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Erratum

Daniel Clément, not Christine Jourdan as wrongly stated, was the Guest Editor responsible for the preceding volume, Volume 40/1—L'Ethnobiologie/Ethnobiology. We regret this error on our part.

Daniel Clément, et non Christine Jourdan tel que cité par erreur, était le Rédacteur invité pour le volume précédent d'*Anthropologica*, soit le volume 40/1—L'Ethnobiologie/Ethnobiology. Nous regrettons cette erreur de notre part.

Cover

Femme guajira en Colombie, Amérique du Sud, Photo. J.-G. A. Goulet, Université Saint-Paul.

Guajiro woman in Colombia, South America, Photo. J.-G. A. Goulet, Saint Paul University.

Toward a History of Canadian Departments of Anthropology: Retrospect, Prospect and Common Cause[1]

Regna Darnell *University of Western Ontario*

Abstract: This article presents a framework for documenting the institutional history of Canadian anthropology through the diverse experiences of the departments in which anthropology is taught. The historical baseline is the debate over whether or not Canada has a distinct national tradition in anthropology and, if so, what is its character. Early anthropologists in Canada are noted, with attention to their roles in the emergence of an institutional framework of professional organizations, publication outlets, professional training and employment opportunities. The present configuration of Canadian departments is discussed in terms of affiliations to related disciplines, degree programs offered and number of students enrolled in them, subdisciplinary specializations of faculty, professional age of faculty, emeritus faculty (our tribal elders) and country of highest degree of Canadian faculty. The next step in documenting the history of Canadian anthropology is to produce more qualitative participant-observation histories of particular departments across the country; there is some urgency as the founders of these departments reach the end of their careers. Given the financial exigencies now facing Canadian academic life, there seems some further urgency in documenting the existence of a distinguished anthropological tradition in Canada.

Résumé: Cet article présente le cadre pour la documentation de l'histoire institutionnelle de l'anthropologie canadienne par le biais de diverses expériences vécues dans les départements où l'on enseigne l'anthropologie. Ce qui en constitue la base historique est le débat sur la question de savoir si oui ou non le Canada a une tradition nationale en anthropologie qui lui est propre et si oui quel en est le caractère. Les premiers anthropologues canadiens sont reconnus pour leur rôle dans l'émergence d'une structure institutionnelle des organismes professionnels des points de publications, de la formation professionnelle et des perspectives d'emploi dans le domaine. La configuration actuelle des départements canadiens est abordée en termes d'affiliation à des disciplines connexes, de programmes offerts, de nombre d'étudiants inscrits, de sous-domaines de spécialisation des professeurs, de l'âge des membres de la faculté, de professeurs honoraires (nos anciens en termes de tribus), de pays dans lesquels les professeurs canadiens ont obtenu leur diplôme le plus élevé. La seconde étape de documentation de l'histoire de l'anthropologie canadienne est de produire plus d'histoires qualitatives basées sur l'observation participante de départements répartis à travers tout le pays. Il y a urgence, car certains fondateurs de ces départements sont en fin de carrière. Étant donné les exigences financières qui menacent la vie académique canadienne, il y a encore plus d'urgence à documenter l'existence d'une tradition anthropologique canadienne remarquable.

At present, there is no overview for the history of Canadian anthropology, although Richard Preston (1983: 293) called for a "substantive view of Canadian ethnology" through "the numbers, departments, Ph.D. programs, professional societies and professional journals" and provided some initial tabulations of the institutional setting of the early 1980s. He predicted that the future lay in applied anthropology, a somewhat idiosyncratic and now surprisingly dated position not clearly linked to his descriptive baseline.[2] There is little of the story of what individual Canadian anthropologists have done within the institutional frameworks.

This article acknowledges a considerable diversity in the contemporary discipline and calls for a comparative framework to document the history of Canadian anthropology through participant ethnographies of the institutional backbone of anthropology in Canada—the departments in which anthropology is taught. In this context, the coexistence, possibly even incommensurability, of the resulting diversity can be evaluated.

The project is of some antiquity: my own first effort at tabulating the state of the discipline in Canada (emphasizing its "eclectic" character) was presented as a paper at the 1983 International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences in Vancouver but never published. In the early 1990s, Richard Pope and I began to talk about possible generalizations from the experiences of anthropologists across Canada grounded in a description of institutional variations. The immediate context was urgent: the small but long-established department at the University of Regina, where Dick had taught for more than three decades, was threatened with merger into sociology and reduction to sociocultural anthropology alone. Colleagues rallied round—possibly to the surprise of Regina's administration that so many people could care so passionately about a small undergraduate program. The department, albeit considerably changed, persists.

At the CASCA meetings in Montreal in 1992, Dick and I organized a double session of departmental histo-

ries which was enthusiastically attended. At York University in 1993, we held another workshop with additional case studies. Attempts to publish these histories, however, have languished over the issues of representation and closure: although each department in Canada was invited to participate, many did not respond. We agonized over the sample size adequate to represent the diversity of cases. A workshop at CASCA in 1996 in St. Catharine's, Ontario, concluded that preliminary publication is most likely to encourage further and more systematic coverage. Thus, I offer this overview—and Trigger (1997) presents his history of anthropology at McGill—in the hope that more exemplars will follow as Canadian anthropologists reflect collectively on the variables underlying their diverse institutional experiences.

In 1996, financial constraints across the Canadian provinces increasingly offer a dramatic challenge to the autonomy and functioning of many anthropology programs, indeed of the academy itself. The modest size of our discipline among the social sciences in Canada makes us potentially vulnerable to budgetary sledgehammers; subdisciplinary diversity makes the restructuring of Canadian anthropology particularly complex. One possible line of defence is to demonstrate the existence of a distinguished anthropological tradition in Canada, characterized both by internal diversity and by common cause. A diversity of achievements and organizational structures both attests to our collective identity and increases our collective strength. A documentary project such as this cannot alone protect us from financial cutbacks, but it can provide ammunition; furthermore, it can encourage each Canadian anthropologist to examine the grounds of his/her professional identity and the legitimacy of the intellectual work that we, collectively, do in research, teaching and public service. We can begin to tell the story of the people, institutions and ideas constituting our discipline.

Comparative data are tabulated from the American Anthropological Association's *A Guide to Departments, 1996-97*. Data are incomplete because not all Canadian departments purchase a listing in this annual volume. The last Canadian guide was produced in 1991, jointly by the Canadian Sociology and Anthropology Association and the Canadian Anthropology Society/Société canadienne d'anthropologie. The CSAA/CASCA Guide is produced every decade rather than annually, making us dependent on external data for the interim periods. The Canadian data are further difficult to assess in terms comparable to the AAA data because "Anthropology, Archaeology, Sociology in universities and museums in Canada" are included in a single guide, reflecting the characteristic diversity of Canadian institutional arrangements. One cannot always distinguish a sociologist from an anthropologist; indeed, many individuals pride themselves on an overlapping disciplinary space. For example, Stanley Barrett (1979) persuasively dissolves a series of alleged dichotomies between sociology and social anthropology.

The tables presented below omit programs not listed in the AAA Guide because contemporary data are not available. The largest BA program omitted is at Concordia, where, in 1990-91, the joint department of sociology and anthropology listed seven sociocultural anthropologists (in a department of 30); of these, one was trained in Canada, two in the U.S., two in France, one in Britain and one in the Commonwealth. Concordia has a new MA program in anthropology not yet reflected in the statistics.

In 1990-91, five unlisted institutions offered a BA in anthropology in a joint department with sociology. At Brandon, there are two anthropologists, both Canadian trained, and four sociologists; one is in sociocultural and the other in archaeology/physical anthropology. Guelph has 19 faculty in the joint department, five of whom are sociocultural anthropologists; three were trained in Canada, two in Britain. Mount Allison's joint program has three faculty who range between sociocultural anthropology and sociology. At Mount St. Vincent, two of ten faculty are identifiably sociocultural anthropologists trained in Canada. Four of six faculty at Prince Edward Island are sociocultural anthropologists, though one also does biological anthropology; one was trained in Canada, two in the U.S.A. and one in India. At St. Francis Xavier, two Canadian-trained anthropologists in a department of ten each combine archaeology and sociocultural anthropology.

And, finally, the University of Quebec at Montreal has five faculty members in its Department of Earth Sciences and Laboratory of Archaeology; of these, four were trained in France and one in Canada.

The Historiographic Baseline

The 1970s, in particular, produced intense discussion as to whether or not Canada had its own national tradition in anthropology. Reasons for pessimism in many quarters were part and parcel of the history of anthropology in Canada. In 1975, when I gave my first paper attempting to define the Canadian tradition at the Canadian Ethnology Society meetings in Winnipeg, it was greeted with considerable scepticism, especially on the part of graduate students aspiring to professional status in the discipline. These young scholars were not prepared to credit themselves with the dignity of an autonomous tradi-

tion. They came of age in a world with few professional anthropologists trained in Canada to serve as role models, in which many Canadian students were encouraged and/or forced to seek doctoral training abroad (Barker, 1987, quoting McIlwraith; Trigger, personal communication). In line with the political realities of the mid-1970s, graduate students were legitimately discouraged about employment possibilities and convinced that "their" anthropology was some bastard mixture of American and British parentage. Louise Sweet (1976: 845), for example, castigated Canadian anthropology, ironically in the *American Anthropologist*, for its complicity with neocolonial "American corporate capitalism and its ideology."

Demographic factors were especially powerful in Canada because academic professionalization coincided with the expansion of all university disciplines which began in the mid-1960s. By the time the institutional framework for a mature Canadian anthropology was in place, a period of contraction had begun. Nevertheless, many of the non-Canadian anthropologists who came in the expansionary period studied Canadian cultural communities and contributed to the institutional development of a national tradition. This commitment may be unique among the social sciences in Canada; certainly, many departments scoured their applications in search of young Canadian scholars as students and faculty.

A contrastive view of the relative prestige of the Canadian and American traditions is presented by Marilyn Silverman (1991) in an ethnography of a hiring committee in a Canadian anthropology department which rapidly and superficially dismissed all Canadian applicants on the tacit assumption that they could not possibly be as good as the foreign applicants. Canada's colonial past has not, in her analysis, receded sufficiently to allow self-confidence in a homegrown and internally sustainable national tradition.

Similar self-deprecating sentiments were echoed by Thomas McFeat (1976: 148) in an early plenary session on the history of Canadian anthropology: "While there were opportunities for a uniquely Canadian anthropology to develop, it did not." Nonetheless, he credited the National Museum of Man with maintaining "certain particular features and foci"—presumably the building blocks of a national tradition. In McFeat's mind, the problem was that anthropologists in Canada (as opposed to Canadian anthropologists) "recognized a living centre that was elsewhere" (1976: 148), that is, in the United States. He was, then, essentially arguing that the failure to acknowledge and describe a distinctively Canadian tradition in its historical context resulted from a widespread national inferiority complex. Kenelm Burridge (1983: 318) emphasizes implicit acceptance that "the ideas should come from elsewhere." Canadian anthropologists would merely debate which points of view would dominate in their national tradition.

Even at that time, however, it was possible to be more optimistic. In his introduction to the 1976 Canadian Ethnology Society symposium on *The History of Canadian Anthropology*, Michael Ames (1976: 2) noted:

> Canada has not lacked for anthropology over the years, but anthropologists in Canada have lacked a sense of their own history. History does not exist until it is invented by the process of description, and until recently, few anthropologists in Canada were interested enough to study the history of their own discipline. Perhaps it was assumed that anthropology was an international science, and therefore a national history would not be meaningful.

Ames cited my own argument the previous year that there are no features absolutely unique to Canadian anthropology but that the national discipline combines features of disciplinary organization and historical context in patterns that *are* unique.

Ames' position is consistent with that of Trigger (1990: 261) that "attitudes" may distinguish Canadian anthropology from its counterparts elsewhere. The distinctive features of the discipline here do not occur in "the same proportions as . . . elsewhere." For Trigger, the Canadian tradition is distinguished by the presence of more full-time professional anthropologists per capita than in the United States, by the avoidance of extreme determinisms of any theoretical stripe, and by the belief:

> . . . that human life is complex, that explaining differences is as important as explaining similarities, that even the most esoteric studies should be relevant—although not necessarily in practical ways—to the society that sustains them, and that the study of humanity cannot, and should not, be morally or ethically neutral.

At the same time, Trigger cautions that it is has been difficult for those situated within Canadian anthropology to see unifying attitudes of their discipline. Those Canadians returning from training abroad and foreigners hired in Canadian departments "came from many different backgrounds, were dispersed across a continent, and found themselves in departments that viewed anthropology from different perspectives" (Trigger, 1990: 247).

Whatever the intricacies of identifying the national tradition, Ames strongly urged Canadian anthropologists to get on with the business of inventing their own his-

tory based on materials which were already available (Ames, 1976: 3):

> If anthropology is to be rationally integrated into Canadian society—in universities and museums, with governments and the public sector, with other disciplines, and with the peoples we study—then it must be viewed in its social and historical context.

(This mandate in itself is peculiarly Canadian in scope, in contrast to the more thoroughly academic organization of American anthropology or the consistent association of British social anthropology with colonial administration.)

Contributors to the 1976 symposium stood in various relationships to the history of science as a disciplinary specialization. My own training and research fall directly within the history of anthropology. Several other contributors were participants in the events they described, e.g., McFeat, Marc-Adélard Tremblay and Richard Salisbury. Others approached their topics through historical scholarship. Richard Preston's paper on Marius Barbeau remained the primary commentary until Laurence Nowry's biography in 1995. Another approach to historical documentation is by way of the author's theoretical and ethnographic commitments within the discipline, e.g., the late Sally Mae Weaver on the political effectiveness or ineffectiveness of the Hawthorne/Tremblay report on Canadian Native peoples. The result was a healthy mixture, seeming to presage the development of consistent pride in a national tradition within Canadian anthropology. Unfortunately, this optimistic beginning has not been followed up in systematic ways, though various participants have done further related research (e.g., Ames, 1986, 1992; Darnell, 1986, 1990; Preston, 1986). Only a few of the papers in the Canadian Ethnology Society's attempt at assessing the state of the art of Canadian anthropology (Manning, ed., 1983) were focussed on institutional aspects of Canadian anthropology (see Burridge, 1983; Preston, 1983). Exhortations for a national disciplinary history, therefore, remain as compelling as they were two decades ago.

Early Anthropology in Canada

In the absence of such a systematic institutional history of the discipline, the self-perception of Canadian anthropologists has suffered from overemphasis on the contributions of individual anthropologists. Nonetheless, identification of the principal actors in an uniquely Canadian anthropology requires attention to the historical context of individual careers and the consequences of individual actions for the discipline. A review of the small but increasing body of serious scholarship on the lives and careers of early Canadian anthropologists moves us toward such a mature history of Canadian anthropology. Although the late Douglas Cole (1973) and McFeat (1980) ground the present discipline in Jesuit ethnographies with a time depth of 300 years, our concern here is with the transition to institutionalized professional anthropology.

Among the distinguished precursors of professional anthropology in Canada were Sir Daniel Wilson and the two Dawsons (John William and his son George Mercer) (McIlwraith, 1964; Trigger, 1966a, 1966b, 1990; Van West 1976). Their work called attention to the special potentials for ethnology in Canada; the Geological Survey of Canada provided an incipient framework for a professional discipline of anthropology. Sheets-Pyenson's biography of John William Dawson (1996) sheds light on the development of Canadian academic institutions, especially McGill, as well as on anthropology per se.

Special Canadian potentials for anthropological research were also recognized when Edward Burnett Tylor, the putative founder of anthropology as a discipline, addressed the British Association for the Advancement of Science in Toronto in plenary session in 1884. Tylor emphasized that Indian questions in Canada were more immediate and pressing than in the United States. The Canadian tradition, because of its distinct colonial history, would be able to retain stronger connections to British anthropology than the Americans; he clearly saw this as desirable. Thus, although Tylor was certainly not a Canadian anthropologist, he called international attention to the importance of Canadian data for the discipline elsewhere. His position, grounded in British colonialism, was both flattering and patronizing to would-be Canadian anthropologists.

There were some candidates for the status of Canadian anthropologist, though their stories have variable relationship to the country, the study of its aboriginal peoples and the development of professional anthropological institutions. To construct a narrative about early Canadian anthropology, therefore, requires contextualization of the careers of "great men."

Horatio Hale was an anthropologist who made a significant early contribution in Canada. His reputation was established in the United States in the 1830s and 1840s as ethnologist/linguist for the Wilkes Exploring Expedition. Hale moved to his wife's native Canada in the 1880s, where he worked with a committee of Iroquois chiefs on a history of the Six Nations Confederacy, producing a Mohawk and Onondaga version of the Iroquois book of rites in 1883 (Fenton, 1984). This work established him as a "Canadian" anthropologist, whose pres-

tige undoubtedly enhanced the standing of Canadian anthropology within the BAAS in the late 19th century. His contribution to the development of a Canadian anthropological tradition, however, must be carefully distinguished from his stature in the anthropology of his day.

Alexander Francis Chamberlain, a Canadian, received the first North American PhD in anthropology, under the direction of Franz Boas, at Clark University in Worcester, Massachusetts, in 1894. Chamberlain remained at Clark after Boas resigned in the same year and did not further distinguish himself in the history of the discipline. He had no influence on anthropological developments in his native country, although he took courses in anthropology from Daniel Wilson at the University of Toronto before moving to the United States (Trigger, personal communication).

Franz Boas, the major figure in 20th-century American anthropology, did most of his field work in Canada (on Baffin Island in the early 1880s, later on the Northwest Coast) and was closely involved in Canadian Aboriginal issues, for example, protesting the outlawing of the potlatch in 1882 (Cole and Chaikin, 1990; Darnell, 1984). Boas's early field work on the Northwest Coast was supported by the BAAS, in conjunction with the Bureau of American Ethnology in the United States; in his relations to the former organization, Boas chafed under the supervision of Hale, the established mouthpiece of the BAAS in Canada (Gruber, 1967). In spite of his field research in Canada, however, Boas's primary institutional base remained in the United States.

Boas most dramatically influenced the institutional development of anthropology in Canada when he recommended the appointment of his former student, Edward Sapir, as the first director of the Anthropological Division of the Geological Survey of Canada in 1910. Sapir shared Boas's near fanaticism about the need for professional training of anthropologists and systematic organization of anthropological research on a broad, in this case national, scale.

Although Sapir failed to create the institutional base for a distinctive Canadian anthropology, his appointment has been represented as a Boasian takeover. John Barker (1987: 253) cites Cole (1973) on Sapir's "firm command of scholars trained or influenced by Franz Boas in the United States." Ralph Maud (1978, Vol. 1: 11) refers to "the temperament of the one man who set the tone and pattern [for anthropology] in the Northwest." In Maud's view, Boas's scientific distancing of himself from native people was "elevated . . . into a theory." This theory mitigated against professional recognition of Charles Hill-Tout, whose ethnographic work Maud has republished and contextualized. Hill-Tout, though lacking academic training in anthropology, was encouraged to do ethnographic research by Daniel Wilson and was peripherally associated with the survey research program of the BAAS which sponsored much of Boas's early work on the Northwest Coast. Boas disapproved on Hill-Tout's speculative work. The latter's relegation to the category of "dilettante" was cemented by Sapir's appointment in 1910 when "the Boas school took over" (Maud, 1978, Vol. 1: 14). Marius Barbeau, Maud continues, "explains" that this appointment marginalized the Canadians in Canadian anthropology.

There is no attempt to frame Barbeau's perceptions in terms of his own frustrated ambitions due to competition with Sapir, his failure to succeed the latter as Director of the Anthropological Division in Ottawa, and lack of the doctoral credentials which were the new standards of scientific professionalism. For Barbeau, Hill-Tout and other Canadian anthropologists of the time, these new standards were associated with Boas and thus perceived as unfair because they were externally imposed. Preston (1976) and Darnell (1976, 1984, 1990), moreover, indicate that a motive for Hill-Tout's antagonism to Boasian anthropology was Boas's recommendation to University of British Columbia President Wesbrook in 1916 that the university would be better not to teach anthropology than to hire Hill-Tout, an amateur, as its professor.

McFeat (1980: 7-8) characterizes Sapir as "Boas's man in Ottawa" and argues that Sapir applied the Boasian culture historical method to the detriment of contemporary ethnography; the latter being the wave of the future. Preston (1983: 287) notes that Sapir failed to leave an institutionalized position behind him when he left Canada for the University of Chicago in 1925; surprisingly, he did not hire Americans to enhance the Boasian anthropological empire. Marius Barbeau (Nowry, 1995; Preston, 1976) and Diamond Jenness (Jenness, 1991) were both Oxford-trained, though neither held a PhD, which was, in the United States, becoming the necessary credential for a professional anthropologist. Sapir's impact was "modest" because he did not follow through his ideas with a firm institutional basis.

Preston (1983: 288) argues that Barbeau was more influential. In part, this may have been because he "complained about Sapir's Boasian influence"; after 1925, there was no defence for the Boasian position in Canadian anthropology and the contest was settled by default. Burridge (1983: 306) considers Barbeau "the first professional Canadian ethnologist of modern times"; he was "in touch with the European tradition" rather than the American. For whatever reasons, however, the simplified myth of Boasian takeover has been persistent. For exam-

ple, Berger (1996: 81) asserts that Sapir's appointment "is usually taken as an indication of the displacement of an indigenous, amateur Canadian tradition by one oriented to Boas and the United States." Nonetheless, the Boasian emphasis on professionalization was not entirely an American import. Boas's ideas about professional science reflected the intellectual climate of his native Germany and, in the United States, largely supplanted an earlier, semi-professional tradition. Indeed, Boas's "non-American-ness" was a source of bitter contention, culminating, during World War I, with attacks on him by native-born anthropologists at Harvard University and in the Bureau of American Ethnology. Boas's eventual virtual control of American anthropology by about 1920 came through the shift in emphasis from government and museum to the university as the institutional framework for the emerging profession (Darnell, 1969; Darnell, 1998; Hinsley, 1981; Stocking, 1968).

Because of his unique position at the head of the only fully professional anthropological organization in Canada from 1910 to 1925, Sapir spearheaded the developments of the institutionally formative period (Darnell, 1984, 1990). Many contemporary Canadian anthropologists, however, have been reluctant to recognize his contribution.[3] That he was European-born (and Jewish) mattered less in retrospect than that he left his adopted country of Canada in 1925 to accept a university position at the University of Chicago. Ambivalent Canadian colleagues concluded that he did not value what he had created. The abortiveness of his efforts to create academic anthropology in Canada, moreover, did not mitigate the perceived betrayal. That Sapir was not happy in Ottawa for personal reasons reinforced the sense that he was an unappreciative transient who left the working out of his initiatives to his successors. Nonetheless, Sapir's commitment to professionalization, and his development of systematic field research programs and publications in a museum context, were integral to developing the institutional framework of Canadian anthropology. Barker (1992: xxv), for example, notes in passing that "Sapir retired in 1925"—an odd foreshortening of the last 15 years of Sapir's life and of the continuing ties between the Canadian and American anthropologies.

This examination of some of the "great men" of early Canadian anthropology with a view to assessing their "Canadian-ness," suggests that institutional and research emphases would produce a more balanced view of the emergence of Canadian anthropology. Indeed, the institutional framework was quite distinct from that which developed in the United States; collegiality, with an emphasis on undergraduate teaching rather than professionalism, was the keynote (Barker, 1987). Preston (1983: 289) refers to the "ambience ... of the small, cohesive university college." The emergence of academic anthropology in Canada appears to be the key to weaving individual careers into a narrative which includes institutional parameters.

University teaching of anthropology began with Sir Daniel Wilson at the University of Toronto. The first chair was held by Sir Bertram Windle in 1919 at St. Michael's College; he became Special Lecturer in Ethnology at Toronto in 1922 (Barker, 1987: 253). In 1925, Thomas F. McIlwraith was appointed to a full-time lectureship at the University of Toronto and curatorship at the Royal Ontario Museum. An independent department of anthropology, however, did not appear until 1936.

Although McIlwraith was trained at Cambridge, Trigger (personal communication) reports that he considered himself a Boasian and regarded his *Bella Coola* as an exemplar of the Boasian paradigm. Trigger, a Canadian with a Yale PhD, is in a position to know that Yale claims McIlwraith as one of its own; in his view, McIlwraith's British MA may have had less influence on his professional development than his year at the Yale Peabody Museum before returning to Canada. Barker, however, emphasizes his affiliation to the British school. McIlwraith "became a participant in Muxalk memory culture" (1992: xxiv); he acknowledged Rivers and Haddon, assessed the reliability of various informants, and was forced by volume of material to abandon the native-language text method associated with the Boasians. Barker sees an emphasis, remarkable for the time, on integration of institutions. As McIlwraith himself observed (1992: xl-xli):

> I was definitely under the influence of the English school of anthropologists. ... As a broad generalization, the attitude of American anthropologists to field work in America is very different. Indians live near at hand; well-educated interpreters and informants are usually available; there is no thought of gleaning information from suspicious natives at the ends of the earth; and ... so much of Indian life has disappeared that the American anthropologist must learn by interview and question, rather than by observation and participation. The American school has tended to return repeatedly , often for short periods, to a small group or even to a single informant, and to publish intensive studies of aspects of culture with which the investigator is concerned.

Barker (1987: 255), however, acknowledges Boasian elements as well: McIlwraith "combined the Boasian style of working closely with selected informants with the

methods of the 'intensive study of a limited area' then being developed in Britain." Barker (1987) stresses McIlwraith's attempts to use texts, a core of the Boasian method (see Darnell, 1992).

In any case, Canada lagged behind in institutionalizing anthropology. In the United States, Daniel Brinton held the first professorship in anthropology, beginning in 1886; Boas was appointed to a similar position at Columbia University in 1899. The Bureau of American Ethnology was established by the U.S. government in 1879, the Division of Anthropology under Sapir only in 1910.

In Canada, the Depression, followed by World War II, derailed institutional expansion of anthropology. McIlwraith long remained the only anthropologist at the University of Toronto. His monumental ethnography of the Bella Coola (Barker, 1992) languished unpublished until 1948 due to lack of finances, government bureaucratic objection to "obscene" material in the texts and damage to the manuscript itself. McIlwraith did no further field work and directed his teaching and publication to a general audience. Students had to go outside Canada for professional training in anthropology. For Barker (1987: 264), however, the "warm and fuzzy" character of McIlwraith's anthropology has been lost with the subsequent specialization of anthropology in the academy.

A.G. Bailley received a PhD in history from the University of Toronto in 1934, working with economic historian Harold Innis as well as with McIlwraith. His ethnohistorical dissertation dealt with the emergence of Canada from European contacts with Algonquian cultures in the 16th and 17th centuries. This set the tone for Canadian anthropology in the intersections of anthropology, history and economics (McFeat, 1980: 5-6).

It was 1947 before full-time anthropologists appeared at McGill and the University of British Columbia. Ethnology was combined with folklore at Laval, history at the University of British Columbia and sociology at McGill (Barker, 1987: 265). The influx of veterans after the war began the expansion of Canadian universities, especially in arts (including the social sciences. The British tradition of university teaching without a PhD continued, reflecting "what has been labelled a 'colonial mentality' in the hindsight of the 1970s," but "was probably thought of by most [Canadian] academics as cosmopolitan and intellectually excellent until sometime in the 1960s" (Preston, 1983: 289).

Canadian Professional Organizations

In spite of a lag in the formalization of anthropological work on a national scale, Canada developed scientific institutions at the period of the international professionalization of science. The BAAS was established in 1831, the Geological Survey of Canada in 1842, the Canadian Institute in Toronto in 1849 and the Royal Society of Canada in 1882. Anthropology, however, perhaps because of its continuing ties to sociology in Canada, is still not fully identifiable with any single professional association.

The second-largest department in the country administratively encompasses sociology and anthropology, albeit with separate programs; some faculty members cannot be identified uniquely as anthropologist or sociologist. The Canadian Sociology and Anthropology Association attracts primarily anthropologists with sociological leanings. Within the CSAA, in spite of its constitutionally mandated alternation of officers by discipline, sociology inevitably dominates because it is so much larger. Left out of this disciplinary alliance, Canadian archaeologists, physical anthropologists and linguists developed their own separate organizations. Indeed, for the first 15 years of its history, the present Canadian Anthropology Society was known as the Canadian Ethnology Society. At its founding meeting,[4] representatives of the subdisciplines were hesitant to risk their own autonomy, perhaps mindful of the *de facto* dominance of sociocultural anthropology in the American Anthropological Association. Moreover, the early 1970s were years of justified concern over the threat of Americanization of Canadian academic life. The link to sociology, and to other social sciences, along the lines of British social anthropology, seemed to many to present an alternative which might more easily aspire to become (or remain) distinctively Canadian. But the expansion of anthropology during the 1960s and early 1970s also seemed to call for autonomy from sociology.

So, in a compromise which retrospectively appears peculiarly Canadian, the CSAA option was left intact with the establishment of a new society focussed around ethnology. This served to incorporate museum anthropologists as well as sociocultural anthropologists who saw sociocultural anthropology as broader than ethnology but distinct from sociology. The subdisciplinary organizations remained distinct, but individuals from them were encouraged to participate in the CES as well. Not appropriating the umbrella term "anthropology" was a compromise constructed to protect the autonomy and legitimacy of the subdisciplinary organizations.

In practice, sociocultural anthropologists have largely switched their primary allegiance to the CES/CASCA. CASCA's annual meetings have also incorporated the Canadian organizations for medical anthropology and applied anthropology. Only in 1990 did professional identities seem sufficiently secure to return to the label

"Anthropology" for the umbrella professional organization. Anthropology is the name under which most of us explain who we are and what we do. What was contentious two decades ago has become established reality over that period and is now reflected in the name of the Canadian Anthropology Society.

Table 1
Subdisciplines of Full-Time Faculty in Canadian Departments of Anthropology, 1996-97 (excluding professors emeriti)

	Socio-cultural	Linguistics (in anthropology)	Archaeology	Physical	Total
A) *Doctoral Programs*					
Alberta	8.5	2.5[a]	5.5	3.5	20
British Columbia	12	2[a]	5	1	20
Calgary					
Anthropology	8	—[a]	—	3	11
Archaeology	—	.5[a]	6.5	1	8
Laval	18	1.5[a]	—	.5	20
Manitoba	8	1.5[a]	4	2.5	16
McGill	12	—[a]	4	—	16
McMaster	8	1	3	3	15
Montreal	10	3[a]	5	4	22
Simon Fraser					
Archaeology	—	—	9	1	10
Anthropology	8	—	—	—	8
Toronto	12	3[a]	7	9	31
York	13	—	—	—	13
B) *Masters Programs*					
Carleton	11	—[a]	—	—	11
Dalhousie	7	—	—	—	7
Lethbridge	7	—	—	1	8
Memorial	11	—[a]	5	2	18
New Brunswick	5	—	1	—	6
Saskatchewan	4	1	1	1	7
Trent	4	2	4	2	12
Victoria	7.5	.5	1	2	11
Western Ontario	6.5	2.5	2	2	13
C) *Bachelors Programs*					
Lakehead	2	—	2	1	5
Laurentian	1	—	1	1	3
Northern BC	3	—	1	1	5
Regina	4	—	.5	.5	5
Saint Mary's	2	1	1	1	5
Waterloo	2	—	1	1	4
Wilfrid Laurier	3	—	1	—	4
Windsor	2	—	1	1	4
Winnipeg	2	—	1	2	5

a Independent department of linguistics.

There is still no single organization that purports to represent the four subdiscipline approach to anthropology on the American model, although the majority of Canadian anthropology departments espouse this ideal at least in principle. A minority, however, specialize in social anthropology along British lines—which, in the North American context, emphasizes institutional and intellectual connections to sociology. Assessing the Canadian university programs with a PhD program by 1980, Preston (1983: 299) notes a structuralist/Marxist focus at Laval, development anthropology at McGill, symbolic anthropology at U.B.C., ethnology and ethnohistory at McMaster, archaeology at Calgary and Simon Fraser (also social anthropology) and the foursquare model at Montreal, Manitoba, Toronto and Alberta.[5]

Linguistics is taught in independent departments in many institutions (see Table 1) which has led, in some institutions, to minimal recognition of special ties to anthropology in the eyes of either linguists or anthropologists. The virtual absence of linguistics in the British definition of the scope of anthropology may have been an additional factor in the relatively low priority apparently placed on linguistics within Canadian anthropology.

The remainder of this article will examine the empirical evidence for the diversity of Canadian academic programs in anthropology, in an effort to clarify both the range of organizational arrangements and the degree to which the national tradition can be characterized overall. The statistics presented in this discussion need to be supplemented by "emic" descriptions, particularly by Canadian anthropologists who are still active members of the departments they helped to found. The realities of anthropology on a local scale may seem pragmatic and unproblematic in isolation. But they become much more intriguing when framed against the diversity of the Canadian discipline in its multiple local contexts. The history of our science can, and should, be approached with the same systematically comparative interpretive methods that we use in the construction of any other ethnography.

Contemporary Canadian Departments

Eleven Canadian institutions grant a PhD in anthropology. Laval and Montreal, the francophone universities in Quebec, have limited contact with anglophone programs (in spite of the constitutional mandate that the presidency and other offices of the Canadian Anthropology Society alternate between francophone and anglophone candidates). Toronto has the longest established program and the largest by far. The PhD has been offered for some time at McGill, British Columbia and Alberta. More recent additions are Manitoba, Simon Fraser and McMaster. The most recent additions are York and Calgary. There is no PhD program in the Maritimes.

Nine additional institutions offer an MA in anthropology: Dalhousie, Memorial and New Brunswick in the Maritimes, Lethbridge in the Prairies, Victoria in British Columbia and Carleton, Trent and Western Ontario in Ontario.

Bachelors programs in anthropology are offered at Winnipeg and Regina in the Prairies, Saint Mary's in the Maritimes, Lakehead, Laurentian, Waterloo, Wilfrid Laurier and Windsor in Ontario and the new University of Northern British Columbia.

Anthropology is not always a separate department with a standard subdisciplinary content. Anthropology is combined with sociology at British Columbia, Carleton and several smaller institutions across the country. Calgary and Simon Fraser offer anthropology and archaeology in separate departments; at Simon Fraser anthropology is combined with sociology. First Nations/Native Studies coexists with anthropology in several institutions, for example, Northern British Columbia, Manitoba, Trent and Lakehead. The only Aboriginal post-secondary institution in Canada is the Saskatchewan Indian Federated College in Regina.

Anthropology does not appear to be fully integrated into the Canadian liberal arts education at all levels. Most universities (Queens is the most notable exception) offer at least a BA/BSc in anthropology. But professional training of anthropologists has been considerably less widespread. Particularly in the Prairies and in Ontario, the tendency is for all to offer the Bachelors degree, with MA programs more specialized and PhD programs quite restricted in number in each provincial post-secondary system.

The expansion of anthropology programs in Canadian universities took place primarily in the late 1960s and early 1970s. This explosion of demand for anthropology preceded training of professional anthropologists in Canada, necessitating recruitment from outside the country (although many of those recruited were Canadians who had been required by the absence of Canadian programs to go elsewhere for their training). In spite of considerable emphasis on Canadianization of Canadian anthropology departments, however, the employment patterns set in the 1960s have continuing effects. The scholars who came during the period of expansion have tenure and are only beginning to retire. They have trained several generations of Canadian PhDs, but, the age of expansion over, academic positions remain scarce. Table 2 correlates rank of anthropologists with the decade of highest degree; the clustering of senior people from the period of expansion and the modest number of positions for recent PhDs are equally clear. Table 3 lists emeritus professors of anthropology from Canadian universities, with their subdisciplines, Canadian institutions and institutions granting their highest degrees. These are our elders and the creators of the contemporary mix of backgrounds and perspectives which constitute Canadian anthropology.

Emphasis on citizenship as an index of Canadianness obscures the fact that many of the Americans (and others) who came in the 1960s are now naturalized Canadians. Country of training, therefore, may be a better indicator of the point of view from which contribution to the Canadian national tradition proceeds. But this fails to capture the commitments of the Canadians who went abroad for their education and returned to Canada to practice their profession. Moreover, statistics are not available for place of birth or citizenship. It also should be noted that many of the immigrant anthropologists have devoted themselves to the development of anthropological institutions in Canada—journals and professional organizations as well as academic programs—and have carried out, and trained their students to carry out, research in and on Canadian society itself. In spite of the development of academic programs in anthropology in Canada, however, many Canadian students still seek doctoral training abroad. "Canadian-ness," then, cannot be captured by any single or easily quantifiable index.

Table 5 records the country of highest academic degree for all anthropology faculty in Canadian departments in 1996-97. The choice of a single year is, of course, somewhat arbitrary. Nonetheless, general trends can be seen clearly in relation to data from Darnell, Preston and Burridge—all representing the early 1980s. Since 1982-83 (Darnell, 1983), Canadian-trained faculty have increased dramatically—from 86 out of 312 to 141 out of 343. The increase in professors with Canadian degrees is considerably more than the increase in total number of academic anthropologists. Modest growth in the size of the discipline (measured by number of faculty and by number of programs at the BA, MA and PhD levels) has been accompanied by a relatively dramatic increase in the proportion of instruction by Canadian-trained anthropologists.

