

number of members (40) (p. 149) at any given time. The Kainai Chieftainship as an organization even has a set of codified regulations called a *Constitution*.

The reviewer needed to reread the volume several times to grasp the intent of the organization. Dempsey makes a strong case in Chapters Two and Three that the Blackfoot were and are carrying on a tradition of accepting “outsiders” into their Nation. The author also states that the bestowing of names of their famous leaders does not necessarily mean that the “outsiders” are being honoured but instead that the names are used as a means of identifying individuals in the Blackfoot language. The author shows us in these chapters that the Blackfoot are willing and voluntary participants in the induction of outsiders into the Kainai Chieftainship. Dempsey then proceeds to describe the various eras of development of the organization and brings the reader into the 1990s. Finally, the reviewer needed to carefully read the *constitution* to realize that the Blackfoot people are themselves being honoured in that the regulations state that this induction ceremony is “highly cultural and religious in nature, full of meaningful symbolism and the recipient and the ceremony are the object of prayers by the Medicine man” (p. 150).

This reviewer recommends this book for those who wish to learn about some small aspects of culture of the Blackfoot. More specifically, this volume presents to the reader the culture of the organization known as the *Kainai Chieftainship*. However, like this reviewer, readers may have to read the volume more than once.

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Walking in Indian Moccasins: The Native Policies of Tommy Douglas and the CCF, by F. Laurie Barron. Vancouver: UBC Press, 1997. 252 pp., bibliographical references and index.

This book examines the Indian and Métis policies of the Saskatchewan CCF government led by Tommy Douglas from 1944 to 1961. The one word that best sums up these policies is “integration.” Both Indians and Métis were seen as segregated, oppressed minorities suffering from poverty and marginalization. The idea was to give these disadvantaged groups equal rights and social, educational, and economic opportunities so that they could participate fully in the life of the province. However, Barron detects an important difference between the ways in which the CCF government treated the Métis and the Indians. Although it was committed to integrating both groups into “mainstream society,” he believes that the CCF government aimed at total assimilation of the Métis, but not of Indians.

Barron argues that there is no indication that Douglas ever repudiated the “unique culture and national rights” of Indians, or that such rights were “out of step with what Douglas proposed for both on- and off-reserve Indians.” One of the central issues raised by Barron’s book is: to what tradition does the Douglas government belong—the liberal, integrationist model, which underlay the federal government’s 1969 White Paper, or the model which gained prominence in the wake of the White Paper and is based on Indian self-determination or sovereignty and what Sally Weaver has described as a “permanent organic relationship” between the First Nations and the Canadian state, each respecting the other’s autonomy and seeking peaceful coexistence? Barron believes that the Douglas government belongs more to the latter tradition than the former. He points out that the

CCF premier affirmed his respect for treaty rights, which are, in the author's words, "the bedrock of Indian collective and ethnic rights." Barron also quotes Morris Shumiatcher, who served from 1944 to 1949 as legal counsel for the Executive Council and as Douglas's chief advisor concerning Indian and Métis issues. Shumiatcher wrote in 1946: "The Indian must first be free to develop his own culture and not merely to imbibe ours; to learn his own history, and not to rely on our interpretation of it; to practice his own religion, and not to be coerced into another; to devise his own means to self-government, and not be cowed by ours."

The preceding quote notwithstanding, the weight of evidence does not, in my opinion, support the thesis that the Douglas government's integrationist policy included an understanding and endorsement of Indian national and collective rights. The CCF policy was in harmony with the main thrust of the 1969 White Paper and with some of its specific proposals.

