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Kwakwaka’wakw Settlements, 1775-1920: A Geographical Analysis and Gazetteer. By Robert Galois.

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articulates his or her own personal, artistic, and political vision. It provides a good snapshot of the native art world of the early 1990s.

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Kwakwaka'wakw Settlements, 1775–1920: A Geographical Analysis and Gazetteer. By Robert Galois. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1993. 465 pages. $60.00 cloth.

In *Kwakwaka'wakw Settlements, 1775–1920,* Robert Galois has produced a highly detailed reference guide summarizing the dynamic settlement history of the Kwakwaka'wakw, a native people who have inhabited North America's Pacific coastline for centuries. The principal notion guiding this work is that the Kwakwaka'wakw's changing settlement patterns depict "a culture's inscription upon the landscape—a record of a people's interaction with their environment" (p. 19) and that this "inscription," like those of many other cultures, ought to be preserved for posterity.

The bulk of the book consists of a gazetteer of village locations and resource procurement sites utilized by Kwakwaka'wakw tribes from 1775 until 1920. Because of the incorporation of the Kwakwaka'wakw perspective, Galois refers to this work as "an ethnogeography: a description of a people's cultural knowledge about their territory" (p. 6). Additional materials supporting the gazetteer include demographic data, place-name orthographies, and origin myths. Galois attributes inspiration for the gazetteer portion of the book to Wilson Duff, who conducted research on Kwakwaka'wakw settlement patterns in the 1950s but died before completing his project.

Robert Galois began researching the Kwakwaka'wakw in the late 1980s. Using oral histories, ethnographies, and archival materials, he describes the historical location and land-use patterns of the Kwakwaka'wakw during a 150-year period. Students of oral history will be particularly interested in the rich collection of Kwakwaka'wakw quotations in which native elders tell their own stories of life on the land. Native writer Gloria Cranmer Webster of the U'mista Cultural Center on Vancouver Island and anthropologist Jay Powell of the University of British Columbia facili-

tated the acquisition and analysis of elder oral histories, and both also contribute introductory chapters to the book dealing with Kwakwaka'wakw ethnogeography and language. Galois's use of archival materials is also extensive, although readers ought to be skeptical (and Galois agrees) of data culled from the files of the Hudson's Bay Company and the Canadian Department of Indian Affairs. Their reputation for contradiction is well known.

Who were (or are) the Kwakwaka'wakw? It is important first to clarify a misclassification. The Kwakwaka'wakw are among the most described ethnic groups in the world and are one of the native bands that American anthropologist Franz Boas studied and lived with in the late 1800s. Frequently, the Kwakwaka'wakw are erroneously identified in the social science literature as the "Kwakiutl," a term that has been used in grouping together an assortment of linguistically dissimilar native people. In fact, the Kwakiutl are merely one tribe among many who speak the Kwak'wala language. Hence, to distinguish themselves, Kwak'wala-speaking peoples recently began referring to themselves as Kwakwaka'wakw (literally, "those who speak the Kwak'wala language").

In terms of geographic site, the Kwakwaka'wakw once occupied much of northern Vancouver Island and the adjacent mainland of British Columbia. Modern Kwakwaka'wakw continue to live on portions of this densely forested and fog-shrouded stretch of Canada's Pacific coast. The Kwakwaka'wakw of precontact times fished, hunted, and gathered according to seasonal cycles. Traditionally, access to specific fishing and hunting sites was defined by their society's strict adherence to the rank order of a particular group's tribal status. While the Kwakwaka'wakw are famous for the artistic quality of their craft work and totem-carving, they may be best known as devout practitioners, if not originators, of the annual potlatch ceremonies, in which food and possessions are shared and given away. The banning of potlatches by the federal government in 1884 struck a blow to the heart of native traditions of communalism throughout western Canada.