Nonetheless, only 41% of these professors are Canadian trained (up 5% since 1995-96, presumably indicating substantial hiring of Canadian-trained anthropologists relative to retirement of non-Canadian-trained colleagues). Although the greatest number, 149, still hold American PhDs, this is 31 less in absolute numbers than in 1982-83 and only eight more than the Canadian-trained professoriate of 1996-97. This relative decrease in American degrees has been accompanied by a substan-

Table 2
Ranks of Full-Time Faculty in Canadian Departments of Anthropology by Decade of Highest Degree, 1996-97

	Professor	Associate	Assistant	Emeritus
British Columbia				
1940s/1950s	—	—	—	4
1960s	3	1	—	2
1970	2	6	—	—
1980s	—	5	1	—
1990s	—	—	2	—
Alberta				
1960s	2	—	—	5
1970s	7	2	—	—
1980s	2	6	—	—
1990s	—	—	1	—
Calgary				
Anthropology				
1960s	1	—	—	—
1970s	2	4	—	1
1980s	—	3	—	—
1990s	—	—	1	—
Archaeology				
1930s	—	—	—	1
1950s	—	—	—	2
1960s	1	—	—	1
1970s	1	1	—	—
1980s	1	3	—	—
1990s	—	—	1	—
Carleton	No ranks indicated			
1950s	2 all ranks			
1960s	1 all ranks			
1970s	8 all ranks			
1980s	1 all ranks			
Dalhousie				
1960s	1	—	—	—
1970s	1	1	—	—
1980s	1	1	1	—
1990s	—	—	1	—
Lakehead				
1970s	1	1	—	—
1980s	1	—	1	—
1990s	—	1	—	—
Laurentian				
1970s	1	—	—	—
1980s	—	1	—	—
1990s	—	—	—	—
Laval	No ranks indicated			
1960s	3 all ranks			
1970s	10 all ranks			
1980s	5 all ranks			
1990s	1 all ranks			
n.d.	1 all ranks			
Lethbridge				
1970s	1	1	1	1
1980s	—	—	3	—
1990s	—	—	2	—

	Professor	Associate	Assistant	Emeritus
Manitoba				
1960s	1	—	—	1
1970s	3	9	—	2
1980s	1	1	—	—
1990s	—	—	1	—
McGill				
1960s	1	—	—	—
1970s	6	5	—	—
1980s	—	3	—	—
1990s	—	—	1	—
McMaster				
1950s	—	—	—	1
1960s	2	—	—	3
1970s	5	1	—	—
1980s	—	6	—	—
1990s	—	—	1	—
Memorial				
1960s	3	1	1	—
1970s	3	2	—	—
1980s	—	4	—	—
1990s	—	—	4	—
Montreal				
1940s/1950s	2	—	—	—
1960s	2	—	—	—
1970s	8	1	—	—
1980s	1	5	2	—
1990s	—	—	1	—
New Brunswick				
1970s	2	—	—	—
1980s	—	3	1	—
Northern BC				
1980s	—	1	—	—
1990s	—	—	4	—
Regina				
1960s	1	—	—	1
1970s	—	—	—	—
1980s	—	2	—	—
1990s	—	—	1	—
Saint Mary's				
1970s	2	—	1	—
1980s	1	—	—	—
1990s	—	—	1	—
Saskatchewan				
1960s	—	2	—	—
1970s	2	—	—	—
1980s	1	1	—	—
1990s	—	—	1	—
Simon Fraser				
Archaeology				
1960s	—	1	—	2
1970s	4	2	—	—
1990s	—	—	3	—

Table 2 (continued)

	Professor	Associate	Assistant	Emeritus
Simon Fraser				
Anthropology				
1950s	—	—	—	1
1970s	3	1	—	—
1980s	—	1	1	—
1990s	—	—	2	—
Toronto				
1950s	1	—	—	2
1960s	7	1	—	4
1970s	5	6	—	1
1980s	1	6	1	1
1990s	—	—	3	—
Trent				
1960s	2	—	—	1
1970s	5	2	—	1
1980s	—	2	—	—
1990s	—	—	1	—
Victoria				
1960s	3	1	—	1
1970s	2	1	1	—
1980s	1	—	—	—
1990s	—	—	2	—
Waterloo				
1960s	1	—	—	1
1970s	—	2	—	1
1980s	—	—	1	—
Western				
1960s	1	—	—	1
1970s	3	1	1	—
1980s	—	2	—	—
1990s	—	2	3	—
Wilfrid Laurier				
1970s	1	3	—	—
Windsor				
1970s	—	1	1	1
1980s	—	1	—	—
1990s	—	—	1	—
Winnipeg				
1960s	1	—	—	—
1970s	1	—	—	—
1980s	—	3	—	—
York				
1950s	—	—	—	2
1960s	1	1	—	—
1970s	1	6	—	—
1980s	1	2	—	—
1990s	—	—	1	—

tial increase in the number of British degrees (from 22 to 35); three more were trained in former British Commonwealth countries. Of these, however, there is no way to identify Canadians who have gone abroad for their final degrees and returned to Canada to teach.

Burridge (1983: 308) suggests that "the American influence is not as overwhelming as many may have thought it to be." In 1980, the University of Chicago, with its uncharacteristically American influences from the Anglo-French tradition, was the most frequent influence in the training of Canadian professors, 55% of whom were American trained. A substantial 24.4% were Canadian trained, mainly from British Columbia, Toronto and Laval; 11.6% were trained in Britain.

Interestingly, museums are more Canadian than universities. They have expanded more recently and thus have been able to hire graduates of the PhD programs that emerged in the 1960s. Unfortunately, they are also less oriented toward research and publication, other than in-house papers and monographs, and have lacked the professional visibility—particularly internationally—of their longer-established academic colleagues.

Canada is a multilingual country whose official bilingualism recognizes the founding nations, the British and the French. The francophone universities record eight (and a half) professors with a French final degree (the half in Table 5 lists two doctoral credentials); no French degrees are found outside Quebec universities. At Laval, all nine Canadian degrees, and at Montreal seven out of eight, are from Quebec institutions. McGill, the longest-established anglophone university in Montreal, has no French-trained professor on its full-time faculty; there is one cross-appointment. McGill's two French-Canadian faculty members were trained in Canada and the United Kingdom (Trigger, personal communication). American-trained anthropologists predominate in spite of an increasing Canadianization of the training of the professoriate. The stereotype that anglophone and francophone anthropologies are quite distinct and non-interactive, forming "deux solitudes," may be somewhat oversimplified. Francophone anthropology, however, does not contribute to an anglophone national tradition outside Quebec; rather, it forms a viable but isolated unit, looking to France rather than Britain for anthropological theory and practice. Americanization debates have been less intense in Quebec. Only six Canadian professors were trained in "other" countries, down slightly from the 1982-83 figures.

In sum, the diversity of training of Canadian anthropologists cannot be said to be extensive. Americans

Table 3
Emeritus Professors in Canadian Departments of Anthropology, 1996-97

University	Name	Highest Degree	Subdiscipline
Alberta	Alan L. Bryan	Harvard	Archaeology
	Harold B. Barclay	Cornell	Sociocultural
	Anthony D. Fisher	Stanford	Sociocultural
	Ruth Gruhn	Radcliffe	Arch/Linguistics
	Henry T. Lewis	Berkeley	Sociocultural
British Columbia	David F. Aberle	Columbia	Sociocultural
	Cyril S. Belshaw	London	Sociocultural
	Kenelm O.L. Burridge	Australian National	Sociocultural
	Harry B. Hawthorne	Yale	Sociocultural
	Helga Jacobson	Cornell	Sociocultural
	Wm. Robin Ridington	Harvard	Sociocultural
Calgary			
Archaeology	David H. Kelley	Harvard	Archaeology
	Jane H. Kelley	Harvard	Archaeology
	Richard G. Forbis	Columbia	Archaeology
	Peter L. Shinnie	Oxon	Archaeology
Anthropology	Joan Ryan	British Columbia	Sociocultural
Carleton	Frank Vallee	LSE	Sociocultural
Lakehead	Kenneth C.A. Dawson	Toronto	Archaeology
Lethbridge	Keith Parry	Rochester	Sociocultural
Manitoba			
Senior Scholars	Roderick E. Burchard	Indiana	Sociocultural
	John Matthiasson	Cornell	Sociocultural
	C. Thomas Shay	Minnesota	Archaeology
McMaster	David Damas	Chicago	Sociocultural
	Richard Slobodin	Columbia	Sociocultural
	David Counts	Southern Illinois	Sociocultural
	William Noble	Calgary	Archaeology
	Richard Preston	North Carolina	Sociocultural
Regina	Richard K. Pope	Chicago	Sociocultural
Simon Fraser			
Archaeology	Roy L. Carlson	Arizona	Archaeology
	Richard Shutler, Jr.	Arizona	Archaeology
Anthropology	Ian Whitaker	Oslo	Sociocultural
Toronto	W. Peter Carstens	Cape Town	Sociocultural
	John J. Chew	Yale	Linguistics
	Bruce Drewitt	British Columbia	Archaeology
	R. William Dunning	Cambridge	Sociocultural
	Thomas F.S. McFeat	Harvard	Sociocultural
	Ajit K. Ray	Leiden	Physical
	William J. Samarin	British Columbia	Linguistics
	Rosamund Vanderburgh	Pennsylvania	Sociocultural
Trent	Kenneth A. Tracey	Kiel	Physical
	Romas K. Vastokas	Columbia	Sociocultural
Victoria	Donald H. Mitchell	Oregon	Archaeology
Waterloo (Adjunct)	Dorothy Counts	Southern Illinois	Sociocultural
	Matthew Hill	Southern Illinois	Archaeology
Western Ontario	Lee Guemple	Chicago	Sociocultural
Windsor	Ripudaman Singh	Oregon	Physical
York	Philip H. Gulliver	London	Sociocultural
	Frances Henry	Ohio State	Sociocultural

slightly predominate in spite of increasing Canadianization of the professoriate. French-trained scholars are found only in Quebec. British anthropologists are concentrated in a few departments: Toronto, the original bailiwick of British social anthropology in Canada, has four, as does York, the only large department to concentrate solely in social anthropology. Both British anthropologists at British Columbia have retired, leaving no British-trained anthropologist in a joint department of anthropology and sociology. Memorial lists two British degrees, in a province which faces across the Atlantic Ocean. In Quebec, surprisingly, there are seven British-trained anthropologists, four of them teaching in francophone universities. No other department lists more than one British-trained faculty member.

Table 4
Number of Students in Degree Programs in Canadian Departments of Anthropology, 1996-97 and Degrees Granted, 1995-96

University	Graduate	Under-graduate	BA/ BSc	MA/ MSc	PhD
Alberta	62	283	91	11	3
British Columbia	46	113	40	6	5
Calgary					
Anthropology	23	148	29	8	0
Archaeology	29	94	29	2	0
Laval	85	214	35	19	5
Manitoba	38	100	22	2	1
McGill	43	202	58	5	4
McMaster	52	288	95	5	6
Montreal	221	437	99	27	4
Simon Fraser					
Archaeology	33	183	35	3	1
Anthropology	33	133	39	1	0
Toronto	112	95	20	15	5
York	50	283	71	8	3
Carleton	47	126	23	11	—
Dalhousie	7	20	13	2	—
Lethbridge	2	40	17	2	—
Memorial	17	237	42	3	—
New Brunswick	8	154	20	1	—
Saskatchewan	22	123	29	8	—
Trent	22	367	67	5	—
Victoria	16	117	54	5	—
Western Ontario	17	312	65	5	—
Lakehead	—	122	22	—	—
Laurentian	—	76	12	—	—
Regina	—	62	N/A	—	—
Saint Mary's	—	77	8	—	—
Waterloo	—	57	11	—	—
Wilfrid Laurier	—	86	18	—	—
Windsor	—	144	12	—	—
Winnipeg	—	83	10	—	—

Table 5
Countries Granting Highest Degrees of Full-Time Faculty in Canadian Departments of Anthropology, 1996-97 (excluding professors emeriti)

University	Canada	U.S.A.	U.K.	Common-wealth	Other
Alberta	7	11	2	—	—
British Columbia	6	14	—	—	—
Calgary					
Anthropology	6	5	—	—	—
Archaeology	3	4	—	—	1
Laval	9[a]	3	1	—	7[b]
Manitoba	6	10	—	—	—
McGill	5	8	2	—	1
McMaster	6	5	3	1	—
Montreal	8[c]	8.5	3	—	2.5[d]
Simon Fraser					
Archaeology	6	3	1	—	—
Anthropology	4	1	2	1	—
Toronto	9	16	4	1	1
York	4	5	4	—	—
Carleton	4	5	2	—	—
Dalhousie	2	4	1	—	—
Lethbridge	4	3	1	—	—
Memorial	9	7	2	—	—
New Brunswick	5	—	1	—	—
Saskatchewan	2	4	—	—	1
Trent	2	8	1	—	1
Victoria	2	8	1	—	—
Western Ontario	6	7	—	—	—
Lakehead	4	1	—	—	—
Laurentian	2	1	—	—	—
Northern British Columbia	4	1	—	—	—
Regina	2	2	1	—	—
Saint Mary's	2	2	1	—	—
Waterloo	3	—	1	—	—
Wilfrid Laurier	3	—	1	—	—
Windsor	3	1	—	—	—
Winnipeg	3	2	—	—	—

a All from Quebec.
b All from France.
c 7 of which are from Quebec.
d Includes 1.5 from France.

Interestingly, the British influence is not numerically based. Prestige is apparently attached to British training, a subjective factor augmenting the influence of British social anthropology. This influence may, further, be seen as a conscious balance to the threat of Americanization which operates in anthropology as in Canadian cultural and intellectual life generally.

The clearest difference between the British and the American traditions is the emphasis in American (i.e., Boasian) anthropology on four subdisciplines. Most Canadian departments (as shown in Table 1) attempt to

offer all four, although sociocultural anthropology predominates. Archaeology runs a close second, physical anthropology is growing rapidly, and linguistics is the subdiscipline most likely to be omitted, perhaps because it is institutionalized as a separate discipline, at least in larger universities. Several departments list scholars in other departments who are linguistic specialists.

There are independent departments of linguistics at Alberta, British Columbia, Calgary, Laval, Manitoba, McGill, Montreal and Toronto at the doctoral level, with only McMaster, Simon Fraser and York lacking such a program. Only Carleton and Memorial at the MA level have departments of linguistics (as well as Concordia, which is not included in the statistics), while none of the BA programs are in institutions with independent linguistics departments. The University of Ottawa has linguistics but not anthropology. The autonomous status of linguistics seems to be correlated more with institutional size than with decisions internal to anthropology.

No department of anthropology lacks sociocultural anthropology. The two departments of Archaeology, at Calgary and Simon Fraser, however, depend on the parallel departments of Anthropology for their sociocultural expertise. At the PhD level, York is the only department to restrict itself exclusively to sociocultural anthropology. However, sociocultural anthropology is the largest component of the program (measured by number of faculty) at all institutions (excluding the two departments of Archaeology).

Excluding the two universities where archaeology and anthropology are separate departments, only York and Laval fail to offer archaeology; every other PhD program has four or more archaeologists.

Physical anthropology follows a similar pattern with smaller numbers. Among institutions offering the PhD, only York, McGill and Simon Fraser (Anthropology and Sociology) lack physical anthropology; Laval has one individual divided between sociocultural and physical. Toronto has the largest program, with nine physical anthropologists, followed by McMaster with three and Montreal with four. Physical anthropology is the most recent expansion in the discipline, across North America as well as in Canada. Toronto has trained the majority of the physical anthropologists hired in other Canadian universities in recent years. This growth appears to be continuing.

Toronto also has the largest contingent of linguists teaching in anthropology departments (although two of the five listed are emeritus). Montreal has three linguists and Laval one and a half, suggesting that linguistic anthropology thrives in Quebec's francophone universities. Alberta, British Columbia and McMaster also maintain linguistic anthropology. Most of the PhD-granting institutions, however, have separate departments of Linguistics. Manitoba and British Columbia, for example, have considerable work done in linguistics on Aboriginal languages spoken in Canada.

There are more gaps in subdisciplinary coverage in departments with only an MA program. Western Ontario, Victoria, Trent and Saskatchewan offer all four traditional areas. Victoria is weak in linguistics; Western Ontario has something of a specialization (with two and a half linguists and a long-established overlapping focus in symbolic anthropology), given the small size of the subdiscipline across the country. Linguistics at Trent collaborates with Native Studies in studying First Nations languages, as do various other institutions across Canada. Memorial maintains a considerable emphasis on archaeology, with five of its 18 faculty members sharing this specialization. Carleton, a joint department with sociology, and Dalhousie have only sociocultural anthropology; Lethbridge has one physical anthropologist and the rest are sociocultural. The MA programs, in general, attempt to offer all subdisciplines, but their size often precludes more than a nominal representation outside sociocultural anthropology.

Almost all departments that offer only an undergraduate degree aspire to a foursquare program, although the largest faculty complement in this category is six. The major exception to this pattern is Northern British Columbia where the anthropology is all sociocultural and First Nations Studies includes sociocultural and linguistic anthropology. Of the other eight institutions, six of them in Ontario, only one manages to offer linguistics. Only Wilfrid Laurier lacks a physical anthropologist. The others range between half a person and two persons each in archaeology and physical anthropology. Regina is unique in having faculty with interests that cross subdisciplinary boundaries in all four subdisciplines.

Conclusion

This historical and comparative overview of Canadian anthropology departments clears the ground for specific departmental histories where participants may reflect on reasons for the interaction of local variables in making program decisions. McFeat (1980) has suggested approaching the history of Canadian anthropology by regions, producing "an ethnography of anthropology" following lines established by what anthropologists actually do in the field in different parts of Canada. Burridge (1983) likewise proposes applying the methods of anthropology to disciplinary history. As ethnographers, we

know how to do this. We are trained to use oral histories, structured within the thought-worlds of our consultants, alongside archival documentation. We are able to listen to individual "great men" (some of whom, of course, are women) and to subsume (without denigrating) their achievements in a complex historicist context of ideas, institutions and social networks. This article has attempted to set out some of the contexts within which contemporary Canadian anthropologists, many of them the founders of the discipline in Canada, have built anthropology at this particular time and place in human history. A series of institutional histories can provide the kind of comparative baseline that we seek in our ethnographic work and legitimately apply also to our own understanding(s) of our discipline. Although each of our knowledges is situated, combining them provides an overview, a means to delineate both the particularity and the diversity of the Canadian national tradition in anthropology.

Notes

1 The genesis of this project and the hope that others will meet the documentary challenge it sets are clear in the narrative of the text. Each department, indeed each Canadian anthropologist, has a story which is partly unique. I want to thank Dick Pope, Bruce Trigger and John Barker for their particular contributions to the project and to this article, though of course neither is responsible for the idiosyncrasies of my standpoint toward or interpretation of Canadian anthropology.

2 Preston (1983: 297) proposed a series of binary oppositions in which he clearly favoured the constellation of generalist, technocratic (vs. intellectualist), applied/humanistic, socially responsive, holistic transferable skills, left-wing ethnology.

3 My evidence for this assertion is a series of personal communications while writing a biography of Sapir (Darnell, 1990) and surrounding the Sapir Centenary Conference in Ottawa in 1984.

4 The meeting was structured around department representatives, indicating that the building blocks of the national traditions were understood to be the departments. This author represented the University of Alberta.

5 Preston actually categorizes Alberta as three-square, lacking linguistic anthropology. Having been "the linguist" at Alberta at the time, backed by my colleagues Ruth Gruhn and Carl Urion, and sustaining a Cree-language teaching program, I have taken the liberty of correcting the interpretation. Alberta was, by intention and practice, foursquare.

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Culture/Community/Race: Chinese Gay Men and the Politics of Identity

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Abstract: "Culture/Community/Race" is an ethnographic account of the development of gay identities and correlative collective practices among a group of Chinese men in Toronto in the 1980s. The cultural and racial politics of these identities/practices are explored through an examination of the role of Chinese "culture" in their development and through a discussion of the sexual politics of race among gay men. This latter material addresses the sexual meanings of racial difference and the politicization of these meanings among Chinese gay men.

Résumé: Cet article est une description ethnographique du développement des identités gaies dans un groupe de Chinois à Toronto pendant les années 1980 et des pratiques collectives qui y ont été associées. Les dimensions politiques des aspects culturels et sociaux de ces identités/pratiques sont explorées au moyen de l'examen du rôle de la «culture» chinoise dans leur développement et de l'analyse de certaines dimensions raciales des politiques sexuelles chez les gais. Ce dernier aspect approfondit les significations sexuelles des différences raciales et la politisation de ces significations chez les gais chinois.

Contemporary interest in the cultural construction of gender and sexuality has in recent years produced a growing, largely anthropological literature on the historical emergence and globalization of gay male identities (Herdt, 1997; Lancaster, 1997; Manalansan IV, 1997; Parker, 1985; Weston, 1993). In his discussion of emergent gay identities in Asia, Altman (1997: 423) argues that such definitions of the self and the correlative development of discourses of group identity—a gay peoplehood—are recent historical developments within Asian countries, products of "modernity." These modern subjectivities, of personhood defined through a sexual orientation and involvement in homogender relationships, may coexist with or define themselves in opposition to older, indigenous organizations of same-sex sexuality (where these exist). Such older forms are usually organized through alternative constructions of gender and various forms of gender-crossing behaviours.

Co-existing with an identification with a global gay "peoplehood" is the simultaneous process of asserting localized, culturally specific forms of identity (Friedman, 1990: 311), a process Appadurai (1990: 295) describes as the "indigenization of modernity." In Altman's work (1997), this is expressed by his Asian informants' desire to assert a specifically Asian gay identity in contrast to Western constructs and meanings. Attention to such differentiations is paralleled in recent deconstructions of the unitary homosexual subject, to analyses of the multiplicity of same-sex sexualities and ways of "being gay." This article explores some of these processes among a group of Chinese gay men.

The global emergence of a Chinese gay male social movement dates to the late 1970s and early 1980s. One measure of its development is the expansion in the number of gay Chinese groups or organizations both in Asia and throughout the Chinese diaspora from that period to the present. In 1981 there were a total of four predominantly Chinese gay organizations, one in Hong Kong and three in North America. By 1995, there were approxi-

mately 35 such groups distributed through eastern Asia, Australia, Europe and North America. These groups vary in their objectives and activities and are linked in a number of ways, particularly through the transnational movement of individuals and through the development of a now global gay Chinese media. In Europe, Australia and North America, these groups commonly identify themselves as "gay Asian" organizations. "Gay Asian" has come to be a widespread label of self-identification for men from a diversity of eastern Asian national and ethnic origins although men of Chinese descent numerically dominate this category.

I conducted ethnographic field work with one such gay Asian organization and its constituent networks of Chinese men in Toronto, Canada in the mid-1980s.[1] This group, one of the first such Chinese groups to develop globally, had formed in 1980 and was still active in 1997. At the time of my field work, group networks were largely comprised of Chinese male immigrants from Hong Kong and Malaysia. Few lesbian women were associated with these networks and for this reason the following material focuses on male experience. I have argued at length elsewhere (Kapac, 1992) that these cohorts of men, generally aged in their 20s and early 30s, were among the "first generation" of gay-identified Chinese men and that such identities are fairly recent historical developments within Chinese populations, dating generally to the latter half of the 20th century. My research explored both the development of gay subjectivities among this group of men and the associated development of collective or "community" identities and practices. My informants commonly though not invariably identified themselves as "gay Asians," a label whose meanings are discussed below.

In the following discussion of processes of identity formation among my informants, I have approached subjectivity as "positionality within a context" (Alcoff, 1988: 435), meanings of the self being constructed through a subject position/location within multiple and shifting fields of social relations and discursive configurations. Among my informants, self and identity were understood, negotiated and expressed through a number of such discursive configurations—"culture," "race," "community" and "minority." Shared subjective experience as Chinese/Asian gay men was constituted through shared perceptions of simultaneous sameness and difference in relation to other social groups and categories—in relations with heterosexual Chinese/Asians, in relations to the "gay community" (primarily White gay men) and in relations of solidarity and sometimes conflict among gay Chinese/Asian men themselves. The most commonly expressed perception of the self was that of being a "minority within a minority," of being Chinese/Asian within a largely White gay sexual minority. This perceived positionality simultaneously invoked both cultural and racial difference from other gay men. Identities, however, are multiple, strategic and situational. In certain contexts my informants would assert a unitary identity of gay peoplehood, a set of shared interests transcending difference—a minority *within* a minority. At other times the articulation of racial and cultural difference—a *minority* within a minority—was more pronounced. It is this latter positionality of difference in the identification of the self that forms the basis of the following discussion.

The development of racial subjectivities as markers of difference were central to my informants' self-definitions as gay Chinese/Asian men. Ethnographically oriented approaches to the analysis of racial categories and racial subjectivities stress the necessity of situating the definitions, meanings and significance of perceived racial difference in specific social contexts. Harrison (1995), for example, directs attention to the social situatedness of racial identities, to examining the processes through which "racially" distinct groups emerge. Omi and Winant (1986: 61) suggest the term "racial formation" to describe the dialectical process through which social forces construct the meanings and significance of racial categories and how these forces are simultaneously shaped by existing racial meanings. Hall (1980: 336-337) cautions against racial analysis predicated upon unitary and transhistorical concepts of "racism," arguing that historically specific racisms occur within specific historical locations. The meanings or symbolic attributes of perceived racial difference will thus be variably conceptualized, politicized and contested dependent upon specific social context.

My discussion of the development of subjectivities among Chinese gay men is divided into two related sections. In the first, I describe the origins and development of the local gay Asian organization, the meanings of the label "gay Asian," and how discourses of culture and cultural difference are complicit in the construction of these identities. In the second section, I examine some features of racial subjectivities among my informants with a particular focus on the sexual meanings and sexual politics of race among gay men. The racialization of sexuality (or the sexualization of race) was a significant issue during my field work. Here I address the meanings, problematization and politicization of racial difference and the significance of these issues in my informants' self-perceptions and collective practices.

The material presented here is drawn primarily from the 1980s. The concept "race" is used in the sense articulated by my informants, as perceived physical/bodily differences characterizing populations of different geographic origins. I have retained the labels used by informants to describe these categories—"Asian," "Chinese," "White" and "Caucasian." I will also note the qualitative, perhaps anecdotal nature of the data and its presentation. My field work situation was unsuited to survey/statistical methodologies and my research interest in meanings/subjectivity problematized such research strategies. I would characterize this material as a fine-grained, localized and historically situated exploration of the complexities and specificities in the development of subjectivities/identities rather than an attempt to generate statistical generalizations.

Community and Culture

As I have noted, the term "gay Asian" has become a widespread label of self-identification and designation of collective organizing throughout North America, Australia and Europe. As a pan-ethnic category, the label groups together individuals of diverse national/ethnic/cultural origins, religious affiliations, class positions and immigrant vs. native-born statuses. "Gay Asian" has also become a term of identification signifying local gay and lesbian organizing in Asian countries themselves (Altman, 1997: 418).[2] Leong (1996a) provides a discussion of the genesis of the category "gay Asian" in the United States in his edited collection *Asian American Sexualities* (1996b), a genesis seemingly influenced by intellectual links between many gay Asian-American activists and Asian-American Studies programs at American universities. The dissemination of the label can be seen in its reproduction in academic discourse—the entry "Asian-Americans" in *The Encyclopedia of Homosexuality* (Chua, 1990), for example, and in discussions of "Gay Asian American Literature" as a literary category (Eng and Fujikane, 1995; Hom and Ma, 1993).

At the time of my field work, the social networks constituting the local gay Asian group were comprised largely of Chinese immigrant men from Hong Kong, Malaysia and Singapore. Smaller numbers of Caribbean- or Canadian-born men of Chinese descent, Japanese, Filipino and Vietnamese men were also involved. The use of self-identifying terms among my predominantly Chinese informants were multiple and situational. "Gay Asian" and "gay Chinese" were often used interchangeably or used in defining a perceived positionality in relation to other social categories and groups. Self-identification as "gay Chinese" was most commonly articulated in comparing/contrasting the self to heterosexual Chinese (families, ethnic "communities," nation-states). Self-reference as "gay Asian" was most commonly expressed in self-positioning as a racial/cultural "minority within a minority," that is in relation to gay White men and the larger gay "community."

The origins and development of the Toronto gay Asian organization are illustrative of the localized constitution of the category "gay Asian." The Toronto organization, one of the first such groups to develop globally, was founded in 1980 by a man of Caribbean-Chinese origins whom I will call Phillip. The group's origins and the general emergence of a North American gay Asian movement were rooted in gay American racial politics of the late 1970s. Phillip had attended the First National Third World Lesbian/Gay Conference, convened in Washington, DC in 1979. This conference was sponsored by the National Coalition of Black Gays and held in conjunction with the First National Gay Rights March. The conference brought together 500 Asian, Native American, Hispanic and African-American gay men and lesbian women. The Lesbian and Gay Asian Collective, a small group of predominantly male activists developed out of these meetings, their political goal being the mobilization and organizing of gay Asians as a collective entity.

Inspired by his conference experience, Phillip returned to Toronto and placed ads in the local gay media seeking other gay Asian men. The first meeting of the Toronto Gay Asians attracted a core founding membership of four men from a diversity of backgrounds—Filipino, East Indian, Caribbean-Chinese and Hong Kong Chinese. The men met informally to discuss issues affecting them as gay Asian men, a positionality experienced as a site of alienation and conflict; simultaneously a stigmatization or denial of the existence of gay Asian men and lesbian women by heterosexual Asians and the experience of racial alienation from gay White men. The groups's envisioned purpose was to create a space for the integration of "being Asian" and "being gay," to challenge the stereotype that being gay meant being White and to stimulate collective organizing among Asian men.

Over the next few years, group membership and networks expanded rapidly, coming to be numerically dominated by immigrant Chinese men, the prevailing situation during my field work. The label "gay Asian" may denote multiple sites of potential self-identification both racial and cultural. As a racial category/identity, it may encompass men of divergent origins and backgrounds who nonetheless come to share a racial subjectivity based on shared physical characteristics. The development of such racial subjectivities was commonly

constituted through shared erotic experience, a process discussed in the following section of the paper. As a cultural category or identity grounded in shared cultural experience, the meanings of "gay Asian" were more problematic. As the local group became predominantly Chinese in orientation smaller numbers of Vietnamese, Japanese and Filipino men became marginalized in group activities, expressing ambivalence about identification with the label "gay Asian."[3] Tensions also existed between immigrant and Canadian born Chinese men concerning language use and cultural orientation. In an attempt to resolve some of these problems, the Gay Asian organization established English as the language of group activities, a language shared by most men. In addition to acquiring a Chinese orientation, the organization's goals became somewhat modified from its original inception. There was little interest in challenging or engaging homophobia among heterosexual Chinese/Asians, many men finding this threatening. Rather, the focus of organizing and collective practices was the development of a gay Asian "community" as a strategy of empowerment. One activist in this period commented that once such communalization processes had been established, gay Asian men could politically align themselves with the larger, White gay "community" as a unitary gay people.

My informants frequently evoked the category "Chinese culture" in articulating their self-perceptions, in defining themselves both in relation to Chinese heterosexuals and to "Western" White gay men. Stigmatization by heterosexual Chinese was interpreted as representing the homophobia of Chinese "culture." Among the immigrant Chinese men whose life history narratives I elicited (material dating from the 1970s and early 1980s), a profound cultural alienation and fragmentation of consciousness were frequently expressed, a felt need to reject their "Chineseness" as being incompatible with the development of a gay identity. This cultural alienation was sometimes cited as motivating immigration to North America. A man from Hong Kong expressed the need when first coming out to "seek a different environment, different people from my Chinese childhood and teenage years." Another Chinese man from Malaysia commented "I felt a strong need to reject Chinese things. I had to open a new door and be clean of my past as a Chinese man in order to understand and be a part of gay culture." For many men, a gay Chinese or gay Asian consciousness developed only after several years experience of cultural and racial marginalization among White/Western gay men. Involvement with the local gay Asian organization was instrumental in developing and affirming such identities.

Among my informants, cultural alienation was compounded through exposure to Chinese nationalist discourses of cultural authenticity, to arguments that homosexuality was a Western/White practice alien to Chinese "culture" and "tradition." Within such discourses, sexual practice is identified as a symbolic marker or boundary of cultural (and racial) difference, in this case signifying Western corruption and cultural imperialism. The relations between gender meanings and cultural authenticity in nationalist discourses are the subjects of a growing body of scholarship (Bernal, 1994; Chatterjee, 1989; Sapiro, 1993). The relations between sexual practice and authenticity in such discourses have, however, received little systematic attention (but see Parker et al., 1992).

A Chinese example of such discourses of cultural authenticity was generated by public debates through the 1980s on the decriminalization of homosexuality in the then British colony of Hong Kong. These debates were followed with keen interest by many of my Chinese informants. The law criminalizing male homosexual activity (lesbian sexual activity was not illegal) was itself a product of the British colonial government, adopted in 1865. At the beginning of the 1980s, the colonial government expressed an interest in decriminalizing consenting homosexual activity between men over the age of 21, to align Hong Kong law with British law (which had decriminalized consenting homosexual activity in 1967). A Law Reform Commission was instituted to gauge public opinion. In 1983, the Commission published its findings in the *Report on Laws Governing Homosexual Conduct*, a 266-page document summarizing public submissions and surveys concerning the proposed decriminalization collected over a three-year period. A 1982 survey of 2 000 Hong Kong residents revealed that 65% of respondents were opposed to decriminalization. Many of the submissions published in the *Report* argued that homosexuality was foreign to Chinese "culture" and "tradition" and that its existence in Hong Kong was a product of Western influence. The public debate which followed the publication of the *Report* was of several years duration and largely structured around the issue of cultural authenticity. Opponents of decriminalization argued that the proposal was both an example of British cultural imperialism (exacerbated by the fact that the most visible advocates of decriminalization were British expatriates) and a threat to "Chinese values" and the "Chinese family." Ironically, the retention of a colonial law was viewed as a means of protecting Chinese culture. These discourses of authenticity shaped the political strategies of the small number of local gay Chinese activists, who argued that homosexuality was not a foreign imposition but had

existed throughout Chinese history. In 1984, Sam Shasha (the pseudonym of a local gay activist) published *Zhongguo Tongxingai Shilu (A History of Homosexuality in China)*, a collection of Chinese historical and literary sources documenting 2000 years of same-sex eroticism with this intention. Homosexuality in Hong Kong was decriminalized in 1991.

The marking of homosexuality as Western/non-Chinese in these debates parallels Carrier's discussion (1992) of mutually constituting Orientalisms and Occidentalisms, the discursive construction and articulation of reified cultural difference. Carrier comments:

> Seeing Orientalism as a dialectical process helps us to recognize that it is not merely a Western imposition of a reified identity on some alien set of people. It is also the imposition of an identity created in dialectical opposition to another identity, one likely to be equally reified, that of the West. Westerners, then, define the Other in terms of the West, but so Others define themselves in terms of the West, just as each defines the West in terms of the Other. Thus, we can expect to see something analogous to Orientalism in a set of interrelated understandings that people have of themselves and of others. (p. 197)

Carrier (p. 198) identifies "ethno-Orientalism" as culturalist, essentialist renderings of "non-Western" societies by the members themselves, a process Ong (1997: 195) terms "self-Orientalization." The correlative process of "ethno-Occidentalism" involves culturalist, essentialist definitions of the West and Western culture by "the Other." Definitions of contrasting cultural difference are generated dialectically, the opposing spheres being mutually constituting, taking their meanings from each other. Chatterjee's (1989) historical analysis of Indian (Hindu) cultural nationalism is an empirical example of these processes; here, an Indian cultural identity is defined as essentially "spiritual" in contrast to the "materialist" West. The rendering of types of sexual practice (homosexuality) as signifying Western culture in opposition to an authentic "Chinese culture" can be considered part of this process of cultural differentiation.

A similar dynamic of defining homosexuality as a racial/cultural marker of Whiteness and thus signifying racial/cultural inauthenticity or betrayal can be identified in various forms of North American racial/cultural nationalisms. Such discourses generate specific political and organizational problems for minority group gay men and lesbian women. Moraga (1986) addresses portrayals of homosexuality as a "White disease" in some expressions of Hispanic-American nationalism. West (1993: 21-27) and White (1992) provide similar discussions of such portrayals in some African-American nationalist texts. Hom and Ma (1993: 41) argue that among heterosexual Asian Americans, homosexuality is commonly perceived as a "White problem" and that its existence among Asian Americans represents a loss of "Asian values." This perception of heterosexual Chinese opinion was frequently expressed by my informants. Harrison (1995: 51) suggests that the identification of behaviours as racially specific represents a potential ideological device for the reconfiguration and reification of "race" as an organizing principle in various identity movements.

A major source for the hostility to homosexuality in these discourses of identity is seemingly its perceived threat to the stability of "the family." Moraga (1986: 181) has argued that the preservation of the family is "ardently protected" as a survival strategy by oppressed peoples. My Chinese informants, both immigrant and Canadian-born, frequently evoked the centrality of marriage and the family as a Chinese or Asian value which differentiated them culturally from Western/White gay men. In such discourses of difference/identity, reified "Asian" values were opposed to "Western" values and perceptions of culturally specific problems for Chinese gay men were articulated. Families were often perceived as being of less significance for White gay men and this presumed, more rootless individualism facilitated the adoption of a gay social identity. These processes of articulating cultural difference through opposing cultural "values" can perhaps be located as part of the ethno-Orientalism/Occidentalism dynamic previously described.[4] My informants in fact came from a variety of family backgrounds and were involved in a diversity of family relationships. For these reasons, and in light of critical discussions of "the family" in discourses of cultural difference, I am reluctant to reproduce (Handler, 1985) positivist characterizations of a typically "Chinese" or "Asian" family.[5] Rather, I would suggest that a diversity of family relationships are identified as characteristically "Chinese" or "Asian" and that the privatized family, whatever its form, has become a symbolic locus of cultural identity. The adoption of a gay social identity and potential family alienation thus comes to represent one avenue through which cultural alienation is experienced.

As I have noted, the primary political activity of the Toronto gay Asian organization was to facilitate the development of a gay Asian community or collective identity, a strategy of empowerment shared by the majority of gay Asian organizations that began to emerge in the late 1970s and early 1980s. This process of collectivization was constituted through the development of social net-

works, collective cultural/symbolic production and through expressions of political agency—through the creation of a contemporary culture of Chinese/Asian homosexuality. As the local organization expanded through the 1980s, a number of collaborative practices were instituted, simultaneously signifying and constituting "community." Although most of the men involved were of Chinese descent, the term "Asian" was retained in identifying these practices. Space limitations here preclude an extended discussion of these activities. Several important sites of cultural production can only be briefly described.

