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NATIVISM AND AMERICANISM

Ch.1 Native Romanticism. A Critique

This book is *not* mainly about the nature of indigenous societies in Canada and America during the past or present but is rather about the way they have been represented in popular and often influential accounts. It is here held that many such accounts are spurious, in part or in whole, and that they are often both ethnic chauvinist and vehemently anti-working class.

While the great majority of the nativist accounts presented here were offered by white commentators and directed mainly to white audiences, to the extent that such views have been taken up by native people they too are implicated in the political sentiments advanced. So, in a round about way, this book is also a critique of contemporary native claims about what happened in the past and who bears the burden of addressing past wrongs.

The proposition explored here is that there is a link between enthusiasms for past native ways and reactionary political ideology in general. There is no inherent reason why these two outlooks should be linked other than their historical conjunction in North America. In Latin America *indigenismo*, the approbation of Indian societies, has at times been a progressive force, although apparently never so in the North.

It may legitimately be held that the history of native people in relation to the broader society is critically different in Canada than that in the United States of America. There were no massacres of native people carried out in Canada and the reserves originally established were usually not lost and continue to this day, now being substantially expanded. However there are also certain similarities in the two countries, especially the influence of changing popular opinion about native peoples and the role they have played in national life. Therefore roughly a half of the materials presented here stem from events and processes emanating from America. Public opinion about the position of native peoples is much the same in Canada and America and the processes advanced for righting perceived past wrongs are similar in
both nations. It is suggested that these processes flow from currently dominant themes revolving around a largely fabricated native history.

Some readers may be loathe to once again hear tales spun by such figures as Grey Owl or Black Elk or Hugh Brody, to name only a few nativists. Especially so when there is relatively little consideration given here to the many fine-grained historical and anthropological studies of native peoples. I can only suggest that the more popular accounts of the topic have had a disproportionate effect in influencing popular opinion, including that of judges and senior politicians. That is why some rather tawdry accounts have found a place here while other painstaking scholarly studies have not. This book does not involve a balanced allocation of space to the relevant material but it will, hopefully, open some readers eyes to the diet of hokum with which they have been systematically fed. Others will undoubtedly find the themes discussed here to be simply unthinkable and outrageous. So be it.

In this book 'Americanism' is taken to be the proposition that America and its people are the epitome of all human endeavors and strivings. It is the view that America is the society whose rulers and ways should guide the world and that all opposed to it are either evil or backward and require variously stringent redirection. 'Nativism' is the proposition that the native-born, usually with an ancestry of some generations, should direct America (or Canada) and that all things foreign to that society are to be distrusted and opposed. 'Nativism' also refers to undertakings which propose the resurrection of the alleged past ways of life of native peoples. Normally the term is applied to strategies which have little or no hope of being achieved. Where there is some chance of achieving the stated goals, whatever one may think of them, a movement is not normally dubbed 'nativistic'. With changed conditions some undertakings which were previously termed 'nativistic' may become capable of being fulfilled and therefore in some sense realistic.

'Romanticism' is an attitude which holds that in the variously distant past societies were more coherent, more natural and more harmonious for all those involved. That ways were simpler and people more fulfilled in living and performing the tasks of that earlier society, which we should attempt to return to in whatever ways are practical. At the very least romanticism involves an approbation of things as they once were, disregarding the human costs involved.

An unstated proposition underlying most native romanticism is the belief that every identifiable group has its own unique culture which has come down from time immemorial. Any significant change in that culture is synonymous with loss and derogation. It is allegedly incumbent upon members of any such society to sustain or resurrect their past culture; it is
supposedly their most fundamental desire and obligation. It is usually unclear who they are obligated to.

A romantic viewpoint expects native people to reject most social change except where such change resurrects the ways of a peoples' ancestors, usually those of the proximate past. Romantics invariably look for some external agency or group to blame change upon: and an unstated proposition is that no people would voluntarily change their way of life. This outlook is held by most native proponents today. It is reminiscent of earlier European traditionalist views which held that only misfits and subversives would wish to fundamentally alter the society they were born into. It is a remarkable view which demonstrates an ignorance of the struggles of people throughout the world who have attempted to replace the oppressively traditional cultures they were born into. This understanding of 'tradition' may be obscured for native people in North America because of the subordinate position they often have held within the wider society, a position which some may now believe can be overcome by returning to a reworked version of their past.

Romantic views about aboriginal and other people in traditional societies often disregard the long history of ongoing cultural change which has taken place before the currently 'traditional culture' came into existence. The culture which 'has come down from time immemorial' and which is to be preserved is often merely a century old, if not less, and is often quite different from how a specific group lived previously. There also exist mythic reconstructions of aboriginal society which never have nor ever could have existed. Such reconstructions however may play a crucial role in contemporary court cases.

Romantics rarely mention or gloss over the hardships of traditional societies - the wars and physical insecurity, the diseases and famines, the fears and social stasis inherent in traditional ways of life, particularly for women. They also rarely discuss or gloss over evidence of internal oppression within traditional societies.

When aboriginal societies are admitted as having been something less than life lived in a Garden of Eden the human costs are nevertheless shrugged off. Casualties of tradition are considered acceptable because 'it was their own way of life'. Presumably it is acceptable for people to be brutalized by their own chiefs but not by others; hunger and poverty, disease and ignorance etc are acceptable when they are traditional.

Romantics typically disregards the lives of the great majority of native people; there are usually few accounts of the ordinary lives of men and women. The focus is typically on a handful of Indian notables. Such accounts normally portray a few suitable native leaders along with a general
portrait of Indians as victims of white society. Those native people who 'merely worked for a living' are typically dismissed as unimportant, unless it is as an example of the white subjugation visited upon them.

External influences which change a people's way of life, whether directed or not, are viewed as akin to cultural genocide. Assimilation allegedly is a form of such genocide. This dogma has now been incorporated into the report of the 1996 Federal Royal Commission on Aboriginal Affairs, which bluntly states that "Assimilation is a form of racism." However in this view native involvement in cash economies, the receipt of substantial transfer payments, utilization of modern medical treatment, advanced education, jobs in a host of contemporary industries, utilization of government commissions and lawyers to advance native claims etc. are not forms of assimilation. The view here is various degrees of assimilation and incorporation into the broader society has generally been beneficial and not detrimental to native peoples.

Enthusiasm for native Indians in North America has frequently been linked with anti-industrial and anti-working class sentiments. It is often accompanied by the claim, stated or unstated, that the 'lower classes' of the dominant population are rapacious and racist and that native peoples must be protected from being contaminated by them. Such claims were straightforward in the older nativist literature and are only a little hidden today.

Romantics generally dismiss the interests of non-native working people by prioritizing those of natives. This attitude has become general among the Canadian bourgeoisie over the past generation, who are all too ready to dismiss the claims of non-native workers in a host of resource and comparable industries in which the bourgeoisie now believe they have no stake.

Among some romantics the appeal of native life (mainly illusory) stems from it being the seeming antithesis of an industrial, modern, urban society. Nativism has long been a vehicle for broadly anti-modern sentiments. This ideological feature has reemerged once again and is prevalent among those who wish the world to be more spiritual, more localist, more conservationist; a world more given to all the superstitions and restrictions which people have inherited from the past and have only recently broken free from.

It would seem that part of contemporary nativism's goal is the creation of a fundamentally divided society in which rights are based on an individual's ethnic derivation. The appeal to ethnic nationalism is evident in any proposition which holds that the fundamentals of human loyalties are those of 'race and culture', which must always be respected. This view has become *de rigeur* in Canadian Royal Commissions, in the press and in agencies of
mass education. It is the antithesis of any view which calls for the recognition of class allegiances as those fundamental in the contemporary world. A nativist viewpoint holds that the interests of native bosses and entrepreneurs are inherently the same as those of their native employees while the interests of white workers are inherently different from and normally opposed to those of native people. This view has come to dominate current native ideology.

Although not especially evident in Canada one facet of American nativism was a strain of anti-immigrant xenophobia. During the first third of the 20th century an 'appreciation of the American Indian' was often linked with a hostility toward more recent immigrants by certain old stock Americans. This view was often allied with the dream of the reestablishment of the status quo ante. It was part of a broader ideology which was anti-immigrant, anti-Black, anti-organized labour, broadly reactionary and opposed to the involvement of government in social programs in general. This is clear in the writings of nativists in early 20th century America and seems to be a continuing strain within native ethnic nationalism.

The above propositions do not claim that these elements of Indian romanticism are necessarily the products of native people themselves, although it would seem that over time many native spokespersons have accepted and forwarded a nativist outlook in one way or another. What we are basically dealing with is a construct of a section of the national bourgeoisie eager to denigrate the claims of working people through this form of ethnic chauvinism.

**Taboo Propositions about Native History**

Some of the following propositions about Native history will not be documented here but, despite popular claims to the contrary, are fundamentally true. These propositions fly in the face of current mythological constructs which are, in effect, taboos. Some readers will reject the viewpoints presented here out of hand. So be it.

- Native Indian societies in North America represented a wide range of developmental levels, all of which had arisen through independent cultural evolution. They ranged from simple band societies, not dissimilar from those which once were universal throughout the world, to emergent states roughly comparable to what existed throughout parts of the Middle-east immediately before the early Bronze Age. Despite claims to the contrary they were not static societies and they were not frozen in time or space.

It is impossible to postulate what might have emerged had the indigenous societies of the Americas continued to evolve independently but it seems
probable that the already established native Indian states and empires, or their successors, would have gradually spread and that they themselves would have created processes of displacement and assimilation.

- A general social equality characterized most band level, hunting-based, populations but was not markedly evident in many other aboriginal societies. While widely distributed band level societies did not make up the majority of the peoples in North America, who were fundamentally horticulturalists. Among them one often found chiefly families, commoners and slaves, with as great an inequality between them as any neo-conservative might wish for. Caste-like strictures generally applied to commoners in those native states which arose in Meso-America and the Andean regions.

  Individual native people were not necessarily free to do as they wished, although considerably more free in some Indian societies than in others. The limitations set by particular customs and strictures, those set by their technology and the level of social organization, created a rather narrow band of behavior which was both possible and permissible. Visions of a society of free spirits living in a Garden of Eden are the product of European romantics and are not a reflection of reality.

- Moreover, some aboriginal societies seem to have generated a great deal of internal tension and frustrations - fear and anxiety about both real and supernatural dangers. Some of these societies were marked by recurrent murders and sometimes by perennial disputes: bitter quarrels and suicides were not infrequent in some aboriginal societies. Current visions of 'community-based', and therefore equitable arrangements, decisions by 'healing-sentencing circles' (totally fabricated) and the influence of 'wise elders' are mainly visions created by fantasy-prone romantics, including some Canadian judges and legislators.

- Wars and hostilities between native groups in the pre-Columbian past were not primarily rough games for prestige. They could be bloody, sustained and could lead to the displacement of and even the general destruction of one group by another. All of these qualities of life among aboriginal societies made for conditions quite different from the vision of life lived in an earthly paradise.

- In post contact times some native chiefs and traders were ready to exploit members of their own or other native groups as rapaciously as any European trader might. They were in a position to do so more effectively than any external agency and sometimes they used their powers to the hilt. This accounts for the often sustained struggles to obtain access to and control over the new trade sources which arose with the entry of European
traders. This too is different from the currently fashionable views about a universal sharing of goods and resources.

- The European conquest and settlement of the North and South American continents, and the sub regions thereof, was not fundamentally dependant upon native techniques and knowledge. Native support and knowledge did in fact play a part in the exploration of many regions, but European settlers and frontiersmen would have accomplished the same thing even without native aid. It is quite misconceived to believe that early European settlers were like members of the current urban middle class. The original white settlers were almost as 'close to nature' as native people - although they were striving to become markedly less so. These settlers came with their own stock of knowledge of how to deal with various environments but were also capable of learning and modifying their practices when called for. Exploration of, travels into and utilization of new lands and resources were things they could and did do with their own stock of tools and practices.

It is quite naive to think of early European settlers as hymn-singing innocents, mindless serfs or contemporary urbanites. There were plenty of tough and seasoned fishermen-woodsmen-hunters and peasant farmers available in Europe. Given the disparity of military capacities there was little possibility that any armed resistance which native people could have mounted would have long forestalled European conquest and settlement of the Western hemisphere. This is underscored by the relative ease with which a handful of Spaniards defeated the major state civilizations of Meso and Andean America.

- Despite popular claims to the contrary white settlers incorporated little of the culture of Indigenous peoples, other than their complement of food crops such as corn, beans of various sorts, potatoes and cassava. This was especially true after the initial frontier phases were transcended. European settlers required little from any of the Indian cultures, although the domesticated crops of Meso-American and Andean origin did prove to be extremely valuable, spread throughout the world, and had a considerable impact.

