

tourists,” they are exposing themselves to snipers. Maybe so, but one might equally argue that the photograph indicates that these two men are experienced soldiers because they knew where it was safe to stand to have their photograph taken (p. 32). Photographs can be interpreted in a multiplicity of ways, and, while Callister touches on this point on more than one occasion, she nevertheless fails to engage directly with this issue.

The Face of War is a groundbreaking study that draws attention to importance of photographs as conduits through which to engage with the diverse, complex, and often contradictory aspects of New Zealand’s Great War experience. Moreover, while *The Face of War* focuses on New Zealand’s Great War, Callister’s wider meditations about the use of photography as historical source not only transcends borders, but will also be of use to those scholars engaging with other topics.

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CARTER, Sarah — *The Importance of Being Monogamous: Marriage and Nation Building in Western Canada to 1915*. Edmonton: University of Alberta Press; Athabasca: Athabasca University Press, 2008. Pp. 383.

This innovative book brings together a wide range of subjects and sources to pursue a theme not previously articulated in a single work. Sarah Carter’s focus is actually sharper than the title conveys. Canadian authorities and church leaders in this period did not simply promote marrying one spouse of opposite gender. They insisted on a particular form of marriage: exclusive, lifelong, and intolerant of divorce or separation for any reason except death. Carter highlights the startling fact that, up to less than a century ago, the only legal path to divorce in Canada was through an act of parliament.

Although the pressures increasingly placed on First Nations people, from the 1800s onward, to marry in conventional church ceremonies and to eschew polygamy have often been discussed, the extent to which other groups — notably Mormons, Doukhobors, and Quakers — were pressed to conform to mainstream practices is little known. The relative powerlessness of these newcomers to the West afforded them little chance to articulate or defend their practices in the face of Canadian courts and authorities. Carter effectively maps this “diverse marital landscape of western Canada” (subtitle, chapter 2) and the campaigns aimed at “making newcomers to western Canada monogamous” (title, chapter 3). In placing their stories first, she demonstrates that monogamy was not just an “Indian” issue; Canadian authorities also challenged non-conforming minorities of European background. These groups, often small and dispersed, were less successful than established Aboriginal communities in subverting and resisting the pressures imposed on their modes of marriage and divorce.

The next four chapters focus largely on Aboriginal marriage practices and on governmental and church efforts to achieve control over marriage through regulations and pressures towards conversion, “civilization,” and assimilation. Carter draws useful comparisons with regulations in British colonies in Africa and Asia and those in the United States to amplify perspectives and provide context.

Chapter 4, subtitled “Plains Aboriginal Marriage,” effectively explicates the social and marital structures that Canadian officials were bent on dismantling. One point needs comment. Carter writes, “Marriage was central to the kinship systems of Aboriginal societies, as relatives were divided into two basic categories: those related by marriage and those related by birth” (p. 105). However, Ojibwe and Cree kinship systems, for example, sharply distinguished parallel cousins (children and grandchildren of same-sex siblings, who were classed as siblings to one another and could not marry), from cross cousins (offspring of opposite-sex siblings), who were by definition candidates for marriage. As the terms for cross cousin included siblings-in-law of the opposite sex and could also be applied to outsiders, Ojibwe terms for relatives did not change when people married (A. Irving Hallowell, “Cross-Cousin Marriage in the Lake Winnipeg Area” [1937] in Hallowell, *Contributions to Ojibwe Studies: Essays, 1934–1972*, Jennifer S. H. Brown and Susan Elaine Gray, eds. [Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2010]).

Furthermore, as Hallowell learned, cross cousins of the opposite sex (whether young or old, married or not) engaged in conventionalized joking that played liberally (within bounds) on the “sweetheart” theme of being potential mates. Such conventions, unintelligible to most outsiders, may have reinforced officials’ critiques of the Indians’ “lax notions . . . with regard to the relations between the sexes” (Frank Oliver, quoted on p. 274). As Aboriginal kinship systems were displaced by English-language kin terms and values, old roles and norms that governed marriage and other relationships lost ground, and new distinctions among first, second, and third cousins and narrow definitions of brothers and sisters (no parallel cousins allowed) took hold.

On the question of Aboriginal polygamy, Carter notes the challenges of tracing its persistence (pp. 200–201). Here too, Hallowell is helpful. His detailed case study, “The Incidence, Character, and Decline of Polygyny among the Lake Winnipeg Cree and Sauteaux” (1938, reprinted in Brown and Gray, eds., *Contributions to Ojibwe Studies*), documents numerous instances from both treaty paylists and fieldwork in the region. He found that the variable declines in different locales correlated quite closely with the length and closeness of a missionary presence, although numbers of older leaders appeared to have only one wife in the first place.

Two documentary notes: On page 125, John Tanner (the American who lived 30 years among Ottawa and Ojibwe) is described as writing on a particular topic, but in fact Edwin James wrote and edited that narrative. On page 128, a quote from David Thompson reads, “the Indian woman pardons Man for everything but want of course”: the final word should read “courage.”

Chapter 7, “Administering First Nations Marriage and Divorce,” is a *tour de force* that reveals the problems faced by Indian Affairs officials as they attempted

to develop and enforce consistent rules. Having a fixed notion of what monogamy should be, they had trouble distinguishing between different forms of marriage and cohabitation, and courts could not prosecute for bigamy or polygamy unless they could show that the sanctity of a “real” first marriage had been violated. Furthermore, even as authorities sought to protect and preserve recognized marriages, Aboriginal people were learning that divorce was unattainable, even in instances of desertion or severe abuse. Paradoxically, the binding nature of “legal” marriage as defined by Canadian authorities in these years led many who came from other traditions to avoid it in the first place.

The book ends with an Appendix entitled “Administering First Nations Marriage and Divorce to 1951.” It notes how “the male line of descent was emphasized as the major criterion for inclusion on a band register” and how women lost their “Indian” status if they married outside those with registered status; the *Indian Act* revisions of 1951 even imposed new restrictions on “legal” marriage (p. 295). This brings to mind a topic not mentioned: Bill C-31 (1985), which removed the gender bias of women losing status by out-marriage, created whole new categories of “Bill C-31 Indians.” A sequel to this excellent book could usefully follow these themes from 1951 forward.

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DONAHUE, Charles Jr. — *Law, Marriage, and Society in the Later Middle Ages: Arguments about Marriage in Five Courts*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007. Pp. 672.

Charles Donahue Jr.’s book *Law Marriage, and Society in the Later Middle Ages* is, in the author’s own words, “a study of marriage litigation . . . in the archiepiscopal court of York and the Episcopal courts of Ely, Paris, Cambrai, and Brussels.” But the book goes far beyond the Harvard professor of law’s modest description of his lifelong research. Starting in the 1960s when he became interested in the marital legislation of Pope Alexander III (1159–1181), Donahue has built a brilliant career in studying and explaining mediaeval society through marriage laws. The present book summarizes the results of his research in the field.

The study begins with a chapter describing the book’s main themes: the laws defining marriage in the Middle Ages, the problematical points (and possible loopholes) in ecclesiastical marriage legislation, and the kinds of cases brought before the ecclesiastical courts. The author thus ties the institution of marriage into a broader concept of networking in the surrounding society. The second chapter is introductory as well, in the sense that it gives — through four well-documented English litigation cases — an idea of the litigants and their strategies before the courts.

In the following seven chapters (chap. 3–9), Donahue carefully presents all the information he has gathered from court records during decades of research. He