One major collaborative activity was the creation of *Celebrasian* magazine in 1983. By 1990, 18 issues had been published (an account of the emergence of a gay Asian press in North America is given in Tsang, 1993). The magazine published a range of materials including fiction, personal narratives, news and commentary (the previously described decriminalization debates in Hong Kong received much coverage), profiles of gay Asian activists and other gay Asian organizations, information on gay organizing in Asian countries and occasionally Chinese translations of English-language gay liberation literature. The magazine achieved an international distribution in the 1980s and was an important site for the exchange of information on the development of gay Asian/Chinese organizations globally. A second major collaborative effort was the annual production of the *Celebrasian* show, begun in the early 1980s and continuing into the 1990s. By the mid-1980s the productions were fairly elaborate, involving dozens of people as performers, writers and technicians in months of preparation. The primarily gay audiences generally numbered 300-400 people. The content of the show varied from year to year but usually included performance pieces (music and dance) and short skits/plays addressing cultural/sexual identities, gay Asian experience and racial issues among gay men. The *Celebrasian* productions were viewed by their creators/participants as particularly significant for both the dissemination of gay Asian experience to broader gay audiences and as sites for the production of gay Chinese/Asian symbols of cultural identity. A common strategy of such symbolic production in the performance pieces was to recontextualize and thus alter the meanings of various Chinese/Asian cultural products, both "traditional" and popular. Pop Asian heterosexual love songs, sung in Cantonese, Mandarin, Vietnamese, Tagalog and Japanese, acquired new meanings of same-sex romance in these performance contexts. Similarly, folk dances originally involving men and women were danced by all male troupes; the presentation of extracts from Chinese opera also acquired these meanings in this performance context (some features of these performances are discussed in the following section of this article). The 1990 *Celebrasian* production included an awards presentation to 10 local gay Asian activists in recognition of their contributions to local community development.

Additional group activities included the organization and hosting of several political conferences through the 1980s. In 1985 the Toronto group hosted the Gay Asian/Third World Caucus of the Seventh International Gay Association Conference. In 1988, in collaboration with a local South Asian gay organization, it co-hosted the First Unity Among Asians Conference. Workshops and discussion groups at these conferences explored strategies of political organizing, issues of cultural identity and the politics of race among gay men. In 1987 the gay Asian group created a peer counselling telephone line for gay men of Asian backgrounds and in 1990 instituted the Gay Asians AIDS Project in collaboration with a local AIDS organization. This project developed culturally sensitive and gay relevant materials on AIDS prevention and treatment, trained volunteers for the support of HIV-seropositive and AIDS affected Asian individuals and organized various support/discussion groups. Seventy volunteers donated their services for project activities.

Race and Desire: The Sexual Politics of Race

In the previous section I discussed the development of "gay Asian" as a term of collective identity, as a shared positionality articulated through the state of being "a minority within a minority." The following material examines in more detail the racial dimensions of this minority status, those processes significant in the constitution of "Asian" or "Chinese" racial subjectivities as categories of physical difference. As I have noted, the label "gay Asian" is a site of multiple potential identifications/mobilizations, both cultural and racial. As a self-identifying term of racial identity, the label is more inclusive than identities based on cultural or national affiliation, encompassing men who primarily share a racial identity; Canadian-born men of Chinese descent identified themselves in this way. Among my informants, shared racial subjectivities were significantly shaped by shared sexual/erotic experience, through relations with other gay men.

Hall (cited in Back, 1994: 178) argues that understandings of racial meanings and correlative racisms must be conceptually linked to questions of sexual meanings, to the understanding of race as a sexual symbol. Analyses of such meanings have focused upon essential-

ist constructions of racial sexualities (particularly black sexualities) both as forms of symbolic domination and, through selective appropriation, as strategies of resistance to domination (Back, 1994; Harrison, 1995; West, 1993: 83-91; White, 1992). These analyses situate the sexual meanings of racial categories and their correlative contestation and politicization within specific social contexts/locations. The focus of the following discussion is an exploration of the sexual meanings of race among gay men—the racialization of sexuality or the sexualization of race—and how such meanings and practices were significant in the constitution of racial subjectivities among my informants. This examination of the sexual politics of race among gay men will address how these meanings are conceptualized, problematized and politicized among gay Asian men.

Among gay Asian men, discourses of race and racism were usually linked with questions of interracial desire or racialized erotic preferences, with Asian men's sexual preference for White gay men. This "eroticization of Whiteness" was both a common topic of conversation among my informants and an issue frequently addressed in the writings of gay Asian/Chinese activists. In an essay originally published in 1991, Fung (1996: 198) argues from personal observation that a majority of gay Asian men in North America hold White men as their ideal sexual partners. Hom and Ma (1993: 38-39) come to the same conclusion, identifying this racialized preference as a form of "sexual colonialism," an internalization of White dominance and therefore a product of racism.

A dynamic of Chinese preference for White men was certainly present in my 1980s field situation. One informant, a Chinese Malaysian immigrant with an exclusive sexual interest in other Chinese men, expressed his frustration in finding Chinese partners in the early 1980s. He labeled himself "the only Chinese man around" sexually interested in other Chinese men. Through the 1980s a racialized erotic preference for White partners was widespread, perhaps at times a majority preference. But this statement must be qualified. Over time, Chinese/Chinese relationships increased in numbers and visibility. Many Chinese men, upon first coming out, sought out relationships with White men and finding these unsatisfactory for various reasons, developed a preference for other Chinese men. This was facilitated by the social networks and collective activities of the gay Asian organization; some men were attracted to the organization for the purpose of finding a Chinese lover. For many Asian men, same-race relationships became political symbols of gay Asian cultural identity and autonomy, a process addressed in my concluding remarks.

Gay Asian activists frequently argued that an erotic preference for White men signified not only an internalization of White dominance but created an obstacle to collective organizing among gay Asian men. Sexual competition for White men and consequent hostilities and avoidance between Asian men impeded the development of a communal identification. I would suggest that such racial preferences had more complex and contradictory effects, creating tensions that simultaneously drew men together and drove them apart. The unsuccessful sexual pursuit of White men frequently shaped a consciousness of exclusion and marginality based on Asian/Chinese physical characteristics. Sexual marginalization was for some men a formative experience in the development of an "Asian" racial consciousness; these racial subjectivities often developed only after several years experience with White gay men. These men subsequently sought out the social support of other gay Asian men as friends and "sisters." "Sister" connotes an intimate but asexual relationship between two gay men; a camp inversion of "brother," it conveys the meanings of solidarity but also sexual avoidance. However, sexual competition for White men could create conflicts which generated a vacillation between seeking out other Asian men and avoiding them.

The eroticization of Whiteness was problematized and politicized in diverse ways, with varying interpretations advanced for its sources and consequences. In the beginning stages of discussion of the issue in the early 1980s, some men attributed this preference to the scarcity of visible gay-identified Chinese men. One Chinese informant commented that upon coming out in the late 1970s, he encountered only two other Chinese gay men, discovering that both were only interested in Caucasian men. Another interpretation attributed this preference to general racism in North America, a position articulated at a well-attended panel discussion on interracial relationships organized by the 1985 Gay Asian/Third World Caucus. A Chinese speaker argued that having a Caucasian lover in a racist society facilitated assimilation into the largely White gay world; the stigmatization of homosexuality by heterosexual Chinese encouraged this strategy of mobility. In the public discussion that followed the speakers, the "racism" of racially specific eroticisms and the autonomy of sexual desire were debated by several men present. It was argued that sexual preferences were not a matter of conscious choice or individual deliberation; if such desires were racially selective, was it politically useful to describe them as "racist"? Another participant, responding to comments that White men's general sexual disinterest in Asian men

was grounded in racism and could be overcome by the adoption of "non-racist" attitudes, argued that such a politics had dangerous implications for gay men and lesbian women. It paralleled religious fundamentalist arguments that gay men and lesbian women could change the nature and direction of their sexual desire by choice and become heterosexual though an act of will.

The nature of racial representation in gay male erotica (largely American produced) and its incitement of racially directed desire was often suggested as a source of racialized sexual preferences. In this perspective, the dominance of White images of male beauty and desirability were internalized among gay men, resulting in both an Asian preference for White men and White sexual rejection of Asians. The scarcity of Asian, African-American and Hispanic erotic representations contributed to their asexualization and consequent marginalization among gay men (Hom and Ma, 1993). In his critical analysis of Asian racial imagery in gay male erotica, Fung (1996) argues that gay pornography is a potentially critical source for the development of gay male subjectivities. Pornography may represent the only available affirmation of closeted men's imaginings of same-sex eroticism. The content of gay erotica is therefore potentially constitutive of the meanings of "being gay"; for gay Asian (particularly immigrant) men, the hegemony of White imagery is internalized, shaping a consciousness that being gay means desiring White men. A Canadian-born Chinese informant expressed a parallel interpretation. He was of the opinion that most Chinese immigrant men sought out White partners, attributing this to Western pornography's role in inciting "Orientalist" fantasies of White sexuality, imaginings which also contributed to sexual alienation among gay Asian men:

> There's a lot of myths among gay Asian men about White men's sexuality. That they're all hung like horses. Gay fiction and erotica tend to perpetuate that. A lot of gay Asians, those with little sexual experience, can't differentiate fantasy from reality and find it very frustrating. You take a recent immigrant from Hong Kong who didn't have the opportunity to come out there. Where is he going to learn about gay sexuality? He buys gay porn magazines, sees pictures of White guys very well endowed, reads the fiction where everything goes. And he thinks he has to live up to that. For many gay Asian men, who generally I think have less sexual experience than gay White men, there's this self-comparison to the "hung horse of the West" to "Supergay."

In this perspective, erotic imaginings of White hypersexuality/hypermasculinity ("Supergay"), based on genital size and sexual athleticism, are simultaneously sources of racialized fantasies of masculinity and sources of sexual marginalization.

Fung (1996) also addresses the gendering of Asian racial imagery in gay erotica. In the comparatively few films involving Asian men, Asians are "feminized" through consistent representations of being anally penetrated by more "masculine" White men. Fung argues (p. 184) that such "feminization" is a coding for asexuality and passivity and that the great majority of consumers of these films are White men; he estimates that gay Asian men constitute perhaps 10% of this market.[7] This low figure, he argues, signifies Asian men's negative reactions to such imaging. It may also perhaps indicate a widespread lack of interest among gay Asian men in Asian sexual imagery. (In the 1980s, Japan was the only Asian country with a developed same-sex erotica industry and some of my informants with an erotic preference for other Asian men were keen consumers of Japanese pornography.) The racial politics of erotic representation was a frequent topic of discussion during my field work period. In 1985, for example, the gay Asian group organized a series of discussion sessions for its members with the session entitled "Pornography and Sexual Stereotyping" drawing by far the most participants. A consensus emerged from those present that expanding the production of Asian erotic imagery was a positive political strategy and that the representation of Asian men as sexual subjects rather than objects of White fantasy was a form of empowerment for gay Asian men.

The gendering of racial difference was not restricted to the content of gay erotica. The mapping of masculine and feminine meanings onto racial physical difference was often expressed by Chinese men with an erotic preference for White men. White men were perceived as more "masculine" than Chinese/Asian men and thus more sexually attractive. These gendered meanings were derived from such general physical characteristics as the larger body size of Caucasian men and greater amounts of body/facial hair. In contrast, generally smaller Asian body builds and lesser amounts of body/facial hair were interpreted as "feminine" characteristics and therefore less sexually desirable.[8]

Anxieties about these gendered meanings of racial difference were expressed through varying responses to gay Asian/Chinese public representations, particularly cross-dressing practices. The annual *Celebrasian* production usually featured cross-dressing performances, sometimes in extracts from Chinese opera (where historically

young men had played women's roles) and more frequently in "glamour" drag acts—exaggerated portrayals of femininity created through wigs, makeup and clothing. Among some Chinese men, Chinese opera was interpreted as a symbol of Chinese gay culture largely because of its perceived sexual ambiguities. Other Chinese men did not interpret opera in this manner, finding it merely exotic or of little interest. "Glamour" drag was used by a group of eight Chinese men (primarily Hong Kong immigrants) known as "The Wong Sisters," who frequently performed in local gay clubs (and occasionally in the *Celebrasian* production) through the first half of the 1980s. Their show, known as *The Oriental Express*, featured Cantonese, Mandarin and English pop love songs. One of the group's members commented in a *Celebrasian* magazine interview that the "feminine" physical features of Asian men influenced the nature of the drag presentation. "The Wong Sisters" were regarded as community heroes by some Chinese men, as a pioneering Chinese/Asian presence in local gay cultural production, symbolizing an assertion of gay Chinese cultural identity. Other Chinese men contested these meanings, expressing ambivalence or hostility to these public presentations. They interpreted such practices as reproducing racial stereotypes about Asian "femininity" and contributing to Asian desexualization among gay men.[9] Manalansan IV (1996) discusses similar conflicts over gender representation and cross- dressing among gay Filipino men in New York City. For some of his informants, cross-dressing practices are interpreted as a symbolic assertion of Filipino gay cultural identity because of their perceived links to the *bakla* status in the Philippines, an indigenous expression of same-sex sexuality characterized by gender-crossing behaviours. Men involved in cross-dressing accuse more masculine and disapproving gay Filipino men of cultural inauthenticity, of mimicking the masculine style of American/Western gay culture.

The problematization of eroticizing Whiteness and its politicization as "sexual colonialism" were largely expressed through reference to mechanisms of White racism. I would suggest that such analyses are incomplete, that a significant dynamic in the development of racialized preferences was what some informants termed "incest avoidance" or sexual avoidance between Chinese men. A sexual preference (sometimes temporary) for White men seemed to be linked to the internalization of Chinese stigmatization of homosexuality and to consequent guilt about involvement in homosexual relationships. For some men, this guilt was resolved through a kind of Orientalizing strategy. White men were defined and sought out as sexual "Others," their perceived racial/cultural difference symbolizing both sexual/gender difference from Asian men as well as individual disassociation from Chinese "culture."

Several men identified this seeking of the Other to mitigate guilt about homosexual relationships as part of their own interpretations of the eroticizing of Whiteness. One Chinese man expressed the opinion that Chinese/Chinese relationships were "too close" for some men, "that being gay is so different from his upbringing in an Asian culture that being involved with a Caucasian separates him in part from his culture."[10] A similar interpretation was advanced by a White man who had been involved in frequent relationships with Chinese men:

> Some Asians, I think, prefer Caucasians because it's less threatening to their whole concept of homosexuality, because it's a different kind of people. Having sex with your own kind is more incestuous. Caucasians present the image of less congruence. The less congruent the partner, the less homosexual it is.

Parallel comments were offered by an immigrant informant from Hong Kong, a man who had come to identify himself as gay in Canada:

> If you start to develop your gay experience in North America, you more or less consider sexually that you are a Canadian. So for a lot of Chinese men who only come out as gay in North America, it's really difficult for them to get over the barrier that two Chinese men can actually have a physical relationship. It's totally a psychological thing, like you consider yourself as "brothers" or "sisters" with another Chinese man but you don't have sex inside the family. Sexual relations between Chinese men make some gay Chinese men very uncomfortable.

Life history narratives elicited from immigrant Chinese men (Hong Kong, Malaysia), material dating from the 1970s and 1980s, suggest that for some men an eroticizing of Whiteness was constituted in part through an "imagining of the West" in the development of individual subjectivities. This process merits extended discussion but can only be briefly addressed here. By this "imagining" I am referring to the symboling of the West as a site of homosexual freedom and the correlative coding of a related series of meanings: gay = West = sexual freedom/pleasure = White. There are thus parallels with the previously described process of ethno-Occidentalism. The perceived homosexual freedom of the Western countries in contrast to local/Asian practices was, as I have noted, frequently cited as motivating immigration.

Through these imaginings, Whiteness may become eroticized (perhaps temporarily) both as a site of sexual freedom and pleasure and as an alternative to Chinese cultural practices/identity.

I have argued that my cohorts of informants were among the "first generation" of gay-identified Chinese men. These life history narratives thus perhaps document a particular historical moment in the development of gay male identities within Chinese populations. In these 1970s and 1980s narratives, various forms of both Asian and Western media associating homosexuality with Western countries were particularly significant sources for these imaginings or "imagined lives" (Appadurai, 1990: 294)—perceptions of lives lived elsewhere and potential sources of "scripts" for expressions of the self. A variety of homoerotic American and European films from the late 1960s and 1970s (with a later release date in Asian countries) were often cited by informants as sites of emotional identification in their alienated adolescence and young adulthood. A Chinese Malaysian informant described the impact of such films in the 1970s:

> The first thing about homosexuality that I remember making an impact on me was the movie *Midnight Cowboy*. It made me more confused than ever. I didn't speak English and trying to read the subtitles in Chinese, I didn't know what was going on. It was very badly edited for Chinese audiences. I remember particularly the scene of the young guy vomiting in the washroom (after picking up the hustler/hero). I don't know what he did, but I had a sense there was something involving homosexuality I was interested in men that I would find manly, romantically as well as sexually. I would watch James Bond movies and start falling in love with him. I had no role models. Where do I fit in, who are my peers? It was during this period that I began to feel that the Western world was more more free. Maybe the movies gave me that feeling. Like James Bond, he wasn't married, didn't have kids. So there were other ways of living, not like those Chinese family/children, children/family movies. Western films were more erotic, whereas in Chinese movies people were dressed right up to the neck. I knew that I had to get out, that I was born in the wrong culture, in the wrong place. I had to find my peers. I persuaded my parents to let me leave the country. I just told them I was very unhappy.

Films cited in these various narratives as sources of self-affirmation included *Women in Love, The Music Lovers, The Damned* and *Death in Venice*.

For many gay Chinese men, the politics of racial desire have become manifest in the politicization of Chinese/Chinese relationships. Same-race eroticism has increasingly become a powerful symbol in narratives of modern, autonomous and specifically Chinese gay identities. The multiple meanings of such eroticism can be viewed as political responses to gay Chinese men's positionality in relation to both gay White men and to Chinese heterosexuals. For some men, same-race eroticism has come to represent a rejection of the internalization of White standards of male beauty and the hierarchical meanings of racial difference often encountered in relations with White men. Simultaneously, it has also come to represent a rejection of desiring Whiteness as a strategy of assimilation into a gay social world. Finally, such eroticism can be read as a type of resistance to the common assumption that gay identities are "un-Chinese," products of White/Western influence or corruption. The existence of Chinese/Chinese relationships is often interpreted as a marker of autonomy from the White gay world, symbolizing both an assertion of Chinese cultural authenticity and a culturally specific form of identity. In my fieldsite, Chinese/Chinese relationships have become increasingly common since the early and mid-1980s. In this earlier period, such relationships were sometimes interpreted as "role models" for other Chinese men and profiled as such in the *Celebrasian* magazine. The magazine was also active in promoting Asian erotic imagery, a conscious strategy to "sexualize" gay Asian men. Similarly, Asian/Asian relationships were always depicted in the annual *Celebrasian* dramatic performances. In his parallel discussion of racial meanings and gay identities in contemporary south-east Asia, Altman (1997: 428-431) comments that Asian/Asian relationships have become increasingly interpreted as symbols of modern gay identities, that in gay discussion groups from Malaysia to the Philippines there is talk of Asian men learning to eroticize each other. These processes represent a rejection by some men of older local practices, of seeking out White gay men (usually older expatriates or tourists) as a strategy of assimilation into a homosexual social world. The continuing development of local Asian gay social worlds will perhaps mark such strategies of mobility as increasingly superfluous.

As symbol and practice, same-race eroticism can be considered as one expression of empowerment strategies among gay Chinese men. Such strategies have been primarily expressed through the development of discourses and practices constituting gay Chinese communities and a contemporary culture of Chinese homosexuality, through the desire to create specifically Chinese gay social identities. As such identities and collectivities continue their historical development, as subjectivities and meanings of

the self change, the meanings and politics of culture, community and race will no doubt be transformed.

Notes

1 This research was made possible by funding from the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada for the 1984-1986 period of field work.

2 For example, the first gay political conference held in an Asian country (Tokyo, Japan, 1986) was entitled the First Asia Gay Conference, with participants from Japan, South Korea, Macao, Malaysia, Europe and Canada. The First Asian Lesbian Conference was convened in Thailand in 1990.

3 In his discussion of gay Filipino men in New York City, Manalansan IV (1996) comments that his informants felt no strong identification with the label "Asian," associating the term with East Asians—Japanese or Chinese. He discusses conflicts between Filipino gay men and local Asian American activists, both gay and heterosexual, over the meanings of the musical *Miss Saigon*. Asian-American activists criticized the play as racist and picketed the production. For his informants and for many heterosexual Filipino Americans, the play was interpreted as an allegory of Filipino mobility in the United States and came to symbolize Filipino cultural pride. Ambiguities in Filipino American self-acceptance of the term "Asian" are also described in Harrison (1995: 59).

4 Markers of Asian cultural/racial difference from White gay men were sometimes conflated with class in activist texts, creating the category "White middle class" to describe mainstream gay White experience and practice, a category against which gay Asian experience was contrasted. For example, gay urban culture is described as "White middle class" (Chua, 1985) and therefore excludes Asian participation. Similarly it is argued that "Asian values" of family intimacy conflict with a "White middle-class" model of coming out, predicated upon less significant family ties and greater individualism (Chung et al., 1996: 98-99). The meanings of "middle class" as a class category are not articulated in such texts nor are class divisions among Asians addressed. These discourses of difference are perhaps influenced by the academic discipline of Asian-American studies. In her critical discussion of Asian-American studies, anthropologist Sylvia Yanagisako (1995) argues that discipline narratives elide class differences among Asian Americans in the creation of a unitary subject.

5 Discourses of family type as signifying cultural/ethnic difference or specificity in the United States are discussed in Waters (1990: 129-146) and Di Leonardo (1984). Waters' study on perceptions of cultural difference among a diversity of ethnically-identified Americans found that "family closeness" was the most commonly invoked marker of cultural distinctiveness among all the ethnic groups in her sample. The centrality of "the family" as a cultural norm or value was conceptually opposed to American "mainstream culture" and thus constitutive of difference. Though her informants were all of European descent, the processes she describes parallel the conceptualization of "Asian values" or an Asian emphasis on the family. In her ethnography of Italian-American ethnicity, Di Leonardo provides a critical discussion of her informants' use of "the family" as a marker of cultural distinctiveness. Many of her informants identified and extrapolated their own, varying family characteristics as "typically Italian." In addition, many informants argued that a "typical Italian family" existed but disagreed on its defining characteristics. Critical discussions on discourses of "Asian values" contrasted to "Western values" can be found in Ong (1997) and Blanc (1997). Abu-Lughod (1991) examines the reifying and essentializing premises of the "culture" concept as a method of narrating difference.

6 See Herdt (1992) for a collection of ethnographic accounts on the creation of community symbols among American gay men.

7 According to Fung (1996: 187), the first American gay pornography video portraying an Asian man anally penetrating a non-Asian man was produced in 1986 and marketed as such.

8 Back (1994) provides an ethnographic account of the gendered meanings of racial difference among a group of young White working-class men in London, England. He argues that his heterosexual informants position Black and Asian youth as a set of gendered oppositions. The valued quality of masculinity is associated with Black cultural styles and in White fantasy, Black masculinity is evaluated positively as a symbol of sexual potency. In contrast, young Asian men (Vietnamese) are devalued as feeble and effeminate and are excluded from peer activities.

9 Debates on the "feminization" of Asian men were also generated by the play *M. Butterfly* written by the gay Chinese-American playwright David Henry Hwang. The play is based on an historical incident in which a European diplomat stationed in China becomes involved in a 20-year relationship with a male Chinese opera performer specializing in female roles, assuming him to be a woman. In their survey of Chinese American literature, Chan et al. (1991: xiii) dismiss the play in hostile terms: "The good Chinaman . . . is the fulfillment of White male homosexual fantasy, literally kissing white ass." Kondo (1990: 27) briefly describes an "impassioned" panel session at the 1989 Asian American Studies Association debating the meanings of the play's critical and popular success. The play was heatedly criticized by heterosexual Asian American men attending the session for promoting stereotypes of Asian male effeminacy. Kondo's article explores the play's anti-essentialist critique of fixed and unitary gender and racial identities. See Yanagisako (1995: 295) for a discussion of debates on gender representation in Asian-American studies.

10 The gay Asian newsletter, *Asianews* (Sydney, Australia), published a conversation with a gay Thai man in 1985 (no. 3: 8), in which he discusses a local gay bar popular with Asian men: "(A Thai man frequents the bar) because he likes the bar and enjoys being with other Asians. While almost no gay Asians he knows on the scene are interested in other Asians, he hopes that stigma will someday end. He added 'When I go back to Bangkok, I'm always so attracted to the gay Thai men . . . but they are only after the foreigners. In Sydney, I never even imagine going with another Asian, it is somehow incestuous.' But there is a true brotherly feeling in the gay Asian community. An older Chinese Malaysian gay man commented 'When I was young, I al-

ways dreamed of having an Asian lover but it never seemed quite possible. Because of my strong family ties, it was and is extremely threatening for me to be involved with another Asian'."

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The Cry of the Living Creatures: An Omaha Performance of Blessing

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Abstract: Performance is a powerful language. It speaks through an ordered syntax of studied action. From action it creates "syntaction." This article presents two sets of ethnographic texts that describe a traditional Omaha ceremonial performance. The first is a reconstruction of the 19th-century ceremony inscribing the tattooed Mark of Honour on a young woman whose father is completing initiation into the Night Blessed Society. The second is an epilogue stimulated by critical readings of the first text and based on interviews Jillian Ridington and I conducted in 1985 and 1986 with three elderly Omaha women who bore the Mark of Honour. The information in this study complements material presented in *Blessing for a Long Time: The Sacred Pole of the Omaha Tribe* (Ridington and Hastings, 1997).

Résumé: La performance constitue un langage puissant. Elle s'exprime au moyen d'une syntaxe ordonnée d'action étudiée. À partir de l'action elle crée la «syntaction». Le présent article expose deux ensembles de textes ethnographiques qui décrivent une performance cérémonielle traditionnelle omaha. Le premier texte est une reconstruction de la cérémonie du XIX^{e} siècle gravant la «marque d'honneur» tatouée sur une jeune femme dont le père termine l'initiation dans la société de la nuit sacrée. Le second texte est un épilogue provoqué par des lectures critiques du premier texte et s'appuie sur des entrevues que Jillian Ridington et moi-même avons menées en 1985 et 1986 avec trois dames âgées qui arboraient la «marque d'honneur». Les données de cet article apportent un complément au matériel présenté dans *Blessing for a Long Time: The Sacred Pole of the Omaha Tribe* (Ridington et Hastings, 1997).

Introduction

This article presents two sets of ethnographic texts. The first is a reconstruction of the 19th-century Omaha ceremony inscribing the tattooed Mark of Honour on a young woman whose father is completing initiation into the Night Blessed Society. My account is based on information about the ceremony that Alice C. Fletcher and her Omaha collaborator, Francis La Flesche, collected in the 1880s, augmented by information from Reo Fortune's 1932 book on Omaha Secret Societies. The second text is an epilogue stimulated by critical readings of the first text and based on interviews Jillian Ridington and I conducted in 1985 and 1986 with three elderly Omaha women who bore the Mark of Honour, referred to colloquially as the "Blue Spot."

I wrote the first text to be an almost filmic reconstruction of the ceremony, relying on Omaha texts and the interpretive language used by Fletcher and La Flesche in their classic 1911 ethnography, *The Omaha Tribe*. I wrote it when I was on the Omaha reservation in 1991, documenting the tribe's reburial of human remains from the former Omaha village of Ton'wontonga. I was also working with Omaha Tribal Historian, Dennis Hastings, on a book, *Blessing for a Long Time: The Sacred Pole of the Omaha Tribe* (Ridington and Hastings, 1997). Parts of the reconstruction went into a chapter in the book entitled, "A Fragment of Anything to Its Entirety."

I submitted my reconstruction of the ceremony as a text that might stand alone; a dramatic reading of premodern ethnographic texts that were themselves readings of what Omaha informants told Fletcher and La Flesche. Peer reviewers for the journal made some telling comments that led me to expand the study to include material from the interviews with living bearers of the tattoo. The reviewers felt that the paper touched on issues of gender and power that needed to be addressed further. Following the original text, I will quote

from their comments before presenting material from the interviews.

The Language of Performance

Performance is a powerful language. It speaks through an ordered syntax of studied action. From action it creates "syntaction." Its props and actors, sets and blocking, timbre and rhythm, situate both actor and audience in a place where the unfolding of events becomes generative and transformative. Ordinary selves become extraordinary. Boundaries shift and expand. Cosmic forces come into play.

This article describes a ritually empowering and healing performance once known to the Omaha tribe of Nebraska. The performance is a ceremonial tattooing of "the Mark of Honour" on a girl whose father is completing initiation into the "Night Blessed Society." The ceremony takes place in an acoustically charged atmosphere. Sound and action become synesthetic. The girl must maintain absolute silence until the time when the sun casts his shortest shadow. During the episodes of tattooing, the only sound to be heard comes from rattlesnake rattles attached to the tattooer's flints.

The performance is punctuated by songs in what Fletcher and La Flesche describe as the distinctive acoustic signature of the "night blessed" rhythm. They reproduce transcriptions of these songs and their texts in the book. The performance culminates when the girl's body becomes aligned with the centre of the earth and the centre of the daytime sky, the sun's zenith point. This is a point in time, a point in space, and a point forever at the centre of her life. A life-giving force rushes through her and there is a great noise that Fletcher and La Flesche describe as the sound of all life moving over the earth, "the cry of the living creatures." A song text marks this great moment:

> Yonder unseen is one moving
> Noise
> Yonder unseen is one moving
> Noise
> For that reason
> Over the earth
> Noise
> Hio—The cry of the living creatures

This section of the article reproduces a description of the performance from information Fletcher and La Flesche provide in their ethnography. It blends their language of description with an Omaha language of performance. It talks about the language of performance according to both Omaha categories and those of anthropological poetics. The second section of the paper is a tribute to the women I was privileged to meet, who have carried the Mark of Honour through most of the 20th century.

The Omaha Tribe

Like many other Native Americans, the Omahas comfortably represent their underlying philosophical concepts in a language of ceremonial performance. Omaha performances are like texts. They are formal, regular and syntactic. Sometimes song texts and prayers accompany them, but only for emphasis or repetition, not as primary message carriers. Each element of a performance makes sense in relation to other elements and to the whole of which all are parts. Each performance activates material objects that are themselves bundles of textual relationship. Each performance makes sense in relation to others that are complementary to it, in the same way that Omaha individuals, families, clans and societies make sense in relation to the tribal whole. Like an individual or group within the tribe, each component of a performance makes sense on its own as well as in synergy with other parts of the ceremonial vocabulary.

An Omaha ceremonial performance may be understood as a meaningful sequence of individually meaningful images. Each image in the performance vocabulary is like an intelligent and distinctive human being. Each one is like a word or a character of ideographic writing. Each one is also instrumental as a complement to others through varying degrees of likeness and contrast. Together, the scenes and images that make up a performance tell a story. Together, they play upon the associations and memories people bring to the performance.

Like the Omaha tribe itself, any one of its ceremonial performances comes about as a union of images that are complementary opposites. Until the end of their buffalo-hunting days in the 1870s, Omahas conducted a cycle of tribal ceremonies that expressed their fundamental idea that tribal unity exists through the complementarity of male and female principles, sky and earth, day and night. The ceremonies spoke to Omahas about their identity as a single tribe made up of "two grand divisions," the Sky people (Inshta'thunda) and the Earth people (Hon'gashenu). "When an orator addressed the people of the tribe," Fletcher and La Flesche report, "he did not say: 'Ho Omaha! but Ho! Inshta'thunda, Hon'gashenu ti agathon'kahon!'" (1911: 138). The greeting means, "Ho Sky people, Ho Earth people, both sides of the house." Like a family lodge which a man and woman bring about together, the Omahas created their camp circle in a spirit of complementarity. This primary division of the tribe into halves of a circle reflects the Omaha idea that the

process of creation is ongoing through the union of male and female principles in the cosmos at large. Fletcher and La Flesche explain that:

> The Above was regarded as masculine, the Below feminine; so the sky was father, the earth, mother. The heavenly bodies were conceived of as having sex; the sun was masculine, the moon feminine, consequently day was male and night female. The union of these two forces was regarded as necessary to the perpetuation of all living forms, and to man's life by maintaining his food supply. This order or method for the continuation of life was believed to have been arranged by Wakon'da and had to be obeyed if the race was to continue to exist. (Ibid.: 134)

I am writing about an Omaha performance that is doubly textual. The performance is textual in its syntax, and it is literally textual as an act of writing. Tattooing cosmic designs on the body of a living, breathing, growing human person is, itself, a transitive inscription. The medium that accepts the tattooer's text is alive with meaning, the body of a young woman. The texts themselves, a star sign and a sun sign, represent the life-giving complementarity of night and day. The performance ends when these cosmic symbols take their places on the girl's body. It ends when the sun reaches his highest point in the arc he inscribes across the heavens. It ends when his voice reaches down through her body's axis and enters his complement, the earth. The tattooing's inscription is ceremonial. It brings together sun and star, day and night, male and female. It brings them together on the living skin of a young woman's body.

My description of the tattooing engages a further degree of textuality in that I am writing about a performance I never saw. My authority is the written accounts of Fletcher and La Flesche which are themselves based on the stories of people who were witness to the tattooing as it was performed during the 19th century. When I quote from Fletcher and La Flesche I am passing on not only their words but also their interpretations of the symbols that underlie Omaha experience. My writing is a reading of their text, just as their writing was a reading of the Omaha texts they encountered (Ridington, 1993).

Francis La Flesche was both an ethnographer and an Omaha fluent in his language. As a young man, he was witness to many of the tribe's great ceremonies. Alice C. Fletcher was among the first generation of ethnographers to attempt a translation from Aboriginal reality to that of the newcomers. She set herself the task of writing about "fundamental religious ideals, cosmic in significance" that explain "how the visible universe came into being and how it is maintained." She found herself changed by the experience. She wrote:

> Living with my Indian friends I found I was a stranger in my native land. As time went on, the outward aspect of nature remained the same, but a change was wrought in me. I learned to hear the echoes of a time when every living thing even the sky had a voice. (Mark, 1988: 355)

Like Alice Fletcher, I have also been changed by the ethnographic encounter. I hear the same echoes that Alice describes. I hear a resonance of a time when every thing, even the sky, had a voice. I hear that voice in my own time. I listen for the cry of the living creatures in a world that continues to be alive with meaning.

Complementary Images of Empowerment

The Mark of Honour is called Xthexe. According to Fletcher and La Flesche, Xthexe means, "mottled as by shadows." It "has also the idea of bringing into prominence to be seen by all the people as something distinctive." The complement of Xthexe is one of the tribe's most sacred emblems, the Sacred Pole. He (for the Pole is a male person) is called Wa'xthexe. The prefix Wa, Fletcher and La Flesche say, indicates that "the object spoken of had power, the power of motion, of life." Fletcher and La Flesche say that, "The name of the Pole, Wa'xthexe, signifies that the power to give the right to possess this 'Mark of Honour' was vested on the Pole.... The designs tattooed on the girl were all cosmic symbols." The mark on the young woman's forehead stands for the sun at its zenith, "from which point it speaks," and its life-giving power passes through her body and out into the camp circle. The mark on her throat is a four-pointed star radiating from a perfect circle.

Fletcher and La Flesche present the Pole's origin story and the rites surrounding the Mark of Honour in different sections of the ethnography, yet it is clear from their comments that the two are complementary, just as the sun sign and star sign are complementary. The name they share suggests that both are images of the tribe's identity. The Pole's origin story is about the visionary experience of a Chief's son. The performance of tattooing the Mark of Honour brings about a complementary visionary empowerment of a Chief's daughter during her father's induction into the Hon'hewachi, or "night dancing" Society of "those blessed by the night." Members of this society are an "Order of Chiefs" who have gained honour by contributing 100 acts or gifts, "which have relation to the welfare of the tribe." The girl who receives the tattooing becomes known as a "woman chief."

The young woman receives the sun's power when she is at a point on the earth's surface directly between the earth's centre and the highest point in the sun's heavenly arc. Her complement, the young man in the Pole's origin story, receives his power by recognizing the star around which all others turn (Ridington, 1988). Omaha oral tradition explains that the Sacred Pole came to them when the son of a chief saw "a tree that stands burning but is not consumed," in a visionary encounter with the power of thunder. Fletcher and La Flesche interpret Omaha tradition to mean that the young man obtained his vision through the compassion of the night, what they call "the great mother force." Omaha sacred history describes how the son of a chief found the Sacred Pole during a time when the chiefs were in council to devise some means of keeping the tribe together during their travels. The story says that the boy's father told the other chiefs:

> My son has seen a wonderful tree.
> The Thunder birds come and go upon this tree,
> making a trail of fire
> that leaves four paths on the burnt grass
> that stretch toward the Four Winds.
> When the Thunder birds alight on the tree
> it bursts into flame
> and the fire mounts to the top.
> The tree stands burning,
> but no one can see the fire except at night.
>
> (Fletcher and La Flesche, 1911: 218)

Both boy and girl come into contact with powers beyond themselves when they are centred in ceremony. Through them, the tribe as a whole becomes centred. One single centre may be found in many places. The Pole is a centre that travels as the people travel. The Mark of Honour worn by a young woman is also such a centre. The young man finds his centre burning beneath the steady star around which the star-world reels as he watches it, amazed, through the night. The young woman finds hers in the cry of the living creatures coming to her like a great wind. She finds herself centred between earth and sky. She becomes a woman of earth who carries both the sky's night and his day on her body. On her forehead is the sun himself. On her throat is a star, "emblematic of the night, the great mother force, its four points representing also the life-giving winds into the midst of which the child was sent through the ceremony of 'Turning the Child'" (ibid.: 505).