What early settlers learned about the new land from native peoples - the run of rivers, animal habits, the character of the geography and the problems of transportation.- generally were not things unique to North America and had European solutions which settlers could and did draw upon. While Indian trade (especially the fur trade) was important in certain regions in North America, such goods were not required for the colonization of the hemisphere by Europeans.
While it is understandable why native people and pro-native scholars underscore the role of native peoples in European settlement, this is an illusion which beclouds the principle forces involved in colonization. It evokes an unrealistic picture of native Indian participation in such settlement which is tinged, to some degree, by their acceptance of it. That is not the way colonization worked.

- Those claiming special knowledge about or insight into aboriginal societies and their history because of their own native ancestry (proximate or distant) often do not demonstrate any insights which others could not obtain. In some cases the 'insights' offered are drawn as much from current intellectual fashions as from any distinguishable indigenous knowledge.

No doubt those native people who are the recipients of or who have concerned themselves with the knowledge their ancestors had may demonstrate a far fuller understanding of these than others do. But no one is born with an inherent knowledge of any culture or history. Individuals who are members of particular aboriginal groups may have special opportunities or a special motivation to acquire knowledge about indigenous practices - but such understanding is acquired by experience and learning, not by birth or by simple sentiment.

A negative example may be suggested by Europeans and their history. For centuries European philosophes wrote about the histories of European nations, usually without ever knowing or caring about the lives of the overwhelming majority of the people in them. Those philosophes were European yet they did not actually know very much about how the people they philosophized about actually lived or thought or acted.

A danger involved when individuals, native or others, write about 'their own' people, especially in the context of ethnic nationalism, is that the past comes to be rewritten to do service for contemporary claims and sentiments. This may provide useful propaganda but it is detrimental to an understanding of how people actually lived and how social processes actually worked. 'Correct understanding' does not come from simply being a member of some group; this is as true for native Indian history as for any other.

- Within the ethical standards currently applied to regimes around the world some native Indian societies were not all that admirable. Many native societies engaged in wars and mutual massacres indigenously; others held slaves which they gave up only under external compulsion. They sometimes evinced forms of tribal chauvinism roughly comparable to what is currently decried as racism. During the earlier 20th century some native people supported xenophobic movements such as anti-Oriental and anti-immigrant
campaigns. Native Indians were not exclusively or simply the long-suffering victims of white racism.

Any reputable historian must recognize the various forms of oppression, violence and inequities which exist / have existed within EuroAmerican society. But this concern is apparently taboo for historians of native societies.

- Those who portray specific governmental acts (such as those outlawing the potlatch in BC) as destroying the central societal institution of particular native societies, after which all else collapses, are generally mistaken in their understanding of the historical forces involved. Given all that had happened - wide ranging epidemics, loss of territory, the emergence of completely novel sources of income and wealth etc.- the legislative suppression of certain cultural practices were of comparatively minor consequence in the daily lives of most native people.

- Despite current indignation over the past suppression of elements of indigenous culture, such acts are not always indefensible. National governments have a right and a duty to suppress certain practices which may be part of some group's cultural traditions. Suppression of such practices as intergroup warfare, real witch hunting, slavery, various forms of internal oppression etc. are a legitimate task of any government worthy of the name, regardless of what traditionalists and their supporters may hold. Many of those who currently expatiate about the intervention of the Canadian state into certain indigenous social practices would be horrified by the consequences if there had been no such intervention. The current predilection to charge past governmental policies with cultural genocide is, in general, a ruse to find a villain on which all evils (real and imagined) can be attributed and to reduce complex issues of conflicting interests to those which allegedly can be solved by 'multicultural' tolerance.

- Over generations many native people did adapt to and did integrate themselves into the broader Canadian and American societies. This process of assimilation may have been more prevalent than is usually recognized. There may be far more people with some distant native ancestry living off reserves then there now are status Indians. Some contemporary native advocates are the grandchildren or great grandchildren of native individuals who long ago entered EuroAmerican society. Their descendants may now claim some special 'Nativeness' transmitted 'through the blood' or through some king of 'folk memory'. It is a claim which becomes prevalent whenever there is some social or material advantage to making it.
During the past thirty years Canadian Federal policies forwarding 'multiculturalism' and ethnic nationalism have created advantages to those who can advance claims to native status, however distant. Political and academic careers have been built on the proposition that ethnicity is the defining quality in all peoples' lives. It is here suggested that claims to unique ethnic interests participate in the politics of division, which have now become sacrosanct.

- Finally, opposition to native demands often has a legitimate basis and is not merely the product of ethnocentrism or racism. For example, non-native fishermen, woods workers, ranchers and others have a legitimate right to opposing native claims which would deprive them of their own opportunities to make a living. Where such is the case conflicts cannot be 'educated away' nor suppressed as 'illegitimate thought' by government commissions, not if any equitable resolution is desired.

So much for taboo propositions about Native history. Let us now proceed to a consideration of 'nativism' as advanced by its proponents in Canada and America (mainly during the 20th century). Some of its social bases will be alluded to and some of its political concomitants mentioned.
Ch. 2. **Some Early Nativists**

**James Fenimore Cooper**

James Fenimore Cooper (1789-1851) was by no means the first to trade on stereotypes about North American Indians but he was probably the most influential writer in popularizing ideas about Indians and the American frontier during the 19th century.

To be fair about it, Cooper's books not only maligned those Indian groups which did not serve American interests - as opposed to the role of the Mahicans like Uncas and Chingachgook, two faithful sidekicks of Cooper's frontier hero - his novels were also contemptuous of almost everyone who was not a member of the Anglo-American bourgeoisie. Despite Cooper's alleged frontier 'individualism' his hero, 'Leatherstocking' 'Deer Slayer' etc. is really a Puritan condottiere in buckskin. The French are portrayed as cunning and treacherous, the 'half breeds' are even more so. Anyone else not a part of the Anglo-American world (although they are few in number) is generally pictured as a lesser species of humanity, buffoons at best. Frontier workers, such as the occasional logger who briefly appear in Cooper's later volumes, are feckless, lazy, too-high-wage-demanding wastrels. It is surprising how early and tenacious that class arrogance is. About the only 'furriners' that Cooper and his hero has a good word for are representatives of the English upper classes, particularly military officers and their nubile daughters.

Without going into specifics it is fair to say that Cooper knew virtually nothing about native Indian societies or of the historical conditions about which he wrote. This is notable because by the end of the 1820s there already was a body of documentation about Indian-White history along the eastern frontiers of settlement. Cooper may occasionally have drawn from some of these sources when his novels required some colourful detail, but not noticeably more than is found in Hollywood film epics of a later era. As a popular novelist Cooper was pandering to but also helping to consolidate the predilections of the American reading public at the time.

In many ways Cooper's works are the antithesis of later Indian romanticism. They are an example of a murderous propaganda which Indian people, and others, legitimately damn today. They are similar to current day American war propaganda epics which deal with other devils to be extirpated. What is difficult to understand is that Cooper's novels were influential in forming the views of many readers who later became Indian romantics. Even more amazing is that some of them developed their sentiments without rejecting Cooper's views. Somehow, the glorification of the Anglo-American frontiersman is transmuted into a glorification of his
Indian allies by those readers who, by the beginning of the 20th century, didn't like the way American society was turning out. But I do not understand the psychological dynamics involved.

Cooper's novels may have been the single most influential works in forming popular misconceptions about Indians and frontier relations during the nineteenth century. His novels (*Deerslayer, The Pathfinder, The Last of the Mohicans, The Pioneers, The Prairies* etc) were translated into many European languages and throughout the 19th century he probably was the best-known American author there was. In this regard it may be of some interest to consider Cooper's background.

James Fenimore Cooper came from a family which had grown wealthy through frontier land speculation in the years immediately following the American War of Independence. He was born in 1789 in New Jersey but grew up, between 1790 and 1803, on his father's recently acquired estate in up-state New York. In 1795 his father had acquired large tracts of land near Lake Oswego, some 70 miles west of Albany, through the foreclosure of liens on lands held by the British Superintendent of Northern Indians. These were lands which, under British administration, had been reserved for Indian (Iroquoian) use. The elder Cooper sold off blocks of this land to settlers and established the village of Cooperston, where he moved himself and his family. He was one of the class of land-speculators and real estate peddlars who emerged following American independence.

Cooper attended a private boys' school and later went to Yale University, after which he served a term as an officer in the U.S. Navy following the war of 1812-1814. In general, he seems to have done the things which American gentlemen's sons were supposed to do in the early 'farmers and mechanics' republic. Returning to New York in 1826 he wrote several melodramas before striking the metier which would make him famous. The Leatherstocking series are novels which allegedly deal with the expanding American frontier of settlement from about 1755 to 1820. They took his readers from upstate New York during the 'French and Indian war' (1755-1763) to the time when Americans were settling Illinois. An expansion which initiated the future seizure of most of North America. (Nevins,A. 1966. Introduction)

Today, Cooper's novels seem laughably hackneyed; verbose, implausible and viciously childish. They are examples of a dreadful juvenile literature which once found a heady readership - and not only among juveniles. They probably were influential in crystallizing the popular image of what the peoples and forces were on the American frontier. Cooper's most famous novel is set in the Mohawk Valley, not far from the region of his childhood
on his father's newly acquired estate, a generation or two before his own boyhood. The title characters of *The Last of the Mochicans* were apparently suggested by the Makicans, a loose amalgam of Algonkian-speaking people who had become wedged between the Iroquois Confederacy and the Dutch-English settlements along the Hudson. They were decimated in inter-Indian wars and by the period in which that novel is set the Makicans had been scattered by the Iroquois, some remaining to serve as a kind of militia allied with white settlers.

Throughout *The Last of the Mohicans* the two loyal allies of Leatherstocking are the two noble Mohicans. They have all of the aspects of 'the noble Indian' which became consolidated in a later era; they are stoic, generally silent, courageous and loyal to their white friend. They are also doomed. The ferocious Indians, the reader may here add parentheses or not, those allied with the French against American settlers, such as the Ottawa, may be savage but seem more likely to survive. Possibly I am reading more into Cooper's text than is warranted.

Leatherstocking is an archetypal Daniel Boone figure, 'attuned to the ways of the Indian', admiring them in certain ways but helping to push the American frontier forward even as it dissolves the world in which he moves. In the bitter words of the early 20th century American poet Vachel Lindsay, "When Daniel Boone goes by, at night
The phantom deer arise
And all lost, wild America
Is burning in their eyes."
(Cited in Kenneth Allsop's *Hard Travellin'* (1967:49)

Variously known as Hawkeye, Deerslayer, Leatherstocking, Natty Bumpo, Cooper's hero is a one man Cossack band doing his bit to liquidate recalcitrant Indian groups. This may seem to be an puzzling hero for the son of the landed American gentry to create but it is a tribute to the forces which made it possible for a land speculator to turn tracks of unsettled frontier land into saleable wealth.

By the time of the American War of Independence some Iroquois settlements had become other than traditional hunters and subsistence farmers. Some Mohawk settlements had acquired a mix of log houses and barns, European crops and cattle, and were pursuing cottage industries in a manner not markedly different from those of white frontier settlements of the region. For instance, those Iroquois living around Fort Hunter, N.Y., who fled into British North America at the arrival of an American punitive expedition. Since they had been allied with Tory Ranger partizans of
noteworthy savagery, one can understand why the American forces would want to drive them out.

Mohawk support for the British forces during that war was 'led' (or represented) by Joseph Brant, whose sister was married to the British Superintendent of Indians for the region. At the beginning of the American secession Brant had just returned from a long stay in England, where he was regaled in aristocratic country houses. It was a society in which Brant could comport himself but which certainly would have been off limits to any of the white frontier characters in Cooper's books. To romantics this says something about the inherent ties between the upper classes of differing peoples, whoever they might be. Failure to fully appreciate such similarities is allegedly a mark of bigotry. What is involved is some psychological facility for emoting about a foreign 'nobility' in order to demean the 'lower orders' of your own nation.

When something approximating a real history of Indian-White relations along the eastern slopes of America is written we will probably find many native people who lived lives different from both savagery or nobility (if indeed those two are distinct). We will probably find a great deal more intermarriage, stable and less so, than is usually suggested. By the end of 18th century, after two centuries of contact, despite and alongside Indian-white hostilities, we may in fact find a much broader spectrum of Indian farmers, lumberjacks, carters, boat builders, traders and jacks-of-all-trades than we have been led to believe. There may have been many native individuals whose history was more complex than that usually presented, individuals who did not retreat into a reserve existence with the military triumph of American forces.

