recalls "the traditional role of the chief in organizing ceremonial distribution" (pp. 31-32).

Chapter 3, "Narrative, Time, and the Lifeworld," explores the idea that history is both universal and "culturally constituted" (p. 37), and that past and future are part of the present but in culturally specific ways (p. 40). Harkin argues that in Northwest Coast mythology generally, and in Heiltsuk "historical consciousness" specifically, a sense of *possibilities acted upon* and *options lost* figures prominently (p. 40). He does not elaborate on this point however, nor how it influences Heiltsuk thought concerning and relations with Euro-Canadians or neighbouring indigenous peoples.

In Chapter 4, "Contact Narratives," Harkin reproduces and analyzes an Heiltsuk historical narrative, *The First Schooner*, in light of two types of power relationships, "incorporation" and "opposition," and a related distinction between "contingency" and "timeless order" which Harkin says "... constitutes a central contradiction in Northwest Coast narratives and culture" (p. 57). Only one narrative however is considered in this chapter. It would be instructive to see analysis of Heiltsuk narratives relating to later events.

Chapter 5, "Dialectic and Dialogue," concerns the "internal dialectic" of the "traditional Heilsuk system." The sacred winter season was associated with "centralization, hierarchy, and markedness," while the "profane life of the resource camps" was "... relatively free from hierarchy and the centralization of power" (p. 67). These "traditional" ideas affected relations with outsiders including Euro-Canadians from whom power was sought (p. 70) despite the fact that communication between Heiltsuks and Euro-Canadians became increasingly one-way (p. 74).

Harkin reports in Chapter 6, "Bodies," that the Heiltsuk population was reduced by 80 percent or more in the mid-19th century as a consequence of smallpox outbreaks (p. 78). Deaths were too numerous to count let alone commemorate even though "the most important responsibility for a Heiltsuk person was, and continues to be, to provide proper commemoration for a kinsman who dies ..." (p. 80). Drastically reduced numbers resulted also in consolidation of tribal groups, loss of esoteric cultural knowledge and increased threat to the Heiltsuk land base that Euro-Canadians had their eyes on. Harkin outlines how Heiltsuk ideas concerning disease causation and curing led them to conclude that Euro-Canadian witchcraft was responsible for the high death rate. The Heiltsuk attempted to acquire Euro-Canadian "supernatural power" and to draw selectively upon western medical techniques while retaining some "traditional" curing methods. Also discussed are Heiltsuk and Methodist missionary ideas concerning discipline, desirable work rhythms, death and burial practices, clothing, body painting and ornamentation, arranged marriage etc.

Chapter 7, "Souls," is concerned with the Heiltsuk/missionary contest over "ideas of life, death, and the person" (p. 107). Mortuary practices in particular were contested. For the Heiltsuk "the mortuary process ... ensures the deceased a reasonably pleasant sojourn in the underworld and possible reincarnation as well" (p. 107). Harkin states that "In general, mortuary practices exhibit greater continuities with 19th-century practice than any other contemporary beliefs or ceremonies" (p. 31) and that "... a central function of the potlatch was, and continues to be, the commemoration of the dead" (p. 21). Yet it is not clear how the Heiltsuk handled validation of names and commemoration of their dead from the 1880s when the potlatch was banned until the 1970s when according to Harkin, potlatching was resumed (p. 29). Some clues only are provided (pp. 97, 114, 122, 146).

In Chapter 8, "Goods," Harkin traces changes with respect to items exchanged, uses to which trade goods were put, changing relationships with fur traders, gradual undermining of the subsistence economy, and loss of title and usufruct rights to land to Euro-Canadian "enterprises" operating within an international market system (p. 147). Not emphasized are evolving trade relationships between the Heiltsuk and neighbouring indigenous groups despite the fact that trade, warfare and intermarriage all along the coast predated contact with Europeans and continued thereafter. The bilateral Heiltsuk kin terminology (p. 4) in conjunction with emphasis on matrilineal descent (pp. 4, 9, 19) may indicate spread of matrilineality from the north, perhaps associated with trade and intermarriage. While Harkin alludes to "the clear model of matrilineal descent" (pp. 3-4) provided by groups to the north, he does not pursue this issue.

To conclude, Harkin accomplishes the two aims of his book (p. x). First, he demonstrates the usefulness of a "dialogic" approach to ethnohistory by placing different forms of interaction between the Heiltsuk and Methodist missionaries in their respective cultural contexts. Secondly, he documents some of the history and "historical culture" of this lesser-known Northwest Coast people. It is perhaps no surprise that a relatively short book covering many topics and a long time span provokes interesting questions requiring further attention. Harkin refers to the efforts of the Heiltsuk Cultural Education Centre (founded in 1975 by the band council) to preserve as well as recapture some lost cultural heritage (pp. 34-35), and mentions revival of Winter Dances with the help of Kwagul expertise (p. 34). Questions concerning changing relationships with neighbouring indigenous groups during the period covered invite further treatment.

