

encounters. These encounters moved from early surprise by both sides to subsequent alliances sought by the Europeans. Then followed the imposition of a linear evolutionary approach by the Europeans – their philosophies were used to justify their actions and their assimilation policies. Friesen becomes apologetic when he deals with the perspectives and behaviour of missionaries. It is hard to accept that missionaries “became, *perhaps inadvertently*, the principal agents of European assimilation” (p. 205, emphasis added). Furthermore, the military and economic capacity of the Europeans allowed them to impose their will on those who had different philosophies and different cultures.

Chapter 9 depicts the process of “rediscovering” the First Nations of Canada. Chapter 10 concludes with an intense call for the need for Canadians to understand the “benefits of self-discovery” by First Nations from an ecological, political and cultural view.

Despite the problems of trying to be fair to everyone, Friesen’s *Rediscovering First Nations of Canada* deals clearly and concisely with a difficult topic. His use of anthropological, linguistic, geographical and historical methodologies show how scholars can explore different avenues to relate the complete history of Canada, rather than viewing Indigenous history through the Eurocentric concept of *prehistory*. Another strength of this work is that Friesen maintains that awareness of Indigenous philosophical approaches is very prevalent and most important in today’s reality. These strengths make this book useful for specialists in Canadian Native history and a good teaching reference. From a Native perspective, once more, the great lack is the oral tradition, which has yet to find its place within academia.

Dianne Newell and Rosemary E. Ommer (editors). *Fishing Places, Fishing People: Traditions and Issues in Canadian Small-Scale Fisheries*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999.

Review by Christopher Hannibal Paci, First Nations Studies, University of Northern British Columbia.

“It is surprising how little public awareness exists about the long-standing importance of fisheries in Canada’s social and economic development,” say Newell and Ommer. This book is intent on raising public awareness to the questions of Canadian participation in “small-scale fisheries.” To readers of *Native Studies Review*, the several chapters about Native fisheries, and possibly comparison with those on non-Native fisheries, hold some interest. Just what is suggested by the use of the term

small-scale fisheries, however, varies considerably from one article to the next: Ojibwe food fisheries are lumped together with Newfoundland outpost commercial fisheries. The case studies transcend regional (ecological) boundaries with description and analysis of fisheries from the Strait of Belle Isle (Newfoundland), to the Nelson River (Manitoba) and Chatham Sound (northwest Pacific coast). The research also encompasses fisheries from 1855 to the present. (Some of the articles examine fisheries from specific areas and times; others cover a larger area and longer period, for local changes or large-scale readjustments caused by global forces, i.e. commercialization). The diversity of the kinds of fisheries discussed in the book, from gear type to species, are far-reaching; cod (*Gadus morhua*) is discussed along with trout (*Salvelinus namaycush*), lake sturgeon (*Acipenser fulvescens*), Pacific herring (*Clupea pallasii*) and salmon (*Orcorhynchus*).

Fishing Places, Fishing People is laid out in three parts. In the first part, the seven chapters examine origins in community and commerce for two distinctive fisheries: Native and non-Native. By far the non-Native fisheries examined in this section narrowly represent the history and economy of Newfoundland cod fisheries. In comparison the papers on Native fisheries are more in keeping with the anti-regional approach endorsed by the editors, representing fisheries from Manitoba, Ontario and British Columbia. The articles by Ray and Newell are, comparatively speaking, from very different social science perspectives. Newell's work is based on interview and participant observation while Ray has mined the documentary evidence. These two scholars have both reconstructed significant and distinctive Native fisheries.

In part two, the next seven chapters focus on the state of knowledge and management. This section is by far the most confusing of the three. Nevertheless, there are some very interesting papers, including the article by Thoms, which examines the Nipigon River Ojibwe and sports fisheries. Another important paper is by Usher and Tough, demonstrative of the enormous possibilities of quantifying historical harvests. Chapter 11 (Neis et al.), which proposes an interdisciplinary methodology for collecting and integrating the ecological knowledge of fishers into fisheries management would be better placed with the remaining five chapters, in the section "Communities of Interest – Where Now?" Regardless, the final section creates a type of erasure, with no attempt made to reconcile future Native fisheries. Of the nineteen chapters, by twenty-four contributors, this book forms a postmodern carnival, constructed without concern for agreed-upon rules, implications, origins or consequences. If I have one criticism of this edition, it is that, of the seven or so chapters that form a discourse on Native fisheries, the concluding section that deals exclusively with the

future is apparently one that has no Aboriginal voice.