Vision comes through a shift in perspective. The young man's lonely vigil through the night shows him how stars circle around a single point of light among their multitude. The tree beneath that central star burns itself into his mind. The night force and his isolation reveal this sky-world to him. The young woman gains her shift in perspective by day, when the sun is at the highest point in his arc. The tattooing performance is nominally the culmination of a man's initiation into the Hon'hewachi society but its language conveys a more universal message. Even today, long after the particular Hon'hewachi initiates have passed into legend and beyond, the tattooed images speak to Omahas about the fundamental principles on which their society is based.

The Hon'hewachi Society

Fletcher and La Flesche give the literal meaning of Hon'hewachi as "in the night-dance." A man obtains membership in this society or "order of honorary chieftainship" by giving away 100 or more gifts or actions known as Wathin'ethe. Fletcher and La Flesche translate Wathin'ethe literally as wa (thing having power), thin (nothing), the (to make or to cause). They say that the symbolic meaning of the name implies that the Wathin'ethe are sacred gifts or sacrifices "for which there is no material return but through which honour is received." These acts or gifts must "have relation to the welfare of the tribe by promoting internal order and peace, by providing for the chiefs and keepers, by assuring friendly relations with other tribes." They are sacred "acts and gifts which do not directly add to the comfort and wealth of the actor or donor, but which have relation to the welfare of the tribe" (ibid.: 202-203). Actions of the Hon'hewachi can be seen to move with a rhythm the Omahas associate with a personal emotion and mythic reality that reveals the order of the cosmos. Fortune called it the "potlatch society" because of the extensive giveaways required to validate membership. Fletcher and La Flesche viewed these exchanges as ways that the union of male and female principles might be felt throughout the tribe. Members of the Hon'hewachi are called Hon'ithaethe, "those blessed by the night" (Fortune, 1932: 148).

According to Fletcher and La Flesche, the true meaning of the name Hon'hewachi is deeply rooted in Omaha philosophy and cosmology. "Wachi," they say, "does not mean 'dance' in our sense of the word but dramatic rhythmic movements for the expression of personal emotion or experience, or for the presentation of mythical teachings." In colloquial Omaha usage, "wachi" also refers to the physical act of love, "rhythmic movements of the night" (John Koontz, personal communication). "Hon'he," Fletcher and La Flesche add, "refers to creative acts, for through the mysterious power of Wakon'da night brought forth day.... Night was there-

fore the mother of day, and the latter was the emblem of all visible activities and manifestations of life" (Fletcher and La Flesche, 1911: 493-494).

Fletcher and La Flesche say that to the Omaha ear, the rhythm of Hon'hewachi songs is a distinctive signature of the Society's particular emotions of revelation and compassion, just as the Hethu'shka and Wa'wan songs are respectively distinctive of actions in defense of the tribe and of the intertribal alliances symbolized by the Wa'wan or Pipe Ceremony. The activities of the Hon'hewachi Society and the rhythm of their songs evoke an emotion the Omaha People associate with the complementarity of night and day. The Hon'hewachi initiate would compose a song "which had to conform to the rhythmic standard of the initial Hon'hewachi song." The song should reflect the initiate's personal experience of "a dream or vision that came in answer to his supplication" (ibid.: 502-503).

Hon'hewachi rites carry with them the idea of "bringing into prominence to be seen by all the people as something distinctive" (ibid.: 219). They carry with them an invocation of powers revealed by "Night, the great mother force." They carry with them the helping compassion and pity of the Night. "The feminine cosmic force," Fletcher and La Flesche report, "was typified not only by night but by the heavenly bodies seen by night." Its complement is the masculine cosmic force, "symbolized by day and by the sun" (ibid.: 494).

A daughter of the Night Blessed Society initiate receives this body's heavenly power in ceremony for the benefit of the tribe. Although tattooing the Mark of Honour is a singular performance within the overall Night Blessed Society initiation ceremony, it also provides an opportunity for people to visualize and enact the symbolic and ceremonial union of the complementary male and female forces that give life to the tribe. Hon'hewachi songs and rites focus attention on the cosmic union of these male and female principles. They dramatize the creative acts through which "night brought forth day" and "the creative cosmic forces typified by night and day, the earth and the sky" (ibid.: 494-495). They dramatize the creative acts through which the Omahas realize themselves as a people. They bring these acts into prominence to be seen by all the people as something distinctive. They represent "the fundamental ideas on which the tribal organization rested" (ibid.: 495).

The Hon'hewachi Feasts

Fletcher and La Flesche describe the Hon'hewachi ceremony and tattooing performance in the past tense. I have taken the liberty of visualizing these events as if they took place in the present. My description is faithful to the written account, but where possible, I have given explicit reference to information about time of day, quality of light and acoustic ambience that is implicit in the ethnographic account. In my own writing, I have attempted to discover a language of translation that will do justice to the original experience of Omaha performance.

The performance of tattooing the Mark of Honour concludes a four-day set of ceremonies initiating a girl's father into the Hon'hewachi society. In their speeches, society members address their fellows as Hon'ithaethe, "those blessed by the night" (Fortune, 1932: 148). The ceremonies begin with Watha'wa, the Feast of the Count, in which the initiate recounts from memory the 100 or more gifts or sacrifices he has made over a period of years. During the feasting he must also give away the entire contents of his lodge. At the climax of the ceremonies he presents his daughter to the life-giving power of the sun.

As the chiefs and Hon'ithaethe complete the initiation with a final song, the initiate's daughter enters and dances before them. She is the young woman who will receive the Mark of Honour. She is the young woman who will send her children into the midst of the winds. She and the other "woman chiefs" will dance at meetings of the Hon'hewachi. She will carry Xthexe, "mottled as by shadows," among her people when she is an old woman. Her dance before the Hon'hewachi members, Fletcher and La Flesche tell us, "dramatized the awakening of the feminine element—an awakening everywhere necessary for a fulfillment in tangible form of the life-giving power" (1911: 502).

The young woman wears a tunic embroidered with porcupine quills. Her hair is parted in the middle, pulled back across her forehead, and braided behind the ears into thick buns that rest upon her shoulders. Three young women who have already received the Mark of Honour dance with her before the assembled Hon'ithaethe, singing Hon'hewachi songs. Fletcher and La Flesche point out that the song to which the girl dances in preparation for receiving the Mark of Honour "gives the rhythmic model after which all songs that pertain to the Hon'hewachi were fashioned. It therefore represents," they say, "the fundamental rhythm that expressed the musical feeling concerning those ideas or beliefs for which the Hon'hewachi stood" (ibid.: 502). They say that her act of dancing "dramatized the awakening of the feminine element."

The Tattooing

The initiate's daughter begins her preparations to receive the sun's blessing. Early in the morning, servers of the ceremony set up scaffolds on either side of the entrance to her father's lodge. On these they suspend the articles given as fees to validate the ritual. These articles must include 100 knives and 100 awls. The knives and awls are required as emblems of male and female activities and in honour of the hundred count the initiate has accomplished.

The tattooing begins later in the morning when the sun is already high enough to bring heat and to shorten shadow. Two woman already bearing the Mark of Honour prepare food for the assembled guests. The lodge has been emptied of all the initiate's possessions during the preceding days of feasting. Only the final gifts remain on the scaffolds that frame its entrance to the east. Only the girl remains to be given over to the life-giving power of the round sun. Servers of the ceremony then thrust the 100 knives and 100 awls into the ground on either side of the morning fire. The time for the presentation of mythical teachings is approaching.

Behind the hearth at the place of honour, servers of the ceremony lay out "a bed of the costliest robes." They place a pillow toward the east, the direction of the sun's first appearance. The initiate and his guests take their morning meal in the lodge that has been prepared for the work of tattooing. The girl takes her meal with her family in a lodge adjoining the one in which the ceremony is to take place. Then the Hon'ithaethe and women who have received the Mark of Honour sing a song to the girl. Its words are:

They are coming for you
They are coming to tell you
Because it is time. (Lee and La Vigna, 1985)

The morning meals have been completed. Servers of the ceremony escort the girl into the lodge of her father. They lay her with great care and dignity upon the fine robes on the bed of honour. She faces west "for, being emblematic of life, she had to move as if moving with the sun" (Fletcher and La Flesche, 1911: 503). She wears "a skin tunic embroidered with porcupine quills" (ibid.: 502). When she has taken her place of honour with the chiefs and members of the Hon'hewachi Society, two heralds stand at the entrance of the lodge. The round sun moves in his slow and certain circle closer to the zenith point. The heralds call the names of those who are to sing during the tattooing. They give voice to the war honours achieved by the men who are to sing. Some of these men are already in the lodge as the herald recognizes them. Others enter following his salutation.

A ring of silence encircles the lodge and extends outward into the places where people are living. They respect the blessing of the night that is come among them. They respect the silence into which the round sun will speak. They are careful to keep children, dogs and horses at a distance. The Hon'ithaethe speak among themselves in gentle voices. The lodge has become a holy place. It is to become a centre of the cosmos. It has become a place of waiting for the presentation of mythic teachings. One of the Hon'ithaethe, those blessed by the night, has been chosen to perform the tattooing. He may be considered for the task by right of inheritance. He must also be blessed and protected with power from a vision of the serpent whose teeming life moves over the earth. He must be able to suck the blood and charcoal pigment from the girl's freshly tattooed skin without harm (Fortune, 1932: 175). He must be in contact with the serpent's flashing eyes and moving cry which, in Omaha symbolism, is the noise of "teeming life that 'moves' over the earth'" (Fletcher and La Flesche, 1911: 506).

Servers of the ceremony prepare charcoal pigment in a wooden bowl. The tattooing chief outlines the sun circle and the star with a flattened stick dipped in a charcoal solution. (In later times, the charcoal was replaced by India ink and the flints and rattles by needles and small bells.) He takes up a tightly bound bundle of flint points. To the flints are fastened rattlesnake rattles. The girl lies on her bed of honour in absolute silence. She must make no noise throughout the ceremony. "If she should do so," Fletcher and La Flesche say, "it was considered as evidence that she had been unchaste. If the healing process was rapid, it was considered a good omen" (ibid.).

Silence surrounds the lodge. The Earth People and Sky People who make up the tribe keep their distance in respect of the sacrifice that is taking place for their well being. The chiefs and Hon'ithaethe begin to chant the sun song:

The sun the round sun
Comes—speaks—says
The sun the round sun
Comes—speaks—says
The sun the round sun
Comes—speaks—says
The sun the round sun
Comes—speaks—says
The sun the round sun
Yonder point
When it comes—speaks—says

The sun the round sun
Comes—speaks—says

"This ancient song," according to Fletcher and La Flesche, "refers to the sun rising to the zenith, to the highest point; when it reaches that point it speaks" (ibid.: 504).

The tattooing chief begins to prick the sun sign into the skin of the girl's forehead. Against the rhythm of the Hon'hewachi song evoking the power of the sun at its zenith point, the girl can hear the dry rhythmic percussion of the rattlesnake piercing her skin and drawing her blood with its flickering fangs of flint. She endures and waits in perfect silence. Above the lodge of her father the sun moves silently toward his zenith point. He moves toward the moment of their meeting. When the sun reaches that point, "it speaks, as its symbol descends upon the maid with the promise of life-giving power" (ibid.).

The dry sound of rattling stops. The girl's forehead is hot with a circle of her own blood. It is hot with the promise of the Hon'hewachi song. It is hot with anticipation of the round sun's movement to the zenith point. The momentary silence that surrounds her anticipates the sun as he comes upon her, as he speaks to her, as he articulates the sounds of the living creatures. Her silence reaches out to receive the life-giving power of his voice as he reaches the highest point.

The tattooing chief bathes her forehead with a cooling charcoal solution. The rattling begins again. The rhythm of the Hon'hewachi again surrounds her. The chief's bundled flint fangs inject the pigment beneath her skin. They complete the sun sign as the Hon'hewachi song comes to an end. Both the song and the sign promise life-giving power when the moment arrives for the sun to align her body between earth and sky. The tattooing chief moves toward the young woman. He is protected from harm by the blessing of his serpent vision. He sucks the mixed blood and charcoal from the freshly tattooed surface of her skin. With his action, the sun sign is ready to receive the teeming cry of the living creatures. Her sign is ready to receive the sun, the round sun, as he moves like living wind in the trees.

There is a pause in the ceremony. The girl can feel the sun sign pressing into her skin at the centre of her forehead. The people will know her by this sign when she is an old woman. They will honour her for it always. She can hear the sound of her own breathing, moving in a rhythm like living wind in the trees. She knows that in time she will send her children "into the midst of the winds" in the ceremony of "turning the child." In silence, the Hon'hewachi rhythm continues to surround her. Her father, the chiefs, the women who serve her in ceremony, the Hon'ithaethe, are suffused with the rhythm of "the great mother force." They are filled with her emotion. They are filled with an "awakening of the feminine element." They are ready to experience the mythic teachings of Hon'he, the "creative acts" by which, "through the mysterious power of Wakon'da, night brought forth day" (ibid.: 494).

The shadow cast by the initiation lodge creeps up into itself as the round sun arches toward the point of midday. The tattooing chief picks up his flint bundle. Its rattles shake her silence like the flickering tongues of heat lightning and distant thunder that penetrate the mystery of a sultry summer night sky. The rattling sound reminds the girl of serpent power, "the teeming life that 'moves' over the earth" (ibid.: 506). It reminds her that the name of the Sky People, In'stashunda, means "flashing eyes." It reminds her that the Sky People "in union with the Earth People, gave birth to the human race" (ibid.: 185). It reminds her that the sky powers bring forth life by descending upon the earth in the form of lightning, thunder and rain.

The time has come for the Hon'ithaethe, those blessed by the night, to think about the night sky and its promise of day to come. The singers give voice to the rhythm of the night dance:

Night moving
Going
Night moving
Going
Night moving
Going
Day is coming
Day is coming. (Ibid.: 505)

As the singers chant these words in the Hon'hewachi rhythm, the tattooing chief resumes his rhythmic penetration of the girl's skin with his bundle of flints. The rattles shake in response to his motions. The rattling sound blends with the words of the song. They penetrate the girl's consciousness as well as her skin. The figure that takes form in hot bright blood upon her throat is a four-pointed star. She remembers that "the star is emblematic of the night, the great mother force." She knows that its four points represent "the life-giving winds into the midst of which the child was sent through the ceremony of Turning the Child" (ibid.). She remembers the star that centres the night sky, the Pole Star, beneath which a chief's son discovered the luminous tree that was to become Waxthe'xe, the Sacred Pole. Her father and the other Hon'ithaethe know that Xthexe, the name of her Mark of Honour, gives her a special relation-

ship to the Sacred Pole. They know that "The name of the Pole, Waxthe'xe, signifies that the power to give the right to possess this 'mark of honour' was vested in the Pole" (ibid.: 219). According to the sacred legend of the Pole, "the Thunder Birds come and go upon this tree, making a trail of fire that leaves four paths on the burnt grass that stretch toward the Four Winds" (ibid.: 218).

The shadow of the initiation lodge has nearly vanished. The sun, the round sun, has nearly reached his zenith point. He is nearly in line with the day and night signs of the girl's body. The Hon'ithaethe sing a song of completion as the moment of alignment draws near. Its words are:

Yonder unseen is one moving
Noise
Yonder unseen is one moving
Noise
For that reason
Over the earth
Noise
Hio—The cry of the living creatures.

The rhythmic rattling that gives voice to the flint's repeated piercing pauses. The tattooing chief bathes the girl's star sign with soothing charcoal. Then he picks up the bundle of flints for the last time. He pricks the pigment into her skin with a final dry rattling of the serpent-tailed flint fangs. He removes the remaining blood and charcoal by sucking with his mouth. The designs are now part of the girl's body. They have taken the places they will occupy on the body of a young mother. They have become centres of the universe that will honour the Omaha Tribe throughout the long life of an old woman.

The sun moves directly into line with the girl's body. His rays come down to her through the smokehole's shadowless shaft of light. They fall upon the girl. She receives his light as "the cry of the living creatures." It is the serpent-like noise of teeming life moving over the earth. It is the noise of the Sky People come to join the People of Earth. The energy of their union passes through the girl's body and into the earth. It passes through the sun sign. It passes through the star sign. It passes through the girl's young womb and into the ancient and constantly fertile womb of the Earth.

"By the union of Day, the above, and Night, the below," Fletcher and La Flesche tell us, "came the human race and by them the race is maintained. The tattooing [is] an appeal for the perpetuation of all life and of human life in particular" (ibid.: 507). The spirit of Xthexe, mottled as by shadows, continues to unite Sky People and Earth People into a single tribe. The creative rhythm of the Hon'hewachi is still very much alive among the Omaha People. Its emotion is still among them for the presentation of mythical teachings.

Language, Performance and the Power of Wakon'da

The Omaha performance of tattooing activates images from a cultural vocabulary of cosmic images. It activates images from Omaha everyday life. It integrates individual experience with the cosmic cycles of the day sky and night sky. It speaks of the complementary male and female principles that define the tribe. It speaks of the teeming life that dwells in the midst of the earth's four winds. The tattooing performance engages these images within the syntax of a cultural language. It speaks through an ordered syntax of studied action. The performance gives voice to the sun at his zenith point. It culminates when he "comes, speaks, says." It reveals his voice in "the cry of the living creatures." The action of this performance creates a meaningful "syntaction" of images from Omaha cultural experience.

The girl's body is central to the performance, as is the space she occupies. The performance reveals a spirit of life within and around her. She is placed "on a bed of the costliest robes" in the place of honour, west of the fire. On its soothing softness, she will endure the flints' piercings. On the bed of honour, she will maintain a studied silence against which the Hon'hewachi songs and the rattlesnake rattles draw forth "the cry of the living creatures." Her young body lies open to the materializing images of sun and four-pointed star. She becomes like the face of a living sundial on which the tattooer writes the signs that evoke a cycle of transformation between day and night. She lies on her bed, facing west, because "being emblematic of life, she had to lie as if moving with the sun" (ibid.: 503). When the writing has been completed, the people hear it as speech. They hear "the cry of the living creatures." As the round Sun comes to her, speaks to her, says to her, the girl's life becomes bonded to all the living creatures.

The language of this performance reflects deeply understood Omaha ideas about relations between spirit and substance. These ideas are expressed in the Omaha word Wakon'da, "an invisible and continuous life [that] permeates all things, seen and unseen." Wakon'da is "a power by which things are brought to pass." In Omaha thought, it is "through this mysterious life and power [that] all things are related to one another and to man." Wakon'da is both a force and a state of being. It manifests itself in two ways. First, it is the force behind motion. "All motion, all actions of mind or body, are because of

this invisible life." Second, Wakon'da causes "permanency of structure and form, as in the rock, the physical features of the landscape, mountains, plains, streams, rivers, lakes, the animals, and man." Wakon'da is not distant and alien to human experience. Rather, "this invisible life is similar to the will power of which man is conscious within himself." Wakon'da "causes day to follow night without variation and summer to follow winter." Wakon'da is responsible for connecting "the seen to the unseen, the dead to the living, a fragment of anything to its entirety" (ibid.: 134).

Omahas view the world's physical forms as points where Wakon'da has stopped. Wakon'da is an intelligence, an "integrity of the universe, of which man is a part." It shows itself in the moving winds and resounding Thunders. It shows itself in the sun's path across the daytime sky, and in his momentary passage through the zenith point to become aligned with the earth's centre. It shows itself in the fixed star of the night sky, the star around which all others turn. It shows itself in the structure of thought and in the mind's quick changes of mood. It shows itself in the cosmic union of male and female principles, each one giving to the other in order to create a completed whole. It shows itself in the cry of the living creatures.

The Mark of Honour written on a girl's living skin has physical form, first as an image held in mind, then as lines drawn in charcoal and finally in the blood heat of her body's contact with the ancient flashing power of flint. Omahas recognize the Mark of Honour as a sacred point where Wakon'da has stopped. They recognize the Sacred Pole as another such point. The performance of tattooing the Mark of Honour is a physical sequence of meaningful images. It assembles a sequence of points, each of which bears the touch of Wakon'da. The lodge in which the performance takes place is a circle, like the Hu'thuga in which Sky People and Earth People come together as a single tribe. The Hon'hewachi songs are singular sound signatures. The girl's body faces west so as to move with the sun's path. Her silence creates a space for the voice that will come to her, speak to her, say to her. Her silence is a point where Wakon'da stops. Her silence invites the cry of the living creatures.

The Omaha tattooing performance furthers transformation and renewal. Its props and actors, sets and blocking, timbre and rhythm, situate both actor and audience in place where the unfolding of events becomes transformative. They situate these people together in a place where Wakon'da is present for all to see. Ordinary selves become extraordinary there. A girl becomes a chief. A face becomes a text. A place becomes the world's centre, a cosmic centre. Boundaries shift and expand. Earth and sky embrace. Cosmic forces come into play. The language of this performance makes possible the revelation of mythic teachings. It gives voice to those blessed by the night. It gives voice to the cry of the living creatures.

Women bearing the Mark of Honour are still alive as I write these words. I am writing from the Omaha reservation in Nebraska. I am here because the tribe is reburying the remains of 106 Omahas that archaeologists removed from the former Big Village of Ton'wontonga 50 years ago. I am here to bear witness to that return. Some of those Big Village people undoubtedly bore the Mark of Honour during their lives. I am here to thank them for the blessing of their presence in this place. Bringing them back to earth on the Omaha reservation will heal some of the pain that Omahas experienced during years of hardship. I am privileged to have been witness to their return. I thank them for myself and for all my relations.

Yonder unseen is one moving
Noise
Yonder unseen is one moving
Noise
For that reason
Over the earth
Noise
Hio—The cry of the living creatures.

Macy, Nebraska—October 1991

Epilogue

Retreat Island British Columbia—May 1997

When I submitted this paper for publication, it went through the normal peer review process. Two reviewers gave readings of the text. Both felt that the paper touches on issues of gender, power and representation that need to be addressed further. The first reviewer wrote as follows:

> My personal reading of this paper is every bit as shaped by my own context and life history as is the author's retelling and (re)presentation of the ritual. I am unable to separate the image of the young girl being ritually disfigured (tattooed) for the purpose of her father's accession to membership in a special society of men from the misogynist violence within Western society. Too long the advancement of men has been enacted on the bodies of women.

The second made similar points:

> One can read this paper as a dramatic depiction of ceremonial ritual but also as a highly gendered account. It

is so well written that the writing may undo the author's purpose because it fully engages the reader, and consequently raises questions that seem to be glossed over in this rereading of Fletcher and La Flesche. The paper describes the "culmination of a man's initiation" as the literal inscription of social order on the body of his daughter. It frames this ceremony in terms familiar in anthropology, as empowerment not just of the initiate but also of the young woman and her community. It describes her body as text but the interpretation comes explicitly from the observer rather than from the sentient human being. This seems to be a question of vantage point—etic vs. emic—and again the vividness of the writing may highlight this. The contrast is framed as between Omaha categories and anthropological categories, but just whose Omaha categories are these? Those of the initiate? Those of La Flesche? And where do anthropological categories of gender fit in?

The ceremony is described as empowering for the young woman, but never in her voice. Increasingly, studies of initiation seem to be deconstructing images of ceremonial harmony. Is there not another perspective whereby this might be absolutely terrifying for her? She is compelled to remain absolutely silent while her forehead and her neck are pierced by sharpened flints: the embodiment of the sun on the forehead, and of a star etched on her neck—and then the tattooing chief sucks the blood from her neck—regrettably, this calls up vampire images for me, as a reader. Again the imagery is compelling. If she makes any noise, this is "evidence that she has been unchaste." "Her silence invites the cry of the living creatures," but she herself is compelled to remain mute.

In answer to the question about categories of representation, what I have written above reflects the categories that Alice Fletcher and Francis La Flesche used in 1911. They chose to present ceremonial texts rather than material in the voice of the young woman herself. The ethnographic information and overall interpretation comes ultimately from and through La Flesche, but the actual language used in their report is clearly that of Fletcher, who viewed the complementarity of male and female forces as a key to Omaha symbolic and social life. Fletcher read Omaha ceremony to say that, "By the union of Day, the above, and Night, the below, came the human race and by them the race is maintained. The tattooing [is] an appeal for the perpetuation of all life and of human life in particular" (Fletcher and La Flesche, 1911: 507). She wrote that the Blue Spot women dancing before the Hon'ithaethe, "dramatized the awakening of the feminine element—an awakening everywhere necessary for a fulfillment in tangible form of the life-giving power" (ibid.: 502). When Fletcher and La Flesche wrote that the young woman must make no noise during the ceremony, they were reporting what Omahas in the 19th century considered proper. It was Omahas (certainly men, possibly women) who told them that, "If she should do so, it was considered as evidence that she had been unchaste. If the healing process was rapid, it was considered a good omen" (ibid.: 506).

The reviewer went on to ask how the Omaha Blue Spot women might have described their experience. "Did any woman ever cry out? If so, what were the consequences?" Unfortunately, we will never know what an Omaha woman receiving the Mark of Honour in the 19th century experienced in her own voice. Fletcher and La Flesche documented texts and information about ceremonial order rather than actualities. Indeed, the ceremony they described was probably no longer practiced in the 1880s due to severe assimilationist pressure. The experience of women receiving the Mark in the 20th century must have been quite different from that of women receiving it during the tribe's buffalo-hunting days. Fortunately, Jillian Ridington and I were able to speak with three women who bore the Mark of Honour in 1985 and 1986. I will close with an account of what these women told us.

On our first visit to the Omaha reservation, Jillian found herself talking to an Omaha woman sitting next to her in the pow-wow stands. The woman introduced herself as Marguerite La Flesche, and explained that she was a grandniece of Francis La Flesche. Jillian mentioned our interest in the Mark of Honour and to her great surprise, Marguerite said that there were still women alive who bore the "Blue Spot." The next day, September 1, 1985, Marguerite took us to meet Maggie Johnson and Helen Grant Walker, two women who had received the Mark of Honor in the early part of this century. Our visits were short but the women showed us their marks with considerable pride. Maggie Johnson was gracious, but we had difficulty communicating our interest in learning about her experience of receiving the Mark of Honour. She told us she had been 12 or 13 at the time. Marguerite spoke with her in Omaha and told us that she said:

> There's a meaning to that [the tattoo]. It represents, that tattoo on the forehead, to be kind, to be helpful, like to the elder, the little ones, the sick, or whichever, wherever she can, she'll go. That meaning, that mark. I know, there's a lot more to it but that, I'm poor for words and I can't explain.

Helen Grant Walker, who was quite deaf and in poor health, could not really manage a conversation, but proclaimed to us in English:

> I'm glad you come over and seeing us. . . . Thank you come over and see me. My father, he's a great, great chief, that way. He give it away for a hundred horses. The first daughter to put it on. That's why my father put it on me. I'm the first daughter. And he give it away for a hundred horses. And he's head chief. . . . My dad he go by his Indian name. His whiteman, his English name is David Grant. His name, David Grant. That's my father. Mama, Mary Fox Grant, my mother.

The following year we returned to Macy and spoke at greater length with Maggie Johnson and another Blue Spot woman, Mabel Hamilton. Helen Grant Walker had passed away that winter. Before meeting them we spoke with Pauline Tindall, then a 70-year-old administrator at the tribal health centre. She confirmed what Fortune and others had written; that two men, Silas Woods and Robert Morris (whose Omaha name, Moshtinge, means "Rabbit") had done tattooing in this century. She said there was rivalry between them and spoke of some dispute in the tribe about which one had performed the ceremony properly:

> The way that you could tell was that the ones Morris did were crude, Woods did were just perfect; the lines were straight.
>
> They [the Blue Spot women] kept together up until the time they died. I think even the last ones that we had, there was still something being done by the few women that were left, until finally . . . there might be one or two left.
>
> [We mention Maggie Johnson and Helen Grant Walker.]
>
> Both of those would be Woods. The only ones you have left with the old tradition is Mabel Hamilton, I'm pretty sure, 'cause that was a relative of her mother. She was out of that family. And she only has the one on the forehead.

Pauline went on to say that:

> It's almost as if that they're here to end the society. White Christian attitude toward it was very negative, and that, consequently, they just dropped it and a lot of us that were growing up in that era that might have been marked, were not.

She spoke about what being a Blue Spot woman meant to Omahas of her generation:

> I think they were recognized for their saintliness. They had to be good women and they were recognized for that. They were people who were supposed to be good to the poor and the sick, you know, and went about doing good deeds. They were an order that were recognized for that, and their character had to be above reproach.

Later on the same day, we spoke to Mabel Hamilton. We were assisted by her daughter, Maxine Hamilton Parker, and by Ramona Turner. Mabel was about 83 years old at the time. Ramona began by telling us:

> Person that's got that blue mark has to be like a, like a clergyman, you know. They got their doors open for you to talk to you, counsel them, whatever problems like that. That's the way these people are supposed to be, I guess. They're supposed to be good people. They're supposed to have love and caring. Anybody that needs help. They're supposed to be humble. That's the role they're supposed to play. Because that's what, we mentioned it at times, you know; "That lady's got a blue mark. She's supposed to have the wisdom and knowledge and have compassion for everybody." That's the way I was told.

Jillian and I introduced ourselves to Mabel and give her an illustration of a young woman with the blue spot from Fletcher and La Flesche. I told her:

> I wanted to give you a copy of this. It's a picture from old, old time, long time ago. Somebody with the mark. And I've been writing about this, studying about it from a book that was written by Alice Fletcher and Francis La Flesche. You may have seen that book, *The Omaha Tribe*. And so, I've been trying to take what they told about the ceremony of tattooing and to try to put it in my own words and explain to people. And there are a lot of things they don't talk about in that, so I wondered if you could explain and tell some about your experience of getting the tattooing. Like how old were you when it happened?

Mabel replied:

> Well, I was about four. I was, when they put that on me. My sister was supposed to have that on. She didn't want it. And then Mary Walker, you know Mary Walker. I used to stay with her when I come home from school. And some girls, they put spot on their forehead. Old man Blackberry came and saw her. "Take that off before you go home, girl. That's cost something. Cost lot of money for the people who put it on you," he says. They do, you know. They buy a lot of things for the . . .

Ramona filled in, "Giveaways." I asked, "He had to give away for that?" Mabel replied, "Yeah. And we supposed to be good to orphan kids. To be like church people." Mabel talked about the other tattooer, Silas Woods. "He put some on them. They were big. About big as nickel." I asked Mabel about Fletcher and La Flesche describing the ceremony being done with racks of knives and awls on either side of the fire. She replied, "No, they never had that." I ask about the needles. Ramona said, "Whole bunch of needles, and they wrapped them red hot... just like branding, I imagine." I asked Mabel about how long the tattooing took. She replied:

> Oh, it took long time. I 'bout fighting that old man [laughs]. Kicking him, calling him names to get the hell out of here, I said. [Everybody laughs.] Fighting him all the time. I guess he'd put some cross on my hand. I just hit him. No wonder I got no cross on my hand.

Jillian and I asked how old she had been. Ramona said, "She wasn't supposed to have it. They made her, 'cause her older sister was supposed to." Mabel added:

> When they come to our place, my sister wouldn't have it on her because she wear different trappings like a white man is. And so my dad said, "Well, take this little girl." I troubled, coming and kicking him and everything."

We asked Mabel about where the tattooing was done. She said that it took place in a house, not a tipi. Jillian asked, "Do you know what your father had to pay for it? Did he have to pay money or do some good deeds?" Mabel replied:

> They give furniture and things. That old man, Rabbit, he had some room full of stuff. I was peeking in the window one day and here they had stoves and tables and chairs. They give horses, things.

Jillian asked, "How did you feel about having it done. Were you scared or proud or...." Mabel answered, "I didn't do nothing," and Maxine added, "She wasn't scared." After some further attempts on our part to discover what, if anything, Mabel remembered of the ceremony, it became clear that she had been too young to understand much about what was going on. The story, as we could piece it together, was that her older sister was to have received the Blue Spot, but she ran away "because she wear different trappings like a white man is." We remembered what Pauline had just told us about how, "White Christian attitude toward it was very negative." Thinking about this, Jillian asked Mabel, "Are you glad you had it done?" Mabel replied, "Yeah." Jillian added, "I mean, are you proud now?" Mabel said:

> I'm proud everybody respect me. They ask me, "What's you got that spot on you for?" "That's a church member," I said. "I'm supposed to be good to you orphan kids. When you see orphan child, take him in your house and feed him. Do good things to him. Talk to it when you see them," he says. That's what this spot is for.

I asked Mabel about the Hon'hewachi society, but she and Maxine and Ramona broke into laughter because of the sexual meaning of "wachi" as "rhythmic movements of the night." I said, "I've heard it has another meaning, too. It has a double meaning." Ramona replied, "Yeah, it does." Then we talked a bit about Silas Woods and Rabbit. Mabel told us, "When he [Silas Woods] died, you know, snakes dropped on his coffin." Ramona exclaimed, "A Snake," and Mabel repeated, "Yeah, a snake dropped off from a tree right at his casket." We suspected that this was a reference to the serpent power the tattooer was supposed to possess.

Two days after our meeting with Mabel, Jillian, Dennis and I visited Maggie Johnson again. This time our conversation lasted longer. Maggie began by telling us that she was born on January 30, 1899. She told about having lost both her parents at a very young age and being raised in the family of her uncle, Silas Woods. It was Woods who tattooed her at the age of 12 or 13. Woods also tattooed Maggie's daughter, Rachel, probably the last Omaha woman to receive the Mark of Honor. When I asked her about how her uncle performed the tattooing, she briefly answered the question by saying, "They use needle," and then went on to explain what having the Blue Spot meant to her:

> They told us to, "If one, if one need help, try and help some. If you orphan kids, pity them," said. "That's what for," this one said. So I try that. All of them kids coming in, I just take them in, feed them, want sleep, well I let them sleep. Stay here. Couple days, I let em stay. 'Cause I'm only one left. Their own grandma's died long time ago, and I'm the only one, so I didn't push them away. When they went hungry, why they all come in. 'Bout three, four days ago, all of them come down. Some are sleep on the floor. All of them.

Comments on Gender Issues by Jillian Ridington

As a long-time researcher on violence against women, and an interviewer of the women with the Mark of Honour, I found the reviewers comments of great interest. Was the tattooing a form of violence against women? If we compare it to the standards of our own time and place, the answer is "Yes." The marks were tattooed on girls and young women without their consent, and sometimes against their will. The marks signified their father's status, his ability to give away "100 horses." But the marking ceremony differs from the wife battering, sexual assault and child abuse so prevalent in many cultures (including our own) today. It is different because the Blue Spot was indeed a "Mark of Honour," not a black eye of shame. While the recipient was required to remain silent for a short time, her voice in the community was strengthened for the rest of her lifetime. The Mark of Honour raised the status of the young woman, as well as that of her father. The tattooing was not done in private for the purpose of intimidating and humiliating her; rather, she was celebrated in view of her entire community. The marks were placed on her body by a ritual specialist, not by a partner or parent.

At the time the ceremony was being performed on a regular basis, slavery was still legal and prevalent in the U.S. Children were working in English factories under deplorable conditions, and European women were forced to wear clothes that restricted their movements and damaged their health. As Robert Brain points out:

> Until very recently in the West, the worst kind of body mutilation was imposed on women in the name of Fashion; the contraction of the waist and chest by tight lacing, which resulted in the deformation of the body and its internal organs often led to pulmonary diseases. (Brain, 1979: 82)

While it is important to identify and speak out against violence against women and children, it is also important to look at the context in which actions take place, and the attitudes of the recipients of those actions. If tattooing were still in style among the Omaha, there would no doubt be a sterile tattoo parlour in downtown Macy where women, and men, could go on their own volition to have a tattoo of their choice applied. But the significance of the tattooing, and the rituals associated with it, would be lost. The Blue Spot might still be placed on women, but the responsibility and sisterhood that linked the women who bore it would not be understood by those who saw the mark.

How did the Blue Spot women we interviewed feel about their Marks of Honour? Helen Grant Walker spoke of it with pride—pride in the sacrifice her father had made to have it done, and in the status it gave her in her community. Mabel Hamilton came to appreciate her Mark of Honour more in her mature years. The scared and uncomprehending child had become a wise elder who recognized and accepted the significance of her membership in the congregation of women who bore the mark.

Conclusion

In the first part of the article I treated an ethnographic text (Fletcher and La Flesche) as if it were an ethnographic document. That is, I tried to reconstruct an actuality from what was already an authorially constructed text. One of the reviewers is quite correct to point out that while the authors included song texts in their description of the ceremony, the voice of subjective experience was conspicuously absent. As I told Mabel Hamilton in 1986, "There are a lot of things they don't talk about." Jillian and I tried, in our conversations with the Blue Spot women, to encourage them to "tell some about your experience of getting the tattooing." Only Mabel chose to say much about her experience, and what she told us was how, as a four-year old, she was, "kicking him, calling him names to get the hell out of here."

From what she and the others told us, the role of being a woman who is respected for having the Mark of Honour was more important to them as elders than their childhood experience of receiving the mark. They received it at a time when White attitudes toward Omaha ceremonial life were very negative. We must rely on the information Fletcher and La Flesche provide for an insight into what the ceremony might have meant before the end of the 19th century, but voices of young women from that period must remain shadowed in silence. Are Fletcher and La Flesche correct in reading the tattooing as a pivotal ceremony that "dramatized the awakening of the feminine element—an awakening everywhere necessary for a fulfillment in tangible form of the life-giving power?" Is it necessary for that cosmic awakening to have been a conscious part of the young woman's experience? I like to think that "the cry of the living creatures" gave her the compassion that the Blue Spot women we met still carried with pride. Perhaps it is best to close with the words of Mabel Hamilton.

> I'm proud everybody respect me. They ask me, "What's you got that spot on you for?" "That's a

church member," I said. "I'm supposed to be good to you orphan kids. When you see orphan child, take him in your house and feed him. Do good things to him. Talk to it when you see them," he says. That's what this spot is for.