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**John F. Peters,** *Life among the Yanomami. The Story of Change among the Xilixana on the Mucajai River in Brazil,* Peterborough, Ontario: Broadview Press, 1998, 292 pages.

Reviewer: *Marilyn Gates*
*Simon Fraser University*

The best ethnographers are often sensible, yet sensitive people, with a well-developed appreciation of the absurd. These are particularly valuable traits for a field worker engaged in

long-term research in an isolated area, far from the everyday amenities of Western life, among people who are very much "the other." When the focus of study is the Yanomami of Brazil's Amazonia, originally characterized by Napoleon Chagnon as "the fierce people," common sense, humour and a high level of empathy become, more than assets, central to survival. In "Life among The Yanomami," John Peters shows us how, in a society where violence and deceit are endemic and warfare plays a central role such that at least 40% of the men are "murderers" and 90% "potential murderers," (p. 35) "despite vast differences in culture, you develop strong, lasting friendships" (p. 58). Amid the controversy provoked by Patrick Tierney's recent allegations of abuse of the Yanomami by anthropologists, Peters' very human, balanced and, paradoxically, gentle portrayal of the Mucajai River Xilixana is an especially welcome exemplar of ethical ethnographic norms.[1]

"Life among The Yanomami" is a comprehensive, complex and finely textured study. There is rich ethnographic detail of a traditional way of life organized in the conventional categories—village life and social culture; making a living off the land; family and social organization; socialization and life stages; myths, spirits and magic. And, of course, there is a section on warfare, raids and revenge, which have captured the anthropological imagination, perhaps because they seem so very different from Western battles for land or political control. Rather, protein deficiencies, competition over women, reproduction needs, the quest for steel goods, revenge for past raids and sorcery have been posited as explanations for inter-village killings embedded in a matrix of cultural norms wherein "violence seems always just a breath away" (p. 207).

The portrayal of culture is always dynamic, however, with an emphasis on the impact of social change over the four decades since contact with frontier Brazilians was initiated by the Xilixana in 1957. We see how the Xilixana coped with initial exposure to missionaries, more recent interactions with miners, and the intervention of government and Non-Government Organizations (NGOs).

The constant presence of missionaries in the region since the contact era is a central thread running through the narrative. Peters first went to Brazil in 1958 as a young missionary charged with setting up a new mission station. He spent most of the next eight years living among the Xilixana, with his wife and family (four of their five children were born during that time) before returning to North America for graduate studies. He has since visited the community frequently to conduct field research. Consequently, he is in an excellent position to assess both how the missionaries have changed the Yanomami and how the Yanomami have changed the mission project. The Yanomami have come to rely on the trade goods, medical aid, brokerage and social life available at the missions, but "the Jesus way" itself seems incompatible with the community-structured context of violence and justice. "The Xilixana considered the missionary's Jesus to be something of a wimp" (p. 201). The missionaries now downplay the evangelical priority of the early years and are more inclined to see their very presence in the area as witness to the Christian message of hope and caring.

Relations between the Xilixana and miners have been far less cordial. The miners have, at best, asked for food in exchange for Western goods, or hired Yanomami men as labourers. At worst, they used Yanomami women as prostitutes, brought diseases and contaminated the Mucajai River with mercury. At times, these interactions led to bloodshed, as the Yanomami seemed to live up to their fierce reputations via revenge killings, although Peters maintains that Chagnon's description of a "fierce people" is appropriate only for the 1900-80 period (p. 277).

The Brazilian state has increased its presence in the area over the past two decades, but it has been hampered in its efforts to address the needs of the Yanomami by insufficient resources, inconsistent policies which fluctuate between assimilation and retention of tradition, and the necessity of balancing the interests of a variety of pressure groups—local, regional and national.

As a result of the interplay of these various outside influences, the Yanomami of today have adopted a number of "modern" goods and practices. They are likely to rely on matches, fishhooks, and guns, wear some Western clothing, regard salt as an essential condiment, use Brazilian hammocks, and enjoy the pictures in National Geographic. An increasing number of men leave sporadically to work for wages, placing stress on traditional patterns of social organization. Increased interactions with other Yanomami have also influenced the Xilixana, not always positively, as can be seen, for example, in the increase in alcoholism resulting from the adoption of the Palimi thele practice of making large batches of home brew instead of small pots specifically for ceremonial consumption. On the positive side, despite their history of divisiveness, the Yanomami have come to see themselves as an emerging political collective, with the need to confront the state in pursuit of their best interests.

Peters writes about these social changes in a non-judgmental way, although he does not duck key moral issues, such as the anthropologist's stance with respect to female infanticide, the low regard for human life, and extreme patriarchy. Overall, his methodology could be characterized as engaged, reflexive ethnography, which is constantly aware of the positionality of the researcher as agent of change. It is a fundamentally critical perspective, coming to grips with control, subjugation and injustice, perpetrated both by outsiders and by the Yanomami themselves. Anthropological ethics are also a central concern, particularly with respect to the conduct of non-exploitative research. Royalties from this book are to go to providing health care for the Yanomami and other indigenous people.