What is most jarring in Cooper's frontier tales, apart from the wooden dialogue and unbelievable plots, is their murderously anti-Indian ethos, slathered over with an enthusiasm for the Indian's natural ways. It is truly astounding that many of Cooper's stereotypes about American Indians should underlay the writings of later pro-Indian romantics.

Cooper lived out the remainder of his life in Philadelphia and New York as a successful author and gentleman, well removed from the frontier and from any Indians. After he died, in 1851, his books continued to be ingested by future generations of readers. Many Indianophiles first came to 'appreciate Indian ways', as children, by reading Cooper's novels. Just before the turn of the twentieth century, Archie Belaney, living a fantasy-prone childhood in Hastings, England, (Robert Tressel's 'Muggsborough') was sopping up Cooper's stories like a blotter. Thirty years later, as Grey Owl, he was issuing a reworked cast of Cooper's characters set in the wilds
of Ontario, to the delectation of the then current crop of romantics in Britain and the Dominions.

Less well known but more ironic, is the case of Joseph Freeman, an immigrant child growing up in the working class tenements of Brooklyn during the first decade of the 20th century. A child of an Orthodox Jewish family he initially read The Last of the Mohicans in Hebrew translation. During the 1920s and 1930s Freeman became a catalyst for leftwing cultural activities, as noted in his An American Testament. (Aaron, D 1965: 86)

A final comment on Cooper comes from Robert Spencer and Jesse Jennings' The Native Americans, (1965), no slouches in the realm of Indianophilia themselves. In their final chapter they provide a suggestion as to why Cooper's tales had such a hold on the reading public for so long.

It has been suggested that 'the frontier', of which the Indian was so intimately a part, is usually [i.e mythologically] credited with the development of the traditional American characteristics of courage, resourcefulness, energy, and tolerance. Though the frontier is gone, these qualities still characterize, in the eyes of Americans, the ideal stereotype of their national group. (Spencer and Jennings, 1965: 495)

In other words, Americans allegedly learned 'democracy' and 'resourcefulness' through contact with Indians on the frontier. This is a strange logic, since the frontier was settled in the teeth of Indian resistance and was seen as bringing civilization to uncivilized regions. However Spencer and Jennings may have hit upon an underlayer of American mythology, but Cooper's novels and his glorification of frontier conditions were not much in evidence on the actual frontier while it still was such. The 'romance of the frontier' and of 'natural America' emerged mainly from people who lived in much more established regions, long after frontier conditions had been superseded there. After all, by the time Cooper's final works were written most of the surviving Indian population east of the Mississippi had been transferred to Indian Territory (Oklahoma).

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It should be noted that the conjunction of 'Indians and Americanism' still finds an outlet in pulp fiction today. For instance, the writings of one Donald Clayton Porter provide an indication that the imagery and theme of the Leatherstocking tales are still alive and saleable in contemporary America. Porter is the author of some 28 pot boilers in the Bantam Books' 'White Indian' series. The publisher claims to have printed some 11 million copies of this series between c.1980 and 1995. They involve the doings of a white youth adopted by the Seneca in the 1770's and that of his kin and later descendants. Their adventures thread their way through various regions and
events of American history from the 1770s to the 1850s, not excluding military adventures abroad. They seemingly validate many of the ploys of Hollywood patriotism and mythological American freedoms: they glorify Indian patriots as the First Americans and are replete with internal enemies such as currently unfashionable white racists. Some of the titles in this series are The White Indian, The Renegade, War Chief, Seneca, Cherokee, Choctaw, Seminole, War Drums, Manitou, Fallen Timbers, Sachem's Son, Sachem's Daughter, Seneca Patriots, Hawk's Journey etc.

These works seem to involve an amalgam of native romanticism and American chauvinism, advancing an 'appreciative of Indian ways' while glorifying American imperial expansion. Clearly, there still is a ready audience for that today.

It is anyone's guess just how many titles, and copies, of contemporary versions of Fenimore Cooper's tales are floating around in public libraries and among the reading public today.

Two Parkers. Ely S. Parker and Arthur Caswell Parker

Ely S. Parker

Ely Parker (born c.1828) was someone who overlapped in time with Fenimore Cooper and with his grand nephew, the later nativist-'anthropologist' Arthur Parker. Ely had been an officer on U.S. Grant's civil war staff and later was named as the first Commissioner of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. He allegedly was also a Seneca 'Doorkeeper' and a briefly successful businessman after leaving the B.I.A. Later he went broke during the panic of 1873-78 and finally worked as a clerk in a New York police precinct for the rest of his life.

Dee Brown's (1971) account of Ely Parker has him, a 'chief of the Seneca', working as a stable boy in a New York garrison at age ten. He allegedly studied law only to be refused his legal credentials by New York State, supposedly because he was not white. Earlier Parker had been an informant for Lewis Henry Morgan who relayed this version of Iroquois society into the public realm in his 1854 The League of the Ho-De-No-Sau-Nee, or Iroquois..

According to Brown, Ely Parker

".....entered Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute and mastered all the courses in civil engineering. He soon found employment on the Erie Canal. Before he was thirty years old, the United States government sought him out to supervise construction of levees and buildings. In 1860 his duties took him to Galena, Illinois, and there he met and made friends with a clerk in a
harness store. The clerk was a former Army captain named Ulysses S. Grant." (Brown, 1971:173)

When the American civil war began Parker returned to New York with plans to raise a regiment of Iroquois to fight for the Union. His request for permission to do so was turned down by the governor of New York state, who allegedly told him that he had no place for Indians in the New York Volunteers. This sounds like his nephew Arthur Parker's version, and indeed it is taken from his panegyric The Life of General Ely S. Parker. (Parker, Arthur.1919:102) Many Indian soldiers participated in the American civil war; how many is anybody's guess.

In 1863 Parker became an engineer with general Grant at the siege of Vicksburg and was on Grant's general staff two years later when Lee surrendered. Because of his excellent penmanship Grant asked him to write out the terms of surrender. There are a swath of period paintings claiming to portray the moment of Lee's surrender at Appomatox Courthouse, many of which prominently portray Ely Parker. He cuts a handsome figure in many of these portraits.

In the four years following the civil war Parker served on various government commissions attempting to settle disputes between Americans and Indian groups on the western plains. By then he was a Republican party stalwart and following Grant's election to the presidency in 1869 Parker was made the head of the newly established Bureau of Indian Affairs.

He remained Commissioner of the Bureau of Indian Affairs for something like two and a half years, from 1869 till the summer of 1871, as Indian raids were again breaking out on the northern plains. Brown elaborates on the visit of Sioux chief Red Cloud to Washington during Parker's reign in 1870, to demand that the provisions of an earlier treaty be supplied, to the exclusion of almost all else that happened in the B.I.A. during Parker's administration. This might indicate that Parker wasn't doing much for Indians which Brown could appreciatively discuss.

Already by the summer of 1870 Ely Parker's administration of Indian Affairs was under attack by those claiming that the Bureau was excessively corrupt, even more than the system of spoilsmanship allowed for. Brown implicates western white miners, believers in Manifest Destiny, Christian bigots and the standard roster of villains -no evidence provided or needed. Congressional appropriations of funds for Indian provisions were held up and by the summer of 1871 and agents in the field were desperate for food to distribute to Indians, afraid that they would leave their reservations if not provided for. At this point published attacks on Parker from various sources began to appear. According to Brown, Parker feared that political sniping
by his enemies would disadvantage Indians living on reserves and might also hamper Grant's presidency. Late in the summer of 1871 he resigned from the Bureau, saying that he wanted to go into business, thereby avoiding investigations as to whether he had been a participant in the 'Indian Ring' (Brown, 1971:186) The 'Indian Ring' was a shadowy group alleged to be siphoning off funds intended for Indian provisions through the fraudulent sale of cattle and other goods

Donehogawa (Ely Parker) shrugged it all off; after half a century he had grown accustomed to the white man's prejudices. He went to New York City, made himself a fortune in that Gilded Age of finance, and lived out his life as Donehogawa, Keeper of the Western Door of the Long House of the Iroquois. (Brown, 1971:186)

Presumably this ability to briefly acquire a fortune absolves him of any taint of corruption and raises him far above those white no accounts who charged him with political shenanigans.

In the immediate post civil war period Ely Parker had married the daughter of a prominent white family, a marriage which generally had few objections placed in its path. After leaving the Commissionership of the Bureau of Indian Affairs Parker got into stock dealing in New York, investing in and making a profit from stocks he held in companies such as Rockefeller's Standard Oil. However unreliable investments, excessive personal spending, and the stock market crash of the 1873 financially ruined him. By the beginning of the 1880s he was working as an accountant for a police precinct in New York city, a job which he retained for the remainder of his life. He died in the mid 1890s. His wife remained with him in genteel poverty but his children were excluded from any status as Iroquois since membership in Seneca clans descended through matrilineal lines.

Ely Parker was an example of an Indian person who decided to integrate himself fully into American society and who therefore generally disassociated himself from his Indian (Seneca) background. It makes one wonder how many other individuals of native ancestry entered the white world in similar, if less prominent, ways.

Arthur Caswell Parker

Arthur Caswell Parker was born on the Cattaraugus reserve in upstate New York in 1881. Both his mother and grandmother were white women and his family were part of the 'outside' people on that reserve. However before Parker reached manhood he became a Seneca through adoption and was given the name of 'Gawasowannah', meaning "Big Snowsnake" (Hertzberg 1971:49) He completed public schooling in 1897 and enrolled in Dickinson Seminary in 1899, to prepare for the ministry, but he dropped out
in 1903 without graduating. By then he was visiting the salon of one Mrs. Harriet Converse in New York city, a poet, journalist and commentator on Indian affairs. There he met people like the anthropologists Mark Harrington, Frank Speck and Alanson Skinner. Since 1900 he had been periodically employed by the American Museum of Natural History as an archaeological assistant while in 1903 he worked with Mark Harrington conducting an archaeological survey for the Peabody Museum of Harvard. (Hertzberg, 1971:51) Parker was a self-taught ethnologist relying on his 'Iroquois roots' to advance his views.

By the time that A.C. Parker was going to public school in the late 1890s there already were two professional Indian anthropologists working with the Smithsonian Institute, J.N. B. Hewitt, a Tuscarora, and Francis LaFlesche, an Osage.

Arthur Parker "...was a man who loved ritual. He was a devout Mason and wrote a pamphlet on American Indian Masonry, published in 1919 by the Buffalo Consistory. This and other writings on Masonry exercise an important influence on the development of fraternal Pan-Indianism in the twenties. Parker sought to demonstrate that American Indians - the Iroquois and more especially the Seneca were 'inherent' Freemasons. ......Not only did Parker like Masonry for its implicit link with the Indian past, but it also offered upward mobility in the white world." (Hertzberg 1971: 55)

Parker was, in the usage of the day, 'one eight' Seneca. That is, one of his grandparents was Seneca. By the time of Parker's birth the Iroquois in New York state had been part of American society for a century. Considering that matrilineal descent applied among the Seneca, Arthur Parker was not a Seneca by Seneca standards, but was white.

His mother, Geneva Griswold Parker, was from a long established New England family, who had been the Congregationalist school teacher on the Seneca reserve. His father, Frederick Ely Parker, was a graduate of Fredonia State School and an accountant for the New York Central Railway at the time of Arthur Parker's birth, a fairly prominent position. His father (i.e. Arthur Parker's grandfather), Nicholson H. Parker, had married the daughter of a Dartmouth educated Congregationalist missionary to the Seneca and had himself attended normal school. One might note that Dartmouth University since the early 19th century had provided board and tuition scholarships for deserving Indian students, although it is uncertain of how many Indian students actually graduated from it.

Nicholson Parker farmed his family land on the reserve, acted as a government interpreter, and also worked as a printer and clerk for the Seneca mission. He was the brother of Ely S. Parker, the civil engineer and a
brigadier general of the Union army and later the first Commissioner of the
Bureau of Indian Affairs in the initial U.S. Grant administration. Ely S.
Parker was Arthur Parker's paternal grand uncle.

Arthur Parker's Iroquois/Seneca roots, on which his claims to special
insight rested, consisted of one Iroquois grand parent, who himself was the
product of a generation of Indian and white intermarriage. Any consideration
of the racial background involved in cultural adherence might be held to be a
racist misconception but this was the basis of Parker's claims to special
insights into and his special ability to portray Iroquois culture. He
presumably knew these things 'in the blood'.

