

Anna Marie Prentiss and Ian Kuijt. *People of the Middle Fraser Canyon: An Archaeological History* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2012).

Review by Stanley A. Copp, Langara College

People of the Middle Fraser Canyon is a book that ostensibly fits within the definition of a public archaeology book, but it can be more—much more—for some academics.

Written by Anna Marie Prentiss and Ian Kuijt, two archaeologists with decades of experience in the subject area, the book tracks patterns of cultural florescence, decline, and later emergence of large villages in the mid-Fraser River region of British Columbia.

Due to a long association with the St'át'imc Nation, the authors are able to draw upon indigenous (emic) perspectives that, coupled with archaeological data and theory, explain the evolution of these Plateau cultures.

Through a theoretical lens based upon evolutionary ecology and the dynamics of individual and social group interactions, they present an evolutionary timeline that illuminates lifestyles from earliest times through to the historic and contemporary periods.

Over time, mobile foraging gave way to more sedentary lifestyles predicated largely on the procurement, processing, and storage of anadromous salmon, although this statement does not adequately reflect the diversity found in the archaeological record where, at sites like the large Keatley Creek settlement, there is evidence that can be interpreted as social stratification based on apparent wealth and status. For example, not everyone ate salmon, as this resource, at least during one of the florescence period, appears to have been differentially accessed, probably based upon kinship ties and status inter-relationships.

Of value to those interested in the development of complex foragers in the Pacific Northwest, Prentiss and Kuijt take the time to survey similar developments along portions of the Columbia River, investigating parallel and divergent evolutionary patterns. They are also at pains to review hypotheses that may be contrary to their theoretical perspectives.

Indeed, one could not hope for a better volume than this to help students (and some academics) to discover the nature of the database from which they have drawn this story. As a public archaeology book, the chapters contain no in-text references. Instead, those interested in the “back story” and data must ferret this out from the Notes on Sources for

each chapter at the back of the book. For the less academically inclined, there are also boxed-text sections explaining the nature of archaeological data, methods, and some theories, as well as interesting vignettes imagining points-of-view of pre-contact inhabitants and backed up with realistic drawings. These make it a more interesting read for the lay reader.

This reviewer would have appreciated the inclusion of the Lower-Middle Columbia, Kettle Falls, and Okanagan Valley archaeology data, but much of this is hidden in the “grey” (government and unpublished) literature database and is less accessible than the journal articles, books, and academic theses referenced in this volume.

Another (minor) criticism involves the problematic equation of specific tool types with ethnic identities, especially the association that some scholars make between microblade and core technologies with ancestral Athapaskan-speaking (Na-Dene) population migrations along the coast and interior of British Columbia (cf. Magne and Matson, 2010). As well, they state that microblades are “flakes ... two to five centimeters long ... parallel side(d), and had a width of about a half centimeter” (38). My own research (Copp 2006), as well as others investigating these intriguing tools, would refer to them as blades, not flakes, usually much less than 5 cm in length and with a mean width of about 10 mm.

Regardless of errors or differences in interpretation of the archaeological record and database, this is a book that anyone interested in the complexity of human cultural time depth in the Pacific Northwest should have in their personal library. Prentiss and Kuijt raise many pertinent questions of interest to avocational, academic novices and professional archaeologists alike. Read it, then spend some hours following the research trails they suggest. For those readers so inclined, this will be well worth the expense and time.

References

- Copp, S.A. (2006). *Similkameen archaeology (1993–2006)*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Simon Fraser University, Burnaby.
- Magne, M.P.R. and R.G. Matson. (2010). Moving on: Expanding perspectives on Athapaskan migrations. *Canadian Journal of Archaeology*, 34(2), 212–239.

Mark Cronlund Anderson and Carmen L. Robertson. *Seeing Red: A History of Natives in Canadian Newspapers*. (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2011).

Review Brendan F.R. Edwards

Seeing Red: A History of Natives in Canadian Newspapers is an important and unique study about the Canadian print media's dissemination of Native imagery. Mark Cronlund Anderson and Carmen Robertson assert that colonialism was and remains a ubiquitous feature of our national print media, which in turn reflects Canada's ongoing status as a colonial entity. The authors argue that this colonial imagery can be grouped in terms of depravity, innate inferiority, and stubbornly resisting progress. These representations have worked separately and in tandem to informally yet persuasively educate Canadians and newcomers about Native inferiority, while simultaneously reinforce the now-familiar yet degrading Native stereotypes. The authors draw on well-established theory that positions the press as an informal educator that provides easily understood conclusions to a captive audience, which in turn heightens public awareness to race and identity issues. Perhaps most alarmingly, of the forty-two periodicals that they studied between 1869 and the early twenty-first century, Anderson and Robertson were unable to identify newspapers that regularly offered anti-colonial discourses or alternative perspectives to the three key colonial images identified.