After Shumiatcher left the government in 1949, provincial Indian policy was relatively passive and inactive. This changed in 1956 when cabinet established a Committee on Indian Affairs (later renamed the Provincial Committee on Minority Groups) chaired by minister-without-portfolio John H. Sturdy. Sturdy continued in this capacity until his retirement from public office following the June 1960 provincial election. Thus, from 1956 to 1960 Sturdy was the cabinet minister appointed by Douglas to have primary responsibility for Indian and Métis issues. As such, he was co-presenter in 1960 of the Government of Saskatchewan's brief to the Joint Committee of the Senate and the House of Commons on Indian Affairs. The theme of the brief was integration. It proposed ways and means to facilitate the movement of Indians off-reserve and into "the mainstream of Canadian economic and social life while maintaining traditional rights and preserving the economic and social security now provided by reservations." In his testimony before the Joint Committee, Sturdy expressed his hope that eventually reserves would disappear, but only with the consent of Indians themselves: "It will be a long time and then only with the expressed wishes and consent of the Indians before our segregated reservations pass out of existence and our native people are completely integrated into the social, economic and political life of our nation—if this is our objective—which I presume it is." But what of treaty rights? Sturdy, addressing the Saskatchewan Legislative Assembly in March 1957, said of Treaty 4: "This finality, this seemingly insurmountable roadblock towards progress of the Indian people must be removed."

Barron characterizes Sturdy as a "voice in the wilderness," despite his role as lead minister for Indian and Métis affairs. As for Douglas, the premier expressed himself as follows in a speech to the Legislative Assembly on 2 March 1956: "I think every member of this House is concerned about the long-term picture for the Indians. Do we envisage that when we reach our 100th Anniversary, and when we reach our 200th Anniversary are the Indians still going to be a separate group of people, second-rate Canadians, without either the responsibilities or the privileges of citizenship? Are they going to be segregated in little compounds, in little Reserves, or are they gradually going to be absorbed into the community? We don't settle all the Chinese people out in some corner of Canada or some corner of the province. We don't separate other groups of people. Yet here we have segregated the Indians in this manner; and, as I say, it is a historical sequence. I am not blaming anyone for it; it has grown up out of our history. Are we prepared to accept it as a permanent feature of our history?" Later in the same speech, Douglas reacted to a proposal that would have had Indians in Saskatchewan voting separately from the rest of the population to elect Indian representatives to the Legislature: "I think if you are ever going to eventually assimilate these people into the general population, it is a mistake to segregate them and have them have a member separately. We don't have a member for all the Scotsmen in the province, or all the Ukrainians in the province."

If a politician today were to place First Nations (a term not in use in 1956) in the same category as Chinese-Canadians, Scotsmen, or Ukrainians, his or her understanding of Aboriginal and treaty rights would probably be questioned. Public discourse on this subject has evolved substantially over the last forty years. Douglas was simply reflecting some of the commonly held assumptions of the times in which he lived. In keeping with the policy of integration, his government extended the provincial vote to Indians, granted liquor rights, and lobbied the federal government to allow the province to take over administration of health, welfare, education, and other services from the Indian Affairs department so that all citizens would receive government services from the same sources and through the same channels. Douglas believed that in the short term, say twenty-five or fifty years, the federal government would be expected to compensate the province financially for providing these services to Indians, but, in the long term, financial transfers for this purpose would cease. By that time, as Douglas stated in the Legislative Assembly on April 3, 1961, Indians "would have been integrated into the community and would have become self-supporting, and able to take their place as part of Canadian society." This would include "accepting the responsibilities of other citizens including the paying of taxes, and getting other services which are available."

Although Douglas insisted that Treaty rights should last "as long as the sun shines and the rivers flow," he appears to have interpreted treaty rights very narrowly. He said in 1959: "We think the Indian was short-changed. Anything he has, he should be allowed to keep. It's little enough as it is." Sturdy remarked to the Joint Committee of the Senate and House of Commons on Indian Affairs that Indians should receive all the privileges of Canadian citizenship, plus "whatever few additional privileges they enjoy under their treaties." It is interesting to note that the authors of the Hawthorn report, a major research project undertaken by a team of Canadian social scientists in the 1960s, shared this "minimalist" interpretation of treaties. The report concluded in 1966 that the "substantive effects" of the treaties were "minimal," imposing only "marginal obligations on the federal government." One looks in vain in these statements for a conceptualization of treaties as the guarantee of Indian nationhood, separate development, and sovereignty. This is why John Sturdy could talk so breezily about Indians voluntarily surrendering their treaty rights once they had the chance to participate fully in the benefits of life in "mainstream" Canada. He thought the advantages offered by treaties were paltry in comparison with what was available off the reserve and outside of treaty.