According to Parker's memorialist, William Fenton, Arthur Parker's
family had been central in the Christian mission leadership on this Seneca
reserve for some generations. He had been raised in a strict Presbyterian
upbringing and did not learn to speak Seneca until he was a young man.
Parker became involved in ethnology in about 1904, through ethnologist
Mark Harrington, who later married Parker's older sister.

In 1905 Arthur Parker landed a position as ethnologist at the New York
State Museum but he also served as a sometime reporter for the New York
Sun. He would have been in his early twenties during Theodore Roosevelt's
reign; the first decades of self-proclaimed American imperialism would have
been the broader ideological context of his Pan-Indian vision. He published
his accounts on Maize, Handsome Lake and the Constitution of the Five
Nations during 1910-1913 when he was in his early thirties. This predated
the explosive emergence of American nativist hysteria which occurred
during and following W.W.I. But an anti-foreigner and anti-radical
ideology had been building up in America for many years by then and is
quite evident in Parker's writing.

On the eve of America's entry into W.W.I Parker sometimes wrote for the
New York Sun newspaper. He seems to have combined his Iroquois nativist
sentiments with the xenophobia then becoming rampant throughout
America. He set out to do combat with Franz Boas, the leading
anthropologist of his time, whom he charged with being unAmerican and
probably a German spy because of Boas' anti-war and pacifist views. Very
few anthropologists supported Parker although some 100 percent American
intellects rallied to the hysteria directed against German-Americans and
other immigrants at the time, as well as during the Red Scare which
followed.

A recurrent interest of A.C. Parker was to clear his grand uncle,
Ely Parker's, name. The senior Parker had been the first Commissioner of the
Bureau of Indian Affairs during 1869-1871. After widespread corruption
charges in the letting and fulfillment of contracts for the B.I.A. were made public Ely Parker had resigned under a cloud of suspicion. He had come under scrutiny during a spate of investigations into 'rings' of corruption which flourished in various Federal government agencies during Grant's administration. According to Arthur Parker his grand uncle had been framed by 'crooked whitemen'- the usual villains.

Parker helped found the Society of American Indians in 1911, edited it's journal and for a while served as secretary-treasurer of that organization. He was also a collector-buyer of Indian artifacts for the He Ye Indian Museum, in New York and is said to have published over 300 titles, although many of these are mainly newspaper articles. However they included 14 books on Iroquois ways (Fenton., 1968: 4), some of which were later reissued for use in New York state public schools. Parker spent the remainder of his life writing about and boosting Iroquois and American Indian cultures. He demanded that other ethnologists keep out of his territory - the Iroquois of up-state New York.(Fenton, 1968:24) It was he who floated the myth that Indian maize and native knowledge were the basis of European settlers' survival during their early years on the continent. More generally, he claimed that what made true Americans different from Europeans was their acquisition of democratic ideals drawn from Iroquois culture.

He was named director of the New York State Museum in Rochester in 1925 and near the end of his life was awarded two honorary doctorates. He died in the mid 1950s, by which time his native xenophobia was all forgotten or forgiven.

Hertzberg on the Early Indian Reform Movement

Hazel Hertzberg's *The Search for an American Indian Identity* 1971, deals with the early Indian Reform movement in America, mainly with the Society of American Indians, an organization largely of non-reserve, middle class Indians. A secondary feature of that study is an account of the reserve-based Peyote cult which emerged during roughly the same period., but continued to spread long after the Society of American Indians had ceased to exist. This latter phenomenon will not be discussed here.

By the first decade of the 20th century there already existed in America a collection of individuals who were representatives of an Indian middle class. They included some doctors and a few lawyers and judges, editors and reporters on national and regional publications, teachers and preachers, a spectrum of businessmen and a host of administrators in the Bureau of Indian Affairs. One Fayette McKenzie, a white sociologist and later university president, determined to organize an active lobby from these
individuals through the creation of an Indian organization and in 1911 there arose the Society of American Indians. It was composed mainly of individuals removed from life on Indian reservations. Some of those involved were what were then called 'full bloods', being mainly or exclusively of Indian ancestry, but the majority were of partial white ancestry. In some cases they were the great grand children of one native ancestor. One Thomas Sloan, an influential lawyer who had passed through the Carlisle Indian school, was the great great grandchild of an Indian ancestor. Nevertheless, throughout most of his life Sloan participated in Indian causes, including opposing John Collier's later campaigns for Indian Reorganization. The Society decided that to be an active native member of their organization one had to be at least 1/16 native, that is to have at least one great great grand parent who was Indian. Clearly, most Americans with such distant Indian ancestry would be fully assimilated into the broader society.

"The emerging Indian middle class now had an organization of its own - the Society of American Indians - which in viewpoint and style exemplified the complex relationship of educated Indians both to American society and to the reservation. It's ideological common denominator was the postulate of a non vanishing Indian race as a vital element in a democratic and progressive nation. Its organizational format closely resembled that of other American reform organizations" (Hertzberg, 1971: 79)

By 1911 there already were Indian members of the House of Representatives and members of some State houses, such as W.A. Durant a member of the Oklahoma legislature who in 1915 was elected as vice president of the Society. An Indian member of the national House of Representatives in 1912 was a Charles D. Carter, a Chickasaw of Oklahoma. There was also Senator Charles Curtis, who was involved in advancing the interests of midwestern railways since the 1890s and who later became the Vice President of the U.S. under Herbert Hoover. Although these individuals were long removed from life on Indian reservations they continued to hold Indian status and were, as was the case for Curtis, registered on the tribal roles of particular groups.

The population figure for the American Indian population in 1912 bandied about by the Society of American Indians was some 300,000 persons, status and non-status. This was roughly 1/3 of one percent of the American population at the time. In the intervening century this percentage has increased dramatically.

The leaders of that Society usually had little idea of life as lived in most Indian communities. Moreover it seems that only a small minority of the
emerging native middle class involved themselves in the activities of the Society of American Indians. Later this Indian middle class grew and was to be found on reservations as well as off.

The Society of American Indians included then major figures such as Dr. Carlos Montezuma and Dr. Charles Eastman, both of whom evinced pride in their native heritage and were public symbols of the success which awaited Indians if they integrated into American society. Also members were Francis LaFlesche and J.N.B. Hewitt, both ethnologists at the Smithsonian Institute, as well as Arthur Parker of the New York State Museum. A number of Indian reverends were also in attendance, such as Sherman Coolidge, a later president of the Society, and Albert Hensley, a Peyote minister from the Winnebago. There were also 'native' lawyers, such as William J. Kershaw, a Milwaukee attorney who was one-half Menominee and who in 1915 became vice-president of the Society's advisory board. A great many of the rank and file members had been educated at the Carlisle Indian school, which had been operating since 1879 and would continue to do so until 1916.

Two recurrent efforts of this Indian lobby was the gradual or rapid dissolution of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, which was opposed by those native members who were its employees. The other theme was the glorification of native ancestry and culture, features of which they felt would be added to the American melting pot. Over time there were shifting attitudes among the Society's members about what their demands should entail but their efforts were largely directed at those Indians still living on reservations.

The initial meetings of the Society of American Indians were moderately successful, beginning with some fifty Indian members and a roughly equal number of interested whites, who were included as associated members but who could not hold office or even speak at meetings unless invited to do so by the chair.

The 'Conference Sermon' of the Society's second annual meetings in 1912 was preached by one Washington Gladden, an eminent proponent of the so-called 'social gospel'. He held that the assertion of class interests or class rights is the repudiation of American democracy but that the assertion of race consciousness was a very different matter and that native people should cherish their racial birthright. (Hertzberg 1971: 84) God, race and racial characteristics were alive and well within the so-called 'progressive' movement and were supported by the Society's so-called 'red progressives'. Indeed, the defining quality of Indianhood was deemed to be its racial
character, a quality which was often referred to but never specified. That was also the common parlance of the day.

The 1912 meetings also raised the question of what role Indian employees of the Bureau of Indian Affairs should have in the Society. There were by then already some hundreds of Indians in leading roles in the Bureau. One Charles Daganett, who occupied the most senior post of any Indian in the Bureau, was nominated as second vice president of the Society but was challenged and the question of whether employees of the Bureau might hold elective office put to the membership. Only 61 of the circa 150 members attending voted on the issue, resulting in a 30 to 31 vote against Daganett. There followed extensive discussion after which he won a 16 to 9 vote in favour of his election as vice president. Even within the narrow ambit of Society membership participation in central decisions was very limited.

According to Hertzberg, Parker's vision was of "a pan-Indian organization which would unite educated, middle class Indians around an ideology and program sufficiently broad to encompass them all and through which, he believed, they could provide 'native leadership' to their fellow Indians." (Hertzberg, 1971: 177)

However many of these self-proclaimed 'native leaders' were already a part of the American middle class and were often far removed from conditions which existed on reserves. They seemed intent on using reserve populations to advance their own garbled understandings of what role Indians should play in America. As events progressed over the following decade some of these 'Pan-Indian leaders', certainly Arthur Parker, became tribal nationalists and vociferous American chauvinists.

Some of the conflicting views on the future of native societies may be seen in two positions take in the SAI's 1913 convention. The major speech of the evening was given by Carlos Montezuma, an Apache MD who was prominent at the time and who was totally opposed to the operation of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. He wished for a full integration of Indians into American society and attacked the reservation system and the education provided to native children. In some ways his view was an extension of the philosophy of the Dawes Act allotment policy, which intended the wholesale integration of Indians into American society.

"Indian schools were weak, Montezuma asserted, because they were "lacking in the essentials of practical experience' Such foolish activities as 'Indian basketry, Indian blanketry, Indian pottery, Indian art, Indian music and other general Indian industries of the past generation' had been introduced into the curriculum.'Where does this help the Indian children into ways of civilization?' Montezuma asked. 'Purely Indian schools say to the
Indian 'You are Indians, you must remain Indians, you are not of the nation. and cannot become of the nation.' .......The Indian, Montezuma asserted, was not born an inevitable savage. He was born blank, like the rest of us, what happens to him depends upon his environment" (Hertzberg 1971:119)

Frank Speck, an anthropologist with a budding reputation at the time, was scheduled to speak after Montezuma but did not get to deliver his speech. However Parker prevailed upon him to have his speech printed in the Society's Quarterly Journal. It was the exact antithesis of Montezuma's position. He held that in ethnological study one first gained respect and then admiration for the past Indian cultures, especially when compared to faults and weaknesses of modern society.

'Speck then discussed some of the Indian's 'native virtues' including bravery, magnanimity, hospitality, racial pride, moral purity, manly bearing, athletic prowess, knowledge of nature, complex social and rich ceremonial life, love of truth, respect for womankind, art techniques, designs and symbolism, picturesque garb, perfection of devices for hunting, fishing and transportation and achievements in plant domestication'......'Believing in this 'catalogue of native virtues' Speck asked,'are we then to try to emasculate them and educate them out of the institutions and traits that we so admire them for? By what authority are we called upon to deculturate them completely to the likeness of of ourselves? It can only be out of self pride in our own institutions'. (Speck, 1914, cited in Hertzberg, 1971:120-121)

Speck went on to say that the Indian could serve himself and his country best by retaining his own institutions and ways of life, particularly as the exponents of natural pursuits and a clean outdoor life..... rather than becoming a sweat shop, factory or office slave in our society. The Indians should, of course, preferably marry within their own race and raise children in a full knowledge of their respective dialects, traditions and institutions" (Speck, 1914 cited in Hertzberg, 1971:122)

His is a rather long catalogue of virtues for anyone to live up to and the suggestion that Indians in general should restrict themselves to 'clean, outdoor pursuits' was not the sort of thing which an Indian middle class, as distinct from white enthusiasts, necessarily wanted to hear. Speck wasn't concerned with non-Indian workers in sweat shops, only that Indians should not become one of them. It was a reactionary and romantic view he was putting forth which might well find proponents today among those who do not have to live stringently traditional lives, which could be impoverished and lethal.

Speck rounded all this up with the charge that 'Anybody who advocates total tribal disintegration is manifestly advocating race murder.'(Speck
1914, cited in Hertzberg 1971:122) According to that some of the leading Indian spokesmen were advocating cultural genocide.

The peak of the Society's influence probably came in about 1915, when its annual meetings were attended by some 100 native individuals and about an equal number of whites, including a smattering of anthropologists. Throughout its heyday the Society published a quarterly journal initially edited by Arthur Parker. This journal provided the text of papers delivered at the meetings, in which the high flown philosophizing was disseminated. The fact that there was almost no support from Indians living on reservations did not unduly disturb the leaders of the Society of American Indians and they pursued their battles with each other and with the Bureau of Indian Affairs with sublime disinterest.