Galois does a remarkable job of portraying Kwakwaka'wakw geography during the period under study. He deftly structures complex sequences of land settlement patterns among more than thirty distinct Kwak'wala-speaking groups living along the Queen Charlotte Strait. These patterns are traced from first contact with white explorers in the eighteenth century until the arrest and

incarceration of several dozen native potlatch practitioners in 1921. Galois argues that contact with whites did much to alter Kwakwaka'wakw tribal territories and livelihood activities. He maintains that these changes in settlement patterns over time represent native adaptation to incoming white explorers, traders, and settlers. While some Kwakwaka'wakw tribes grew in power and territory through trade with Europeans, others declined due to increasing competition with outsiders for resources. Eventually, following the turn of the twentieth century, all Kwakwaka'wakw tribes found themselves relegated to minority status in their own lands.

In a fashion reminiscent of other works probing native environmental perceptions (e.g., Hugh Brody, *Maps and Dreams,* 1981), Galois practices the geographer's art of abridging "place and space" by projecting the mental maps of the Kwakwaka'wakw onto conventional maps. Similar projects aimed at mapping native land use and occupancy have been accomplished in different areas of Canada, particularly the Northwest Territories. Galois carefully addresses both the mechanical and ethical dilemmas of mapping native historical geography, because seasonally mobile groups such as the Kwakwaka'wakw have often been mischarted. He notes, for example, that using a single dot to indicate a tribe's winter village site tends to erroneously "empty the landscape of the Native presence" (p. 79). Moreover, Galois echoes the current concerns of many cross-cultural academics when he warns of the power that can be wielded and the conclusions that may be drawn when one culture attempts to map the history of another.

The book's weaknesses are minor but noteworthy. First, because there is no universally recognized version, multiple Kwak'wala language orthographies are presented throughout the gazetteer. In combination with long passages written in selected Kwak'wala orthography, this attention to detail detracts from the flow of the text. At the same time, however, the usage of meticulously cited entries (e.g., multiple spellings, meanings, and origins given for place-names) results in the creation of an invaluable scholarly record. Linguistic academics as well as the Kwakwaka'wakw themselves will appreciate Galois's efforts in compiling this considerable body of information.

A second concern I have about the book lies in the author's use of nonnative abstractions to represent native concepts. Galois's work, in its purest sense, is intended as an academic reference guide. In large measure, the predominantly nonnative audience

that will use it requires the symbology found on conventional maps (e.g., dots representing settlements, lines representing boundaries) in order to orient themselves. However, few nonnatives today interact as completely with their environment as natives once did in historical times. Recognizing this, Galois acknowledges the difficulties inherent in portraying concepts such as *villages* and *resource procurement sites* on maps—terms that may not have equivalent meanings in different cultures. Toward a goal of compromise, he seems to have worked closely with the Kwakwaka'wakw to depict such items accurately.

Kwakwaka'wakw Settlements, 1775–1920 is, first and foremost, a significant addition to the documentary and primary source literature of the native peoples of British Columbia. Overall, I found Galois's book to be informative and well crafted. *Kwakwaka'wakw Settlements, 1775–1920*, the first volume in UBC's Press's Northwest Native Studies series, will serve as an important example to other scholars hoping to organize and publish materials relating to historical native occupancy of particular landscapes. It merits a place on the reference shelf of anyone doing in-depth research in Native American ethnogeography. Many such projects could profit by using this book as a model.

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Lakota and Cheyenne: Indian Views of the Great Sioux War, 1876–1877. Compiled, edited, and annotated by Jerome A. Greene. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1994. 240 pages. $24.95 cloth.

In 1876–77, Lakota and Cheyenne warriors fought United States troops for the right to live in the Powder River country. The Great Sioux War, as editor Jerome A. Greene calls the conflict, was the last war fought over this region of the northern Plains. Earlier, Lakota, Cheyenne, Arapaho, Crow, Shoshoni, Blackfoot, and other tribes had fought each other individually or in alliances to control the food supply provided by the vast northern buffalo herd that ranged from the Platte River northward into Canada. The area drained by the Powder, Tongue, and Bighorn rivers, a favorite camping area and hunting ground for Lakota and northern divisions of the Cheyenne and Arapaho tribes, was still