In addition to discussing Indian policy, *Walking in Indian Moccasins* explores the CCF government's efforts (mainly failures) to improve the socio-economic standing of Aboriginal people in Saskatchewan's North and of Métis in the South. The discussion is interesting, but there are a few loose threads and misleading statements. One is left with the impression on page 165 that the provincial government, not the federal government, was responsible for family allowances. There is also confusion between Mennonites and Hutterites. The Committee on Minority Groups is described on page 49 as helping "needy minorities, especially Indians and Métis and, to a lesser extent, the Mennonites." However, on page 83, the main purpose of the committee is said to be assisting minority groups, "especially the Hutterite Brethren, Indians, and the Métis, whose social and economic conditions required study and action." Mennonites and Hutterites are two different groups, both of which were relatively prosperous by the late 1950s. The government's main concern with the Hutterites was that the operations and expansion of their colonies was causing friction with non-Hutterites.

The book stops in 1961, when Douglas left the provincial scene, rather than 1964, when the CCF government was defeated. The author argues that "little of importance" was added to Aboriginal policies during the last few years of the regime. This overlooks such developments as the participation in 1963 of Premier Lloyd and Municipal Affairs

Minister Everett Wood in the first-ever Dominion-Provincial conference to discuss Indian policy, the unsuccessful attempt by the provincial government to "sell" to the reserve Indians the idea of provincial take-over of Indian administration, and the interesting situation that arose when Ray Woollam, while still employed as the executive-director of the Committee on Minority Groups, assumed the role of executive officer for the Federation of Saskatchewan Indians.

Despite these criticisms and the disagreement expressed in this review with one of the central theses of the book, *Walking in Indian Moccasins* does have the merit of pulling together a wide and varied body of material and giving us the first comprehensive portrait of a neglected aspect of the Saskatchewan CCF's reform agenda. It is well worth reading by anyone interested in the history of government Indian and Métis policy in Canada.

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Challenging Territory: The Writing of Margaret Laurence, edited by Christian Riegel. Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 1997. ISBN 0-88864-289-X

The goal of this new anthology of essays on the writings of Margaret Laurence is "charting critical space never before traced" (p. xvii). The new maps delineate the terrain Margaret Laurence traversed before and after she published her popular Manawaka novels, chart readers' responses to and construction of her feminist consciousness, and argue about the boundaries of her colonialist position in Africa. Laurence's life and writings are familiar to countless readers; this collection also re-evaluates her position at the centre of Canadian letters in terms of contemporary critical theory that often derives from a basis in linguistic analysis.

The book features a most attractive cover, with a striking photograph by John Reeves of Laurence in her Lakefield, Ontario, kitchen. In the photograph Laurence appears both wise and genial; the welcoming aspect of the kitchen table hardly presents the challenges suggested in the book's title. Indeed, the aspect of Laurence on the cover suggests her role as "much-loved" Canadian author, a national icon who would, it appears, still be willing to chat with us in her kitchen. Canadian readers have needed Laurence in this role: her novels are necessary national treasures.

Laurence's novels appeared in time to correspond to a growth in Canadian literature courses in schools and universities and the second wave of feminism, which encouraged women to seek writers telling of woman's experiences in what could be read as an authentic woman's voice. Laurence was embraced by a nation of grateful readers (and reviled by a troublesome few) because of her sensitive and evocative creation of several generations of Canadian women's lives, centred on Manawaka, a place that became home in readers' minds. Her status as a novelist of "heritage, family, and generational ties" (p. 139) is outlined by Dick Harrison in his essay that compares *The Diviners* to Wallace Stegner's *Angle of Repose*.

Both Stegner and Laurence, according to Harrison, have written family novels about the search for ancestors in an frontier environment; both novels have been warmly received by readers who read them as novels of reconciliation and a return to home cast in terms of an awareness of the past. The two novels deal with the inevitability of the past's impinging on the present, but differ in their views of the use of the past. Lyman Ward, the narrator of *Angle of Repose*, speaks from a "position of narrative mastery for the teller" (p.