Newell and Ommer (p. 6) bring forward the idea that "for all Canadian First Nations today, competing claims to territory and access to resources such as fish arise from very different assumptions about the fundamental notion of ownership and the relationship of groups to government." I would argue further that cosmological differences between First Nations and Canadian government resource agencies can be reconciled with more complex understandings of ownership and a more complete understanding of social relations, especially if this knowledge can begin to inform fisheries management. A good example of what I mean by cosmological differences and reconciliation is by juxtaposing two articles from this edition. There is a not-so-surprising similarity between present conditions of dispossession experienced by fishing people today when looking back into the history at Aboriginal fisheries. Gallagher and Vodden (p. 281) writing of a 1995 community consultation process along the B.C. coast (established by Simon Fraser University and the Coastal Community Network, funded by Environment Canada), cite a Masset area fisher:

[W]e have an enormous amount of marine wealth around these islands, but we have no say in how the resource is harvested and no access. We're going to be allowed to wither away while this vast wealth is harvested right from our doorstep.

The comparison I want to draw is from Tough (p. 101), writing of the Ojibwe Chief Jacob Berens (as recorded by Lt. Gov. of Manitoba J.C. Schultz, 1890):

[W]hy does he come to spread his nets just at our feet, and take away the food from our children's mouths? Our people's hearts are sore for the last two years. We have complained and complained and still the big fishermen [commercial companies] come and we see only starvation for our children in front of us.

The unfortunate reality is that most local fishing communities, Native or otherwise, when dispossessed of any rights to govern or manage the resource, will inevitably have no control over resources. The crux of the "tragedy of the commons" is not that the state should manage common property fisheries, but that local peoples are disempowered from restricting access and regulating the subtractability of local stocks. What is worse is that, as is the case with fish, "local stocks" are more a fiction than a reality, as much as if discounting and sustainability are inherently structural components for fisheries.

What, then, are the lessons from *Fishing Places, Fishing People?*

These fine articles on "small-scale fisheries" tell readers today of the past and the future. Collectively they offer a wide range of readings on the topic of fisheries and fishing communities, from biological concerns to patriarchy, from economics to ecology, from commercialization to colonialism. One lesson that readers can take from the book is that while many of these small-scale Native and non-Native fisheries managed to thrive for generations, these communities cannot compete with large-scale commercial fisheries that have no concern for long-term certainty or reliability of local stocks. Another lesson is that, while local communities are the first to recognize environmental changes, they cannot adequately provide feedback about larger ecological considerations. An inability to communicate results from language barriers. Local fishers rarely speak the language of science or commerce, the two predominant languages of fisheries management in Canada (and in the case of Native languages this was doubly so).

One more lesson I wanted to highlight was that, even if fishing communities are voters (or as was the case with historical Native fishers, as "wards"), they cannot muster sufficient political and social clout to influence centralized decision-making ("Indian fish" were colonized). What we learn from *Fishing Places, Fishing People* is that small-scale fishing communities are like many small resource-based communities: inevitably these people are those who pay the rent for undervalued resources and unaccounted-for costs (these places become the sink for the by-products of large-scale economic development).

Arnold Ruskell. *Breaking the Ice: An Arctic Odyssey*. Ste-Anne-de-Bellevue, Quebec: Shoreline, 1997, 158 pp., maps, illus.

Review by William R. Morrison, University of Northern British Columbia.

Arnold Ruskell was born in 1919 in County Wicklow, in what was soon to become the Irish Free State. His family was Anglo-Irish, and judging from the size of their home, a prosperous one. By the time he was old enough to be aware of events, the Irish "troubles" had ended, and his childhood was idyllic. At the age of twelve he felt a call to the ministry (Church of England, it hardly need be said), and was sent to boarding school. His description of his Sunday mornings shows how times have changed in secondary education:

As I was destined for Holy Orders, extra Greek was now added to my curriculum. . . . The boarders . . . were required to do an hour's