Like the Sacred Pole of the Omaha tribe, whose name is the same as the Mark of Honor, Blue Spot women have provided their people with a blessing for a long time. All My Relations

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A Penny for Your Thoughts: Properties of Anthropology in a Transnational Present[1]

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Abstract: Fieldworkers, and the materials we construct, are situated at a complex intersection of colliding interests. We negotiate agreements of access and use of "information" with individuals, and community, national or transnational authorities. Universities and funding agencies impose sanctions governing the ownership of collected materials and disciplinary tradition provides an ethical universe within which we practice. Finally, fieldworkers are subject to federal and provincial laws, and are thus implicated in the larger controversy of intellectual and cultural property. Through the elicited opinions of fieldworkers I explore the tensions of access, use and ownership of "data" with particular attention to the ownership of field notes.

Résumé: Les ethnographes et les matériaux qu'ils construisent, se situent à la rencontre imprécise d'intérêts en conflit. Nous négocions des ententes d'accès à l'information et de son utilisation avec des individus, des communautés, des autorités nationales et transnationales. Les universités et les fondations imposent des règles sur la propriété du matériel recueilli et la tradition de la discipline maintient un univers éthique à l'intérieur duquel nous travaillons. Finalement, les activités de terrain sont sujettes aux lois fédérales et provinciales et ainsi font partie de la controverse plus étendue sur la propriété intellectuelle et culturelle. En utilisant les opinions recueillies chez les gens de terrain, j'explore les tensions reliées à l'accès, à l'utilisation et à la propriété des « données » en m'attardant de façon particulière à la propriété des notes de terrain.

In this article I attempt to get at some of the more perplexing legal, ethical and epistemological problems surrounding anthropological materials. I question the potential destinations of anthropological *products* situating my discussion within the controversy over ownership of indigenous cultural property and the local, national and transnational contexts which are implicated. Structurally, I follow three phases of research: entering the field and obtaining permission; the creation and ownership of field notes; and academic/institutional sanctions on research materials. First, I consider a Tribal Cultural Properties By-law drafted by the Kainai Tribal Council in southern Alberta. Included here is a general discussion of cultural property in relation to state legislation and international organizations. Second, through elicited opinions of anthropologists, I explore constellations of ethical concern surrounding the ownership of field notes. The many dimensions of this form of documentation cut to the quick of disciplinary dilemmas and constitute the crux of my article. Lastly, a museum Gift Agreement pertaining to the acquisition of oral history materials leads me to a brief discussion of legal copyright and academic sanctions on information.

Legal, disciplinary and cultural practices and discourses implicated in research constitute a collision of *systems of order*. Legally speaking, cultural property, field notes and oral history data fall within the bounds of intellectual property rights (IPR). Cultural property, in an indigenous idiom and *data* in anthropological discourse are cocooned within particular hegemonic structures. In a tribal context, ownership of such *properties* is defined by tradition—collective or individual rights to objects, practices, songs or stories are recognized through cultural mechanisms. In anthropology, the data upon which our texts are constructed constitute career capital collected by single researchers through traditional field work. The *Oxford English Dictionary* defines law as follows: "Body of enacted or customary rules recognized by a community as binding" (1984: 568). As a mode of

social control, law creates and enforces a concept of order (Merry, 1992: 360). Tradition as a "chart" of sorts, provides "categories and rules" and "criteria of judgment" transmitted through ones ancestors to avoid chaos (Shils, 1981: 326).[2] I would suggest that like cultural groups, scholarly traditions constitute particular discursive and practical domains ruled by a customary law of sorts. Key to a definition of tradition is the fact of transmission. Issues of control over different forms of information conceptualized as *property* are therefore central.[3]

Tradition, like law, should be approached as a shifting process imbedded in and reacting to particular relationships of power. Presently, the context of these relationships is a world in which local, national and transnational processes compete on profoundly uneven ground. Differential access to economic resources is an important factor in the legitimation of particular claims over others. State organizations are pivotal. They are systems that acquire and redistribute wealth while maintaining control over populations and competing in an "international system of trade and commerce" (Starr, 1994: 231-232). In this paper wealth refers to information, or knowledge. Comaroff asserts that a "culture of legality" is a dominant feature of the "scaffolding of the modernist nation-state" (1994: xi)

The body of law surrounding intellectual property rights has developed since the 17th century and hinges on two principles. Firstly, "ideas can be treated as property" and secondly, that "state power is necessary to create monopoly rights over these goods" (Brush, 1993: 654). Exclusive rights in the form of patent, copyright, trade secrets and trademarks were historically viewed as incentives for the creation and dissemination of knowledge leading to economic and social benefits for society (Samuels, 1987: 47). Patent law stems from a legacy of secrecy to protect inventions in the Middle Ages. Later, sovereigns used Law by Decree to grant exclusive rights to craft guilds. During the 16th century, these monopolistic arrangements were viewed by the state as harmful to developing systems of trade and business (ibid.: 48). It is interesting that the creation of copyright law was a reaction by 17th-century British Parliament to the monopoly of publishers. Such practices were seen to be detrimental to society because they discouraged the creation of original works. Most significantly, copyright law was enacted to *limit* the time span of protection over rights (ibid.: 54-55). Growth of international trade and the need for incentives to create new technologies required a broadening of expressions covered by copyright law (ibid.). Rights to knowledge "involve people, resources, and access to technology, the issue is inevitably politicized" (Cunningham, 1991: 7).

European expansion was fueled by a vision of *progress* linked to capitalism and nation-state building. Law is inextricably tied into social-cultural processes that maintain power relationships (Merry, 1992: 361). As a "transnational legal process" colonial law was used to create an indigenous wage labour force and to impose the European concept of property.[4] Abrupt changes in the management of knowledge and resources also included the prescription of colonial modes of representation transforming indigenous legal systems "from the embodied, spoken and interpreted text into a fixed, abstracted, and disembodied one that was written" (ibid.: 363-365).[5] Subject to similar processes of colonial oppression, Indigenous people in British settler nations express strong attitudes of distinctness and solidarity. Struggles towards decolonization include negotiations over land claims and an urgent concern for revitalization of important cultural institutions (Cruikshank, 1993: 134). Given the historical context it is not unusual then, that indigenous organizations are framing their authority over culture as *property*. This use of Western legal discourse, should be viewed as problematic; questions of ownership, definition and enforcement of indigenous rights have yet to be resolved. At issue are deeply imbedded notions of intellectual creations as individually created products with commercial value. Strathern connects this to a Euro-American emphasis on "investment in the future" involving "expectations that persons should enjoy the products of their labour" (1996: 17). Common legal usage of the concept of property is:

> That which is peculiar or proper to any one person; that which belongs exclusively to one. In the strict legal sense, an aggregate of rights which are guaranteed and protected by the government. The term is said to extend to every species of valuable right or interest. More specifically, ownership; the unrestricted and exclusive right to a thing; the right to dispose of a thing in every legal way, to possess it, to use it, and to exclude everyone else from interfering with it.... (Black, 1979: 1095)

Identity as Property

Red Crow, chief of the Blood Tribe (1887) and signatory of Treaty Number Seven appears on the fax cover sheet for the Kainaiwa Cultural Property By-law drafted in 1994. He stands holding a pipe and wearing the Treaty medal before the sacred Belly Buttes on the Blood Reserve in southern Alberta. The page turns and the

reader faces a Band Council Resolution form. The letterhead reads "The Department of Indian and Northern Affairs Canada." Boxes, some filled in, some blank, dictate spaces for administrative purposes; file numbers and expenditures. The headings appear in both French and English.

First, the Cultural Property By-law defines the territorial boundary of the reserve lands where the chief and Council have jurisdiction. Confirmation of the responsibility of this body to protect the cultural properties follows. The document then lists elements that comprise, "but not exhaustively," the Blood Tribe cultural properties. Included are material objects such as funerary, religious and artistic creations, tools and ornaments; places such as ancient burial sites "both on and off the reserve" and archaeological sites and finds. Listed also are vital elements of *culture* including "customs, religion and religious practices, traditions, language, oral histories and elders' testimonies."[6]

Why do Kainai people require a legal mechanism to protect their traditional lifeways? Part of the answer rests with the 19th-century establishment of disciplinary fields built on the collection of cultural artifacts. Such *artifacts* of humanity were used to define branches of knowledge as such and became the malleable substance of ethnocentric discourses linked to the bolstering of intellectual elites and nationalistic agendas (Trigger, 1989: 20). Anthropology's "quest for knowledge relied not only on scientific premises but also on ideological paradigms" (Tremblay, 1982: 2). "Nation-state formation has ... involved the active creation of myths of historical origin and tradition to justify" the inclusion of culturally distinct peoples within expanding boundaries (Miles, 1989: 112). At issue today is the imperative of self-definition of indigenous groups within nation-states (Cruikshank, 1993: 141).[7] The appropriation of indigenous cultures by outsiders includes land, art, sciences and ideas (E/CN.4/Sub.2/1993/28: 7). Concerning modern appropriators, Tahltan lawyer Callison names the New Age movement and feminist interpretations of oral traditions; as well, she quotes Lutz's (1990: 168) analogy of non-Aboriginal use of Aboriginal voices and Germans writing on the Holocaust using "the voice of Jewish victims" (Callison, 1995: 169). "Non-Aboriginal people have studied and written about Aboriginal culture to such an extent, both historically and currently, that we have lost cultural autonomy" (ibid.).

Perhaps the most important statement in the Kainai Resolution on cultural property appears last on page one of the document. "The cultural properties are very much the living culture and are the essence of our continued existence as Kainaiwa" (1994: 2). Blackfoot definitions of culture emphasize relationships and praxis (Crowshoe, 1991: 18). How is this living entity, "located ... in their own person and own relationships" to be interpreted and protected within a Western legal framework (Strathern, 1996: 25)?[8] I return to legal references: "property ... is also commonly used to denote everything which is the subject of ownership, corporeal or incorporeal, tangible or intangible, visible or invisible, real or personal" (Black, 1979: 1095).

Page two of the brief Kainaiwa resolution details the tribe's policy on research by/for external sources. Materials written or otherwise pertaining to Blood cultural properties must be reviewed and approved by the chief and Council prior to being published or made public. Access to the information must be made available at any time. Lastly, the form states that non-members of the Blood Tribe who are conducting unauthorized research on the reserve will be removed and persecuted under sections 31 and 91 of the *Indian Act*.

The *Indian Act* is federal legislation that defines and controls those persons "who pursuant to this act are registered as an Indian or entitled to be registered as an Indian" (*Indian Act*, 1989: 1). Section 31 pertains to "relief or remedy" in situations where persons "other than Indians" are trespassing on reserve lands. Notably, the Act states that the Attorney General of Canada will be responsible for pursuing action of removal or persecution through the courts (ibid.: 20). Under the heading "Trading with Indians," section 91 states:

> (1) No person may, *without written consent of the Minister*, acquire title to any of the following property situated on a reserve, namely,
>
> (a) an Indian gravehouse;
>
> (b) a carved grave pole;
>
> (c) a totem pole;
>
> (d) a carved house post; or
>
> (e) a rock embellished with paintings or carvings. ...
>
> (3) No person shall remove, take away, mutilate, disfigure, deface or destroy any chattel referred to in subsection (1) *without the written consent of the Minister*. (Ibid.: 52; emphasis added)

Here, the *Indian Act* comes closest to defining cultural property. The *Oxford English Dictionary* defines "chattel" as "moveable possession" (1984: 157). Clearly, the Department of Indian Affairs in constructing this list concentrates on material objects endowed with powerful symbolic properties. Items listed resonate with what is revered by European traditions as sacred and artistic treasure. Absent are elements of culture such as lan-

guage, customs and oral traditions. The last line of section 91 is perhaps most indicative of the role of the *Indian Act*. It is legislation scripted by a nation-state to control territories, the distribution of resources, and peoples defined as "Indians." Indeed, the Band Council Resolution itself is invested with authority only within the bounds of sections 81 and 82 of the same Act describing the by-law making "Powers of the Council" (ibid.: 45-48). The cultural property by-law is, in effect, an assertion of sovereignty of the Blood Tribe ***within*** the federal legislation of the *Indian Act*. Jurisdiction is, however, restricted to reserve lands and therefore limited in light of the fact that many infringements occur when traditional information or knowledge is disseminated outside of reserve bounds.

Although there is no standard definition of intellectual property rights, the following is a legal description.

> The bundle of rights which a person (the creator, the inventor, the author, the designer) holds against all other persons in relation to the product of his or her mind. The rights are to prevent others from doing specified acts which may detract from the commercial or intrinsic value of that product. (Leaffer, 1990: 1-2)

Industrial property and copyright law comprise the two major categories of intellectual property rights. The former includes patents (technological information), trademarks (symbolic information) and industrial designs (ibid.: 3). Industrial property law has never been applied to indigenous knowledge or artistic creations (Posey, 1991: 31). Copyright law includes neighbouring rights (expressive information) and encompasses art, music and literature (Leaffer, 1990: 3). National laws are conspicuously silent on intellectual property rights pertaining specifically to Indigenous peoples.

It is interesting to compare the above legal description of IPR with a suggested definition of cultural property.

> The rights held by an ethnic community affecting the use and control of traditional information (corporately held information relating to beliefs, values, and/or traditional behaviour) which define that community as a distinct cultural group. (Ruppert, 1994: 116)

Most glaring are contrasts between individual and collective control. Within tribal societies individuals and kinship groups control rights to various forms of cultural property. "These rights are recognized by tradition" (ibid.: 122; see also Callison, 1995: 166). Performance rights, narratives, "historical accounts of various groups of descent, villages, age grades, or chiefdoms" are classified by Vansina within the realm of copyright and illustrate a defined notion of ownership (1985: 98). Western copyright law is geared around individual ownership. Protection of intellectual property works through the lifetime of ***the*** author, ***the*** inventor, plus a period of 50 years. Many forms of indigenous knowledge ("folklore" or "mythology" as it becomes in this context) are without precise authorship or traceable moment of creation (Posey, 1991: 31). Cultural property confounds the notion of intellectual property further:

> ... one of the tests of a group's claims may be the transmissibility of cultural knowledge over the generations: it is authentic because it can be shown to have been handed on. Intellectual property is claimable precisely because it has not. So dispersal has to be controlled. (Strathern, 1996: 24)

Intellectual property has been recognized on an international level with the establishment by the United Nations of the World Intellectual Property Organization (WIPO). In 1992 this group found that:

> There is a relationship, in the laws and philosophies of indigenous peoples, between cultural property and intellectual property, and that the protection of both is essential to the indigenous peoples' cultural and economic survival and development. (E/CN.4/Sub.2/1992/30)

Paradoxically, the recognition of group rights depends to some extent on the recognition of group sovereignty. At the level of the nation-state—the Kainai Cultural Property By-law is subject to the discretion of the Minister of Indian Affairs.

> A great deal of what is done to native peoples the world over is on the assumption that any sort of ethnic attachment is subversive and, in the long run, separatist and therefore ought not to be tolerated. (Maybury-Lewis, 1990: 15)

State-Indigenous group relations involve complex interactions between different bureaucratic agencies, tribal organizations and international processes. The body most willing to deal with intellectual property rights and Indigenous issues is the United Nations.[9] This organization drafts declarations and reports that can exert a strong influence on the passage of national legislation.[10] An important acknowledgment by the United Nations is that the most effective means for protecting indigenous cultural property is through "territorial rights and self-determination" (E/CN.4/Sub.2/1993/28). This is framed as a human rights issue. Recognizing concerns of indigenous groups, the U.N. divided the area of intellectual

property rights into three categories: folklore and crafts; biodiversity; and indigenous knowledge (Suagee, 1994: 201). In a recent meeting on the protection of "heritage" of indigenous people this body made a resolution (E/CN.4/ Sub2/1997/15) to endorse principles and guidelines presented in the 1994 Draft of the Declaration on Rights of Indigenous Peoples:

> Indigenous peoples are entitled to the recognition of the full ownership, control and protection of their cultural and intellectual property. They have the right to special measures to control, develop and protect their sciences, technologies and cultural manifestations, including human and other genetic resources, seeds, medicines, knowledge of the properties of fauna and flora, oral traditions, literatures, designs and visual and performing arts. (E/CN.4/Sub2/1994/31, quoted in Suagee, 1994: 199)

WIPO developed a 1984 document called "The Model Provisions for National Laws on the Protection of Expressions of Folklore against Illicit Exploitation and Other Prejudicial Actions." Proposed here, is the recognition of individual *and* collective rights to folklore including the protection of oral materials as well as written. Most profoundly, the Model Provisions urged that the authority and enforcement of cultural properties research be in the hands of the community (Posey, 1991: 31). Resolutions of the United Nations are, however, only guidelines for member nation-states. In 1991 no country had adopted them. Canada, Brazil and the United States were opposed to the use of the word "indigenous" (ibid.).[11] Several scholars question the struggle for control over cultural property through Western legal mechanisms (Greaves, 1994; Posey, 1991; Strathern, 1996: 22). Posey suggests that even though United Nations' conventions contain no authority for enforcement they are valuable cornerstones to argue legal and ethical positions (ibid.: 30).

Perhaps most pressing is the use of traditional knowledge of remedies and medicines, plants and animals in ethnopharmacology. As Brush points out, access to such knowledge is often controlled by experts within the communities (1993: 657). An interesting tension appears between local practices of control over information, and the basis of a fight for recognition of the collective. Implicit in the approach to ethnobotanical knowledge is the assumption that these remedies are to be found in nature and are not the "products of human knowledge" (Elizabetsky, 1991: 10). On a transnational stage the so-called "genetic resources" are perceived to be common property belonging to the whole of humanity (Brush, 1993: 657). Rights to biological information "followed the scientific transformation of agriculture and other industries" using these materials (ibid.: 658). Knowledge elicited from local cultural specialists (usually called "folklore" or "tradition") is brought to corporate or academic laboratories in *first world* nations for the purpose of creating new products for private profit (Kloppenburg, 1991: 16). In many cases there is not adequate compensation to those imparting the information, and the credit for discovery goes to the scientists (Cunningham, 1991: 4).

It is predictable, given a capitalist worldview, to comprehend the exploitation of cultural resources that translate easily into profit. What of the forms of cultural property that do not? Cultural resources include "symbols, ideas, cultural uses and interpretations" (Pinel and Evans, 1994: 51). How do nation-states use representations of and imagery from indigenous cultures? Arriving at Canadian and Australian airports I have come to expect the sight of glass cases displaying the works of Indigenous artists and artisans. The image of the beaded and bonneted Native plains chief and the crimson Mountie are standard symbols on Canadian post cards. National galleries display the works of prominent Aboriginal artists. Are these not expressions of nationalism—signs that states have incorporated into their identities the indigenous populations that are oppressed within them? Or is it, simply, that culture sells?[12] Where are researchers situated in the cross-currents of images and symbolic properties?

What Knowledge and Knowledge for What?[13]

I open this section of my article highlighting a disciplinary assumption "that theory and method are the encompassing levels of discourse, and that knowledge of the practical, or knowledge-in-use derives from this higher level" (Harries-Jones, 1990: 240). Here I will discuss ownership and uses of field notes constructed in the process of arriving at anthropological *products*.

The agenda of progress has shifted from the production of material wealth through industrialization to "knowledge organizations" (ibid.: 235). Issues of intellectual property intersect with international trade as Western societies are increasingly technology and information based (Samuels, 1987: 48). "As the new centres of production of information and ideas in commodity form, universities have ... become crucial to the economic viability of the nation" (Harries-Jones, 1990: 235). The part played by anthropology is somewhat obscure

although significant. An understanding of *folk* or indigenous sciences and philosophies has contributed globally to knowledge of medicines, agriculture and biodiversity (Brush, 1993: 658). Representations, whether framed in terms of the exotic *primitive* or the indigenous *other* contribute to the popular imagination of the West and are manifest in cultural tourism and the imagery of advertising. In its haste to establish itself as a legitimate field of study, anthropology defined its disciplinary bounds by instituting a set of principles for practice. Clashes between what I will call *laws of anthropology* and the protection of indigenous cultural property are important to consider.

Bond distinguishes the "terrain" of field notes as one "marked by secrecy and taboo" (1990: 273). To another anthropologist they represent a "bizarre genre" that encapsulates the "doing of fieldwork and the writing of ethnography" (Lederman, 1990: 72). Ethnographic field work is intensely personal, relies a great deal on collaboration with participants, and involves, to some extent, serendipity. Fieldnotes, then are "part of the process of a negotiated and refracted reality, constructed in the interplay with our local tutors and informants, our observations and our theories" (Bond, 1990: 276). The insecurity surrounding field notes may best be seen as a disciplinary anxiety over validity (Sanjek, 1990: 394-395). According to Sanjek, there are three "canons" of ethnographic validity: theoretical candor, the ethnographer's path and field note evidence (ibid.: 395-404). While all three may be written into the resulting ethnography, field notes are rarely viewed by a public audience. They constitute the private treasures of professionals whose careers may hinge on an academic edict of *publish or perish*. This is the terrain of personal property.

> Anyhow with this letter I do you a request. But when you think it will be bad for your Bali book, I won't do it. Do you think I can write a short article about the cockfight.... But I tell you if you think this action will be a bit bad for your book, I won't do it. I don't want to make profit of any of the stuff we have collected. It belongs all to you. (Mead, 1977: 238 in Sanjek, 1990: 408)

The above is from a letter written by I Made Kaler to Mead in 1938. It is an uncomfortable artifact of the asymmetry that characterize(d) traditional relationships between *informants* and ethnographers. Perhaps ironically, the writer identifies Mead's ownership of materials that were collected together.

Ethnographic research has witnessed a sea change since pioneers such as Mead conducted their initial forays into tropical societies. Most notable is the increasing recognition of indigenous groups in political spheres (Messer, 1993: 238). "Anthropology is structured by the on-going and cumulative historical experience of encounters and comprehensions between Europeans and others" (Stocking, 1983: 56). In the last 30 years, anthropologists have reformulated their approaches in response to efforts of decolonization. Publishing realms are now shared by those persons who formerly appeared as *informants* in texts. Participants in research express clear critiques of oppression and exploitation—many "use legal claims framed in transnational discourses of human rights, treaty rights, or self-determination" (Merry, 1992: 368). It is this context within which participant people are demanding to have control over the *information* collected by anthropologists. Does this include field notes?

Scholars have copyright over ethnographic interpretations and field work materials constructed during and after research (Pinel and Evans, 1994: 49). In this legal context that privileges individual ownership we witness what disciplinary tradition would call "academic freedom" and we are forced to acknowledge that "rights" are culturally biased (ibid.: 50).

> The members of the University enjoy certain rights and privileges essential to the fulfillment of its primary functions: instruction and the pursuit of knowledge. Central among these rights is the freedom, within the law, to pursue what seem to them fruitful avenues of inquiry, to teach and *to learn unhindered by external or non-academic constraints*, to engage in full and unrestrained consideration of any opinion.... ("Academic Freedom," *University of British Columbia Calendar*, 1995-96: 49; emphasis added)

Attention is drawn to distinctions between the value and use of *information* in scholarly, social, and legal contexts (Pinel and Evans, 1994: 53).

Information recorded, perhaps unwittingly, by fieldworkers, is undeniably useful to people pursuing recognition within legal and political arenas. Materials are mined for verification of historical claims to lands, traditional resource activities or forms of leadership and government. A researcher whose intellectual interests do not fall in these areas may never publish these materials.[14] As *witness* the anthropologist may be recording crucial interactions between oppressive national regimes and subordinated groups. The irony, of course, is that these textualized accounts hold a somehow objective aura of legitimacy, particularly within a literalist legal culture.[15] There are, however, some disturbing ethical dilemmas that surround the return of field notes to communities

from which they were elicited. I call on the responses of professional anthropologists/fieldworkers whom I contacted with this question.

> This is a request for your participation in a research project for "Anthropology and the Law." During discussion, the use of field notes was raised. Some members of the class felt that upon completion of a research project, field notes should become the property of the community. Notably, the discussion referred to First Nations' use of these materials. Regardless of your research setting I am interested in your perceptions of the nature of this documentation and your reactions to the above suggestions as individuals operating within the bounds of disciplinary, institutional and legal contexts. Should you choose to participate please be assured that this is entirely confidential—your responses are anonymous. Unless specified, in responding you give your permission for your anonymous answers to be quoted in my paper.[16]

Two respondents addressed the need to make participants aware of the creation of different modes of documentation.

> ... Like audio or video tapes, purchased museum specimens, and intended publications, fieldnotes are products of research and subjects should be made aware of them. (Written response)

> The role I took was professional. I had a push for time, it is a professional relationship. I conducted formal interviews, where individuals expected my book to be open. They knew that I was recording, they were aware of my books.... I had six fieldnote books. Number 5 was the good one—the "book of secrets" as they called it.... (Personal interview, notes)

The first statement of the Society for Applied Anthropology on Professional and Ethic Responsibility reads: "To the people we study we owe disclosure of our research goals, methods and sponsorship" (van Willigen, 1986: 52). A shroud of secrecy obscures the activities involved in anthropological field work. Marxist critiques in particular address the complicitness in anthropology's past of contributing to colonial and imperialist agendas. Perhaps most vivid in the public memory is the counterinsurgency research conducted during the Vietnam War era (Messer, 1993: 238). Another aspect of secrecy involves what Ryan calls "a characteristic of academic elites ... the idea that knowledge is ... to be shared only by those admitted to the inner circle and to be guarded by them" (1990: 212). Guarding of disciplinary boundaries is most evident in the discursive realm of the discipline. Dissemination of anthropological knowledge commonly occurs through exclusive mediums: journals and other texts, seminars and conferences. Literary products mark the "major object of disciplinary advancement" (Tremblay, 1982: 5).

Although I was very interested in what anthropologists had to say about the *nature* of field notes, only two respondents chose to comment on this.

> Fieldnotes are not some perfect representation of something that exists out there—they are a construction based on impressions offered in a particular context (even tape recordings have this virtue of course).... (Written response)

> What was I thinking? In my fieldnotes there is an omission of personal experience and often context—kitchens where I interviewed, moods of people.... What I felt was important was theoretical, logical. I don't legitimize my emotions within anthropology. Being a mother— time was the most important factor. That defined my notes. It's not a job for a person who has a life—it's a job for Evans-Pritchard! I take a scientific approach—not "I am a fieldnote" [where there are] no records, just memory. You have to train yourself to write everything down as it happens. I would like someone else to make sense of my fieldnotes.... How dare people get money and spend two years without producing fieldnotes. Its exploitative—Produce a record! (Notes from personal interview)

Concerning the question of returning field notes to the community where work was conducted, all respondents agreed with the practice as "good ethics." One person went further writing:

> I strongly agree with this policy and think that we should attempt to give copies of notes, drawings, maps, and photographs from earlier projects when this was not a formal requirement. (Written response)

"Formal requirements" may include cultural property by-laws of individual groups and obligations to contracting agencies. While each fieldworker acknowledged a personal attachment to their field notes—they claimed no exclusive ownership over the materials. Ruppert (1994: 113-128) discusses research conducted with First Nations groups for the United States Parks Service. His paper is valuable in that it highlights problems he encountered when the funding agency was the United States government. In this case Ruppert and the Parks Service held equal rights to the materials he elicited—the data collected, however, became public property. Although the government and Ruppert sought to protect the elicited materials by turning control over

to the First Nations involved, no legal mechanism exists for the transfer of public property to a private party (ibid.: 118). Ruppert outlines the distinctions between a grant and a contract. The former, says he, is a looser agreement structured around the goals of the researcher while the latter is strict in design and administration and is motivated by profit. As a contractor for the U.S. Park Service, Ruppert was bound to create a *product*. He asks the question: "Are a researcher's fieldnotes the object of procurement, or is a report, summary, or analysis the object of the purchase?" (ibid.: 121-122). The legal ground is fuzzy. Ruppert is concerned with ownership of the notes because of the "culturally sensitive properties" they contain (ibid.). Perhaps the ultimate irony is that in order for indigenous people to make a case for protection of rights to cultural property, they must make some sacred materials public (Pinel and Evans, 1994: 49).

I find it important here, to distinguish between what Geertz called "Being here: Being there" (1988: 1ff). The context within which the initial question of disposition of field notes was raised, concerned First Nations' people of North America. During informal discussions with anthropologists whose research fields are "there" I have heard descriptions of researchers working with First Nations as "too politically correct." The political and representational contexts of research structure possible routes through which *information* travels. Bell raises the issue regarding her field work with Australian Aboriginal women. To her, "know(ing) something of the larger forces that shape the lives of all, not just the group with whom one works" translates into a form of accountability through shared citizenship (1993: 294). I would suggest that issues of access to research materials are extremely relevant here.

Three of the anthropologists I called on to respond to the question of field notes work in distant locations where their research was/is authorized by the agencies of military national regimes

> I would never just hand over my fieldnotes to [Government research organization]. It would be nice to think that those voices would be heard by those in power but I think that it would really endanger some of the people I worked with.... I kept a lot of stuff in my head—sent copies of all of my notes home—You never know they could just seize them at the airport or something.... (Notes, telephone interview.)

> The _____ Government supervises researchers closely and NGO's have their expectations too.... This ties into what I think anthropologists are supposed to do, the role of anthropology. There is a legacy of works—Spivak ... and Asad deal with dominance. Anthropologists overestimate their own importance and the role of the discipline in changing the world—righting wrongs. Anthropologists pose little threat to those in power. To me its the legacy of teaching, the intellectual process where you make an important impact on a local community.... [Handing over my field notes] won't change anything. It may threaten other relationships for anthropologists coming after me.... My presence there was political. I can show that culture is strong—that would be good for the local [religious] leader but it gives no credibility to the indigenous voice with the Government. Fieldnotes might slightly worsen [Government-Indigenous] relations for a short time. But they are easy to discredit.... (Notes, personal interview)

> Fieldnotes are a real issue for people in the [region]. They are unpublished, its a political and intellectual issue. I have guilt associated with keeping them. It's unethical, it's unfair. We're [ethnographers] considered elders now—it's our responsibility to contribute our knowledge. At one time it was a rather precarious political context—now it's different. (Personal communication, notes)

Transnational contexts within which many anthropologists conduct research are challenging. Often, like the people they work with, researchers are juggling demands from states, religious authorities, transnational corporations, Non-Government Organizations and funding agencies (Messer, 1993: 236). "How effective can anthropologists be ... without threatening the future of anthropology or anthropologists in the host country?" (ibid.: 238)

The political context of field work and the construction of field notes is tied inextricably to the primary edict of anthropological ethics: *Do no harm*.

> One of the problems in community-wide studies (most ethnographic research) is that many different research agreements are entered upon—one with the governing body of a community, others with each individual informant who may be interviewed. The common element is the researcher, who has an unavoidable responsibility to all participants. Part of this is to ensure that the research does not injure any of the subjects. This may require privacy or confidentiality of one part of the research from another. (Written response)

> Where journals are kept, people will write things down that they should not. In a situation where great care is often taken so that anonymity is maintained, field notes often will destroy this.... Certainly some form of "raw

> data" needs to be made available to the community. Probably the form would ideally be specified in the permit process, with the emphasis on protecting individuals. (Written response)

Researchers are subject to federal and provincial laws, disciplinary ethics and contracts with the local communities and individuals where they conduct research. One respondent stated that the *Freedom of Information and Privacy Act of British Columbia* would protect the rights of a researcher to maintain possession of field note materials. Under the heading "Disclosure Harmful to Personal Privacy" Section 22(1) reads: "... may refuse to disclose ... if ... the personal information has been supplied in confidence." Another respondent emphatically wrote:

> Research agreements or contracts with subjects, or state laws of privacy or confidentiality, should not be used by researchers to side-step their personal responsibility. (Written response)

Ethical guidelines stipulate the protection of individuals' anonymity.

> The people we study must be made aware of the likely limits of confidentiality and must not be promised a greater degree of confidentiality than can be realistically expected under current legal circumstances in our respective nations. (van Willigen, 1986: 52)

Ethical dilemmas involved in turning over field note materials are multidimensional. First, as the respondent below asks: Who represents the community? Responses show that in some areas governments control information and the disclosure of materials could unwittingly identify local leaders to military authorities; threaten community relations; or jeopardize the position of the researcher. Second, there exists a tension between the ideals of conducting research on contentious issues and again, threatening the professional and ethical stance of the researcher

> I don't believe that as a general rule researchers are necessarily obliged to provide fieldnotes to the community. How you would define community is one problem.... Some fieldwork focuses upon conflict in "communities" and it is not clear that fieldnotes would be usefully distributed. Finally, if these fieldnotes are going to be passed along to the Head of my Dept., as the official representative of this community, I might censor, quite severely, what I say. (Written response)

In my research on intercultural interaction between First Nation and non-Native communities these issues are particularly potent. I did not separate field note materials on each community for the object of study was precisely the interactions between them. The issues I dealt with revolved around racism and relationships between the two communities that have a history of conflict. Given my ethical responsibility to protect *all* participants of the study, where could the field notes be of best use? A partial resolution rests with yet another rendering of the original materials.

All respondents agreed that some kind of editing would be required prior to handing over field note materials.

> The "____" are currently creating a literary record of themselves. I would be honored if I was asked to contribute my fieldnotes but I would reserve the right to cut out anything I wanted to. Maybe it would be a summary of my fieldnotes—I wouldn't give them my "ideas" book ("emotions came out much more clearly in this book"). (Personal interview, notes)

> It should be understood from the start that researchers will need to keep some information confidential—this possibility should be allowed for or understood to be the case, when research agreements are made. The best approach in a situation where fieldnotes are to be placed in an archives or turned over to communities, may be to agree that there still may be a researcher's confidential record—not the property of anyone else. (Written response)

> What should be done? I expect keeping notes from the ground up with these factors in mind is one thing. [The reference is to the identification of informants and legal anthropological testimony.] Editing notes to remove anything that identifies people beyond the formal arrangements made with the band, etc. is another. (Written response)

> I would want the opportunity to edit my fieldnotes. Mostly, because of embarrassment I feel over botched notes. I collected so many genealogies. These aren't just notations of descent they are peoples' ancestors—and perhaps I spilt coffee on them! I would also want to edit out personal materials. (Personal communication, notes)

Practitioners of the discipline cover a vast spectrum of approaches ranging from applied to predominantly theoretical works. The *laws* of anthropology, as I have called them, are based primarily on ethical *guidelines*.

> Because research topics may be so varied, and the scope of participation and involvement in research may be so diverse in scale ... there can be no single best

rule about disposition of notes that would fit all cases. (Written response)

It is noteworthy that although field work is *the* empirical "constituting experience" of anthropologists and their knowledge, there is a dearth of training or discussion on some of the more problematic areas of the practice (Stocking, 1983: 7-8). Since the early British School of Anthropology inscribed the field work method as unique to the discipline, the *mythic character* of a single researcher in the field has remained. Paine suggests that this disciplinary law promotes a kind of "loneliness born of the unique pretension of a discipline that has left each practitioner with a sole responsibility for the collection, presentation and interpretation of research data" (1990: 251). His discussion revolves around making the decision to "translate or advocate?" (ibid.). I suggest that this decision is further complicated by the laws existing within academic institutions where many researchers have some obligations. Here, our theses and dissertations become *career capital* that satisfy disciplinary requirements and mark out areas of future specialization.[17]

Tensions between personal responsibility and career requirements bring us back to the question of field notes in terms of property. The legal definition of the term as stated above deals with possession, use or disposal of a thing. One respondent stated that a researcher's responsibilities included:

> . . . the necessity to decide whether to destroy or keep records, and if they are to be kept, how to regulate use. Keeping of records entails costs of two kinds: (a) material costs of storing and conservation, and (b) costs of controlling access and use. Agreements to turn notes over to other individuals, or to communities, should not be made without making reasonably sure the recipient is made aware of the costs and is willing and able to provide the care they require—including regulating access and use as agreed upon when the research notes were produced. . . . (Written response)

One suggestion is that disciplinary bodies should require the preservation of the "anthropological record" in a specified institutional location (Krech and Sturtevant, 1992: 121). The question of access to research materials has no simple answer. Time restrictions are one possibility, but what if the materials inscribe secret knowledge not shared in the community of origin? (ibid.: 125). Complications arise when material deals with the issue of conflict between and within groups. A partial solution rests in combined efforts between scholars and local custodians of records. Many First Nation communities work with the field notes of living researchers and those now deceased. Authorized individuals manage the information within whatever bounds are appropriate.

I am currently conducting research in rural B.C. with people from First Nation and Euro-Canadian communities. Although not phrased in terms of copyright or cultural property, participants from both communities are extremely aware of the potential destinations for the material I am eliciting. To First Nation individuals it is an issue stemming from a long history of *being studied*, sometimes by people using deceitful tactics. Loss of both representational control and the subsequent political and commercial benefits are of great concern. Euro-Canadians are witnessing an eruption of books on local history and express strong opinions about exploitative *strangers* misrepresenting the past and making money. In contrast to research conducted five years ago, individuals I am working with appreciate the use of a consent form and the accountability that this suggests. I now write my field notes with greater care: information identifying individuals is absent; my more personal thoughts are inscribed elsewhere; I have informed people that I write notes each day. Formal interviews take more time: transcriptions are gone over with each participant to confirm permission to use material. Copies of my field notes will be offered to local archives in both communities. Transcripts of interviews with individuals will remain confidential as stipulated in the consent form.

My final section of this article opens with a Gift Agreement between a museum and myself regarding the institution's acquisition of 25 oral history tapes. Here I am trying to get at further complexities in the flow of anthropological *information*: ownership and legal responsibility for works and academic/institutional sanctions.

Data: Faces of the Scholarly Commodity

The "property" referred to in the agreement consists of tapes and calendars I constructed while employed by Parks Canada. The oral histories were elicited from Euro-Canadian *pioneers* residing in and around the national park in commemoration of the park's centennial year. As a complicating factor, a provincial heritage foundation provided some monetary support for the project stipulating that the materials be made accessible to the public through a recognized institution. In this case federal, provincial, institutional and scholarly interests are confounded.