"Life among The Yanomami" is a very readable book. Particularly engaging, by adding immediacy and a personal touch, is the device of interspersing extracts from field notes, and reminiscences from the author's wife on her first encounter with the Mucajai Yanomami, or a close call with a

deadly snake. Black-and-white photographs show Yanomami daily life, then and now, and reflect ease with the author. Furthermore, the presence of the author's family in the field during his missionary years makes for more intimate interactions than most ethnographers can achieve. Keen observation and self-deprecating humour underscore the "humanness" of cross-cultural encounters. (The reader can just imagine the Yanomami howling uncontrollably in laughter as the author, on one visit, walked through the village wearing a loin cloth, now replaced by shorts!)

In sum, this book is a valuable resource for Latin Americanists (from undergraduate students to specialists) and anthropologists in search of exemplary ethnographic models. Also, it will be of interest to the general public, whose curiosity about anthropology in general and the Yanomami in particular was piqued by the Tierney controversy. "Life among The Yanomami" was published before Tierney's accusations of anthropological misconduct in the Amazon appeared in the October 9, 2000 issue of *The New Yorker* and contemporaneously in his book "Darkness in El Dorado" (New York: Norton, 2000). It would be interesting to read Peters' reactions to these revelations. One suspects that he would simply reiterate his prescriptions for ethical research—show respect for your informants and for all humankind.

## Notes

1 Peters notes, "Throughout the book I use the name Xilixana to refer to all the Yanomami who initially lived in three villages on the mid-Mucajai River at the time of their contact with Brazilians in 1957." (p. 23)

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**Albert Schrauwers,** *Colonial "Reformation" in the Highlands of Central Sulawesi, Indonesia, 1892-1995,* Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000, xiii + 279 pages.

Reviewer: *Christopher Gothard*
*University of Toronto*

Albert Schrauwers' book *Colonial "Reformation" in the Highlands of Central Sulawesi, Indonesia, 1892-1995*, is about problematizing concepts of religion, culture, modernity and tradition, circulating in highland Indonesia. By locating where, when, and how different interests have tried to authorize their own representations of what these can mean, Schrauwers examines the (political) power to represent. But it is more than that because in unweaving these various strategic representations, he presents us with a finely crafted class analysis that examines the changing reproduction of social relations in the Poso Valley of Central Sulawesi over a 103-year time frame. To accomplish this Schrauwers draws from a diverse set of data: from data collected during two years of doctoral fieldwork in the 1990s, from Central Sulawesi Christian Church (GKST) research archives, and from 19th and 20th century Dutch mission archives. What holds these pieces together is a focus on historically situating changes in social reproduction and the strategies of cultural representations.

In part, the book locates these changes within the shifting cultural practices of "To Pamona" congregants of the Central Sulawesi Christian Church (GKST), in and around Tentena, Central Sulawesi. In part, it also traces these changes to the innovative sociological mission method of the Dutch missionary ethnographer, Dr. A. C. Kruyt. Starting in 1892, Kruyt's attempts at introducing a Christian *adat* (customary law) in the Central Sulawesi Highlands, can be seen as a kind of applied anthropology, based on then current anthropological theory. In his case this theory defined the conceptual limits of religion (and of what it could represent) and defined the structure of what he hoped was to become a Christian *adat* or *volkskerk*, "people's church" in the highlands. At the same time, it also caused Kruyt to overemphasize a theory of structure in place of a theory of practice in his efforts at conversion; something which has had unexpected results.

In examining hegemony and power in this particular context, Schrauwers sets himself the goal of challenging Weber's (1963) secularization hypothesis, which holds that the bureaucratic rationalization of social, political and economic systems entails a corresponding shift in cognitive systems, leading ultimately to "practical reason" at the level of the individual. Schrauwers asks us to consider, for example, why the To Pamona, having adopted Protestantism, would not have also adopted rationalist economic individualism. Schrauwers' analysis explores how Kruyt's Christian *adat* transformed local institutions while not directly addressing social practices. What has resulted is not a completely Western economy nor a dual economy, one traditional and one modern, but a repositioned set of socio-economic and ritual practices that enable To Pamona to manage the effects of a commodity-cash economy. Schrauwers' point is that this is not the persistence of (economic) tradition in the sense of survivals from some primordial point of origin, but in fact the concomitant effects of turn of the 20th century ethnographically based Dutch Ethical Policy and Ethical Theology and the penetration of capitalism.

The book is divided into three major sections which correspond to its shifting focus: Part 1 examines the differences between colonial NEI and mission strategies of incorporation and the use of ethnographic knowledge towards those goals. It is here that Schrauwers challenges the idea that mission work was merely the hand-maiden of colonialism. Kruyt's mission was to create a *volkskerk* (people's church), and that effort cannot simply be conflated with the colonial project of political and economic incorporation, because the entity that Kruyt was trying to create was not necessarily coterminous with the kind of entity that the colonial government was creating through its *adat* law studies. He was trying to substitute an indigenous form of Christianity in the Central Sulawesi Highlands: creating a Christian *adat*, a *volkskerk*. Schrauwers