the comparative study of indigenous-settler relations in Canada and other settler societies.

Michael E. Harkin, *The Heiltsuks: Dialogues of Culture and History on the Northwest Coast,* Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1997, First Bison Books, 2000, xiv + 195 pages (paper).

Reviewer: *M. Susan Walter*
Saint Mary's University

This is a welcome addition to the literature on the Heiltsuks (formerly referred to as the Bella Bella). As the author notes (p. 1), less is known (and published) about this group than about neighbouring Northwest Coast peoples despite the fact that they are located at the geographical and cultural center of the region.

While Harkin's statement that the Heiltsuks "... probably experienced the most rapid cultural transformation of any tribal group in the history of Western colonialism" (p. 2) could be contested, his discussion of Heiltsuk-Euro-Canadian interaction in Chapters 6, 7 and 8 is interesting. It is in these chapters that Harkin's "ethnohistoric dialogue" approach is employed. While noting that "oral traditions of neighbors on all sides point to the Heiltsuks as originators of many important ideas, beliefs, titles, and practices..." (p. 2), Harkin does not provide as much information on "dialogues" between *indigenous* groups. Questions concerning how the Heiltsuks influenced or were affected by neighbouring Northwest Coast peoples receive less attention than interactions with Euro-Canadians.

The book includes eight chapters and a conclusion. The material is not entirely new. Earlier versions of Chapters 4 and 7 appeared in *Ethnohistory* in 1988 and 1993, and Chapter 6 was published in *American Ethnologist* in 1994. Chapter 2, *Contemporary Heiltsuks Contexts*, pertains to the 1980s and early 90s and does not appear to have been updated for the 2000 paper edition.

Although Harkin states that his study focuses on "the half century after 1880" (p. x), the first five chapters concern primarily earlier and later periods as well as theoretical issues. The reader must weave back and forth through shifting time frames. Source materials included Heiltsuk narratives about their own history, archival, ethnographic and linguistic data, field notes and publications of Boas, Drucker, Hunt, Olson and others, as well as 12 months of fieldwork between 1985 and 1987 involving formal and informal interviews and participant observation. Harkin's fieldwork was based in the village of Waglisla (Bella Bella) on the Eastern Shore of Campbell Island (p. 23).

In Chapter 1, "The Nineteenth Century Heiltsuks," the culturally intermediate position of the Heiltsuks with respect to matrilineal groups to the north and cognatic groups to the south is noted. However, the intriguing question of when, why or how the Heiltsuk developed their particular blend of bilateral and matrilineal emphases is not addressed nor is it clear to what extent descent, inheritance and residence patterns varied *during* the 19th century. This may be a consequence of the sketchiness of available data on certain aspects of Heiltsuk culture to which Harkin refers (p. 3). The chapter title is somewhat misleading, as Harkin's reconstruction of "traditional Heiltsuk culture" applies principally to the first few decades of the 19th century (p. 3). In Chapter 6 he notes that drastic depopulation occurred in the mid-19th century. However, in his discussion of the Heiltsuk ranking system in Chapter 1, he refers to but does not elaborate on changes associated with depopulation and involvement in trade (p. 4), nor is there mention of the decline of slavery during the 19th century.

In Chapter 2, "Contemporary Heiltsuk Contexts," cultural continuity is addressed. With respect to the subsistence sphere, Harkin notes that local resources continue to contribute significantly to household food supplies and that sharing with other villagers including non-Heiltsuks is "a point of pride" and a traditional value. Continuities in subsistence practices serve also as "markers of ethnic identity" (p. 27). In the political arena as well there are continuities: "There is some correlation between elected office and high rank in the traditional name system... rivalry tends to follow tribal group divisions as well as family lines" (pp. 27-28). Holding of feasts and potlatches continues to be an important component of leadership (pp. 32-34). We do not learn however if matrilineality is still emphasized nor does Harkin elaborate on how and to what extent the "traditional name system" still operates although some information is provided (pp. 32-34). Elected and hereditary chiefs both are referred to on p. 33, but the nature of their respective roles (complementary and/or overlapping, conflicting...) is not explored. In the realm of belief and ceremony, both continuity and change are discussed. Seating arrangements at feasts for instance continue to reflect rank, "clan" and "tribal" affiliation to some extent (p. 32). Chiefly speech making at feasts inspires members of the community to contribute to those in need and