Beginning in 1916 the society went into decline, with some of its most influential members not attending. By 1918 only some twenty-five to thirty Indians attended the annual meetings. Almost from its inception the Society of American Indians had been involved in a battle with Indian members who were employees of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. The 'race loyalty' of these members was recurrently questioned and they were gradually driven out of the organization, thereby alienating one of the potential constituents of Indian middle class support as it then existed.

There was also a growing hostility within the SAI toward proponents of peyote. The almost universal condemnation of peyote use by white missionaries associated with the SAI played an important role in that society's later rejection of it, as did the Society's leaders vision of themselves as 'progressive' Christians. Not to be discounted was the influence of the prohibitionist movement, which was growing even before W.W.1. In the end, the peyote users and employees of the Bureau of Indian Affairs were driven out of the conclaves of the Society.

By 1918 the Society had been taken over by a new faction which had ousted Parker from his role as editor of the society's Quarterly Journal, which was rechristened the American Indian Magazine. It ceased appearing after a few years of publication. This left Parker deeply embittered and he became more committed to his Iroquois roots and to dabbling in the deepening political reaction which was then surging throughout America.

Following America's entry into World War 1 Arthur Parker became a thoroughgoing American chauvinist who held that Indians and Anglo Americans were the true 100% Americans and that more recent immigrants were somehow lesser breeds. At one point he suggested that Franz Boas, the then leading figure in American anthropology, a pacifist opponent of the war and a German-Jewish emigre, was probably a German spy.
Carlos Montezuma, a vociferous proponent for the abolition of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, railed against being stopped from holding meetings on the Menominee reserve in 1919, as he reported in the *American Indian Magazine* of that year. The deepening ethnic chauvinism of the period appeared in his account. He wrote that the Indian Bureau autocracy forbade these educated, leading men to hold any meeting on the Indian reservation! Though the riffraff of the white people from the four corners of the earth may enter Indian lands and homestead them, thus permitting daily contact with the very scum of other races, while the educated, refined, and patriotic Indian, teaching the highest ideals of democracy is forbidden to meet with his own race, even for a day (Hertzberg, 1971:183)

If 'the white riffraff' from the four corners of the earth and the 'very scum of other races', as opposed to Anglo-American reformers, heard of such denunciations it would not be surprizing if they rejected them with the contempt they deserved.

In 1921 Parker lashed out at American Negroes and recent European immigrants in the U.S., describing them as foreign strains which would sink America in a sea of lesser races. In a talk given to the Albany Philosophical Society he said, as paraphrased by Hertzberg, 'The solid colonial stock of the country was 'Nordic-European', Parker argued. These 'hardy settlers' had the moral and physical stamina to establish the Republic. The 'national philosophy' of the commonwealth, as expressed by our Nordic-Aryan forefathers of the colonial days demanded the following: There followed seven items such as 'loyalty to our form of Government, both in spirit, principle and detail' and 'conformity to established institutions and customs' (Hertzberg, 1971:197-198). These were similar to points he had often proposed before but to these he added an eighth point. 'The preservation of the physical type - that of the Aryan white man. So important was the latter demand that when our national constitution was formed there was a lengthy debate as to whether the European white man alone should be eligible to citizenship. to the exclusion of the Asiatic, Negro and native red man' (Hertzberg, 1971:195, citing Parker's January 18, 1922 talk delivered to the Albany Philosophical Society entitled *America the Melting Pot of Nationalities*).

Parker, always anti-Negro, had come to delimit American citizenship to native Indians and to Nordic, mainly Anglo, Europeans. This he did by appeal to the shoddy new science of eugenics and appeal to a culture which allegedly ran 'in the blood'. The incursion of southern, central and eastern Europeans, Jews, Asiatics as well as the Negro were changing
America into a society of motley patches, soon to be submerged in a Spenglerian twilight of race mixture. 'Amalgamation is dangerous unless 'between like types... Each race has hereditary tendencies that are quite fixed and are repeated in the offspring. Students of Eugenics have much to say of the results of racial blendings, especially those of different blood stocks. In general such blendings are to be discouraged.'

He warned that if immigration were not halted terrible consequences would ensue

'If we fail to heed the plain, clear voice of experience as it points out the fatal results of indiscriminate blood blending and inharmonious race contacts, we shall only build a nation to be known for its glorious industrial achievements, and finally, for its blindness, its palsy, its leprosy and its death by fire upon a bed o scented silks. And in that day the yellow man and the Mediterranean and the son of Abraham will shake dice for the mulatto servants and the estate of the idealist who built his house upon the sands of mawkish sentiment. As a monument these three will erect an ornate melting pot of lead in which will be placed grinning images of bronze, iron and gold.' (Arthur Parker, Jan.1922 quoted in Hertzberg 1971: 196)

All this sounds very much like the ravings of the Ku Klux Klan, then rising to power in the U.S., although in Parkers vision American Indians were to have a privileged seat at the table of the nation's founders. None of these views were ever held against Parker during his later years when he emerged as an elder Iroquois ethnologist.

The Society of American Indians sputtered along for a few more years but by the early 1920s a fraternal lodge type of Pan-Indianism had superseded the efforts of the Society and was making its way among some Americans. One such organization was the 'Improved Order of the Redman'. It had been founded in the early 19th century and after 1833 was reorganized as a temperance society, thereby taking on the name of 'Improved'. It had a plethora of ranks and secret rituals but strangely enough was open only to a white membership. Adult white men dressed up with feathered bonnets and fringed deer hide jackets, had officers called Sachem and Sagamore, did whatever one does in a fraternal order, and had a companion order for their wives in the Daughters of Pocahontas. Although they allowed membership to neither Indians nor Blacks they did offer support to the Society of American Indians and backed many of that organization's initial proposals.

By 1918 another fraternal order, the 'Teepee Order of America', led by one Red Fox Francis St.James (a Montana rancher allegedly with a Blackfoot mother, whose name changed endlessly in the course of his career) had appeared on the scene. He initially launched the Teepee Order as
an alternative to the Boy Scouts but by the beginning of the 1920s was enrolling a largely adult membership. It enlisted members with Indian ancestry although it also included whites. The Order focused on those who could claim some Indian ancestry, however distant or spurious. What the actual membership of such organization actually was is impossible to say since they were all quite grandiloquent in their claims. At their height they typically had a dozen lodges scattered across America so a membership of a few hundred to a few thousand persons each would be a reasonable guess. These scattered lodges provided a thin layer of the 'respect for Indian ways' which has always been popular among certain individuals in America.

Red Fox St. James became a minister of a fundamentalist Christian sect but remained vehemently anti-Negro and anti-immigrant, as well as being opposed to radicals of all stripes. During the 1920s the Teepee Order put out its own journal called *The American Indian Teepee*. Hertzberg tells us that this magazine often dealt with problems of defining an Indian common ground by a process of exclusion.

Thus Indians were 100 percent American patriots, as opposed to the foreign-born and 'subversive' elements. In 1921 an article stated "America today is greatly interested in Americanization - Good suggestion! Why not round up all the undesirables, and with the aliens, coming from other shores, place them on reservations, having men like Indian agents over them until the become Americanized., and give to the native Americans, the same privileges all good Americans enjoy. for we are all American." (Hertzberg, 1971:222)

She notes that the rank and file of these fraternal 'Indian' lodges appear to have been from the lower middle class and that college educated Indians acted as if such organizations did not exist. However this anti-foreign and chauvinistic bias continued into the mid-twenties.

In 1924, the magazine [*i.e The American Indian Teepee*] called on the Ku Klux Klan "which believes in 100 percent Americanism and Justice, not to overlook the real 100 percent Americans - who are the Red Indians or American Indians -who are pleading for Justice and liberty in their own native land - America.' Indians, the magazine proclaimed, 'are justly entitled to full citizenship, more so than the WWW or Red Element and others from European stock, or southern Europe, who come to this country and are non-citizens and can hardly read or write English."(Hertzberg, 1971: 222)

It is impossible to say to what extent any American Indians read or were influenced by this sentiment, although some probably were. American citizenship was extended to American Indians through a Federal Act in 1924, regardless of whether individuals had applied for it or not. Happily,
the Teepee Order along with similar groupings had disappeared by the beginning of the 1930s when the depression and much more salient issues captured the concerns of native people, on and off reservations.

In 1944, when the National Congress of American Indians, the main Pan-Indian body of its time, was founded, it emerged with a strongly tribal basis, from tribes which had developed regional and national concerns. Although Arthur Parker was briefly enrolled as an elder statesman that Congress bore little similarity with the Society of American Indians, whose debates and internal fractions had been largely forgotten by then contemporary Indians. (Hertzberg, 1971:290-292)

On the Iroquois Basis of North American Society

Let us consider some extracts from a paper presented at Scarborough College in 1973 by an anthropology student who had recently rediscovered her Native heritage. Much of it parallels the views advanced by Arthur Parker in the early part of the 20th century and, indeed, it is mainly plagiarized from an article by Felix Cohen, Americanizing the White Man in American Scholar, 1952: Cohen was a specialist in American Indian law and a lawyer working under John Collier for the Bureau of Indian Affairs during the 1930s-1940s. The paper is remarkable in demonstrating the fact that the most spurious hokum can still snare otherwise intelligent readers, as this student actually was. Could it be that Arthur Parker's bunkum is still being read by native people in Canada? The answer apparently is, yes, it is! The emphases in the following quotations are mine.

'There has been a great deal of literature proclaiming the fact that the Europeans have assimilated or acculturated Indians into the Euro-American culture...... However I would question this brainwashing which has been literally forced upon us by biased Euro-Americans. I believe what has remained distinct about the indigenous culture of North America is evident in almost every facet of life today.'

'What is distinctive about Euro-American culture is that it is Indian, through and through... American cigarettes, chewing gum, rubber balls, popcorn and corn flakes, flapjacks and maple syrup still make European eyeballs crawl. North American disrespect for the authority of parents, presidents and would-be dictators still shocks our European critics.'........

The following passages come directly from Cohen's 1952 article
'It is out of the rich Indian democratic tradition that the distinctive political ideals peculiar to North American culture arose; universal suffrage for women as well as men, the pattern of a state within a state that we call
Federalism, the habit of treating chiefs as servants of the people instead of their masters, the insistence that the community must respect the diversity of men and the diversity of their dreams, the sharing of food and land with needy neighbours. All those facets of Euro-American society stem from cultural aspects of Indian life existing long before the first white man set foot on our lands."(Felix Cohen, 1952:178)

"One prime example of such a North American tribe are the Iroquois, who inhabited the larger part of the eastern Great Lakes region, including the Ontario peninsula. The Iroquoian territory consisted largely of well watered and fertile land, heavily forested with oak, maple and other deciduous trees. They converted much of their land into a rich farm belt and although their farming methods were simple, they raised enough food to last through the winter, thereby escaping the sometimes disastrous famines suffered by other tribes.'

'Since they did not have to move from place to place in search of food they could establish permanent homes and settle in villages. Seventy per cent of the Iroquoian food supply was derived from the soil and the rest consisted of fish and game, which was copious. Every Iroquoian community was surrounded by several hundred acres of cornfields and the larger villages raised as much as 150,000 bushels of corn in a single season.'

The author notes that Iroquois men were trained as warriors from childhood and that the possession of corn allowed their forces to remain in the field longer and in greater numbers than than their opponents. She also mentions the Iroquois 'genius for political organization' and notes that they were a confederation of five, later six, tribes. The League of the Iroquois 'had a governing council of fifty sachems (chiefs) who met several time a year to appoint and receive embassies, to decide on questions of war and peace and to discuss other matters of concern to the confederacy.

The Iroquois traced their descent matrilineally and the head of each family was the eldest woman in the group. If a family had the right to a representative, she, in consultation with the other women, elected the sachem. She could also depose him if he acted contrary to her wishes and did not mend his ways.'(Cohen, Felix 1952: 178).

The paper goes on to say that while it is evident that Iroquois society was not as complex as that of the invading Euro-Americans, nevertheless '....due to its simplicity and intense stability it was the stronger of the two and more enduring. The first Europeans were few in number and scattered, and found it advantageous to accept and even imitate, so far as possible, the ways of those among whom they resided.' Moreover ......'The culture of the Iroquois was sacred and lasting and would never be fully acculturated into the
complex civilization of the Euro-Americans. Using the Iroquois tribe as representative of the entire indigenous population, one can cite the following areas where Indian social and cultural patterns have persisted to this day, patterns which were completely alien to the immigrant from Europe.'