Parks Canada was recently placed in the newly created Department of Canadian Heritage of the Federal Government. I was hired by Cultural Resources Management within Parks Canada. Materials I elicited were to

contribute to the park *information system* in such areas as archaeological sites; natural resource extraction; traditional land use (ranching, agriculture and subsistence); and *culture*. Authorization forms stated that any or all of the elicited oral history may be used by Parks Canada and private researchers. In some cases individual restrictions were entered onto the form. Parks Canada informed me prior to conducting the research that I had copyright over the materials. According to the Canadian Copyright Law "where any work is, or has been, prepared or published by or under the direction or control of any government department, the copyright in that work belongs to the government" (Harris, 1995: 89). The "creators of these works" however, are their "authors" (ibid.).

In the case of sound recordings, "the author . . . is the person who made the arrangements for the recording" (Cornish, 1990: 67; see also Callison, 1995). This legal distinction separates form from content. Copyright is said to "subsist" within the form in which an idea is clothed . . . not in the idea itself (McCabe, 1990: 122).[18] Here, the rationale is that *a fact is a fact* and therefore not subject to protection. There may, however, be two separate owners of copyright in the case of sound recordings (Harris, 1995: 83). As "creator" of the interview, I have copyright over the recording, however, the speakers of the words have copyright in the material (Cornish, 1990: 67; Harris, 1995: 83). Legislation dealing with copyright law focuses mostly on the reproduction of materials rather than the complexities of ownership. Copyright infringements are dealt with in civil court and must be initiated by the owner of the copyright (McCabe, 1990: 122). Protection from copying extends from the point of creation of the *property*, through the lifetime of the author until 50 years after his/her death (ibid.; see also Callison for implications for First Nations' oral traditions, 1995: 174-178).

Archival collections function as custodian and distributor of knowledge. "Generally all museums collect, preserve, use and house artifacts for the benefit of society" (Silverman and Parezo, 1992: 62). The Gift Agreement in my case asks that I:

> assign absolutely and forever my entire rights, clear deed and universal copyright, ownership, estate and interests in and to the objects to the Museum as an unrestricted and unconditional gift.

While asked to give up my rights to the materials I am also signing to accept responsibility for "any charges, claims, demands or expenses related to failure to observe any Provincial or Federal laws." These include "slander (verbal falsehood), libel (written falsehood) and defamation (statements that injure reputations) . . . a person who has died, who is not a public figure, and about whom malice was not intended cannot be defamed" (Krech and Sturtevant, 1992: 125).

Issues arising from this document concern *laws* of academe—priority of publication, co-authorship and what I consider to be a failure on the part of my discipline to raise awareness of legal-ethical implications of anthropological practice. Universities are themselves struggling to justify their existence in a societal environment that presently holds economic interests above all else.[19] Within the institutions, disciplines compete for support and strive to justify their domains of knowledge. Within the disciplines, students compete for funding based on past performance and *originality* of research interests. Faculty and students are pressured to publish works that are viewed as tangible evidence of productivity. When the oral history materials from my project enter the public domain, they lose the status of original work. Ryan writes of a collaborative project with a First Nation community wherein the Band maintained copyright over research materials. The researchers were graduate students, and conflict arose with the Dean of Graduate Studies regarding the loss of control over the knowledge generated through the work (1990: 210-211). Once again, the issue pivots on ethics.

Control over information is commonplace in many social collectivities (Vansina, 1985: 96). Within institutional traditions, "Academic Regulations" prescribe acceptable modes of conduct regarding knowledge. As custom dictates, I reference my disciplinary ancestors and contemporaries thus recognizing their original contributions to my presentation of ideas.[20] Sanctions surrounding plagiarism are particularly potent in the scholarly realm.

> Plagiarism is a form of academic misconduct in which an individual submits or presents the work of another person as his or her own. Scholarship, quite properly rests upon examining and referring to the thoughts and writings of others. (*University of British Columbia Calendar*, 1995-96: 52)

What of the *traditional* narratives collected in the field that constitute the *data* upon which anthropological products are based? Clearly, the edict excludes such forms. The following statement appears within the university's definition of plagiarism.

> Damaging, removing or making unauthorized use of University property, or the personal property of faculty,

> staff, students, or others at the University. Without restricting the generality of the meaning of "property" it includes information however it be recorded or stored. (Ibid.: 53)

Tremblay raises a question regarding field work: Is our "presence in their midst for our own personal advancement, rather than altruistic reasons?" (1982: 4). The solution seems obvious. Anthropological practice must proceed with "conscientious consideration of the interests of the research population in the research design process" (van Willigen, 1986: 47). Indeed, as I have shown above, researchers work with people who "impose conditions for entering their community and control observational settings" (Tremblay, 1982: 4). Shift in power from university-initiated research, to models arrived at through dialogue with local communities calls for a collaborative approach and ultimately, co-authorship (Cruikshank, 1993: 134). This turn threatens the boundaries of anthropology as an authoritative scientific enterprise. It also poses an enormous challenge to new generations of scholars who are simultaneously seeking credentials within disciplinary traditions and doing research in increasingly high-profile, political contexts.

Conclusion

> What would be the result if science as a whole and anthropological sciences in particular did not have a monopolistic control over what has been customarily labeled "the universe of knowledge?" (Tremblay, 1982: 6-7)

This article has raised more questions than it has provided answers. At base is the question of how to reconcile the collision of cultural discourses and practices constituting systems of order in different contexts. Control over the creation, ownership and dispersal of knowledge takes on particular forms within and between "different social collectives" (Strathern, 1996: 24). Echoing Strathern, what is most important is to look to the places where the flow of information is cut off and claimed.

Regarding the Kainai Cultural Property by-law, conflicts arise between notions of customary law and Western legal discourses; collective and individual rights to ownership; and Indigenous-nation-state struggles for control over resources. The Mataatua Declaration on Cultural and Intellectual Property Rights of Indigenous Peoples calls for definition of these properties by the communities themselves (E/CN.4/Sub.2/AC.4/1993/GRP.5: 3). Development of codes of ethics for external researchers and an assessment of existing legislation regarding the protection of cultural properties are also suggested (ibid.: 4). Recommendations to national laws include the recognition of collective *and* individual rights, and retroactive and multigenerational coverage of properties within a "cooperative rather than competitive framework" (ibid.: 5).

The Executive Summary on Aboriginal self-government in Canada states that "negotiable self-government powers" include:

> the establishment of governing structures, leadership selection and group membership; language, culture, religion; education; land, resource and environmental management on Aboriginal lands and a range of authorities in areas such as health and social services, law enforcement and administration, housing, taxation, policing,... regulation and operation of Aboriginal businesses, among others.... Negotiated self-government arrangements would enable First Nations to exercise control over their own affairs and deliver programs and services better tailored to their own values and cultures. (1995: 4-5)

Authority to pass laws over "those parts of the National legal framework that apply to all Canadians" is not included in *negotiated arrangements*. Under the heading "Other National Interest Powers," the Federal Policy Guide on which the Executive Summary is based, states that regarding intellectual property rights, "it is necessary that the Federal Government maintain its law making authority" (1995).[21]

As individuals subject to law's authority and working within local and ethical contexts, researchers constitute a site at the crossroads of controversy about cultural property. They are aware of and expect to work within some sort of formal agreement with communities and individuals regarding control over information. Field notes remain, however, an ambiguous entity in the final tally of ownership over research materials. Respondents in this study offered views about the disposition of notes that go beyond a community's rights to cultural property. Concerns included: anonymity and confidentiality required in the case of local conflicts; exposing communities to threats by government, bureaucratic and military authorities; errors in recorded information that may later undermine community rights'; exposure of the researcher's private, emotional expressions; and ensuring adequate archival techniques and dissemination protocol.

Within universities the management of original research materials must satisfy the laws of academia that prescribe the criteria within which we become members

of our tradition. The requirement to maintain personal ownership over information for teaching purposes and professional advancement is strict. Not surprisingly, *law* and *property* are invoked in statements on academic freedom and plagiarism. Academia is strangely silent when it comes to discussing control over products of research and potential legal repercussions. As my discussion of the Gift Agreement shows, issues of copyright and legal responsibility are not at all straightforward. Right now, disciplinary opinions are sought to translate the world views of others within cultures of legality. Our scholarly and professional *products* are subject to subpoena in legal arenas and are open to the scrutiny of those people with whom we work.

Many scholars are now examining transnational processes. Works call for the conceptualization of models to articulate new relationships between "states, peoples and cultures on a world scale" (Balibar, 1991: 21). Capitalist and nationalist ideologies, intellectual traditions and realms of lived experience are complicit in the 20th-century *fact* of the "changing social, territorial and cultural reproduction of group identity" (Appadurai, 1991: 191). Theoretically, research includes processes of change—particularly colonialism and capitalist expansion (Ortner, 1984: 158). Research contexts have shifted from a primarily small-scale society focus, to the inclusion of state-local relations. This move threatens the implicitly non-political nature of much anthropological work (Messer, 1993: 221). Highlighted, are traditional values such as objectivity and relativism; the concept of culture as a neatly bounded entity; and, in the case of challenging political authorities, threats to field work opportunities (ibid.: 224; see also Harries-Jones, 1990: 236). "The change is not in what you find, but what you do with what you find" (Paine, 1990: 252).

What is required is a reconfiguration of the ways in which we conceptualize our practice, difficult introspection on the part of bureaucratic institutions and scholarly traditions. As I have shown, the tension extends to the recognition of autonomous local laws within the interests of nation-states that attempt to homogenize diverse systems (Merry, 1992: 357). "Law maintains power relationships" makes them seem natural, endowed with legitimacy and authority (ibid.: 361-362). This is evident in disciplinary traditions, indigenous customary practices and the legal framework of property rights.

Notes

1 I would like to thank the fieldworkers who contributed their views to this paper; Bruce Miller who raised the issue of ownership of field notes in a graduate seminar; Julie Cruikshank, Leslie Butt and Nancy Wachowich for their comments; and the reviewers for their critical encouragement.

2 Other concepts around which anthropology constitutes itself are also imbued with a sense of continuity and stability. To Clifford, "culture... orders phenomena in ways that privilege the coherent, balanced and 'authentic' aspects of a shared life" in general opposition to anarchy (1988: 232-234). Jackson views the idea of objectivity within the discipline of anthropology in much the same way. He sees it as a "magical token, bolstering our sense of self in disorienting situations" (1989: 3).

3 It is interesting to note that in Roman Law, "traditio" was the term used for the transfer of ownership of private property (Shils, 1981: 16).

4 The significance of property has occupied scholars in anthropology since the 19th century. It is interesting to note that two eminent scholars concerned with the concept—Morgan and Maine were both practising lawyers. Property was described by Lewis Henry Morgan as "a passion over all other passions [that] marks the commencement of civilization" (1877: 6). As a witness to the land grab that was occurring in frontier America, he felt that the establishment of political society for Native peoples was dependent on the adoption of private ownership and an acceptance of the "idea of property."

5 The legacy of intellectual beliefs justifying colonial law require examination. An Enlightenment world view had waged war against tradition. It was perceived as "the cause or the consequence of ignorance, superstition, clerical dominance, religious intolerance, social hierarchy..." (Shils, 1981: 6). In the quest to promote progress of human societies, a dichotomy was established polarizing scientific and traditional knowledge. The former was based on rationality and the individual experience of the senses; the latter belonged to the authoritative regimes of elders and monarchs (ibid.: 4). From the mid to late 19th century, anthropologists made broad generalizations involving laws that guided the evolution of humanity towards higher levels of rationality. An obsession with development lead rationalists to envision "progress from savagery to the highest civilization and improvement" (Evans-Pritchard, 1981: 14). Colonial officials sought to abolish hierarchy, religious devotion and illiteracy by enforcing laws that emphasized individualistic and meritocratic ideals (Shils, 1981: 11).

6 The list reflects phenomena that have traditionally constituted the domain of anthropological enquiry. "Culture or Civilization, taken in its ethnographic sense, is that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, laws, custom and any other capabilities and habits acquired by [hu]man as a member of society" (Tylor, 1871: 1:1).

7 "Cultural distinctiveness has been integral to the history of exchange between aboriginal nations and the Euro-Canadian state" (Scott, 1993: 328). As a political tool, "culture" is embedded in discourses of self-government. Scott comments on the inflexible use of the term by the nation-state in contrast to a "reality of aboriginal culture[s] as changing, adapting, and developing" (ibid.: 312).

8 As Strathern notes, *culture* itself is drawn into the debate. "Global spread" and "recent diaspora" complicate the "difficulty of identifying cultural ownership [which] must include

the fact that cultures are not discreet bodies: it is 'societies' that set up boundaries" (1996: 23).

9 WIPO administers conventions for the protection of cultural properties of indigenous groups. "Most conventions simply establish standards for accountability and reciprocity of State parties' national legislation" (E/CN.4/Sub.2/1993/28: 31).

10 Suagee cites the 1977 example of Linda Lovelace, a Maliseet woman who challenged the Canadian *Indian Act* regarding loss of residency status because of her marriage to a non-Native man. The U.N. ruled that Canadian law contravened her right under the Covenant on Civil and Political Rights. In 1985, Bill C-31 amended the *Indian Act* allowing status for Native omen and their children and returning control to the bands regarding issues of membership (1994: 196).

11 Brush provides an interesting discussion of the appearance and ultimately politicized meanings of the term *indigenous* after 1980 (1993: 658-650). A U.N. press release recently stated: "Regarding the concept of 'indigenous peoples' the working group took note of the general consensus . . . that it was not yet possible to arrive at a universal decision" (GA/SHC/3442 1997). In the same session representatives from the U.S.A. "recognized the significance that indigenous people attached to the term 'peoples' . . . [stating] that the term would be conditionally accepted provided that its use was not construed to include rights of self-determination or any other rights that might attach under international law" (ibid.).

12 Two cases from Australia deal with issues of copyright and the use of indigenous representations. The case of Australian Aboriginal artist Terry Yumbulul revolves around the issue of "statutory recognition of Aboriginal communal interests in the reproduction of sacred objects" (Golvan, 1992: 229). His work, titled "Morning Star Pole," was on permanent display in the Australian Museum in Sydney. A court case was initiated when a reproduction of the work appeared on the commemorative ten-dollar note issued by the Reserve Bank of Australia (ibid.: 229). Yumbulul argued that the work was not a sculpture but a sacred object where the authority to reproduce was held by tribal owners, in this case the elders of the Galpu clan. The court action was unsuccessful for Yumbulul who had legally agreed to conditions of the exhibition. Ironically, in the eyes of the legal system, the artist was *protected* as the sole creator and copyright owner of the pole (ibid.). In another Australian case, artist John Bulun Bulun brought an action for infringement of copyright against a T-shirt manufacturer who was reproducing his paintings without permission (ibid.). This litigation was successful. Reverberations were seen in the response by the tourist industry that initially withdrew articles of unauthorized Aboriginal imagery and then proceeded to create their own versions of Aboriginal art (ibid.). Perhaps most interesting in Golvan's article is his statement that "The works of Aboriginal artists have become our national artistic symbols" (ibid.: 227).

13 The title of a paper by Mark Tremblay (1982). He addresses the state of anthropological practice within a global context critically assessing dominant scientific discourses.

14 The veracity of this situation was recently impressed upon me through a reading of Morgan's *Indian Journals 1859-62* (White, ed., 1993). He inscribed a large body of *raw data* including toponynms; movements of village sites; clan territories; indigenous legal and economic systems; and systemic corruption on the part of government structures. Much of this material did not appear in Morgan's published works and stood well outside of his evolutionary theoretical scheme.

15 A legal obsession with the written word is evident in litigation that involves the admissibility of oral tradition (*Delgamuukw v. the Queen*, 1987; Clifford, 1988: 277-349). At issue are Western distinctions between written and oral traditions; mythology and history. Lincoln outlines three important criteria of "past oriented narratives" labeled history. First, these must have "a numerically specified position in a sequence of elapsed time." Secondly, the narratives require "written sources to attest to them" and lastly "their only significant actors are humans" (1989: 24). Mythology then, as some oral traditions are categorized, is suspect in its truth value through omission of these criteria. On December 11, 1997 the Supreme Court of Canada addressed these assumptions in the appeal of *Delgamuukw v. British Columbia*: "The Aboriginal tradition in the recording of history is neither linear nor . . . does it assume that human beings are anything more than one . . . element of the natural order. . . . It is less focussed on establishing objective truth. . . . The difficulty with these features of oral histories is that they are tangential to the ultimate purpose of the fact-finding process at trial—the determination of the historical truth" (Delgamuukw, 1997).

16 Three respondents pointed out that the problem of the disposition of field notes is related in part to the way in which I have worded the question in that the protection of anonymity is difficult to maintain and carries with it potential consequences. No respondents chose to be anonymous.

17 An Australian court decision (*Foster v. Mountford*, 1976) addressed the tension between career and ethical choices. The judge ruled to ban the sale of a book portraying sacred knowledge shared by elders with an experienced anthropologist. At issue was the scholar's awareness of the restricted nature of the information given his extensive experience in the community (E/CN.4/Sub.2/1993/28: 22).

18 Within the *Canadian Copyright Act*, the "nature" of copyright rests in satisfying three conditions: originality ("the work must originate from the author; must be the product of his labour and skill; and must be the expression of his thoughts"); tangibility (expression of a work in material form, capable of identification and of a permanent nature"); and expiration (this "limits protection to a specific term") (Callison, 1995: 174-176).

19 The discourse is apparent in an article from the *Vancouver Sun*, Saturday, November 25, 1995. In it, President Strangway's fund-raising capabilities are praised in the midst of criticisms regarding the "corporatization" of academic institutions in danger of becoming part of the "industrial-university complex" (A20). A pamphlet entitled "The University of British Columbia Must Prepare for the 21st Century" recently appeared in the boxes of faculty and graduate students. Labeled "vision consultation"; this pamphlet outlines the need to consider "investment in the future" and develop "research partnerships" with industry

and government. The saleability of *knowledge* is a given, as are the "challenges" of deteriorating facilities, faculty numbers and quality of education (1998).

20 Customary law in many cultural settings stipulates who is eligible to hear and perform certain "messages" (Vansina, 1985: 98).

21 Currently, *history* is being made through treaties with First Nations peoples in British Columbia. Under the heading "Cultural Artifacts and Heritage Protection," the Agreement-in-Principle in Brief of the first of these treaties, "Nisga'a Treaty Negotiations," reads: "The Royal BC Museum and the Canadian Museum of Civilization will return a significant portion of their collections of Nisga'a artifacts to the Nisga'a. The museums will retain collections of Nisga'a artifacts for the public (Government of Canada, Province of BC and the Nisga'a Tribal Council, 1996:6). The universalism implicit in this issue deserves critical examination that would, I think also question the utility of anthropological knowledge.

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Correcting the Record: Haida Oral Tradition in Anthropological Narratives

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Abstract: For over 100 years, anthropological and popular sources have perpetuated Rev. Charles Harrison's published account of Haida chief Albert Edward Edenshaw and the corroborating accounts of Edenshaw's descendants. These sources have misrepresented Edenshaw, and here I present Haida oral traditions which dispute Edenshaw's claim to be the "greatest of all Haida chiefs." This case study points to problems of historical reconstruction which rely on too few sources and an external frame of reference.

Résumé: Pendant plus de cent ans, des sources anthropologiques et populaires ont perpetué les récits du chef Haida Albert Edward Edenshaw ainsi que ceux de ses descendants reprenant les mêmes affirmations. Ces sources ont montré sous un faux jour Edenshaw et dans cet article je présente les traditions orales Haida qui réfutent les déclarations d'Edenshaw à l'effet qu'il était le plus grand de tous les chefs Haida. Cette étude de cas met en évidence les problèmes de la reconstruction historique basée sur trop peu de sources et un cadre de référence externe.

> Charles Harrison fits into [the] antiquarian category, however briefly, with his *Ancient Warriors of the North Pacific*. A missionary to the [Queen Charlotte] Islands for the CMS originally, Harrison reached Masset in 1883, where, like so many others... he fell in love with the Coast, the Queen Charlotte Islands in particular. After setbacks that stronger men would not have faced, Harrison outlived the family disgraces and became the Islands' greatest promoter in the first two decades of this century.
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> — C. Lillard, *The Ghostland People*, 1989, p. 27

For over 100 years, both anthropological and popular sources have perpetuated Rev. Charles Harrison's published account of Haida chief Albert Edward Edenshaw's narrative and the corroborating accounts of Edenshaw's descendants (among these are Blackman, 1982; Chittenden, 1884; Collison, 1981 [1915]; Dalzell, 1968; Duff, 1967, 1981; Duff and Kew, 1957; Harris, 1966; Holm, 1981; Lillard, 1989; Swanton, 1905; Walsh, 1971). Historically the oral traditions of Aboriginal peoples everywhere have been deemed inferior by literate Western societies and have not been considered worthwhile or appropriate to record. In recent years much work has been done by scholars to recognize traditional oral material and the need to re-evaluate White-recorded Native history (see, for example, Eid, 1979; McClellan, 1970; Rosaldo, 1980; Schmalz, 1977, 1984; Sioui, 1992). An important contribution to the study of the problems of historical reconstruction that refers to the oral and written accounts of the Yukon Native people is Cruikshank's "Images of Society in Klondike Gold Rush Narratives: Skookum Jim and the Discovery of Gold" (1992; also see Cruikshank, 1989, 1991). Cruikshank points out that "[a] critical handling of... written, as well as in oral, accounts may direct us back to the social process in which both are embedded, raising questions about the privileged status of documentary evidence as a reference point for establishing truth, falsehood, or factuality" (ibid.: 21). Such studies provide the building blocks from

which a detailed picture of Native history can be constructed while offering valuable insights into Aboriginal people's views of their own history.

In sum, understanding of a cultural system by outsiders may easily go astray and in fact be perpetuated within a scholarly tradition. It is important to Haida people that chiefly rank and behaviour has been misread and misrepresented, but it is critical for anthropologists that they should understand how mistakes are made and how and why they persist. This is important to me because I am a member of the Daadans Yaaku 7laanas Raven matrilineage and the granddaughter of the fourth and last hereditary chief Weah of (7Ad7aiwaas) Masset Haida. To make this case, I present here a case study involving contrasting accounts of Haida chief Albert Edward Edenshaw's narrative, one enshrined in written records, and the oral traditions of Haida elders. I show that while Edenshaw's narrative was widely publicized and given considerable credence, the other, conflicting oral narratives reveal the importance of public opinion in granting or refuting claims of legitimacy in Haida society. To do so I first give a brief ethnohistoric account of the Haida, leading to a description of Haida social organization with respect to lineage rights and legitimacy. I then present a written account and an oral narrative that involve conflicting claims of legitimacy between two branches of K'yuust'aa (Haida lineage): K'aawas and Sdast'aas. The written account was transmitted by Albert Edward Edenshaw (7iidangsaa) of the Sdast'aas lineage to Rev. Charles Harrison over a century ago and was widely publicized. The oral narrative comes from my late grandmother. It was recorded by Marianne Boelscher in the early 1980s. Next, by drawing on evidence from Gough (1982) and by contrasting the public support given to chief Segai for the appointment of his son, Weah, with that of the public support for Edenshaw's claim, I reveal how Edenshaw's claim to be the "greatest of all Haida chiefs" has been disputed by other strong lineages in the past as well as the present. Finally, I cite some ethnographic sources which were derived from Harrison's original account, and the corroborating narratives of Edenshaw's descendants, and which continue to perpetuate Edenshaw's claims.

Haida Gwaaii (Islands of the People), known as the Queen Charlotte Islands, home to the Haida (the People), was first visited by the Spaniard Juan Perez in July 1774. This visit marked the beginning of a lucrative trade in sea-otter skins with the Europeans, and thereby introduced the Haida to new goods and no doubt played an important role both in producing and increasing the number of potlatches and in enriching the material and social life of the Haida. The Haida social organization is characterized by a division into two matrilineal moieties: Raven and Eagle, which in turn are subdivided into politically autonomous corporate matrilineages comprised of a number of households. Each household had a chief who acquired this status by either giving "a house-building potlatch to get a new dwelling erected and thereby establish oneself as its chief, or a funeral potlatch to validate the inheritance of a house and its chieftainship" (Murdock, 1936: 15). The house chief ruled the household and his power was almost absolute. He co-ordinated the economic activities for the household and also controlled military power. "The fact is, each Haida household was so complete in itself that all it required was a name and a certain amount of isolation to develop into an entirely independent family [lineage], and there was a constant tendency in that direction" (Swanton, 1966, in Boelscher, 1988: 33). The highest chief was the lineage chief or "Town chief," who was also a house chief with his house being in the centre of the village. The corporate lineage owned land and resources, its members sharing rights to hunting, fishing and gathering locations such as major spawning rivers, berry patches and house sites; in addition, lineages owned symbolic property such as myths, crests, songs and dances. The highest chief, or lineage chief, then, was the trustee of the lineage lands, and his permission was necessary before other lineages could have access. "[L]ineage's property rights were established by prior occupancy or claim, purchase from previous owners, inheritance [passed to younger brother or sister's son or any suitable heir], or as compensation for injury in a legal settlement. Infringement of these rights was a serious matter . . ." (Stearns, 1984: 193).

In the oral tradition, in some rare cases land has been alienated from original lineage holders. One example involves the practice of filial inheritance which "broke the custom" of matrilineal descent. This remarkable event occurred in post-contact times (around 1840) and involved the transfer of chieftainship of the great Raven chief Sigai who passed the title and the town of 7Ad7aiwas (Masset) to his son who took the chief's name Wiiaa (Weah) from his father's father's lineage (see Boelscher, 1988). My late grandfather, who died in 1974 and was the fourth and last Weah to inherit the chiefship of Masset, said that the chief loved his son so much and that was why he gave the village to him. Swanton notes that in former times this division was considered rather inferior; "but very recently its chief has become town chief of Masset by sufferance of the people, and owing to his personal popularity" (ibid.: 1). Still another means of alienating lineage property and boundaries about 1840

involved the attempted "taking over" of village sites by members of a different branch of the same lineage.

This notorious and widely publicized case included the attempted "takeover" of the village site K'yuust'aa of the K'aawas Eagle lineage by 7iidangsaa of the Sdast'aas; another branch of the same Eagle lineage. Chief 7iidangsaa, Christianized to Albert Edward Edenshaw, was born around 1812 and was reported to be from Gaahlans Kun on the East coast of Graham Island. While it was customary for his family to marry locally, Edenshaw migrated to K'yuust'aa and married into Daadans which had a traditional affinal relationship with the K'aawas of K'yuust'aa, and then claimed to be the rightful successor to his "uncle," the previous chief of the Sdast'aas proper; a claim Edenshaw perpetuated to Whites, in particular the missionary Charles Harrison. Harrison published this view of the matter:

> This worthy Haida chief [Albert Edward Edenshaw] . . . did his utmost to promote a feeling of good fellow-ship between the Europeans and his people, and he was successful in his efforts. No description of the Haidas can be complete without a short account of this noteworthy man. It was through his untiring energy that the Haidas finally cast off heathenism, adopted a more civilized mode of life, and acquired a respect for the laws of the Empire.... The uncle he succeeded was a powerful chief at Dadans and bore the same name. Each succeeding chief bore this name, but no son of the chief could take his place or name, for according to Haida custom the chieftainship descended to the chief's eldest sister's son and he was trained by his uncle for the position he was to assume. Edenshaw's two eldest brothers died and he was then placed in command of his uncle's war canoes and led many an expedition as his uncle's representative. According to Haida tribal law he had to marry the chief's daughter, i.e., cousin, but his uncle had no daughter, so it was arranged that he should marry the daughter of a powerful chief in Alaska. His uncle finally died, and Edenshaw succeeded to his property and chieftainship, and at his succession the grandest and largest distribution of goods and articles of great value, including slaves, took place that has ever been recorded in the traditions of these islands. The young chief's property included twelve slaves, male and female, and upon the occasion of his marriage, his wife's father gave his daughter ten more slaves to accompany her to her new home. (Harrison, 1925: 165-166)

While Edenshaw's boasts to Harrison have been widely publicized, the oral accounts provided by elders of the K'aawas lineage, and other strong lineage factions from my village of Masset, give a very different interpretation from that of Edenshaw's. The oral history accounts provided by elders reject Edenshaw's claim involving the replacement at K'yuustaa of the K'aawas by Edenshaw of the Sdast'aas, which is another branch of the same Eagle lineage.

My earliest memory of any conversation about Edenshaw dates back to my early childhood. It was my grandmother's words and the tone and expression in her voice that had an impact on my young mind as I recall her saying: "Edenshaw is not even chief." While these words spoken by my grandmother left an impression on me, it was not until my adult life that I came to understand the full significance of the controversial role that Edenshaw played in my Haida community.

My late grandmother, Sandlenee (1894-1989), a high-ranking woman of the Yaakn 7laanas lineage from Daadans on north island and widow of the fourth and last chief to carry the chiefship and name of Weah in Masset, and whose mother's father was from the K'aawas lineage of K'yuust'aa, provided the following narrative of the attempted "takeover" of Kyuust'aa by Edenshaw of the Sdast'aas. The narrative was recorded by Boelscher in the early 1980s:

> Henry Edenshaw's father [Albert Edward Edenshaw] is not the chief of Kiusta. Kiusta was full when they [the Sta'stas] tried to get in there.... Finally they [the K'awas] had a big meeting called together by llsqandas. She was taking care of the village. She must be the niece of the chief. They allowed others to stay there for a while. When they had the meeting they told Edenshaw to anchor way out while they had it. They just allowed him to stay there—didn't give him any land. (Personal communication, and Stearns, 1984: 206)

When Edenshaw arrived at K'yuust'aa, then, around the 1840s, he was told he could only live at the end of the village. Relegating him to the end of the village was a symbolic denial of his claim to chiefship, as chiefs had their house in the centre of the village. The single Eagle lineage of K'yuust'aa, on northwestern Graham Island, belonged to the K'aawas lineage and was headed by Ihldiinii, the town chief (personal communication, Lawrence Bell). According to a story collected by Swanton (1908), Ihldiinii disappeared while fishing; later it was reported that he had washed up near the Stikine River where he was rescued by the Tlingit and became chief among them (Boelscher, 1988). It was during the period of Ihldiinii's absence that his niece was caretaker of the village. According to my grandmother, and other strong lineage factions, Ihldiinii did return to K'yuust'aa; but before his return, Edenshaw, of the Sdast'aas, challenged the au-

thority of Ihldiinii's descendants and "took over" the village and established himself as town chief. It appears Edenshaw was unwilling to take a subordinate position to Ihldiinii by respecting the norm governing "guest lineage" where the original title holder has priority and other lineages of the same moiety only enjoy residential privileges with consent (see Stearns, 1984). Furthermore, as noted by Murdock, "a clan (lineage) chief cannot be deposed for any reason" (1936: 17). Edenshaw's actions then were seen by the K'aawas as an attempt to assert dominance and therefore were not recognized as legitimate at the time, nor subsequently, as will be revealed.

Other field data recently unearthed by Barry Gough (1982) helps to correct the picture with regard to Edenshaw's status and that of his lineage. This noteworthy passage quoted from Hill's journal, written in 1853, is consistent with the picture of the K'aawas, and other strong lineage factions, regarding Edenshaw's strategic marriage and relationship with Whites:

> [w]hat self interest dictates: he is ambitious and leaves no stone unturned to increase his power and property. He is now about thirty-five years old; his father dying while he was young—left him poor, at the head of a weak tribe, only safe from the attacks of their neighbour on account of their poverty, which made them not worth attacking: to better this he contrived to marry a woman nearly 50 years of age, who is a high chief of the Kilgarny tribe, inhabiting the coast opposite the north coast of Queen Charlotte, one of the strongest of the Northwest tribes of Indians. . . . (Gough, 1982: 136)

We later catch glimpses of Edenshaw in logbooks and journals of American ships that visited the Queen Charlotte Islands in search of gold in the early 1850s after the sea otter supply waned. Edenshaw, with K'yuust'aa behind him, was chief at Kung near Naden Harbour during this time and was sought as a pilot by ships' captains. It is fitting that Edenshaw, whose environment was very much a maritime one, and whose people were referred to by Murdock as "the Vikings of the Northwest Coast" (Brink, 1974: 256), would have been sought out as a pilot by ship captains unfamiliar with coastal waters. However, it is important to note that "[t]he economic stimulus these vessels gave to the Haida should not be underestimated, and this stimulus may have intensified Edenshaw's ambition to be a powerful chief, a status related to the rank, prestige and wealth of rival chiefs" (Gough, 1982: 133). These new goods and the means of acquiring them fitted in with the competitive striving for rank among the Haida, and Edenshaw in a position of lower rank availed himself of the new opportunities. A case in point was the plunder of the American schooner, the *Susan Sturgis*, for profit. In 1852, Captain Rooney, of the *Susan Sturgis*, sought out Edenshaw as a pilot who "had an excellent idea where a large ship could go, and where she could not" (Inskip, in ibid.: 135). Rooney found Edenshaw in Skidegate and picked him up to return him to his village of Kung near Naden Harbour on the north coast of Graham Island. En route to Kung, near Rose Point, on Graham Island, Rooney, his crew and Edenshaw met a canoe from Masset. There was an exchange of words between Edenshaw and the Masset chief, chief Weah, on board the canoe that day; Rooney, of course, did not know the language and took no precautions (ibid.). The next day, 150 of the Masset Haida, led by chief Weah in their canoes, captured, pillaged and burned the *Susan Sturgis*, enslaving her crew (ibid.). While it was chief Weah who actually seized the vessel in Masset Harbour in 1852, Edenshaw, who had been on board the *Susan Sturgis*, was nevertheless also suspected of planning the attack and sharing in the plunder. But it was chief Edenshaw who was the one who was detained for questioning on board the warship H.M.S. *Virago* sent to investigate (ibid.). Edenshaw was able to convince the investigators that if he had not been present on the *Susan Sturgis*, the crew all would have been murdered; subsequently, Edenshaw was credited with having saved the lives of the crew. In support of Edenshaw's claim, the ship's captain, Matthew Rooney, presented Edenshaw with a document which is still in the possession of Edenshaw's descendants:

> Fort Simpson, October 10, 1852.
>
> The bearer of this, Edenshaw, is chief of the tribe of Indians residing on North Island. I have reason to know that he is a good man, for he had been the means of saving the lives of me and my crew, who were attacked by Massett Indians off the Harbor of that name. He and his wife and child were on board that vessel coming from Skidegate Harbor round to North Island, when on September 26, 1852, we were surprised by some canoes alongside. We were so overpowered by numbers and so sudden the attack, that all resistance on our part was quite impossible, but after gaining the cabin, this man and his wife and two or three of his men who happened to come off in a small canoe, protected us for seven hours until he made some terms with which he brought to Fort Simpson and gave to me without ever asking for any remuneration. I hope that if this should be shown to any master of a ship, that he will treat him well, for he deserves well at the hands of every White man.

'Matthew Rooney'
Former master of the schooner *Susan Sturgis*.
(Dalzell, 1968: 67)

In recognition of Edenshaw's service, a marble monument, which stands in my Masset community to this day, was presented by Whites to Edenshaw's family with an inscription (now partly effaced) that reads:

In Memory of Albert Edenshaw, head chief of
Born 1822, Died 189
A member of St. John's Church
A staunch friend to the white man
He heroically save the life of Capt. Rooney
and his crew of the Sch. Susan Sturgis
attacked by Indians, Sept 26, 1852,
for which he is held in grateful remembrance. (Ibid.: 68)

Some revealing and fascinating passages, recently unearthed by Gough (1982), shed new light on Edenshaw's role in the plunder of the *Susan Sturgis*. The prisoners were released eventually to the Hudson Bay Company at Fort Simpson after Chief Trader John Work obtained their release by paying in blankets, as anticipated by Edenshaw (ibid.). Yet, "Work and other whites who knew these Indians were of the opinion that Edenshaw was party to the whole affair" (Kuper to Moresby, February 4, 1853, in Gough, 1982: 135). When on board the H.M.S. *Virago*, Edenshaw was detained for questioning, as noted above, by the commander of the ship, James C. Prevost (Gough, 1982). While Prevost and his men on board could not prove directly Edenshaw's complicity in the *Susan Sturgis* affair, they had no doubts about his share in the plunder and his slyness; thus, they took every precaution against the likelihood of Edenshaw attacking their own ship, the *Virago* (ibid.). Prevost stated that Edenshaw was "decidedly the most advanced Indian [he had] met with on the Coast: quick, cunning, ambitious, crafty and, above all, anxious to obtain the good opinion of the white men" (Prevost, 1853, in Gough, 1982: 135), and the ship's surgeon noted that Edenshaw was "a sharp fellow and known to be a great rogue [and] a great vagabond" (Treven, 1852-54, in Gough, 1982: 135). After all endeavours failed to implicate Edenshaw, Prevost remained convinced of Edenshaw's role in the whole affair and thought his character to be "paradoxical" (ibid.: 136).

While Gough suggested that what transpired between Edenshaw and Weah on that fateful day in September 1852 will never be completely known, Haida oral history has nonetheless firmly asserted that Edenshaw played a part in the plunder of the *Susan Sturgis*; a charge that was documented by the first missionary who lived among the Masset Haida in 1876, who said that some members of the tribe informed him that it was by this chief's [Edenshaw] orders that the schooner was attacked and taken (Collison, 1981 [1915]: 71).

Thus, it is of no surprise then that when the monument in recognition of Edenshaw was erected "many old people in Masset were furious and disputed the monument" (personal communication, Lawrence Bell). Edenshaw's actions offended many of his contemporaries and his actions still provoke controversy among Masset Haida to this day. He is described as a very crafty, shrewd and cunning person, who outraged many Haida members by using whites to bolster his claim to be " the greatest of all Haida chiefs" (personal communication, Lawrence Bell).

By the time of George Dawson's visit to the Queen Charlotte Islands in 1878, Edenshaw had already abandoned the village of Kung and was living in the new site of Yatza village (Dawson, 1993: 152). Later he built a house in Masset where the Anglican mission had begun its work, and was "welcomed in Masset by the influential chief Henry Weah . . ." (Brink, 1974: 67).