The authors immediately attack commonly held and popular assumptions that colonialism bypassed Canada, and as such was never an active social or policy guide. Employing a discourse-analysis methodology and case study approach to evaluate this certainty, *Seeing Red* explores print media representation of Native peoples at events ranging from the sale of Rupert's Land in 1869 to Alberta's and Saskatchewan's centennial celebrations. The various case studies are presented chronologically, and include Treaty 3 in 1873, the Red River Rebellion/Resistance of 1885, the Klondike gold rush, the deaths of E. Pauline Johnson (1913) and Grey Owl (1938), the post-World War II debate about Native citizenship, the 1969 White Paper, the Anicinabe Park standoff near Kenora, Ontario in 1974, Bill C-31 (1985), and the 1990 Oka Crisis. Throughout, the authors highlight the media's obsession with presenting Native people as child-like, savage terrorists, sexually depraved, spiritually backward, beggars, lazy drunks, and, ultimately, an obstacle to successful nation-building.

By “othering” what they considered to be exotic and foreign, reporters unconsciously constructed barriers to contemporary political and cultural interaction, if the housing crisis in Attawapiskat in the winter of 2011–12 is any indication.

Portraying Native peoples as “the Other” compelled mainstream newspapers to also fashion a non-Native individual for comparative purposes. One of *Seeing Red*'s more enlightening discussions concerns the liberal Canadian and the brutal American, and how the latter's poor treatment of Indians was employed to confirm the former's tolerance. Similar juxtapositions buoyed Canada's nation-building project, while deflecting concern away from treatment of Native people. After all, how could anyone treat Natives worse than the Americans? The media images employed were basic and presented as common sense, and reflected how other colonial cultures internationally portrayed indigenous peoples. Thus the mainstream press acted as an imperial agent by taking responsibility for helping to establish and maintain the dominant image of what being a good Canadian embodied. The authors argue that this naturalized and assumed right to define the Other did and continues to inform our national mythology.

Seeing Red further asserts that when it comes to Native issues, the press did and still relies on hearsay as opposed to fact, resulting in a process of “hegemonic naturalization” characterized by printed assertions that lack supporting evidence. Canadian newspapers, thus, are organic “national curriculum” through which the status quo is continually reinforced. One of the more stark conclusions is this: the mainstream press in Canada has continually, and with little variation, expressed ideas and representations of Native peoples that have permitted the Canadian public to justify its colonial practices, embodied particularly by residential schools.

Well-documented and -structured, *Seeing Red* will become the go-to text for those curious about the Canadian print media's role in shaping public perceptions about Native people. All the newspapers in this study have subtly, and at times overtly, championed inequality as a means of promoting Canada's national identity, attitudes that over time have become normative values. And while the print media may have become less blatantly racist and judgemental in recent decades, Anderson and Robertson argue that this more accurately reflects reader familiarity with the conventions of colonial discourse. Read alongside Daniel Francis' *The Imaginary Indian*, this study deserves a wide readership and will stimulate discussion about the barriers and challenges that continue to inform the Native-Canadian relationship.

Helen Agger. *Following Nimishoomis: The Trout Lake History of Dedibaayaanimanook Sarah Keesick Olsen* (Penticton, BC: Theytus Books, 2008).

Review by Lynn Gehl

In *Following Nimishoomis: The Trout Lake History of Dedibaayaanimanook*, Helen Agger offers the oral history of her mother, Dedibaayaanimanook (Sarah) Keesick-Olsen. Relying on the Anishinaabe oral narrative approach, Agger allows traditional protocols to mediate listening without interference, sequencing in her mother's stories afterwards. Agger also respects her mother's desire to avoid tape recordings, as well as her need to remain silent regarding her ancestors' names. "Name silence" undoubtedly challenges the anthropomorphic practice of rooting knowledge in particular persons.