'It was from the Iroquois League that Europeans first learned the meaning of true democratic ideals. It was here in Canada that they learned the meaning of equality, freedom of speech, freedom of worship, equal representation and constitutional government. It was from those ancient [Iroquois] political philosophies that a system evolved where dictators were unknown and no man could infringe on another man's rights by telling him what to do. The theory of Indian democracy seemed to be based on the view that self-government is better than expert government. The Iroquois chiefs would again and again refuse to make decisions for their people until the problems had been thoroughly thrashed out in the councils of the people and approved by the majority, or more likely, by unanimous agreement. .....'We counsel together' was a renowned phrase of the Iroquois and every man was allowed freedom of expression. There was absolute harmony and the greatest decorum observed in the great councils.' (Felix Cohen. 1952: 179) .......

'Those Europeans accustomed to the histories of the conqueror, to hunger and fear, to submissiveness, to the authority of rulers and regulations, were equally intolerant and submissive in Canada. However, some immigrants became Canadians and fell under the spell of the democracy of the Iroquois. Freedom and tolerance were loved in the aboriginal way of life and they [i.e. the true Canadians] became neighbourly, as strong and self-reliant men may be, and for that same reason disrespectful of all authority -and as such - Canadians The contagion of the Indian's love of freedom, which defeated every attempt to reduce Indians to slavery, quickly spread to their white neighbours and created increasing dissent over England's control over our country.' The substitution of 'Canada' for the 'America' in Cohen's article makes for a disconcerting breach here even in the political mythology of these two nations.

'The Indians always called the white man 'brother' in all their dealings with him. He never called him 'master', or any other title which would indicate him as a superior or lesser being. Every man was trusted and deceit was never looked for in a fellow man. White immigrants first coming to Canada were given a place to live but never, in any circumstances, did the Indian give or sell outright to him land, which was supposed to be free to all human beings. The Iroquois thereby showed us all the ideals of social democracy - including the law of property.'
Moreover, the Indians left us countless products of their agricultural explorations. The Iroquois left us corn. Corn is a culture, as well as an economic agriculture, that was taken up by Euro-Americans. To accept Indian corn was to accept the whole culture......The rediscovery of an old Indian dish, toasted corn flakes, has revolutionized the breakfast habits of North America. Corn is a way of life - a way of freedom, a release from starvation and famine. The prolific hybrid corn which reproduces itself three hundred fold is a sturdy friend of freedom.'.

The above is basically all from the Felix Cohen's 1952 text, slightly modified and with the substitution of 'Canada' for 'America'. The paper ends with an evocation of the current 'health culture'- daily baths, tanning in the sun, and sweatbaths - all of which the Iroquois originally practiced, as opposed to the Europeans, who considered it a 'mortal sin to make the body beautiful by cleaning it.' The Iroquois' love of athletics allegedly also finds expression in outdoor sports in Canada, in the Boy Scout movement and in 'the adventure of the trail'. So ends this panegyric to the Iroquoian basis of North American society.

This is the sort of hokum which Arthur Parker peddled to appreciative audiences from the W.W. I period and on. It stems from an era when old stock Americans had developed an ideology of their transcendence over Europe, a view which both Parker and Felix Cohen were catering to. It views Europeans as forelock tugging serfs rather than peoples locked in battle with their rulers over centuries. It elevates the 'true Americans' to those who 'fell under the spell of 'Indian freedom', a rather select few until the last third of the 20th century it would seem. It is totally ahistoric, disregarding the hard fought battles to establish popularly elected governments and struggles to establish any sort of social equity in North America - struggles which were quite unrelated to any Indian tradition. Growing corn did not create freedom, either in North America nor anywhere else. Slavery and various forms of servitude were an inherent part of early European society in North America, whether they peddled corn or not, and were only eliminated through struggles which had nothing to do with an Indian past.

When socialists spoke of 'wage slavery', some eighty and more years ago, they were only somewhat exaggerating the situation which existed in North America. Any alleged 'freedom and disrespect for authority' are quite meaningless when proposed in general. The 'true Americans', who allegedly fell under the spell of Iroquoian 'democracy' are creations of fantasy. Furthermore, it should not be forgotten that the Iroquois carried out wars of extermination against many of their competitors until their military defeat in the late 18th century.
The Ghost Dance and the Sioux Outbreak of 1890

One might finally note the Wounded Knee massacre of 1890 had an immediate impact on American opinion, which was generally horrified by the event. James Mooney's account of this in the Smithsonian Institute Report of 1892 (The Ghost Dance and Sioux Outbreak of 1890) begins with a consideration of the forerunners of the 1890 Ghost dance among the Paiute and other western Indian groups during the 1870s. He then proceeds to its rebirth among the Sioux in a bitterly self-restrained manner. Mooney's work still had a tremendous impact on me when I read it in its original form some sixty years later.

Previous to the encounter between the Sioux and American troops, the very last armed conflict between Indians and the U.S. Army, a band of Sioux had left a recently established reservation in South Dakota in the belief that the Ghost Dance would protect their warriors, who would be invulnerable to bullets, and that all whites would be driven from the land. Moreover, the Sioux dead would rise up and join them. They roamed over a part of northern plains between November and late December 1890, often killing those whites they encountered, some two dozen people including freighters, cowboys and settlers. These Sioux were surrounded by American troops in a creek bed in the vicinity of Wounded Knee, South Dakota, and following variously disputed accounts, in an attempt to disarm them a gunfight broke out in which a half of the Sioux, including women and children, were killed. It was a massacre; more than 150 of the Sioux were killed along with others wounded. However, some 25 soldiers were also killed and more than 30 wounded. (Brown, Dee 1971:417-418)

A vocal part of the American public was outraged by the fate of these Sioux. However that same public was largely unmoved by the deaths of those whites who had been killed by these same Sioux when they were off their reservation. Public moralists were even less moved by the unending toll of fatal industrial accidents in America which killed more working people within a week, each and every week, of every month of every year, than all the dead at Wounded Knee. Such losses, born by the lower classes, especially if they were 'foreigners', were held to be the unfortunate but unpreventable consequences of industrial labor. The fate of mere workers were of little consequence to most 'friends of the Indian'.

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Ch.3 Victorian Sentiments in Canada

Pauline Johnson and her Background

Pauline Johnson (1861-1913) was born on the Six Nations reserve in southern Ontario of an Iroquois-English father and an English mother in 1861. During the first eighteen years of her life she grew up in the 'rural Victorian' society existing on that reserve, especially among the leading sector to which her father belonged. It was a society marked by membership in the Orange Order, by commercial farming, in the operation of a plethora of reserve-based administrative operations, and indeed of much of the social infrastructure what made rural Ontario what it was; a bit of Victorian England in the colonies. The family had servants and, for a time at least, Pauline had a governess.

By the 1880s a structure of native constables, forest wardens and other officers of Indian local governments existed on many of the reserves in southern Ontario. Some of these communities were then much like neighbouring white municipalities and some ethnohistorians consider these reserve populations to be 'rural Victorians' Pauline Johnson and her parents lived in a class-ordered, agricultural community which happened to be Indian. These were communities run through elected offices, with a plethora of bylaws and with the then typical panoply of the churches, galas and maxims of colonial British Canada. (Rogers and Tobobondungit, 1975:268-271)

The Six Nations reserve contained a strata of leaders who were both modestly successful and knowledgeable about Euro-Canadian society. However a considerable proportion of the reserve population continued to be poor, if their farm ventures are any indication. A census of the Six Nations reserve in 1844 indicated that many of the households were cultivating subsistence farmlets. A marked differentiation in farm size had developed on the reserve, with 146 families (of the total 440) cultivating under five acres but some 38 families having from 50 to more than 150 acres under crops. These were substantial farms then by regional standards. (Johnston, C.M., 1964:305-306)

According to the government agent who compiled the census of the Six Nations reserve,
"The large [Indian] farmers pursue exactly the same mode of agriculture as the whites, except that the sow less seed......They sow wheat and oats and grass down with timothy. They also grow peas in large quantities, with which, and Indian Corn, they fatten their hogs. The small farmers grow little else than Indian Corn and potatoes, in the cultivation of which they only use the hoe. On the large farms the field labour is performed by the men, with the exception of the cultivation of Indian Corn, which on large and small farms is always performed by women." (Johnston, C.M., 1964:308)

Unimproved reserve lands were apparently still 'common property', that is to say available for use by any reserve members. However, improved lands and pastures, along with farm buildings, were individually owned, inherited and even sold within the reserve.

During the last quarter of the nineteenth century the Six Nations reserve operated effectively as an Indian municipality. By 1890 the reserve government operated its own schools, which were staffed mainly by Indian teachers. It placed select students at the nearby Mohawk Institute, a mission-run Indian residential high school. The band council maintained its own road and bridge building crews and boasted at least two construction companies. There was a local board of health which had control over the reserve hospital. A system of wardens and constables implemented council decisions on forest and other reserve resources. (Christie, Laird, 1976:101-165)

Pauline Johnson's father was a part of the reserve administration system during the poet's childhood. The family's lifestyle seems to have been typical of the rural middle class during the Victorian era. This makes Johnson's later poetry more comprehensible and partly explains why she was accepted as a luminescent exemplar of Canadian literature of the time.

People from Six Nations were involved in many of the non-Indian institutions of the region: they were members of farmers institutes, belonged to fraternal organizations (such as the Orange Lodge), and participated in annual agricultural fairs. In addition, many Six Nations men were members of the Canadian militia; volunteers from that reserve comprised three companies of the Haldimand Rifles, a militia regiment based in the area. The culmination of this military enthusiasm came in World War 1. (Knight, 1996: 271-273)

One Six Nations notable during the last quarter of the nineteenth century was Peter Martin. He attended the University of Toronto and is said to have financed his education by managing a touring Wild West show, hiring some actors from the Six Nations reserve. Martin later became a medical doctor and a co-founder of the Independent Order of Foresters, a life insurance company.
However even during the height of commercial farming at Six Nations increasing numbers of men left their homes to work in lumber camps and at whatever wage work was available to them. By the turn of the century a regional Indian Agent noted that while farming was still the chief means of making a living, many younger men instead 'seek employment in factories in Brantford and other places'. While purely speculative, it would be ironic if some of them wound up in the Brantford factories manufacturing steam tractors, which then symbolized modernity in the western grain growing regions of Canada. (Knight, R., 1996:271-272)

On the death of Johnson's father (when she was 18) Pauline and her mother had to leave the Six Nations reserve because by Iroquois rules of descent, which were matrilineal, they were not Iroquois. She and her mother moved to a nearby town of Brantford where they lived until Pauline was in her mid thirties, still unmarried. By the early 1890s she was writing poetry about her much touted Native heritage, which began to achieve some prominence. It is difficult to know what this 'Iroquois heritage' consisted of since she had had little opportunity to acquire it while a child on the Six Nations reserve. She knew about as much about the song of the paddle and hunting the deer as any later girl guide did.

Johnson actually did not have a particularly long a run as a performer and poet; her reputation grew, in certain circles, only after her death in 1913. She was initially 'discovered' by a British producer in the late 1890s and she published her first book of poems and began her tours in 1898 when she was 37 years of age. By the time she published Legends of Vancouver, in 1911, she was already quite passe as an author and performer. Flint and Feather was issued just before her death while she was eking out an existence in a West End Vancouver rooming house. She had a major influence in Canada for about a decade.

Although there were attempts to revive her work, by the 1940s she seemed utterly Victorian, possibly 'quaint' at best. Today however there apparently is a rekindled enthusiasm for Johnson's poetry, as noted by professor Ralph Maude(1982).He says that Johnson's Legends of Vancouver. "...were originally printed in the Vancouver Province in 1911; they have been published in book form twelve times in four separate editions. Everyone can agree that Pauline Johnson is a marvelously emotive writer, and that Chief Joe Capilano's Flood story, for instance, should be as moving as Hill-Tout's . ...[but] In Pauline Johnson's supposedly verbatim rendition of Chief Joe, the milk of human kindness flows like the flood waters themselves." (Maude, 1982:156)
For instance, a snippet which is supposedly a retelling of Capilano's version of a Squamish flood story. Since the Squamish had been part of the Catholic mission system for some fifty years by then one may question its indigenous authenticity. However, as Johnson has it,

"Then with the bravest hearts that ever beat, noble hands lifted every child of the tribe into this vast canoe; not one single baby was overlooked. The canoe was stocked with food and fresh water, and lastly, the ancient men and women of the race selected as guardians to these children the bravest, most stalwart, handsomest young man of the tribe, and the mother of the youngest baby of the tribe - she was but a girl of sixteen, her child but two weeks old; but she, too, was brave and very beautiful." (Johnson, 1961: 72 orig, 1911).