While Edenshaw was credited with four house raisings and seven to ten potlatches, real or imagined, his bid for chieftainship at K'yuust'aa was never publicly legitimized. Opposition to his attempt to legitimize his claim to chieftainship and to ownership of K'yuust'aa goes much further because general recognition and public opinion acknowledges or refutes legitimacy of a person's social position, which is dependent on conduct suitable to a high-ranking Haida. High status is held by a person who is *yahguudaag*, "fit for respect," and an individual who wants to remain respected is tied to a network of social rules and ritual obligation. To be respected, a person must show respect to others by being generous and by showing moderation (see Boelscher, 1988). Flaunting achievement and bragging about oneself is never endorsed. Consequently, when Edenshaw boasted to Whites to have had the unique distinction of having given 10 potlatches (the numerical reference to social completeness in Haida society) (Duff and Kew, 1957: 24), to have possessed 12 slaves and to have received 10 more upon his marriage from his bride's father (Boelscher, 1988; Dalzell, 1968; Harrison, 1925) and that his marriages and succession to chieftainship were of the right order (ibid.), his actions of self-promotion and self-maximization were not acknowledged favourably or condoned by the public.

Moreover, because the Haida use classificatory terms for uncle, nephew or niece, for example, Eden-

shaw could be nephew to any chief of the Stast'aas or K'aawas lineage (personal communication, Lawrence Bell). More importantly, while the name Ihldiinii has disappeared from written records, the name has been carried by recent descendants who claim to be the rightful owners of K'yuust'aa, a claim which was formally validated recently by a potlatch, implying that Edenshaw's claim was not seen as legitimate.

Although Edenshaw claimed to supersede chief Weah and even the legendary "chief Ninstints" (see Duff and Kew, 1957), and was acclaimed, by Harrison and other 19th-century visitors to the island, as the most powerful chief, it was "Weah [who] was the most prominent chief in Masset, not Edenshaw" (Brink, 1974: 67). Haida elder, Peter Hill, asserted, "there was no voice that can be raised against chief Weah; they all seemed to back up the rightful chief of the village" (Blackman, 1972: 216). Further evidence of support for Weah is described in a letter written by Harrison in 1888 as he noted that "the autochthonous Haida of Masset took steps against Harrison's assistant teacher, who was a son of Edenshaw [Henry Edenshaw]" (Brink, 1974: 67). The Haida refused to accept Edenshaw's son as a teacher to their children because Edenshaw did not belong to the Masset group (ibid.). Thus, in contrast to Sigai's public support for the appointment of his son Weah, Edenshaw was denied the support and recognition he sought in his own society, as he repeatedly outraged public opinion by seeking the support of Whites to bolster his claims of being " the greatest chief of all the Haidas." It is important to note that the Haida do not permit status legitimacy to be granted by the outside world. "While he worked within the values of his culture, he exaggerated them" (Stearns, 1984: 218).

For over a century, both anthropological and popular sources—most notably a popular history account of the Queen Charlotte Islands written by Dalzell (1968) and a juvenile novel (a winner of four major book awards) written by Christie Harris (1966)—have perpetuated Harrison's published account of Edenshaw's narrative and the corroborating accounts of Edenshaw's descendants. John R. Swanton, for example, the first person to carry out serious ethnographic investigation on the Haida, engaged Henry Edenshaw, son of Albert Edward Edenshaw, as an interpreter (Swanton, 1905). It is of no surprise, then, that Edenshaw is on Swanton's list as one of the three eagle families [lineage] that "stood first" (ibid.: 70). Additionally, the renowned Haida artist Charles Edenshaw, nephew of Albert Edward Edenshaw, worked as an interpreter for C.F. Newcombe of the Provincial Museum in Victoria (Blackman, 1982). The late Wilson Duff (1925-76), Curator of Anthropology at the British Columbia Museum and later professor at the University of British Columbia, a renowned Haida scholar and a friend of Edenshaw's descendants, conducted his most lengthy and intense research project studying Albert Edward Edenshaw and his nephew, artist, Charles Edenshaw. This research would sustain Duff until his death (Reid, 1981). Christie Harris, whose book, *Raven's Cry* (1966), was a fictional account of Albert Edward Edenshaw's life, acknowledged the invaluable assistance she received from Duff who was requested by her publisher to read her manuscript. According to Harris, this publisher, Atheneum, wanted "to check its authenticity" (Harris, 1992: xix-xx); "What I needed most of all," wrote Harris, "was input from Charles Edenshaw's family" (ibid.: xviii).

To cite yet another example, Blackman (1982) was highly criticized for her biases by uncritically incorporating excerpts from Harrison (1925) into Florence's autobiographical account in her book, *During My Time: Florence Edenshaw Davidson*. Indeed, the criticism of Blackman's work lies beyond the scope of this study. When *Raven's Cry* was republished in 1992, a new foreword was included that was transcribed from a taped conversation between Robert Davidson, descendant of Albert Edward Edenshaw, and Margaret Blackman, which specifically concerned that book. Blackman, apparently differing from the opinion she expressed in her 1982 publication, stated in her conversation with Davidson: "Chief 7idansuu's [Edenshaw] rivals, chief 7wiiaa [Weah] and his family, are not portrayed particularly favourably in this book because events are seen through the eyes of the Edenshaw family. So it should not be viewed as a Haida history. . . ." Davidson replied, "It's really interesting to work with you, because you have a different approach and you're educated in a different way. Just to be off the subject a little . . ." (Harris, 1992: xi). Davidson continued the statement with a compliment on the exceptional job Blackman did on writing his grandmother's life story. By being silent, or refraining from commenting on Blackman's statement, Davidson failed to acknowledge others' contributions in Haida society, and perpetuated the myth " that all of Haida society is built around the Edenshaw family" (personal communication, Lawrence Bell). It is interesting, given the fact that Haida society is a matrilineal society, how the esteem of chiefly status has been reserved for the Edenshaw family which traces its genealogy back to skilled and famous carvers along patrilineal lines, a misguided link which has been perpetuated by scholars, cultural institutions and the Edenshaw family alike.

Edenshaw has become the single, most-documented and popularized Haida chief to date. In contrast, in Haida society there are no paramount chiefs and in Haida oral tradition there exists no single authoritative interpretation of events. Yet when Edenshaw's narrative was widely publicized, it was his version that became official history and was given considerable status. "Such is the power of literacy" (Tonkin, 1992: 71).

In contrast, in her exemplary book, *The Curtain Within* (1988), Boelscher acknowledges the importance of oral tradition among my people by recording and cross-checking the oral tradition of several Masset Haida elders. Included in these oral narratives, as noted above, are accounts which concern the legitimacy of the "takeover" of K'yuust'aa by Albert Edward Edenshaw. In the process of having her book published then Boelscher was accused of doing too much "Edenshaw bashing" (personal communication, Marianne Boelscher). "It's not about bashing anyone" Boelscher affirmed to me, "these stories were told to me over and over again by numerous elders" (ibid.).

From the Haida point of view there are many voices and many stories. For too long now our own histories have had to contend with outsider, White views propagated by missionaries and others alike. While Harrison's written account was undoubtedly produced with a 19th-century Christian readership in mind, and although it included a clearly partial narration of the exploits of a Haida chief with "self-in-the-best light" (Tonkin, 1992: 115), his representation has survived through the ages as "official knowledge" by anthropologists and scholars who continue to insist on defining to the world what they think our stories are all about.

While Edenshaw's publicized account is treated as an attempt at legitimizing one's own lineage's version of chiefly succession, the conflicting claim of legitimacy or any dissent, by the K'aawas and other strong factions is never voiced in any public forum, because Haida public speaking is characterized by positive reinforcement, inasmuch as high rank is received and validated not only by potlatching, but also by showing respect to others in words and in action. Silence, moreover, has an important function of protesting against these kinds of acts (see Boelscher, 1988; 1991). "By refraining from saying anything that says a lot, it's not what people say, it's what they don't say" (personal communication, Lawrence Bell). In the case of conflicting claims of legitimacy then, such as the relationship between the K'aawas and the Sdast'aas, my grandmother described the relationship between conflicting factions to Marianne Boelscher with the Haida proverb "there is something like a curtain between them." In her book, *The Curtain Within* (1988) (the title is an ellipsis of Haida proverb as noted above), Boelscher notes that the curtain metaphor indicates the flexibility of the boundaries between lineage factions, because the curtain can be symbolically drawn during times of conflict and removed when relationships are harmonious. This is important in Haida society because the very groups who are denied legitimacy are also vital in providing assistance to and validating the status of one's own lineage.

Conclusion

The narrative of Edenshaw of the S'dast'aas has been perpetuated for over 100 years by scholarly writings and corroborating narratives of the Edenshaw descendants. Clearly, for ethnohistory to improve our understanding and progress as a scholarly discipline, ethnohistorians must display more sensitivity and openness to learning new methods of combining the study of written documents with the oral traditions of Native peoples. Conflicting oral narratives not only reveal the importance of public opinion in granting or refuting claims of legitimacy, but throw light on lineage relations within Haida society.

Although we visited with Edenshaw at K'yuust'aa; Kung; Yatza; and Masset, it is apparent that his house raisings, potlatches and lavish distribution of goods are not all that matters: the reader has seen that public scrutiny is an essential element of determining legitimacy. Edenshaw's bid for chieftainship at K'yuust'aa was never politically legitimized by other important factions. This fact, together with Haida oral history and Gough's work, reveals Edenshaw's commerce with Whites and his attempt to use their approval to his advantage. While Edenshaw triumphed over the successful plunder of the *Susan Sturgis* and won the acclaim of Whites by becoming the single most documented and popularized Haida chief, his actions contradicted Haida norms of chiefly behaviour, namely *yahguudaag*, or "fitness for respect," which depends implicitly on what is considered proper behaviour for a high-ranking person. His chiefly status remains contested by many other strong lineage factions of northern Haida Gwaii.

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Book Reviews / Comptes rendus

Dennis Bartels and Alice Bartels, *When the North Was Red: Aboriginal Education in Soviet Siberia,* McGill-Queen's Native and Northern Series 11, Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1995, 126 pages, plates, map, index.

Reviewer: *David G. Anderson*
University of Alberta

This short book is the culmination of a decade of work by two Canadian anthropologists who pioneered research into the lives of Siberian Aboriginal scholars and intellegentsia. In contrast to the recently growing list of ethnographic work by Western scholars of Siberia, their work is not based upon long-term, on-site, field research in an isolated rural setting nor an intimate familiarity with local languages. However, with the exception of Humphrey (1983), it is one of the only accounts of Siberian indigenous identity and politics from the important period preceeding the crumbling of the Soviet Union.

Bartels and Bartels conducted their field research in the early 1980s for the most part within the institutional environment of the Faculty of Northern Peoples of Hertzen State Pedagogical Institute. Located within the heart of urban Leningrad (St. Petersburg), this institution has been famous since the 1920s for its pivotal role in training Aboriginal "cadres" from all parts of the Siberian North in indigenous languages. The fact that on-site rural fieldwork was forbidden to the authors did not prevent them from meeting and interviewing representatives of some 20 Aboriginal nations; many of whom who have today become significant actors in Siberian Aboriginal-rights organizations.

This work is rather special, some would say controversial, for the fact that Bartels and Bartels took seriously the loyalty and optimism of the students they encountered for Soviet socialist ideals. In the first chapter of the book, they rightly dismiss any discussion of "assimilation" or "Russification" as being inappropriate frames of analysis to account for the complexity of Soviet nationality policy. Instead, throughout the book, they explore two "local" concepts of "national consolidation" and "Sovietization." The former concept refers to what may loosely be described as the Soviet state's affirmative action policy of encouraging representation and active participation from each of the officially recognized nations of this multinational state. The latter concept refers to this state's characteristic stress upon industrial and urban modes of life. Together the two policies combined in an attempt to provide "modern" housing, health care, education and occupations to all nations in a manner which did not threaten local languages or costume (but impacted strongly upon other aspects of day-to-day life). This privileging of hegemonic discourse during a period of time when the Soviet state was at the apogee of its power may strike some readers as being either naïve or uncritical. However, their ethnographic sensitivity to the goals of this subset of the Soviet intelligentsia has stood the test of time better than other works written in the sardonic genre of Sovietology. As members of the Siberian intelligentsia today look around at their native villages ravaged by the indifferent policies of market liberalization, they fondly recall the "good times" (*rashee bylo luchshee*) of the early 1980s documented in this work. Although Yuri Slezkine's (1994) thick volume may represent Siberian material better within Western scholarly conventions, I can personally attest to the fact that Bartels and Bartels are remembered fondly by all those mentioned and pictured in this book as the "only foreigners who wrote our stories."

Although this book may be one of the only books in English to represent the stories of the people trained in this special institute, it does set its goals somewhat wider. In the opening chapters and conclusion, Bartels and Bartels make conclusions about Soviet nationality and development policy as a whole and contrast it to a selective rendering of the pre-revolutionary literature. Here it would seem the Bartels have extended their argument farther than is appropriate. Recent ethnographic research has shown that indeed Siberian peoples were not marginalised from the task of building the "dictatorship of the proletariat," but that the forced inclusion of socialist reindeer "ranchers" and "brigade" fisherman into an industrial economy went far beyond what is described as "traditional" in this book. The comparison of the pre-revolutionary ethnographic literature to the accounts provided by Leningrad-based cadres does indeed demonstrate great change and improvement in living conditions, but only because some widely available romantic accounts of pre-revolu-

tionary conditions have been left out (for example, Shirokogoroff, 1933) and because the hand-picked cadres with whom they met, although indeed Aboriginal, had their own special view on the fate and lives of their people. The authors do not discuss the fact that often these members of the intelligentsia are treated by local hunters and fishermen as being equally foreign as the Party organizers who arrived to industrialize their lifestyles.

Although this book may provide the reader with some challenges in interpreting the meaning of the life stories presented, it is a solid and definitive account of a particular world view. The bibliography is not comprehensive but gives a large list of English-language sources on this region. The maps and tables give accurate data for these officially ratified nations (but mistakenly identifies their titles as self-designated ethnonyms). The appendices give several relevant illustrations of the type of people and the program common of this very special institute devoted to the proper training of Siberian Aboriginal peoples.

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Deborah Reed-Danahay, *Education and Identity in Rural France: The Politics of Schooling,* Cambridge Studies in Social and Cultural Anthropology, No. 98, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996. 224 pages.

Reviewer: *David S. Moyer*
University of Victoria

This book analyzes the interaction between France's highly centralized school system and the local identity of the people of a commune in the Auvergne. Unlike other parts of France, there is no large-scale Auvergnat nationalist movement that prescribes a normative regional identity. Thus the study deals with a locally created identity uncomplicated by political forces telling people how to be "proper" peasants. Interestingly, this work focusses on the most visible aspect of the central government in the local community, its elementary school.

The author's informants use the concept *debrouiller* to describe their situation and their way of manipulating it to their advantage. "In Lavialle, *se debrouiller* refers to the ability to make the best of, or take advantage of, a situation; and get out of, or manage to cope with, a difficult situation. It has to do with 'making do' in the face of hardship, but also with trying to turn such circumstances to one's own advantage in order to 'make out' . . . this skill is highly valued for both men and women, and it is felt to be an important characteristic of the Auvergnat" (p. 62). Reed-Danahay presents a first-rate description of the local kinship system, domestic organization and socialization practices. Although it is essential to her analysis of the school's position in the community, it is not subservient to that analysis and stands alone as a model of succinct description of the essential elements of rural life.

The discussion of the school system includes a historical description of the French national elementary education system. The author uses archival material, including the reports which a local schoolteacher wrote in the 1870s to explain the situation in the commune. For the 20th-century archival material is augmented by interviews with former teachers. A microhistorical analysis of three commune schools' responses to the central system demonstrates that meaningful variation occurs within the lowest level of the central system, i.e., the commune.

When the author did her field work in the commune there was only one elementary school, where most of the direct ethnographic observation took place. In addition to two classrooms, the school housed an apartment for the married couple who served as teachers, the mayor's office and for a time, the ethnographer. Significantly, the male teacher who worked with the older children was also the town clerk; this bolstered his already-significant position as the local presence of the state. The ethnography of the school presents the dynamics of the imposition of bourgeois French values from above and the side-slipping, non-confrontational response of the parents and their children. This clash of values is clearest in the "lunchroom," where noon meals "involving several sequential courses" were served. "The rigidity and tension associated with eating in the school had no parallel with mealtimes at home—which were relaxed, informal, and simpler. . . . In many ways, the lunchroom was symbolically run like the ideal upper-middle-class 'bourgeois' household. . . . While regional identity is conveyed through family meals, national identity was more relevant at school. The food was not Auvergnat, no cheeses were served, and it came mostly from the frozen food service that delivered to the school. Children ate a variety of foods that are standard fare at French schools, and while not unknown to the Laviallois, were not commonly served at home. The menu was decided by the teachers, rather than by families" (pp. 199-200).

This book has all the virtues of good ethnography and raises problems with established theory. In particular, the author points out some weaknesses in Bourdieu's apparent view of "educational strategies of families in Lavialle as playing completely into the hands of the dominant classes in France" (p. 152). Quite simply, the people are more flexible and the situation more fluid than expected. "The Laviallois do not reject French identity outright, and their socialization

strategies are aimed at teaching children to juggle both an Auvergnat and a French identity. The Laviallois are, however, ambivalent about French identity and about the school as 'social form' " (p. 153).

Noel Dyck, *Differing Visions: Administering Indian Residential Schooling in Prince Albert, 1867-1995,* Halifax: Fernwood Publishing; Prince Albert: The Prince Albert Grand Council, 1997, 134 pages.

Reviewer: *Adrian Tanner*
Memorial University

Indian residential schooling is a hot topic in Canada these days, but most of the discussion has focussed on its role in child abuse and the suppression of Aboriginal culture and language, accompanied by a chorus of church and government *mea culpas* and hand-wringing for these wrongs. But there is much more to residential schooling than this. Over the past century the provision of residences for pupils was for many Aboriginal groups in northern Canada the only practical way of gaining access to formal education. Many Indian villages were too small to have their own fully equipped schools, integration into local non-Aboriginal schools, if such existed, involved barriers of prejudice, housing on reserves was seldom adequate to allow for home study and many of the parents were out on the trapline during most of the school season. I would argue that far more damage was done, for instance, to the Innu in Labrador because residential schools were *not* made available when they were settled in villages in the 1950s and 1960s. As a result, parents who were suddenly forced to send they children to day school had no other option but to stop hunting, undermining their self-respect and to a great extent leading to the devastating social problems that followed.

Noel Dyck, who has a long record of research and publication, much of it on Saskatchewan Indian politics and administration, has now published a detailed analysis of the administrative history of Indian residential schooling in Prince Albert, Saskatchewan. Among his findings, he shows that parents in the outlying communities understood the need for this kind of school, despite the heavy-handed paternalism and ethnocentric insensitivity of church and Indian Affairs authorities. They worked together with the urban Aboriginal community to confront the problems, first by pressing for, and later by themselves directly undertaking, reform, rather than, as occurred in some other places, abandoning the residential schooling idea.

Dyck's account, which for much of the book involves a three-cornered struggle between church, government and Indians, begins in 1866 with the arrival of church missions to the Indians in what was to become northern Saskatchewan, first, briefly, Presbyterian, followed by Anglican. The settlement and growth of Price Albert, where Emmanuel College began to train Native and non-Native missionaries in 1879, was in part linked to the administration of Indians, in which the Anglican Church and the Department of Indian Affairs became the key players. By 1890, with the active support of several important Cree leaders of the day, residential school facilities were added to the college, only to be closed in 1908. Despite the authoritarian approach adopted by the Department of Indian Affairs, which supplied the funding, Indian leaders and parents had managed to maintain an active interest in, if only limited influence over, the school.

After briefly surveying the intervening events of Indian education in the region, the author picks up the details of the story in 1944, when Indian residential schooling resumed at Prince Albert, following a fire at the residential school at Onion Lake. One factor in the politics of these and several other related Indian school openings and closures was competition with the Roman Catholic Church, a matter to which Dyck makes only passing reference. The account ends with the school's final closure in 1995, despite the wishes of the Indians. Dyck shows the remarkable degree to which, by the 1980s and 1990s, they had succeeded in their efforts to take control, changing educational policies to respond to community needs.

Dyck does not try to spice up his text with the kind of rhetorical hyperbole which often goes with this subject matter. Only a few first-hand accounts of pupil's experiences are given, but enough to show that they had most difficulty in those times when the funding and the future of the school was most uncertain. The author's main aim is to reveal the background administrative struggles from archival material, and to show how the important accomplishments in Indian control of education were gradually achieved. Although full success came only just before the last institution was closed, this phase of the study has important lessons regarding the more general issue of the practicalities of Aboriginal self-government.

As with many books dealing with administrative topics, this account takes several complex turns, with many individual participants and numerous institutions (each with an acronym, for which the author provides a handy list) to keep track of. There is a map of Saskatchewan giving the locations mentioned in the text, although a map of the localities in Prince Albert would also have been useful. Overall, the book is an important, accessible and definitive account of a significant but heretofore obscure part of Western Canadian Indian history.

Kayleen M. Hazelhurst (ed.), *Popular Justice and Community Regeneration: Pathways of Indigenous Reform,* Westport, CT: Praeger, 1995, 228 pages.

Reviewer: *Bruce G. Miller*
University of British Columbia

Popular Justice is a collection of 11 essays about efforts in Australia, Canada, New Zealand and the United States to do something about "justice," broadly defined, within Indigenous communities. Hazelhurst presents an overview of three sorts of current efforts to indigenize justice: improved justice service delivery (via the development of para-professionals, family conferences and so on), crime prevention (through life skills and employment training) and the most significant, community healing approaches. The chapters themselves are of two sorts: technical discussions of new programs and hopeful ideological statements about the merits of indigenous justice concepts and practices. Among the more interesting chapters, Hylton summarizes recent research concerning social policy in Canada and efforts to reform Indigenous justice. Angelo details the history of indigenizing Tokelau law, Olsen et al. describe Maori youth justice programs, especially the influential family group-conferencing model. Yazzie and Zion describe what they call the "macrojustice," of the Navajo peacemaker court, which they say will "Slay the Monsters" (social problems) through traditional dispute resolution. O'Donnell treats mediation practices in Australia, focussing on the issues such as the neutrality of the mediator and confidentiality. The strongest chapter describes the efforts to create an Aboriginal justice system in an Ojibway community. Hoyle examines the issues in operationalizing a holistic justice system based on the idea of justice as healing, especially the problems of codifying social processes, of delineating broad value statements which guide practice and the problem of legitimacy as a consequence of the diversity of world views of community members.

A critical assumption underlying many of the chapters is that the establishment of community-based justice will lead to the thoroughgoing restoration of Indigenous communities. All of this is connected, somehow, to gaining legal jurisdiction to practice "traditional" ways, or perhaps, updated, but still traditional ways. While in many communities and among some scholars there is pessimism about the ability to change the justice system and create alternatives, there is nonetheless a messianic flavour to the current debate about restorative justice. There is bound to be disappointment for those communities which unrealistically carry out justice practices of their own choosing. Indeed, this is already the case. Scholars and communities concerned with justice might think in more modest terms about what is possible with indigenization. Instead of proposing that indigenous justice will radically transform communities and redeem individual lives, justice systems might be constructed with the simpler goals of regulating relations between families, of dampening conflict between individuals, of providing justice in a timely manner and of ensuring a measure of peace and tranquility on reserves and urban settings. Indeed, the whole emphasis on equating justice with healing overlooks the more mundane in favour of the dramatic and spectacular. What once primarily concerned practical issues of getting along is now spiritualized.

There are other problems with this volume. Some chapters either assume an edenic approach, uncritically and implicitly downplaying conflict in earlier periods; others focus exclusively on the trauma of colonialism. Both approaches move the analytic lens away from nitty-gritty issues of community relations and regulation and towards the vague and grandiose goals of community healing. The implicit and explicit use of binary models of "Euro-Canadian law and justice and Aboriginal law and justice" mistakenly assumes that Indigenous communities are uniform and that Euro-Canadian law and justice is both uniform and unchanging. Chapter 9, page 172, tells us, for example, that within Euro-Canadian culture "social order is hierarchical," but in Aboriginal culture "individuals are important and should be given freedom. Disorder is corrected through rehabilitative and restorative action." But surely major themes in the history of European and North American law are the creation of civil liberties and the efforts to rehabilitate criminals. There is some germ of insight to these binary oppositions, but they are misleading and treat the current discourses about earlier practice at face value.

Another cost of binary logic is the failure to carefully consider justice systems which seem westernized. The U.S. tribal courts, which actually have significant civil and criminal jurisdiction, are thought to be imposed, Western-style institutions, to facilitate control by the state and to emphasize individualism rather than communal values. Consequently, analysts have not looked at how various tribal courts actually approach the critical issues of how individual, family and tribal relations are balanced, and how indigenous practices are integrated into the legal processes. Only the Navajo Peacemaker Court, an alternative to the Navajo court, is carefully examined. This is a shortsighted mistake; there is something to be learned from the relatively autonomous U.S. courts that cannot be found in the various small-scale and impermanent diversionary projects reported in this volume.

Jane Fishburne Collier, *From Duty to Desire: Remaking Families in a Spanish Village,* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997.

Reviewer: *Winnie Lem*
Trent University

Jane Fishburne Collier offers us an engagingly written and theoretically informed ethnography that explores the development of a "modern subjectivity" in an Andalusian village which has undergone dramatic socio-economic and demographic changes since 1963. Using ideas derived from both

Foucault and Giddens on the modern subject, Collier explores the contrast between the ways in which the people of "Los Olivos" explained social practices in 1963 and 1983, the years during which the author undertook field work. In essence, this is an ethnography that focusses on narratives and according to Collier, in 1963, narrative accounts of behaviour referred the social forces of rule, obligation and convention as impelling people to act in certain ways. Hence "Duty" in the title of the book. In 1983, however, villagers explained their actions by reference to individual motives and agency. Will, emotion, personal attributes became salient in narratives and the behaviour of villagers was seen as inwardly guided, so Collier argues by the knowledge of wants gleaned from self-reflection. Hence, "Desire" of the book's title and the development of a modern subjectivity which according to both Foucault and Giddens involves self-reflexivity, self-invention and self-production. Collier explores the shift from the traditional, more socially determined subject, to the modern, internally generated subject by analyzing the institutional practices through which families were made and remade in the 1960s and the 1980s and chapters on courtship, marriage, children and death form the core of the book.

The book begins, however, with a chapter on inequality which outlines the economic changes nationally and locally that led to the shift. Competition from commercial farming in other regions of Spain combined with the economic crisis in the 1970s effectively put an end to the viability of agriculture in Los Olivos and livelihoods came to be based on work for wages through migration in a national labour market. With the decline of agriculture, inherited property was replaced by occupational achievement in determining wealth and status. These changes formed the key to understanding the nature of transformations in the set of practices and explanations of practices associated with the formation of families. Writing on courtship, for example, Collier argues that romantic love came to replace "honour" as a consideration of people contemplating courtship in the 1980s. As the importance of inherited property evaporated, romantic love supplanted considerations of maintaining family honour and preserving what became valueless patrimonies as an explanation of attachments formed between people prior to marriage.

In the final chapter of the book, Collier is concerned with another shift—i.e., how people shifted their identity from villagers who were "traditional" to Andalusians who "had tradition." Here, Collier offers an explanation for why modern subjects seem to invent and borrow traditions that are not "authentic" to assert their identity. She does this by returning to a discussion begun in the introduction on the nature of tradition. Collier argues, consistent with her theses of the shift from the outwardly constrained, traditional subject to the inwardly conscious modern subject, that the "traditions" adopted by modern Andalusians are the ones which simultaneously promise pleasure rather than constraint and the suppression of desire and enable the wheels of commerce to turn, while also serving as a means for resisting modernity's impersonal rationalization of social life. The traditions that are selected are consonant with modern subjects sense of self and individual need. Here Collier presents a provocative discussion on the "modernity of tradition," undermining the convention of opposing tradition to modernity and also deftly tackles the issues of authenticity in a discussion of Andalusian nationalism in Los Olivos.

The great strengths of Collier's study are its theoretical insights on the nature of tradition and the consistency with which she expounds upon her themes and arguments. The author makes a valuable attempt to move beyond the conventional dichotomy that is often drawn between tradition and modernity and to subvert what she calls the "standard modernization story of progress from constraint to freedom" (p. 11). To do this, she takes issue with Giddens, whom she argues portrays the modern subject as faced with unconstrained choices and follows Foucault, in her efforts to grasp the social conventions the newly emerging but not yet consciously crystallized forms of social regulation that govern village life. In these respects she successfully identifies the unarticulated practices and concepts for monitoring social life in the modern world of Los Olivos in the 1980s and contrasts them with the overt and fully articulated set of conventions of the world of tradition. Indeed much of Collier's theoretical meditations centre on the notion of tradition. In the introduction she offers a very rich and systematic discussion on the nature of tradition, isolating three meanings of the term, elaborating upon them throughout the study. However, there is less of a dedicated and systematic treatment of modernity. Since the notion of modernity and modern subjectivity are so key to her arguments and analysis, a focussed discussion of theories of modernity beyond Foucault's and Giddens' interventions would have enhanced her book. In the absence of this discussion, the author runs the risk of presenting as homogenous the multiple and contested meanings of the term and its usages by different subject categories, i.e., the men of Los Olivos, the women of Los Olivos, agricultural workers, entrepreneurs, anthropologists, social theorists and so on.

As I mentioned earlier, the consistency of her arguments is one of the strengths of the book. Yet, it is also the book's weakness. Her presentation of the pervasiveness of one kind of subjectivity in one era and another in another separated only by 20 years leads to some scepticism. Indeed, Collier herself, noted in chapter 1 that many of her colleagues have suggested that some of the distinctions made between the past and the present may be overdrawn. I share this scepticism not only on the grounds that in the space of a few years an entirely new "mentality" is unlikely to emerge in such a thoroughgoing fashion but also on the basis that the social reality that we confront in the field as anthropologists is seldom as consistent as the theoretical and conceptual paradigms within which we work. Though of course we hope against hope. But these issues are really abstract points of principle. More substantively, my own concerns regarding the degree of comprehensiveness of this new single subjectivity

is based more on the paucity of information on social structure, political and economic context, as well as cultural process. Very few of the interlocutors are identified in terms of their positions in the social structure and their occupational categories. The general absence of a systematic comparison of social, occupational structure, land tenure and livelihood activities in both the 1960s and the 1980s is problematic. This very important information would enable an understanding of the multiplicity of factors which might play a role in the production of different subjectivities in different eras or different subjectivities in the same era. For example, would an agricultural labourer or woman home worker share the same kind of modern subjectivity as a member of the landed elite or entrepreneur? By the same token, since the transformation from an economy based on agriculture to one based on wage labour was so key, some attempt to elaborate upon the larger political and economic context is also important in determining the ways in which subjects and subjectivities are produced. For example, how did the change from the repressive authoritarian state, to a relatively democratic state and their different agendas for developing the Spanish economy and agriculture exert and influence the conceptual universe and the techniques of regulating and of managing the self and others? Finally, Collier refers to the changes she notes as "shifts" between 1963 and 1983, no doubt reflecting how her own field work was structured in time. A sense of how those shifts were accomplished is absent. Were there struggles that might have ensued within families over how the family might be remade? The impression offered is that the inhabitants of Los Olivos simply left behind one conceptual universe and stepped into another, all-encompassing one. The question of process is begged and it bears directly upon the question of how totalizing is this new subjectivity. I recognize that the answers to some of these questions require the author to have engaged in a different kind of field work, one that focusses less on narratives, and this is not what she has done. Yet, without some attention to these concerns, some degree of scepticism regarding Collier's assertions can be maintained. Moreover, the questions raised here on problematizing modernity, structure, context and process need to be addressed also for the author to successfully navigate her way around her own stated desire, simply reproducing the tradition and modernity dichotomy. As it stands, the dichotomy persists, in my view and I might hazard, her own, as a reflection of the constraints of the conceptual categories used by a self-conscious modern subject (p. 10). The author, who while being engaged in an Enlightenment undertaking—the practice of anthropology—dutifully imposes it upon on the subjects of this scintillating study.

Richard Katz, Megan Biesele and Verna St. Denis, ***Healing Makes Our Hearts Happy: Spirituality and Transformation among the Kalahari Ju/'hoansi,*** Rochester, VT: Inner Traditions, 1997, 214 pages, U.S. $29.95.

Reviewer: *Mathias Guenther*
Wilfrid Laurier University

The trance dance is a prominent feature in the anthropological literature on the Bushmen, ever since the publication, in 1982, of Richard Katz's *Boiling Energy*. As the principal author also of the present monograph, frequent reference is made to this work, which follows the same analytical path (while deviating theoretically from the previous study, in its postmodernist soundings and leanings). The primary focus of the analysis is on the form and function of the trance dance, of the Ju/'hoansi of western Botswana, and on the "moods and motivations" of the trance dancer and his or her relationships with the community as well as the people's political aspirations and actions within what has become for the Bushmen of today a largely post-foraging world. Another, more secondary consideration is the symbolic and phenomenological side of this complex ritual, the principal focus of most of the recent studies of Bushman trance dance which treat this "shamanic" healing ritual as a symbolic key to understanding other domains of Khoisan culture, most particularly rock art, myth and cosmology. This study of the trance dance thus complements existing studies and, by providing a sequel to one of the classics in the field, offers a long-term perspective on one of the key institutions of Bushman culture.

The study examines the Ju/'hoan trance dance from the conventional synchronic and diachronic perspectives of "tradition" and "change" (as well as "continuity," as a strong component of "renewed tradition" attaches to the contemporary trance dance). The first treats the healing dance as a condensed version of Ju/'hoan foraging band society, while the second presents the dance, in both its traditional and "renewed" form, as a vehicle for social change and political action on the part of post-foraging Ju/'hoansi. As an "ancient heritage," which in its *modus operandi* and its values recapitulates Ju/'hoan society; the trance dance's "structure is the same as society itself." In its intense, prolonged, widely attended performance social and gender equality, intra- and intergroup sharing, exchange and kin networking, levelling and co-operation are played out and mediated. Like storytelling—a theme explored in like analytical fashion by one of the coauthors, Megan Biesele, in her recent book on Ju/'hoan folklore—the trance dance becomes an arena for the moral, emotional and creative interplay between the individual and the community. Being so grounded in experience, and rendered real and meaningful, the trance healing dance is seen by contemporary n Ju/'hoansi as "our thing"; it is "quintessentially Ju/'hoan." The reason the dance has assumed this ethnic stamp among the Ju/'hoansi is the ever-expanding presence of the Black pastoralists on their lands, and along with it the oppressive practices and attitudes the Black power holders of the country extend toward this ethnic minority.

But, apart from the ideological boost to ethnic identity and cultural revitalization which the dance might engender, the authors point to a number of other ways in which the dance and the dancers may be a force for political change and even action. In a perceptive section entitled the "dynamics and politics of n/om" (the healing potency, or "boiling energy," activated in the trancer's stomach), the authors deal, on the one hand, with the mystical, phenomenological elements of the trance dance and, on the other, with the social, performative, moral and affective ones and show how these render the dance a "key to liberating change" and "a linchpin to the evolution of their future." Regarding the first, the dancer's spiritual power and courage and his visions and knowledge of the spirit world, and of "the path" to travel to it (as well as back to the community), are all capabilities, it is suggested, that are transferable from the mystical world of the spirits beyond, to the here-and-now, the real world of *real-politik*. His spiritual work energizes the dancer and enables him to forge on ahead, along a path of political action, through the dangers and pitfalls of power politics, his inner vision now turned outward, becoming one of "critical analysis" of the Ju/'hoansi's present sociopolitical situation, in particular its power structures. The social and performative elements of the trance dance that give it political significance is its morally and affectively integrating, as well as energizing quality, which generates emergent, cathartic and collective healing power in the dancers and spiritual, moral and emotional energy (called *!ka*, "heart," by the Ju/'hoansi) in the participants. Following his 1982 study, Richard Katz refers to these elements of "communal healing" as "synergy." Factions and conflicts are capable of being suspended in the context of a dance event, and rifts repaired. Notwithstanding certain developments towards professionalization by some trance dancers—prime of them the charging of fees for service—the curing dance still has the same morally integrating quality it had a generation earlier. The main difference is its assumption, today, of a political agenda and edge, with the trance dancers as the people's most vocal political spokespersons.

However, given their spiritual, otherworldly disposition, one might be led to question the dancers' efficacy in that role. How well does a "shaman's path," to a "higher spiritual power" and through and around dangers and obstacles of the spirit world, translate into a road map through the world of power politics, towards political equality, economic equity and land rights. It is a path to God but not to Caesar, I would think, and one leading more to the past than the present and future. And as the the avatar of the culture's "ancient values," namely, "respect, humility, love, sharing and service," is the trance dancer mentally equipped to get himself and his people "ahead" in the post-foraging world of capitalism, consumerism, political bureaucracy and brinkmanship, power lobbying and jockeying? That there is more than counterintuitive doubt behind my questions here is suggested by the fact that the Ju/'hoan informants themselves evidently drew no connection between the trance dance and dancer and politics, saying repeatedly, when asked about the matter by the researchers, that "healing is one thing, the problems of our lands and wells are another" (p. 133), or words to that effect.

The substantive and analytical part of the book is sandwiched between, and discursively interspersed by, postmodernist musings about alterity and power. The book's preface and final section, on "the politics of research and the ethics of responsibility," as well as four of the five appendices, all deal, with varying degrees of explicitness, with the problem of voices and authorial authority, of the need, that is, to be mindful against usurping the voices of other people, and subverting, thereby, their identity and political aspirations.