Dedibaayaanimanook was born in 1922 in Namegosibiing Trout Lake within the jurisdiction of Treaty 3 in northern Ontario. She was the youngest child of Dedibayaash and Gaamadweyaashiik Keesick, and had many adult half-siblings. Due to her susceptibility to migraine headaches, she avoided residential school and the daily attacks on her identity.

In Chapter 1, we learn that it was Dedibaayaanimanook's grandfather, Giizhik, who gifted her with her name and its associated song, thus assuring a special bond between them. She was also able to receive the knowledge he embodied through listening and learning from extended family members who were great orators, and also through attending Midewin and Diba'amaadim ceremonies.

In Chapter 2, we learn that after the "yellow moneyrock" was discovered, *wemitigoozhi* (white people) began to invade, settle, and change the landscape. While many Anishinaabeg relocated to the reserve community of Wabauskang First Nation, the Keesick family maintained a traditional life. When springtime opened the waterways, Dedibaayaanimanook's family traveled by canoe south to Lac Seul. The trip was 150 miles and took three-and-a-half days to complete. Along the way, they met with extended family members, collected tree sap, gathered traditional medicines, and paid respect to their ancestors, while at the same time planting potatoes for the fall harvest to be gathered during their return journey.

Chapter 3 offers glimpses into the Namegosibiing Anishinaabe traditional lifestyle. While her father continued to hunt and trap and her mother netted for whitefish, Dedibaayaanimanook trapped rabbits and

gathered firewood. Remaining in close relationship with the land and the gifts provided, however, was not void of *wemitigoozhi* influences, such as relying on the Hudson Bay Company for supplies and trading whitefish for groceries.

Chapter 4 offers a window into pre-winter living, which included big game hunting and taking special care of dogs and their sleds, as they were the only means of transportation during freeze up. In addition, trapping rabbits and making blankets, each requiring seventy pelts, was a necessity. Chapter 5 addresses many of the traditional ways of living, such as not taking more from the natural world than one needs, the use of song to express gratitude between hunter and animal, the threat of bad medicine and how to address it, the use of root and plant knowledge, and gaining knowledge from the tree nation and dream reality.

In Chapter 6, Agger sets the stage of Dedibaayaanimanook's transition. In 1939, Einar Olsen, originally from Norway, settled in Trout Lake and set up a commercial fishing operation on Camp Island. Dedibaayaanimanook's brothers began to work for him, and after family members decided that he was trustworthy, twenty-one year old Dedibaayaanimanook chose to live with him despite a twenty-three-year age gap. Following her father's advice, however, she did not legally marry him.

In Chapters 7 and 8, we learn about Dedibaayaanimanook's (also now known as Sarah) life as an Olsen. While she was able to adjust to a sedentary lifestyle, her decision came at the cost of isolation from other Anishinaabeg, who began to treat her differently. Despite her isolation, she placed Einar's (also now known as Giigooyikewinini) needs first, taking on many tasks, as well as acquiring mechanical abilities.

In 1945, Dedibaayaanimanook had their first child, Alice, who was born with help from a midwife. This was not the case in the birth of her second daughter, Helen, who was born within the confines of the biomedical system. Four additional children were born, three girls and a boy. Having learned the skills from her mother, Dedibaayaanimanook was particularly adept at working with textiles such as the cotton sacks that rice and flour were shipped in, transforming them into beautiful clothing for her children.

Although Giigooyikewinini wished to prevent Dedibaayaanimanook from teaching their children to speak Anishinaabemowin, she took on the responsibility of teaching them their language to maintain their Aboriginal identity. In the winter months, she also taught their children about the Gaagashkiigiwaaj, also known as the blanket beings, and the Memeg-

weshiwag, or those known to have stone boats. Intent on ensuring that their children would survive in the *wemitigoozhi* world, Giigooyikewinini insisted they go to public school in the city of Kenora, thus leaving Camp Island for more than nine months of the year.

In Chapter 9, Agger addresses the intrusion of the Ontario Ministry of Natural Resources, which prevented Dedibaayaanimanook from hunting without a license, arguing that she lost her treaty rights when she partnered with a white man. As more tourist operations opened, the Olsens were further undermined through such tactics as tearing their fishing nets. In the 1970s, as Giigooyikewinini lay ill, he was manipulated into selling his commercial fishing license. Regardless, Camp Island remains in the Olsen family, and where Dedibaayaanimanook and her children continue to live on a seasonal basis.