The editor of the 1961 edition of Legends of Vancouver, says that Johnson was "....abusing her great poetic gifts by turning out topical and jingoistic doggerel that served its purpose well but is worthless now." (Maude 1982: 157) Fair enough. But it seems to me that it was tawdry cant even when it was first written as well as in retrospect. The only purpose it served was to restate a cloyingly romantic view of a native past as well as to glorify a form of Anglo-Canadian chauvinism. That probably was a reason for Johnson's original popularity and is probably a component in the appreciation it finds today.

Veronica Strong-Boag is a feminist historian and a former president of the Canadian Historical Association, currently teaching at the University of B.C.'s Educational Studies and Women's Studies program. She has written a paean of praise for Johnson in an article entitled 'A Red Girl's Reasoning. E. Pauline Johnson Constructs the New Nation' (in Painting the Maple. Essays on Race, Gender and the Construction of Canada 1998. Veronica Strong-Boag et al.). In this book race and gender are what make the world go round and 'mixed race' women, in their roles as crossers of racial-cultural boundaries, are especially important. Why that should be so I don't know.

Strong-Boag finds Pauline Johnson to be not a banal representative of the late Victorian petite bourgeoisie in a colonial Canada, but rather as a forerunner of contemporary 'First Nations and Feminist liberation' theology. However it still seems to me that Johnson was an archetype of an aspect of the Ontario petite bourgeoisie of her day; British imperialist and ethnic chauvinist. Her main difference from that viewpoint was that she wanted the Iroquois included within the spectrum of the legitimate inheritors of the earth.

As a child Johnson had a governess and studied English romantic poetry; after her father died she and her mother moved off reserve and from eighteen
until her mid thirties Pauline lived with her mother in Brantford, trying her hand at poetry and amateur theatricals. She achieved some local prominence as a Canadian poet in 1892 but it was mainly from between the late 1890s until circa 1907 that she toured as a performer. Johnson remained single all her life but Strong-Boag holds that she articulated a Feminist-First Nations sexuality in poems like 'Song My Paddle Sings'. Strong-Boag makes her out to be a "decolonizing champion of women's sexuality, which was courageous at the time." Wonderful. Any time Johnson's conservative sentiments become too blatant to cover over Strong-Boag holds that this was due to her having to play a double role, to placate the white gender racists in order to sustain herself as an artist and to get her broader message of native co-partnership in an Anglo-Canadian nation heard. That was the world she was part of and had to adapt to. If so she adapted to it all too well.

According to Strong-Boag the 1880s to the early 1900s were a period of intense Canadian 'nation building', in which Johnson was seen as a kind of 'liberal'. This must be the kind of 'liberalism' currently represented by people like Hedy Fry, the emigre doctor and right-wing Liberal M.P. from Vancouver who can sniff out or manufacture racism anywhere and everywhere. Veronica Strong-Boag's article is worth reading, not for what it says about Pauline Johnson but about the uses to which native appreciation can be put today.

Grey Owl's Story

Archie Belaney (1886-1938) was from a much declined lower middle class family of late Victorian England. Abandoned in infancy by his mother, who remarried after his father 'died', Belaney was raised by his two maiden aunts in the provincial town of Hastings. (Damningly portrayed as 'Muggsborough' in Robert Tressel's 1911 novel The Ragged Trousered Philanthropists.) Archie was not allowed to mix with neighbourhood children, who allegedly were his class 'inferiors', and was taught at home by his two domineering aunts. His reading of James Fenimore Cooper and other escapist tales of noble red men in the American wilds was a typical juvenile predilection at the time and does not in itself account for his later charlatanism. While he and his associates were not truly 'Victorians', historically speaking, they were definitely Victorian in their outlook.

What is unusual about the adult Grey Owl/Belaney is not his later maunderings about the North American Indians - there are scores if not hundreds of now totally forgotten writers of boys adventure stories whose views were much the same as Belaney's. What is remarkable is the success which Belaney had, even passing himself off as an Indian spokesman of
ancient native wisdom. This says more about the utter gullibility of his readership than it does about Belaney's powers to convince. Any moderately intelligent reader who had stopped to consider the characterizations with which he or she was being presented should have realized how juvenile and chauvinistic Grey Owl's accounts were. His writings brim with racial chauvinism toward non-Anglo-Saxons and utter contempt for all industrial workers and for most of those employed in the frontier resource industries.

Belaney arrived in Canada in 1906 and worked as a sales clerk in Toronto for about a year until he landed a job in the mining boom town of Cobalt, northern Ontario. Soon after he worked in various capacities for the H.B.C. store in Temagami until some time in 1908 when he began trying his hand at trapping. During the following five to six years he was sometimes trapping and other times roistering about the bush towns of the Temiskaming region, an area then being linked to the outside by the construction of the Canadian National rail line.

While Northern Ontario in 1910 was still a resource frontier it did not in any sense represent the pristine setting of indigenous hunting and trapping groups. One railway line, the C.P.R., had been completed a generation previously, another, the Canadian National, was in various stages of completion. The region as a whole had been prospected over and it already contained a patchwork of mining towns. Commercial lumbering was spreading into those areas accessible to rail transport. Indian groups in many locals had participated in these developments in various capacities as wage workers and minor contractors for a considerable time. Those who weren't effected by wage work were part of fur trade networks and trade posts which had operated for more than a century previously.

In the region around Temagami, the locale of Belaney's initial discovery of 'Indian ways', native people were, or had been, employed as lumber workers and had been participants in a resource frontier economy for one or two generations. At the very time when Belaney was first sampling wilderness life, Indian spokespersons were embroiled in issues revolving around their claims to lands and resources. For them the issue of the day was how to secure Indian rights to hunting and trapping from a Federal government determined to transfer control over northern Ontario to the Province of Ontario in 1912. These were by not simply the pristine nature people which Belaney, and others like him, portrayed.

Belaney became a trapper in that region, along with many other white, Metis and Indian trappers. His later scurrilous portrayals of other whites in the region is that they were crooked traders, disloyal and dirty foreign elements and variously degraded white workers. This is a view which may
have been consolidated by his return to Britain and his participation in W.W.I., since he earlier didn't have any hesitation in boozing it up and carousing with those same people.

Belaney had 'married into' the Temagami band not long after his arrival there - meaning he took up with a native woman, had a child with her and soon abandoned them both. His daughter, the seventeen year old Agnes Belaney by this first Temagami wife, was a young waitress in a local cafe when the filming of the epic *The Silent Enemy* began in 1929.

By 1916 Archie Belaney had decamped from and had set aside his appreciation of Indian ways. He had heeded the call to defend King and Empire, and was off in the trenches in France. This decision is usually cited by Grey Owl's enthusiasts, countering the view that if he was something of a charlatan he knew his duty and did it. His participation in the Great War does not seem to have malignly affected Belaney however, because after he returned to Canada and when he later became an 'Indian' conservationist writer, he included a broad swath of Anglo xenophobia in his arguments about 'protecting' the ways of the Indian. For instance his remarks that many of the white trappers who were intruding on native hunting grounds in northern Ontario were 'slackers' and shirkers who didn't join the army and who were 'foreigners' to boot. (See footnote 69 in Harold Innis *The Fur Trade in Canada*, 1970:378)

During that period certain kinds of Englishmen in Canada, fresh off the boat, were always ready to denounce non English Canadians, who may have lived and worked here most of their adult lives, as 'foreigners'.

Wounded during the war, Belaney returned to Canada in 1922 and after a checkered career of bush work, eeked out by his modest Veterans disability pension by guiding wealthy American and Canadian tourists in the summer resorts then established in northern Ontario in the 'Great Canadian North Woods'. He was already then developing an 'Indian guide' persona for the job. At one of these resorts, in 1925, he took up with a spunky young woman with a thoroughly Canadian background but with a similar taste for role playing, a woman who he came to call Anahareo. By rough count Belaney seems to have acquired five 'wives' over the course of his lifetime.

It was only in 1928/29 that Belaney seems to have gotten into his stride as a 'defender of the Indian' and as a beaver conservationist. 'Grey Owl' emerged in the character of the Indian sage in 1931, during his first book promotion tour in Montreal. His animal stories and Indian lore books began to find an audience between the early and the late 1930s, during which time Belaney made tours in Canada and England. His initial success can be understood as the escapism of those determined to bury their heads in the
sand during a decade-long depression, of burgeoning labor battles, and of the spread of fascism throughout Europe. Grey Owl's philosophizing had, and could have, no practical political consequences - other than obscurantism.

Grey Owl's star plummeted immediately after his death. in 1938, while back at his beaver preserve /park in northern Saskatchewan. He was immediately unmasked by those who had known his history as a sometimes trapper and wandering English charlatan. They soon spilled the beans on Belaney's doings and created a shock among his enthusiasts.

For a brief while Grey Owl's exposure titillated Canadian and English newspapers but this soon ended with the more pressing matters facing the world. During the following thirty-five years he was mainly an obscure footnote in the history of native charlatanism. But then in the 1970s, with the growing fashionableness of environmental conservation, native peoples, and non-industrial life styles, Grey Owl's books were reprinted and witnessed a return to favour among the boobs.

**Anahareo's Tale**

Anahareo's (Gertrude Moltke) account of her ramblings with Grey Owl (*The Devil in Deerskins* 1972) even out-does the fabulism of Belaney himself. For instance Anahareo's account of her own alleged native ancestry included being raised by a 108 year old grandmother who was 'in reality' the daughter of a Scotch woman who had been taken captive by and became the wife of the last War Chief of the Mohawks, before these Mohawks' were rubbed out by British troops sometime around 1814. That 'event' was allegedly expunged from official histories it seems but the editor of Anahareo tale, in an example of barefaced gall, includes it 'in deference to the customary accuracy of Iroquois oral tradition.'

Only Anahareo's grandmother, then a girl of two, was saved from this alleged massacre of the last fighting Mohawks. But she *remembered* enough of her 'Iroquois heritage' so that after leaving the French-Canadian convent where she grew up she reconstituted her Mohawk heritage on a series of farms she and her husband had worked in Quebec and Northern Ontario. She also adored King Louis the fifteenth and Queen Victoria as well as Generals Kitchener and Foch, Anahero tells us, in a bow to Canadian W.W.1 patriotism.

Anahareo's tale is even more fanciful than Grey Owl's and the fact that it could be peddled to the Canadian public in 1972 suggests that that the rubes are still out there. 'Anahareo' was a name which Belaney coined for her, taken from her account of her alleged grandfather's, the last fighting Mohawk's, name.
The facts seem to be that Gertrude grew up in the northern Ontario railway-resource town of Mattawa, part of a large and impoverished family. Her father was a jack-of-all-trades bush worker. Possibly they had some native ancestry, which a century of contact and intermarriage had made fairly general in that region. Gertrude/Anahareo and Belaney met at a summer resort near lake Temagami where Belaney was employed in guiding wealthy American tourists. They apparently hit it off immediately. Following her marriage to Belaney in 1926, by 'the customs of the country', they traipsed around trapping tracts and the bush towns of Northeastern Ontario in the later 1920s. Anahareo tells us that at one point she had alternative career plans. She recounts, in one of were more charming asides, her dreams of running a 'dance hall' (i.e a brothel) in the mining boom town of Rouyn, Quebec.

Where one can strip some of the exaggeration away, her account of her life from childhood to young womanhood is quite interesting. Rather like a latter day version of Grimmelhausen's seventeenth century *Adventures of the Arch Picara 'Courage'*. A straight forward account of her life would have been vastly more instructive, not only of herself but of that corner of the world at that time, than what we have. Unfortunately her sense of humor and absurdity is only occasionally allowed to peek around the lace curtain of respectability which she (or her publishers) seemed to require in a memoir revolving around Grey Owl.

After some years together Anahareo and her young daughter left Grey Owl and the Saskatchewan north, where Belaney had gotten up a beaver sanctuary, in 1936. She later married a Swedish 'nobleman', one Count Eric Moltke Huitfeldt, whom she met in England during her visit there in late 1939 to authenticate Belaney's alleged (and actual) mother. Grey Owl's English publisher, Lovatt Dickson, still didn't quite believe the hoax which had been pulled on him and his readers.