As a people who are largely illiterate, but who, nevertheless, "know about papers"—land-board application and registration forms, hunting licences, lists of food-aid recipients and the like—the Ju/'hoansi have asked the three authors to be their "paper people": to "tell our story to your people" (and to people who hold power and make economic and political decisions that affect the Bushmen). Mindful of Michael Taussig's admonitions (in his own study of shamanism) about "the politics of interpretation and representation," the three researchers tell that story, sensitively and self-consciously, with much room for the Ju/'hoansi's own voices, which appear in the text in the form of expansive commentaries. These are set apart from the well delineated voices of the three authors—one, a comparative psychologist with a strong humanist and advocacy bent (Katz), another a cultural anthropologist and folklorist, with much ethnographic experience, linguistic facility and a long and distinguished career in the field of Bushman development (Biesele) and the third, a Canadian Cree/Métis academic from Saskatchewan with a research interest in the history and contemporary struggles of First Nations peoples (St. Denis). The last appears especially keen in her concern about how the postmodernist issues that stalk today's ethnographic enterprise like black dogs might compromise the current project. As an Indigenous person, she admits to feeling a special kinship with the Ju/'hoansi as revealed in an absorbing chapter written by herself (rather than by the authors jointly). It describes her extensive conversations with the Ju/'hoansi about their and her people's cultural, linguistic, economic, social and political problems, and their mutual recognition of a common cause.

In a revealing appendix, which is presented as a dialogue among the three authors about the aims and outcomes of the study, St. Denis expresses apprehension about this project "getting it right." I believe the book has succeeded in that goal. Combining the authors' three voices with those of the Ju/'hoansi, at whose behest and in whose cultural and political idiom they have written their joint book, they have produced, on the one hand, a superb ethnographic monograph on the "ancient tradition" of the dance and the society and ethos it embodies. On the other, the book offers an account of a post-foraging Fourth World people who, in a context of intense identity politics that reverberate through post-Apartheid

southern Africa, resiliently and resourcefully confront their problems, by drawing on, and renewing tradition and activating potent spiritual and political energies. It is a portrait of the Bushmen that leave little room for prerevisionist or intro-textbook fancies about peripheral, "harmless," passive people, with iconic, archaic and disappearing life- and folkways. The Ju/'hoansi, as well as other Bushman communities all over southern Africa, are addressing themselves to the political issues of their time and their land and nation. This book may well contribute to having their voices heard.

Eric Alden Smith and Joan McCarter (eds.), *Contested Arctic: Indigenous Peoples, Industrial States, and the Circumpolar Environment,* Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1997, 156 pages.

Reviewer: *Chris Egan*
University of Manitoba

You cannot read this book without digesting the message that the Arctic is indeed the frontier of contemporary colonialism. The controlling gaze may have shifted focus somewhat, but the inspecting and regulating of people and animals persists in the historical space of today's "contested Arctic."

Most of the papers in this edited volume were presented in 1996 at a one-day interdisciplinary symposium on human-environmental interaction in the circumpolar north. A first glance at the table of contents might suggest an imbalance of geographic areas because, of the six papers, three address problems of pollution in the Russian North—though one of these compares Natives in northwest Siberia and northern Alberta (Aileen Espiritu). Since the opening up of the Soviet Union and the Russian Federation, the West had much to learn—and Russia is evidently ready and willing to tell. This book excels in accomplishing its goal of illuminating intersections of "industrial pollution, Arctic ecosystems, national ambitions, and indigenous cultures."

In his introduction, Eric Alden Smith provides us with a succinct discussion of the historical beginnings of ecological degradation (colonial style) as well as current global environmental problems across the circumpolar north. Appropriately, the first chapter in the volume is written from an emic point of view. Charles Johnson reminds us that Native people are active participants in the Arctic ecosystem and are greatly concerned about effects of global warming and Arctic environmental contamination by organochlorines and heavy metals; he argues that these problems can be related to a decline in the physical and social health of circumpolar peoples. In Craig ZumBrunnen's account of the Russian North, significant health problems have been demonstrated in 28 of the 29 cities which have significant chemical industry pollution related specifically to the defence sector. There, the legacy of harmful industrial processing (including mining) gives little reason for optimism as the problems in Russia are now quite serious. In fact, only 15% of Russia's population reside in areas where the ambient air quality meets health standards. Conspicuously, the Arctic metropolis of Noril'sk is deemed to be the city in all of Russia with the most contaminated air.

Cultural conflict following resource extraction from the Arctic's "storehouse of wealth" is discussed in two additional papers (by Fondahl and Espiritu) which address problems common to Indigenous peoples in the Russian and the Canadian North. The fragility of the Arctic ecosystem is generally downplayed by the developers (or should we say, destroyers) whose manoeuvres engender losses of various kinds to Northern Native peoples. Loss of traditional subsistence regimes (such as hunting or reindeer herding), loss of control of their own environment (including loss of land) and loss of other sociocultural traits which identify them as Inuit, Cree or Saami are examples of human rights issues examined in chapters written by Collings and Beach, and of the Indigenous peoples of Russia in the chapter written by Gail Fondahl, who also examines the development of their land claims.

Peter Collings examines some of the underlying assumptions of wildlife management in the Canadian North. The "tragedy of the commons" paradigm has been used in arguments of famine, overfishing and wildlife overexploitation, and Collings debates how sociocultural contexts can affect conditions that lead to environmental degradation resulting from overexploitation of resources. He argues that social and cultural limitations implemented by the Inuit themselves continue to be effective mechanisms in the prevention of resource depletion. The James Bay Cree, too, have employed a successful system of resource management by means of hunting and fishing territories, as well as by a culturally sanctioned self-limiting principle to take only what is needed.

This book reveals significant information about the real situation in the former U.S.S.R. For example, Craig ZumBrunnen tells about dozens of "secret cities" which were established by Stalin to develop the atom bomb, and discloses little-known facts like nuclear power plants being built without radiation containment vessels, and the secret injecting of billions of gallons of atomic wastes directly into the ground at three separate sites. Not only are the Russian people suffering from the consequences of such irresponsibility, transboundary pollution of toxic products is a growing threat to Arctic peoples across the globe.

One of the great strengths of this book is in its ability to address social and political issues as they relate to various actual problems of pollution, and also to perceptions of pollution by groups with vested interests. For example, a perception of ecological damage being caused by reindeer which, it is contested, are allowed to overgraze and trample the tundra in Swedish Lapland, is a position disputed by Hugh Beach in the final chapter. In spite of, or perhaps because of, seemingly disparate cultural contexts and realities, this book sheds new light on changing sociopolitical and ecological problems faced by Arctic peoples around the globe.

Betty Kobayashi Issenman, *Sinews of Survival: The Living Legacy of Inuit Clothing,* Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1997, 274 pages, 49,95 $ (relié).

Reviewer: *Gérald Baril*
INRS–Culture et Société

Résultat de 20 ans d'observations et de recensions minutieuses sur le vêtement des Inuit du territoire canadien, *Sinews of Survival* sera dorénavant une référence cardinale dans le domaine. Synthèse[1] remarquable, tant par la clarté de sa présentation que par la rigueur et la sensibilité de son propos, le livre de Betty Kobayashi Issenman constitue à la fois une importante source d'information spécialisée et une admirable introduction à la culture inuit.

Sur la jaquette de couverture: un Inuk, vêtu de peau de caribou. Dessous l'épaisse fourrure du parka émergent le visage et les mains de l'homme, concentré, peut-être devrait-on dire recueilli. Les doigts agiles manient une lanière, un «lien de survie», qui renvoie, comme le précieux fil de tendon, à tous les liens de la culture. Entre le visage et les mains, le lien est symbolique, le geste et la mémoire coexistent, le présent incertain et le passé immémorial se rencontrent.

On ouvre le livre et aussitôt les images exercent leur empire, bien servies par l'exploitation graphique de la luminosité des blancs. On pénètre d'emblée au coeur du sujet, l'attention sollicitée par les photographies, les illustrations, les reproductions de documents anciens, les patrons et les cartes. Même le grain du papier, qui adoucit les contrastes (comme si on l'avait recouvert d'une fine poudre de neige), contribue à créer une ambiance que devient elle-même partie prenante de l'exposé.

Le premier chapitre, «The Inuit: Time and Space», s'ouvre avec une prise de position de l'auteure, position par ailleurs revendiquée par bon nombre d'Inuit appelés à témoigner de leur expérience ou de celle de leurs ancêtre: «Skin clothing was one of the factors that ensured Inuit survival in the Arctic over thousands of years. Because of its functional excellence and often magical enchantment, the clothing constitutes a distinguished legacy from the Inuit to the human family» (p. 6). L'auteure propose de considérer le système vestimentaire inuit comme un legs technique et symbolique, un système comportant à la fois une valeur d'efficacité technique, dans un milieu donné, et une valeur universelle, en tant qu'oeuvre de création, en tant qu'expression d'une intrication singulière des rapports à la nature et de rapports sociaux. C'est dire, sans aucun doute, que les Inuit sont justifiés d'en éprouver de la fierté et d'en faire une importante assise identitaire, mais c'est dire aussi que, au-delà du simple emprunt de traits techniques, le reste de l'humanité a peut-être encore des enseignements à tirer de cet exemple.

Bien que l'ouvrage soit centré sur les Inuit du Canada, le premier chapitre présente le monde inuit dans sa globalité, en tant que culture circumpolaire, qui se déploie sur la moitié du pourtour arctique du globe, de l'extrême nord-est de la Sibérie au Kalaallit Nunaat (Groenland), en passant par l'Alaska et le Canada. Plusieurs groupes distincts partageant des traits communs important sont répartis dans ce vaste territoire. Notamment, l'ensemble des quelque 136 000 représentants de la culture inuit se répartissent en deux groupes linguistiques: d'une part les inuit de Sibérie et du sud de l'Alaska (la branche Yup'ik) et d'autre part ceux du nord de l'Alaska, du Canada et du Kalaallit Nunaat (la branche Inuit-Inupiaq). Le chapitre met en lumière des données archéologiques attestant que les ancêtres directs des peuples inuit contemporains fabriquaient des vêtement de peaux coupés il y a environ 4 000 ans. Les témoins matériels de cette adaptation conservés jusqu'à nos jours révèlent une grande homogénéité technique et une étonnante complexité. Il s'agit là d'une confirmation de ce que le nombre d'auteurs avaient déjà souligné, entre autres Leroi-Gourhan dans *Milieu et techniques* (1945): «les Eskimo sont de merveilleux tailleurs sur mesure et tous les artifices d'empiècement, de pointes, de pinces leur sont familiers» (p. 219). Toutefois, Issenman approfondit la démonstration et lui donne un nouvel impact en produisant de nombreuses pièces de collection à l'appui. De plus, les photos d'artefacts et les patrons dessinés se complètent pour décrire avec précision la forme des vêtements cités.

Au deuxième chapitre, «From Earth, Sea, and Sky» sont présentés les matières premières et les principes de construction des vêtements inuit. Les animaux de la terre: le caribou, l'ours polaire (aussi un animal marin) et plusieurs autres mammifères dont le chien; les animaux de la mer: les phoques, le morse et les baleines; les animaux du ciel: le canard plongeur, le cormoran, les huards, les marmettes et d'autres oiseaux aquatiques, enfin, une grande variété d'animaux fournissent les peaux et le fil de tendon utilisé pour l'assemblage des peaux de vêtements. On découvre au cours de ce chapitre comment chez les Inuit, la connaissance du milieu naturel, l'ingéniosité des méthodes de chasse et la virtuosité des technique de couture constituent une science du vêtement tout à fait unique. On apprend entre autres que l'explorateur Amundsen avait fait fabriquer des vêtements par les Inuit pour une de ses expéditions, au début du siècle. Depuis, les recherches pour synthétiser des fibres aux propriétés isolantes supérieures et permettant de repousser l'humidité produite par le corps vers l'extérieur du vêtement ont permis de produire industriellement des vêtements très performants. La comparaison de l'efficacité de ces vêtements de pointe avec ceux des inuit est un terrain sur lequel l'auteure ne s'aventure pas, probablement parce qu'il serait difficile d'établir la base commune d'une telle comparaison. Il est toutefois concevable que les vêtements inuit demeurent supérieurs en de nombreuses circonstances pour lesquelles ils ont été conçus. De plus, leur «coût environnemental» de production est sans commune mesure avec celui des vêtements d'expédition offerts dans le commerce.

Le troisième chapitre, intitulé «Tools and Technique», décrit l'outillage particulier développé par les Inuit pour la confection des vêtements. Autrefois, on fabriquait les outils à partir des bois de caribou, de l'ivoire, de la corne, des os, du bois, de la pierre, ainsi que, dans certains groupes du fer mé-

téorique et du cuivre natif. Les contacts avec les blancs ont entraîné l'introduction de nouveaux matériaux, mais l'outillage de base et les principes essentiels de préparation, d'ajustement et d'assemblage des peaux, sont demeurés insurpassable. Aujourd'hui encore, les réalisation spectaculaires du système technique vestimentaire des Inuit, par exemple les imperméables qui «respirent», en peau d'intestin de mammifère marin, ou encore les fameuses coutures imperméables, ont de quoi susciter l'admiration.

«Inuit Style», le quatrième chapitre, décrit les particularités techniques et stylistiques de chacun des dix groupes inuit de l'Artique canadien. D'ouest en est, ces différents groupes sont les suivants: les «Invialuit» (près de l'Alaska, dans la région du delta du Mackenzie), les «Inuit du Cuivre» (dans la région de l'île Victoria et de l'île de Banks), les «Netsilingmiut» «inuit netsilik» (à peu près au centre de l'Arctique canadien), les «Iglulingmiut» (de l'île Ellesmere au nord de la baie d'Hudson, en passant par le nord de l'île de Baffin), les «Sallirmiut» (un groupe aujourd'hui disparu, dû à une épidémie vers 1902-1903, et qui vivait dans les îles Southampton, Coast et Walrus, au nord de la baie d'Hudson), les «Inuit du Caribou» (sur les rives et à l'intérieur des terres à l'ouest de la baie d'Hudson), les «Nunatsiarmiut» ou «Inuit de l'île de Baffin» occupant environ les deux tiers de l'île de Baffin dans sa partie sud), les «Nunavimiut» ou «Inuit du Québec» (occupant le «Nunavik», ou Québec arctique), les «qikirtamiut» (culturellement proches des nunavimiut et vivant dans les îles Belcher, dans la partie orientale de la baie d'Hudson) et, enfin, les «Inuit du Labrador» occupant la côte du Labrador depuis Hamilton Inlet vers le nord jusqu'à la frontière du Québec). Les principes de confection sont les mêmes partout, mais les groupes se distinguent les uns des autres par des éléments dont les formes varient ou par des décorations particulières. Par exemple, les parka des groupes les plus à l'ouest sont généralement plus longs en forme de cloche, souvent décorés au bas de mosaiques de fourrure; ceux des Ntsilingmiut et des Iglulingmiut sont souvent décorés de franges; le capuchon de l'amauti (parka féminin) contemporain est plutôt rond au Québec et plutôt pointu à l'île de Baffin.

Le cinquième chapitre, «Spiritual, Artistic,and Social Traditions», examine les aspects fonctionnels et symboliques du vêtement inuit, notamment les liens qu'il évoque entre l'humain et l'animal, de même que ce qu'il exprime des rapports des inuit entre eux. On voit entre autres que les vêtements en peau de caribou, par exemple, reprennent la forme animal (la tête de l'animal pour le capuchon du parka, les épaules pour les épaules, le dos pour le dos etc.). Ce qui permet au chasseur de s'identifier au caribou, et de lui payer en quelque sorte, un tribut. On voit aussi comment les vêtements jouent un rôle important de marqueurs sociaux de certains moments importants de la vie de l'individu ou de la communauté, favorisant la cohésion du groupe. On voit comment l'étude du système vestimentaire inuit révèle la particularité du partage des responsabilités et des tâche entre les hommes et les femmes dans la tradition de cette culture.

Avec le sixième chapitre, «New Explorations», qui conclut l'ouvrage, Betty Issenman note que beaucoup de travail reste à accomplir par les chercheurs blancs et par les Inuit qui veulent se réapproprier leur patrimoine. Notamment, les systèmes vestimentaires des Inuit du Québec et du Labrador n'ont pas été étudiés de manière aussi exhaustive que chez les autres groupes. Des liens restent à établir entre les groupes du Canada, de même qu'avec les autre groupes Inuit et avec les autres peuples de l'Arctique circumpolaire. Pour cela, il sera nécessaire de mettre d'avantage en commun les résultats de recherche et de multiplier notamment les efforts de traduction. Si beaucoup reste à faire, le livre de Issenman n'en demeure pas moins une contribution importante aux études sur les vêtements traditionnels. En plus de son impact au plan de la recherche, *Sinews of Survival* pourra être utilisé à l'appui des programmes d'enseignement de leurs propres traditions aux jeunes Inuit. Plus largement, il enrichit le bassin des connaissances sur le patrimoine vestimentaire mondial, dans lequel le design contemporain continue et continuera de puiser une bonne part de son inspiration créatrice.

Note

1 L' auteure a elle-même produit, depuis 1984, plusieurs écrits sur le vêtement inuit, dont la liste peut-être consultée dans la bibliographie de son livre. Mentionnons toutefois que *Sinews of Survival* se trouvait déjà en germe (par la structure et l'essentiel des informations) dans le catalogue de l'exposition *Ivalu*, présentée au Musée McCord d'histoire canadienne en 1988. Ce catalogue, réalisé par Betty Issenman et Catherine Rankin, avait alors été publié en trois langues : français, anglais et inuktitut.

Chaque image est accompagnée d'une légende, précise et consistante, comportant souvent un renvoi à une source complémentaire. L'ouvrage est divisé en six chapitres, auxquels s'ajoutent, en annexe, une liste de collections de vêtements inuit à travers le monde, un glossaire des noms de lieux (inukitut et langues non-inuit) et un index qui permet de retrouver, par exemple, les informations sur une pièce de costume, à partir d'une entrée sur cette pièce et de sous-entrée sur les différents groupes pour lesquels la pièce est documentée.

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Muséologie, *Mode et collections,* Musée de la civilisation à Québec, du 8 décembre 1997 au 25 octobre 1998

Reviewer: *Jocelyne Mathieu*
Université Laval

Idée originale: le Musée de la civilisation fait appel à huit créateurs québécois pour jeter un regard inquisiteur sur la collection de costumes. Chacun d'eux se laisse alors toucher par quelques pièces pour elles-mêmes, ou pour ce qu'elles représentent dans un univers élaboré autour d'un thème. Tout un faisant découvrir au visiteur près de 200 pièces choisies parmi les trésors du Musée, ces créateurs chevronnés proposent, par leurs visions très personnelles, une lecture de la mode comme phénomène culturel. À l'invitation du Musée, chaque créateur complète sa démarche en réalisant une oeuvre originale qui est exposée avec les pièces qui l'ont inspirée, le tout intégré en un îlot.

Chacun y est allé de sa perception et du sens du vêtement pour énoncer son concept: le passé s'avère un grand inspirateur du présent. Créateur de mode, donc artiste, complètement libre d'imaginer et de réaliser une oeuvre qui joindra la collection du Musée, chacun se confirme dans ses convictions, dans sa vision du monde, dans son expression d'une sensibilité non obligée à quelque compromis. On reconnaît cependant les profils qui ont fait leur marque.

Dès l'entrée dans la salle, le visiteur est enveloppé par une atmosphère filtrée, aérée et subtilement éclairée. Des ensembles bien distincts s'offrent à la vue, mettant en scène des personnages sans âge mis en forme pour l'événement.

Par le droite, on entre dans le rêve de Michel Desjardins. Formé d'abord à l'architecture, il privilégie les coupes élaborées, amples, pour présenter du chic aux airs romantiques. S'inspirant de la fin du XIX^{e} et du début du XX^{e} siècle, il conçoit dans des tissus modernes et somptueux une toilette qu'il intitule *La vie en rose*. Aussi passé par l'architecture avant de poursuivre ses études en mode, Christian Chenail, choisit pour sa part d'offrir un bouquet de robes roses, bleus, noires, issue de la période entre 1930 et 1960. Ces robes, harmonieusement présentées, s'étalent entre deux créations que le couturier a voulu, pour le bouquet, d'un rouge vif, Hélène Barbeau remet à son tour en vedette des robes qu'elle a choisies, par effets de surprise et par coup de coeur. S'attardant à l'époque du charleston, elle retient des coupes droites, des vêtements souples aux coloris recherchés. Elle crée l'inusité, sans limite, sans contrainte, qui prend la forme d'une sculpture, *Libération*, suspendue au-dessus d'un présentoir d'accessoires hétéroclites extraits de la collection.

À l'une des extrémités de la salle, un peu en retrait et en partie caché, l'univers de Line Bussières reste fidèle à l'essentiel de sa production en privilégiant les vêtements masculins, civils et militaires. Son expérience du costume de théâtre lui a permis de développer une polyvalence de confection qu'on décèle dans ses pièces. Inspirée par un autre âge et un autre lieu, elle crée un ensemble qui marie redingote et pantalon ample, modèle à la fois ancien et apparenté au hakama japonais de la collection. Le mot ***homme*** inscrit dans plusieurs langues sur la veste de Georges (le mannequin) fait appel à l'homme du futur, où qu'il soit.

Au centre de la salle, Jean Airoldi provoque comme toujours. Il fait l'éloge du corps et des dessous féminins qui le mettent en valeur. Les tissus sont transparents, ajourés, pour révéler l'invisible. Le bustier, jupons et corsets découpent l'espace comme ils modèlent le corps. Sur sa création, *mousseline*, sont fixées des coupures de magazines, comme quoi la publicité nous rejoint toutes. Marie Saint-Pierre aussi joue de transparence, mais d'une autre manière. Touchée par la fragilité des vêtements, elle a choisi de les monter dans leurs boîtes, au travers de leur couvercle et à l'abri, comme par souci de conservation. On reconnaît la silhouette qui la caractérise, longue et ample, de la robe sombre et métallisée qu'elle crée, *Inspiration et mémoire*, et qui se détache de l'ensemble des pièces qu'elle a retenues. Tout clame la préciosité des choses. Jean-Claude Poitras a été séduit par ces tissus imprégnés des traces de la vie, qui jaunissent en vieillissant et rappellent des événement marquants. Baptême, mariage ou même dimanche offrent des occasions de portes ces robes blanches ou écrues, signes de petits ou grands passages de la vie et de moments intenses. En contraste, sa création se détache, *Prélude en noir*, pour marquer le deuil. Ainsi, il bouche le cycle de la vie. «Sensible au principe du retour à la terre», Véronique Milijkovitch, spécialiste des fourrures, s'intéresse elle aussi au cycle de la vie. Attirée par les cultures autochtones, amérindiennes et inuit, elle présente des pieces de cuir et de fourrure, des vêtement pour se protéger du froid, en harmonie avec la nature. Sa création, *Esprit boréal*, se voudrait un rappel des années 1960-1970, notamment par une quête de spiritualité.

Cette exposition est d'abord traitée comme un événement auquel contribuent, pour la promotion, MusiquePlus et le magazine *Clin d'oeil*. La salle abrite huit îlots, très caractérisés, dont certains sont aménagés pour occuper tout l'espace, avec des pièces suspendues, adossées ou habilement dressées au coeur de présentoirs. On y circule à sa guise, sous un éclairage tamisé, question de ne pas oublier la précarité des textiles. Les démarches individuelles de chacun des créateurs convergent sur certains points: l'importance du blanc et du naturel, entre autres, se remarque dès l'entrée. Robes de soirée, sous-vêtements, vêtements pour des occasions spéciales ou pièces anciennes attirent par leur transparence. En contraste, le rouge et le rose, féminisés; puis les couleurs de terre, profondes et riches de nuances. Enfin, le noir, à la touche cette fois masculine ou plus grave.

On sent un souci d'harmonie entre les pièces de collection et les oeuvres de création. Le rapport établi n'est pas toujours évident et les commentaires livrés par les designers eux-mêmes s'avèrent très instructifs. À chacun des îlots, se déroule une bande vidéo qui donne la parole à l'artiste-vedette. Ces diffusions multiples produisent des bruits qui entrent en compétition, sans pour autant déranger la visite.

Cette exposition rejoint à la fois les spécialistes et le grand public. Elle offre l'occasion d'ouvrir la collection du Musée, de découvrir les puits d'inspirations de la mode, de savourer l'interprétation sensible des créateurs, leur art, et de reconnaître leurs caractères. Ainsi, la fantaisie y est présente bien sûr, mais aussi des repères connus parce que tirés de la vie même des individus. Ces objets-témoins sont conservés au musée pour mémoire et pour ceux qui veulent s'en inspirer.

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Reviewer: *Paul Charest*
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Maintenant établie à Montréal, Isabelle Schulte-Tenckhoff est bien connue au Québec par son volume *La vue portée au loin* (1985), largement utilisé comme ouvrage de référence dans les cours d'histoire de la pensée anthropologique. Comme le souligne notre collègue Rémi Savard dans sa préface, ce nouvel ouvrage vient combler une lacune importante dans la littérature française sur les Autochtones: «Il n'existait pas aucune publication aussi accessible et d'une telle qualité sur la situation actuelle des peuples autochtones à travers le monde...» (p. vii), il constitue en quelque sorte le pendant du volume de Julian Burger *Report from the Frontier: The State of the World's Indigenous Peoples* publié il y a déjà une dizaine d'années. Ce n'est pas là l'effet du hasard puisque tous deux ont travaillé ensemble dans le cadre du groupe de travail sur les peuple autochtones de l'ONU. Ainsi, selon ses propres indications, l'auteure a effectué depuis 1991 six mandats de recherche en rapport avec l'Étude sur les traités entre peuples autochtones et États sous la responsabilité du Rapporteur spécial Alionso Martinez, membre du Groupe de travail, alors que J. Burger est lui-même directeur de recherche pour le Groupe. Il n'est pas surprenant de constater qu'une partie importante du volume, soit un chapitre entier d'une trentaine de pages, soit consacré aux activités du Groupe de travail et au Projet de Déclaration des nations unies sur les droits des peuples autochtones qui constitue le principal résultat. L'ouvrage est divisé en trois parties et dix chapitres abordant successivement les thèmes suivants: 1) un bilan de la situation des peuples autochtones dans la monde; 2) les Autochtones dans le contexte international; 3) les enjeux de l'«autochtonie». S'y ajoute une annexe de huit «textes choisis», dont le projet de Déclaration ci-haut mentionné. Le bilan de situation intitulé «Les Autochtones dans tous leurs États» constitue la pièce de résistance de l'ouvrage avec environ 40 % du texte rédigé par l'auteure. Il traite successivement des Autochtones de l'Amérique centrale et du sud, de l'Amérique du nord, de l'Océanie et de ses régions boréales. Sont donc laissés de côté les Autochtones d' Asie, en particulier de l'Inde et de la Chine, portant de loin les plus nombreux, et ceux d'Afrique. La diversité des situations locales est d'une part soulignée: le nombre total d'Autochtones de part le monde est estimé à 300 millions de personnes réparties en 5 000 ethnies. D'autre part, les Autochtones sont présentés comme des «victimes de l'expensionisme occidental». Le Canada occupe une bonne place dans ce bilan et l'auteure connaît manifestement bien la situation des Autochtones chez nous, mais ce n'est pas le cas pour la Sibérie rapidement traitée en deux petites pages.

La deuxième partie de l'ouvrage présente les Autochtones comme «bénéficiaires et acteurs du système international». Outre le rôle majeur du Groupe de travail de l'ONU dans la défense des droits autochtones, l'auteure y analyse les nombreuses actions et initiatives autochtones sur la scène internationale (manifestation, occupation, lobby, création d'ONG, alliances avec des écologiste, etc.) démontrant que les autochtones ne sont pas seulement des victimes mais aussi des intervenants importants sur la scène politique dont les États-nations et les organismes internationaux doivent tenir compte. Le rôle pionnier de l'Organisation Internationale du travail (OIT), responsable dès 1957 d'une Convention (n° 107) visant à protéger les droits des autochtones, y est aussi mis en évidence. Une nouvelle version de cette Convention (n° 169) «concernant les peuples indigènes et tribaux dans las pays indépendants» adoptée en 1989 est fournie en annexe. Pour ce qui est du projet de Déclaration préparé par le Groupe de travail, aussi présentée au complet en annexe, l'auteure souligne que les principes les plus importants qui y sont affirmés sont d'abord et avant tout celui du droit a l'autodétermination des peuples autochtones et celui des droits à des terres et à des ressources suffisantes pour assurer leur viabilité économique et politique.

Dans le troisième et dernier chapitre de son ouvrage traitant des «acquis et défis de l'autochtonie», I. Schulte-Tenckhoff aborde la question de l'utilisation du «qualificatif autochtone» qui «se définit dans une configuration spécifique des rapports de domination» (p. 133). Poussant plus loin son analyse elle cite longuement une définition de travail de l'étude Cobo «qui guide les travaux de l'ONU depuis 1972» comprenant les deux paragraphes suivants:

> Du point de vue de l'individu, l'autochtone est la personne qui appartient à une population autochtone par auto-identification (conscience de groupe) et qui est reconnu [*sic*] et accepté [*sic*] par cette population en tant que l'un de ses membres (acceptation par le groupe).
>
> Cela laisse aux communautés autochtones le droit et le pouvoir souverain de décider quels sont leurs membres, sans ingérence extérieur (p. 135).

Pour l'auteure ce principe d'auto-identification est «incontournable» et elle dénonce au passage la Loi sur les Indiens du Canada qui définit unilatéralement « qui est Indien et quelles sont les terres réservées aux Indiens» (p. 141).

Pour les anthropologues, les réflexions les plus percutantes de Schulte-Tenckhoff se trouvent dans l'avant-dernier chapitre de l'ouvrage intitulé «L'autochtonie dans le nébuleuse de la culture». Discutant du changement culturel, l'auteure dénonce l'enfermement des Autochtones dans une culture traditionnelle, souvent celle des chasseurs-collecteurs, et leur difficulté à être reconnus comme autochtones et à conserver leurs droits inhérents s'ils participent à la modernité. Ainsi, il existe « une façon d'être autochtone au delà d'une conversion plus ou moins accomplie aux avantages—matériels surtout—de la vie moderne» (p. 163). L'auteure écorche aussi au passage la politique canadienne dite de revendications territoriales globales qui comporte toujours l'exigence de l'extinction des droits des aboriginaux, d'une part, et qui refuse de sortir du droit étatique, d'autre part. Finalement, faisant référence aux débats moderne/post-moderne, l'auteure conclut son chapitre en identifiant deux virtualités autochtones allant à la l'encontre à la fois du relativisme culturel et de la rationalité universaliste: «celle d'universaux subsumant les différences culturelles et historique dans le premier cas, et celle d'une pluralité de devenirs exigeant que l'on relativise la notion d'historicité dans le second» (p. 165).

Les juristes, quant à eux, trouveront aussi matière réflexion et discussion dans le dernier chapitre de l'ouvrage («L'autochtonie dans l'ordre international») abordant des sujets clés comme l'internalisation des questions autochtones, le droit des gens, les traités et le droit à l'autodétermination. Par internalisation l'auteure fait référence au «transfert graduel des relations avec les peuples autochtones du domaine du droit international à celui du droit interne» (p. 171), pratique de plus en plus étendue qui positionne les États à la fois comme juge et partie dans leurs rapports avec les Autochtones. Cette pratique va donc à l'encontre du droit des gens qui considère tous les peuples comme égaux et comme des «communautés juridiquement organisées» capable de conclure des traités avec d'autres entités indépendamment de leur niveau de développement politique, comme ont pu le faire les peuples ou nations autochtones d'Amérique du Nord avec l'Angleterre. Toutefois, le sens originel de ces traités s'est peu à peu transformé en relations de domination et de dépendance par l'incorporation progressive des groupe signataires à l'intérieur des États colonisateurs.

Pour ce qui est de l'autodétermination elle ne veut pas nécessairement dire volonté de sécession dans l'esprit des peuples qui la réclament, mais tout simplement le droit à disposer d'eux-mêmes. Le modèle des traités peut être une solution intéressante pour y parvenir à condition qu'il y ait recherche de consensus de part et d'autre et que les états reconnaissent le «rôle historique des peuples autochtones par rapport aux territoires dont ils dérivent leur identité» (p. 192). C'est dans cette foulée que I. Schulte-Tenckhoff conclut son volume en affirmant que la question autochtones est «essentiellement politique» et que «l'autochtonie se négocie» (p. 194). Ce terme «autochtonie» n'est en fait jamais clairement explicité dans son ouvrage. Il semble désigner l'identité autochtone ou l'appartenance à un ensemble social et politique composé de tous les peuples autochtones de la planète. Personnellement, je le trouve inadéquat et lui préfère le terme «autochtonité»[1] (Charest et Tanner 1992), celui d'«autochtonie» devant s'appliquer aux territoires autochtones, comme à un ensemble géographique, sur le modèle de la Scandinavie, de la Picardie ou de la Mauricie. Quant au terme «autochtonité», il est construit sur la même logique que les termes francité et indianité, comme référent identitaire. Mis a part ce problème terminologique, le livre de Schulte-Tenckhoff s'avère très intéressant et très utile, d'abord parce qu'il est le premier ouvrage synthèse en français sur les Autochtones, ensuite parce qu'il dépasse le simple bilan de situation pour proposer des analyses sur plusieurs sujets au coeur même de la question autochtone: celui des droits, mais aussi ceux des traités, de l'internalisation du changements culturel vs l'identité, de l'autodétermination, etc. Sur plusieurs de ces thèmes, on souhaiterait même que l'auteure développe davantage. C'est le cas des traites en particulier, sachant que l'auteure a fait des recherches approfondies sur le sujet depuis plusieurs années. Elle le réserve probablement pour une prochaine publication.

Note

1 Le terme utilisé alors était toutefois «autochtonéité».

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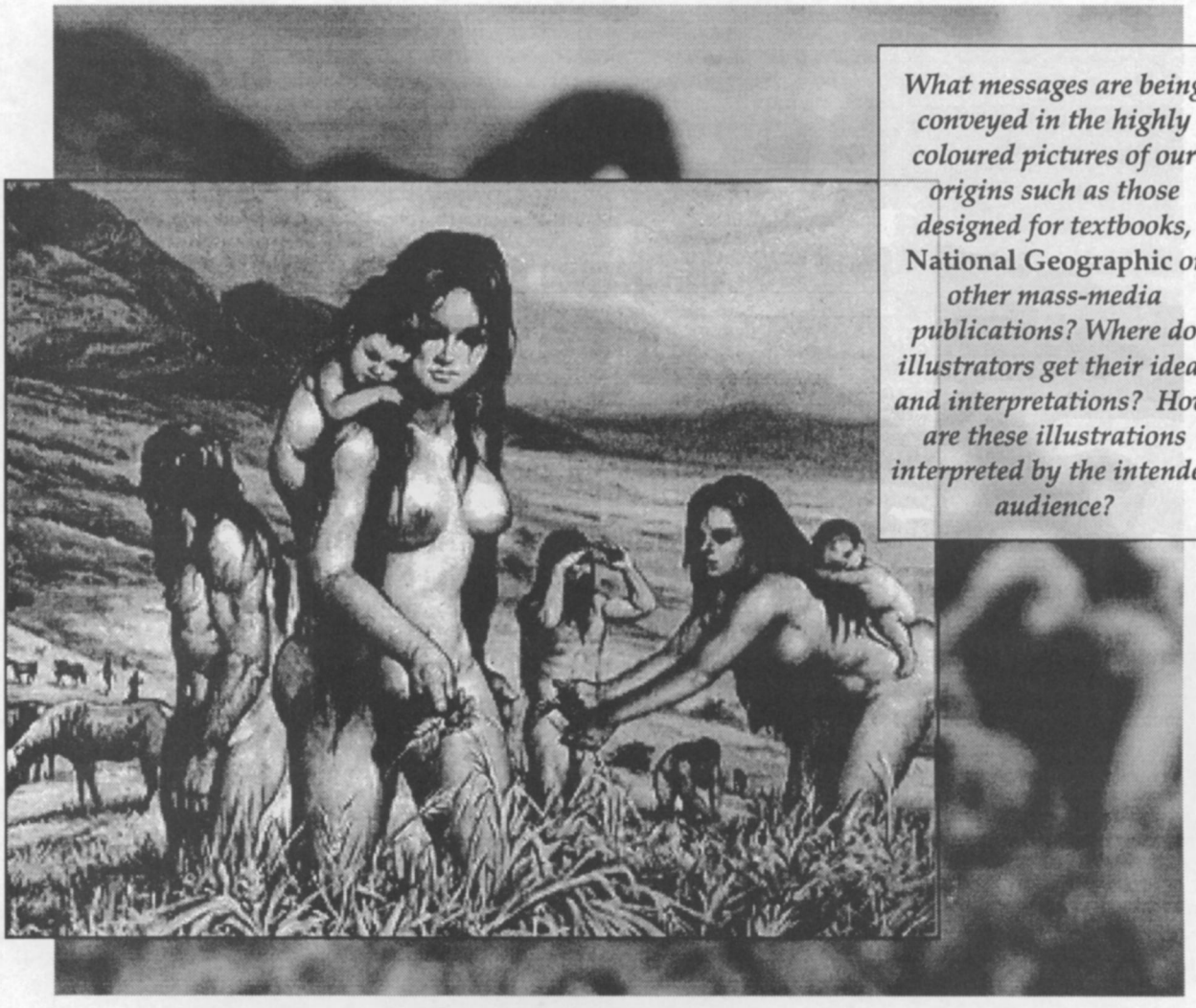

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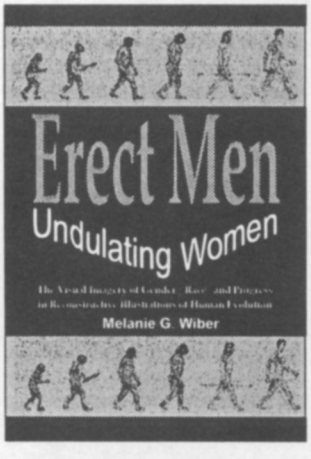

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