As an Anishinaabe woman interested in Anishinaabe knowledge, this book is a treasure. Its approach emerges from an Anishinaabe worldview and is written by a family member from the same worldview (rather than from a western discipline), thus keeping intact all its significant meanings. *Nimishoomis: The Trout Lake History of Dedibaayaanimanook* captures the life of a woman experiencing the transition of a traditional lifestyle to a sedentary one. The book also offers many Anishinaabemowin words, names, and concepts, providing language learners with a feast.

Agger's dedication to her mother's life is 237 pages in length, and contains three maps, ninety-three family photographs, an index, an epilogue, and a thirty-four page glossary. Indigenous cultural icon Elijah Harper also supplies a short foreword. This book represents an enormous contribution to both Indigenous knowledge and methodologies. I highly recommend it.

•

Antonia Mills, ed. *"Hang onto these words": Johnny David's Delgamuukw Evidence* (University of Toronto Press, 2005).

Review by Douglas Hudson, University of the Fraser Valley

The *Delgamuukw* decision by the Supreme Court of Canada in 1997 occupies a significant space in Aboriginal rights in Canada. The court case brought forward the issue of Aboriginal title and rights of Gitksan and Witsuwit'en communities in northwestern British Columbia (earlier

spellings in the literature use Gitksan and Wet'suwet'en). It also represents a moment in the history of Canadian anthropology, as much of the testimony in the court proceedings, which extended over a decade, was from anthropologists. Much was entered, but much was also missed in the court decisions. Like a play or text that begs to be revisited, a number of publications have emerged that have repositioned anthropological material in the discourses of Aboriginal title and rights. These include a special issue of *BC Studies* (1992); a book by anthropologist Richard Daly (2005), based on his participation in the research associated with the court case; and, more recently, "*Hang onto these Words*", in which anthropologist Antonia Mills both presents and contextualizes the testimony of Witsuwit'en historian Maxlaxlex/Johnny David.

Mills uses both the Witsuwit'en title (Maxlaxlex) and the English name (Johnny David) to identify the key figure in this book. Other Witsuwit'en are introduced in the book by both sets of names. The Witsuwit'en name positions of the individual is in accordance to the matrilineal descent structure, which Mills describes in detail and traces out how Maxlaxlex obtained his name. Mills herself presented expert testimony on Witsuwit'en rights to land. Based on her extensive involvement with the people, Mills contextualizes much of what is contained in the book, but the stated goal is to put into the public domain the words of Maxlaxlex/Johnny David. The core of the book is the set of statements by Maxlaxlex/Johnny David as he responded to questions from lawyers for the Gitksan Witsuwit'en Tribal Council and from the state.

Mills takes the reader into the difficulties of presenting such important information. The proceedings were, in essence, question-and-answer sessions at Maxlaxlex/Johnny David's house (which Mills calls a courtroom in a house). In order to create some literary style, the words were transformed into open verse. The material itself provides a statement from within (emic) Witsuwit'en culture and society, and provides statements about frustrations with colonialism, alienation from land, and the forced loss of Indigenous culture. Mills provides valuable insights into Witsuwit'en culture and colonial history in both her introductory comments, describing how the book and its style came into existence, and the extensive endnotes, which themselves provide an ethnographic overview of Witsuwit'en culture.

The book has three main parts. The first part is Mills' introduction and several forewords, including one by the translator. This is followed by the core of the book, consisting of eight chapters (called Volumes)

and containing translated statements by Maxlalex/Johnny David, the lawyers, and the translator, which are reworked versions of the actual transcripts of the proceedings. These cover September 1985 to April 1986. The book concludes with extensive notes by Mills, providing significant comparative ethnographic material.

Mills also deals with the nuances of translation, the key roles of the translator, the lawyers (whose very questions directed and shaped the discourse), and the setting itself—a situation where a people alienated from their traditional lands and resource-use activities had to go to a colonial legal system to seek a recognition of rights.

“Hang Onto These Words” is a book that will be the focus of inquiry for a long time. It reads in part like a novel, as Maxlalex/Johnny David brings the reader deeper into Witsuwit’*en* culture. Mills’ book presents a behind-the-scenes account of how an anthropologist deals with issues of translation, cultural misunderstanding, how indigenous epistemologies and styles of discourses are challenged and distorted, and even of how contradictions within Witsuwit’*en* culture emerge.

Though many voices emerge, the dominant one is, of course, that of Maxlalex/Johnny David, which is the main purpose of the book. Maxlalex/Johnny David was interviewed at his house in a lengthy set of depositions. His words formed an important element of the ensuing courtroom discourses. As Mills points out, however, meanings get transformed in the translation. Some of the interviews were filmed, and these are the ones that Mills points to as capturing, through a translator, the transformation of ideas from the Witsuwit’*en* language to transcribed words. Much of the book is based on the formal interviews, which, in Mills’ literary transformation, brings Maxlalex/Johnny David’s voice into a more readable format. Mills brings into focus the issue of narratives migrating into legal textual discourses and their transformations.

This book will be of interest to those engaged in studies of Aboriginal rights, discourses of identity, anthropology, and cultural studies. It is both ethnography and literature, and hopefully will gain a broad reading audience.

The *Delgamuukw* decision matters; the words of Maxlalex/Johnny David matter. This book is a significant contribution to understanding Aboriginal rights and title in Canada, and the role of anthropology in illuminating the processes.

Keith Thor Carlson. *The Power of Place, The Problem of Time: Aboriginal Identity and Historical Consciousness in the Cauldron of Colonialism* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2010)

Review by Christine Elsey

The Power of Place, The Problem of Time is a sensitive and deep historical “telling” of indigenous identity and meaning, of life as lived from the mid-eighteenth century to the twentieth century for the Halq’emeylem speakers of the lower Fraser River watershed in southern British Columbia. The complexity and layering of the book’s narrative makes it unusual in the field of historical documentation of indigenous peoples. The focus on detail, and the author’s dedication to “thick description” and process, makes this work more than a collection of vignettes, descriptive passages, or historical accounts of Coast Salish life over this period. Rather, the author has embarked on a deep study of the dialectics of indigenous life and colonization. In fact, the text provides a “sedimentation” of indigenous meaning and being through the insertion of Coast Salish voices (in response to the processes of early contact) thrust into a vortex of enigmatic and unyielding change.

The author sensitively and intricately explores and maps out (both historically and geographically) the changing dimensions of the Coast Salish self (and identity) through a myriad of conflicts and impacts that have shaped it. For example, the book covers famines, epidemics, floods, gold rushes, Indian agents and reserve commissioners, missionaries, and constant resettlement and dislocation, both socially and terrestrially, in response to various impending disasters, natural and imposed. We are shown the ephemeral nature of settlements *vis-à-vis* the exigencies of kinship, land based traditions, and resource use, and how Coast Salish social formation was influenced by smallpox, Christianity, government legislation, and European values. It appears that Carlson’s account of indigenous Fraser River culture and identity is less a story of definable groups, or bounded social isolates, but rather of communities as social and temporal events that have been woven into a collective story (as shared meaning) within the historical nexus of change and survival, and resistance and rebirth, which has defined Coast Salish identity both before and after contact.

This work stands to illustrate the volatile and mobile nature of Sto:lo existence, both as family groupings and as communities, in striking coun-

terpoint to the Eurocentric view of towns and hamlets (and sedentary land holdings) as atomized, corporate entities formally consolidated and frozen in time and space. Thus the European commitment to sedentarism and agriculture, as a superior pattern of subsistence, is illustrated by Carlson to be one of the imperial fence posts of civility invariably imposed on First Nations peoples by the British Crown. To the author's credit, he has captured within his research a portrait of post-contact Coast Salish life as forged in the heat of expediency and fortified by the strength of oral tradition and customs, but nevertheless consolidated through the intangible yet undeniable features of indigenous solidarity, politics, and belonging. Each of the ten chapters deal with a separate topic of colonization while exploring the Coast Salish perception of *longue duree* (time in long standing) as handed down through oral memory and juxtaposed against the exigencies of colonial process and the realities of wide-scale settlement by Europeans. As promised, this book deals honestly with the question of Aboriginal consciousness as forged in the cauldron of colonialism, while it genuinely offers a deep study of the question of indigenous time and place.

Although Carlson draws from the major ethnographers of the Coast Salish such as Charles Hill-Tout, Marian Smith, Franz Boas, Wilson Duff, Wayne Suttles, and others, his own personal determination to bring in First Nations voices in order to truly know the Sto:lo succeeds in giving us a deeper and fuller look at the complexity of Sto:lo history, culture, and identity than was heretofore offered. Carlson's fastidious attention to detail and to the nature of complexity present in Coast Salish historical process, and to a layering of time and experience, gives this text a seriousness and gravity that will inform the writing of Indigenous colonial history in years to come.