Anahareo/ Gertrude comfortably adapted to the unbeaverliness of life in France from the late 1930s until the late 1950s. Finally she returned to Canada and retired in Kamloops, B.C., safely distant from boreal forests, beaver ponds and trapping camps. By the time she got around to publishing her own memoirs in 1972 Grey Owl's writings were again being sold to a new generation of romantics. The most blatant charlatanism, far from being a draw back, only added spice to Grey Owl's account. Even among students at the University of Toronto.
Lovatt Dickson, Publisher

It may be of interest to consider a few things about the figure behind the dissemination of the Grey Owl myth in Great Britain and Canada. Lovatt Dickson (1901-198?) was the British publisher of Grey Owl's native-nature books during the 1930s. Dickson's account, *Wilderness Man* (1973), is intended as a tribute to the 'nature preservation ideology' inherent in Grey Owl's stories but provides a glimpse into the formative years of the publisher.

He was born into an English upper-middle class family and unlike the isolated, fantasy-prone, childhood of Archie Belaney, Dickson grew up in Edwardian England, going through the typical roster of private boys schools and the associations of his class in their Belle Epoch. One asks oneself 'what accounts for Dickson's particular diversion from the broad avenues of English managerial class life into his particular by-path?' While that is something which cannot be answered here, his account makes clear that despite his idiosyncratic interest in Canadian nativism Dickson remained a normal member of his class and times.

After leaving his public school early in 1917 Dickson came to Canada to try out his wings in a stint of 'roughing it' in the backwoods of the Empire. On arriving there Dickson briefly worked in Temiskaming, then still part of northern Ontario. While this had been Archie Belaney's stomping ground a decade earlier Dickson had apparently not heard of him at that time. Dickson then took him off to work in the war industries, the shipyards of Montreal. Such ventures into the nether world by younger members of the British upper middle classes were rarely with workers in their own country. We don't know why Lovatt Dickson did not volunteer for some branch of the British Forces during W.W.I, given the social pressures which applied at the time. It apparently was a matter of contention between him and his father in later years and his father considered him a 'slacker' for running off to Canada when his King and Country needed him in the trenches and to fill up the battlefield cemeteries in France.

Dickson left Temiskaming to take up work in the Montreal shipyards. He recounts his perpetual inability to make ends meet, even though steadily employed during 'boom times', and his startled recognition that industrial work is hard and unrewarding. What comes through his reminiscences most strongly however is his alienation from and disdain for virtually all the shipyard workers whom he was temporarily rubbing shoulders with. They were so uncouth, ignorant of the higher things in life - 'brute-like' one might say. This comes through in a C.B.C. radio interview with Lovatt Dickson.
during the mid 1970s, when he was touring Canada to sell his autobiography.

Dickson soon decided that he wanted to spend his life with his own kind and class. This revelation comes to him when the last ship to be built by the yard is launched by the fashionably dressed shipyard owner's daughter, who stands on a platform above the grimy crowd of men who built it - like an angel, Dickson tells us. Besides disliking those around him he was actually frightened of many of his co-workers. Possibly I am reading more into his account than what he actually says.

By 1919 or 1920 Dickson was visiting his father, who was then the manager of the notorious Black Diamond coal mine in the Turner Valley of western Alberta. His father had recently succeeded in breaking a miners strike there through the use of immigrant labour. Despite Lovatt's disdainful feelings about the mainly Anglo-Canadian shipyard workers in Montreal, the newly recruited Ukrainian and eastern European miners at the Black Diamond mine filled the younger Dickson with a revulsion about 'deracinating' Canada's English heritage.

At twenty, with no war record or university degree or respectable job resume under his belt, Lovatt Dickson felt himself to be a ne'er-do-well and failure. That also seems to be what his father felt. Possibly these feelings had some relevance to his later disposition for romanticism about Canadian Indians, noble survivors of the pre-industrial world.

Lovatt Dickson returned to Great Britain and later slid into the book publishing business there. A dozen years later he was in a position to lionize a new-found Canadian Indian philosopher and writer, Grey Owl. Grey Owl's books about Indian ways and the white man on the 'last frontier' began to appear, issued by the press associated with Dickson. All of them wallowed in the most cliched hokum imaginable. From the early 1930s until his death in 1938 Grey Owl made lecture tours, replete with a stoic countenance, as well as wampum belts and beaded deerskin costumes, which had long been standard for Indian showmen. It all sounds strikingly similar to the performances given by Pauline Johnson at the turn of the century to promote her poetic epics or the tours of yet earlier Indian lecturers during the previous half century.

Dickson acted as the impresario of Grey Owl's tours in England; it seems incredible that he actually could have believed that Belaney was the Scotch-Apache Indian sage he claimed to be. But apparently he did. Immediately following Belaney's death in April of 1938 some of his former fellow roisterers around northern Ontario bush towns spilled the beans on his scam. Dickson didn't believe it and arranged for Anahareo, Belaney's wife during
the period when he was turning out the Grey Owl books, to come to England to vet a woman who claimed to be (and was) Belaney's mother.

What is more salient is that in the depths of the Great Depression, during an economic and social collapse of unprecedented proportions, the juvenile escapism offered by Belaney could find an audience in Canada and Great Britain. In England, amid the non-smoking smokestacks, Indian romanticism attracted some individuals who, clearly, were not playing with a full deck. It would be interesting to know who took Belaney's spiel seriously. I think the answer might be appalling; it included eminent professors as well as the more usual boobs.

An 'appreciation of' Indian ways could be a hankering for a preindustrial world where peoples and classes kept to their assigned places. In America some enthusiasts of the American Indians also had a hankering for the status quo ante, with a leaven of anti-foreignism thrown in. This is clear enough in the work of Frank Speck.

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Ch.4 Private Property & Family Territories among the Algonkian

Frank Speck and Algonkian Family Territoriality

Frank Speck (1881-1950) began as a student of anthropology under Franz Boas at Columbia University during the first years of the 20th century. His initial field trip to Labrador was in 1908/1909 and his last in 1932. Speck also worked among the remnant Lenape and Pequot populations on the American Atlantic coast but most of his professional career was spent at the University of Pennsylvania and among the northern Algonkian. [Although in some of his work among descendants of American Algonian groups he claimed to ferret out the locations of family territories which had allegedly existed hundreds of years earlier] he was an established anthropologist of his time.

Speck was coursing through northern Ontario, including Temagami and other locales, during Archie Belaney's initial years in Canada. He was already then a committed Indianophile who had obtained a job with the Canadian Federal government to document native land claims in the regions north of the 'height of land' drainage, lands which were to be transferred from Federal to Ontario and Quebec provincial authority in 1912. The Federal government's position was that all residual Indian land claims were to be settled before then so that Indian title would be definitely 'extinguished' in the region. So it was rather disingenuous for Speck and his adherents to later claim that he had 'discovered' Algonkian territoriality. He was specifically contracted to delineate such claims.

What America was like then.

During the quarter century before 1930 America witnessed the full blown emergence of American Imperialism, which followed the 1898 war with Spain and America's acquisition of Cuba, Puerto Rico and the Philippines. It witnessed America's entry unto the world stage with its international interests and its growing quasi-colonial powers in Latin America. Throughout this era America sent its army, marines and gunboats into the nations of the western hemisphere with utter abandon, to make the world safe for American investments and democracy.

At home, America initially was witnessing the peak of mass immigration which saw literally millions of Europeans entering that nation to participate in what they hoped was a chance to earn a decent living in the swirling tides of industrial advance. Many were disillusioned but during the peak years of immigration roughly a million immigrants arrived in the US. each year. Three times as many immigrants arrived in America in a single year than the entire native Indian population of that nation. This phenomena was
paralleled by growing resistance among many native-born Anglo Americans and fueled increasingly nativistic sentiments among them.

The emigration of working people from throughout Europe, increasingly from eastern and southern Europe since the late 1880s, was changing the character of American society, at least at the bottom, and terms such as wops, squareheads, sheeneys, polacks, bohunks and other terms of derogation became widespread. Asian and other non whites who managed to enter the country were considered to be an especial threat to Americanism, especially if they strayed from their allotted corners of society. The large employers of immigrant labour were mainly above such sentiments and tended to be equally disdainful toward anyone who worked for a living.

It was an era of bracing free enterprise, when the toll from industrial accidents may have reached 20,000 in a year (plus those injured), an era when the employed might earn two dollars for a ten hour work day. Many less. A time when labour unions were treated as subversively unAmerican combinations instituted by foreign agitators. A time when virtually none of the social security provisions existing during the second half of the 20th century were available, to anyone. It was a time which current reactionaries view with much favour and with aspirations of returning to.

The year 1912 witnessed the election of president Woodrow Wilson, a university president, a psuedo Virginia aristocrat, an anti-Black racist and basically an American reactionary initially arrayed in liberal clothing. His promise to control some of the 'excesses' of the great corporations in America was totally ineffective and was paralleled by some of the bloodiest strikes and the worst labor repression in American history. It was the era of 'labor wars', in which an increasingly radicalized minority of native-born and immigrant workers began to actively resist the ways in which their lives and labor was disposed of. The emergence of the Industrial Workers of the World (1905-c1920) served as an catalyst to the labor revolt which was brewing throughout the land. It was met with unparalleled ferocity on the part of employers utilizing hired gunmen, sheriffs, reliable judges and servile legislators. Woodrow Wilson oversaw one of the most repressive periods in American history.

The Socialist Party of America, which had witnessed an upsurge in the decade before W.W. I and had taken more than ten per cent of the national vote in 1912, was largely crushed during the following decade. Similarly the destruction of radical elements in the labor movement, which were largely destroyed by organized violence and through the recurrent trials and imprisonment of their members during the war years and afterwards. By the mid 1920s only a much reduced proportion of American workers, mainly
among the skilled, remained organized within the cautious and mainly comprador American Federation of Labor.

The growth, and after 1917 the triumph, of anti-foreigner sentiments mushroomed during the prelude to America's entry into W.W.I. The period witnessed an explosion of American war patriotism which was systematically manufactured for America's participation in that conflict but which continued long after that war's end..

The Russian Revolution had occurred during the final war year and socialism in whatever form became portrayed as a diabolical agenda by American philosophes of the time. This view was accompanied by the disdain which Americans generally held for any ideas or policies which originated outside their own country. For many the civilized world extended as far west as the Pacific shore of America and as far east as, just possibly, Paris. For many Americans it extended little further than their home state.

Involvement in the Great War and the American crusade against the alien Hun was followed by the Red Scare, which merged with the triumph of Prohibition, that uniquely American crusade against the sins associated with booze. Bible belt reaction and the national prohibition of alcohol consumption were seen as major elements in the 'purification' of American life. The years following W.W.1 also witnessed the closure of America to immigration from between 1921 and the late 1940s. It represented a triumph for American nativism.

Immediately prior to the first world war America also experienced the reemergence of the Ku Klux Klan, which during the 1920s saw a tremendous upsurge in membership, reaching into the millions by the middle of that decade. They were sufficiently powerful that President Calvin Coolidge took the salute of a contingent of K.K.K. members marching past the White house in 1924. It should be noted that the Klan was not simply anti-Black but was also opposed to non Anglo-Saxons in general, especially anyone who was 'radical'. During the mid 1920s it controlled the legislatures of a wide range of states in the American union.

Frank Speck's nativism participated in a broader endeavor to extirpate Marxian views in general. In this case, the alleged Marxian views about the communal property arrangements which existed among simple hunting societies. Speck and his supporters probably felt that by disputing claims about communal resource utilization they were striking at a fundamental theses of Marxism. Although it was mainly a straw man they were contending with, this did not hinder their satisfaction at disposing of the claims of communally utilized resources among hunting societies. (Which us
fundamentally true.) They advanced the view that privately owned resources existed even in the simplest societies.

In various ways Speck's work, and that of many of his enthusiasts, was vocally political, especially when they charged dissenting scholars with 'ideologically inspired' misrepresentation. In addition Speck had maligned his former teacher, Franz Boaz, for his anti-war views during the Great War, calling him an enemy alien and unAmerican.

For twenty years, from the pre W.W.1 era until the 1930s, when more pressing problems submerged nativist concerns, Speck and his cohorts dominated the field when it came to questions of native Indian land use. In general he argued against the existence of 'communal property' among hunting peoples in North America. In enthusing about native life styles their proponents often advanced Americanism and opposed the claims of more recently arrived immigrants and whatever 'alien ideologies' had crept in to despoil the pristine American heritage.

**Speck's Family Territories**

According to Speck, the indigenous Algonkian system of territoriality was essentially a private property-like arrangement; it was property in land held by specific families. It is only slightly an exaggeration to say that Speck was the kind of anthropologist who, given interviews with a few people of Indian descent, could delineate which Indian families had owned which tracts of the New Jersey and the Connecticut countryside three hundred years previously. It was, as everyone agreed, 'quite amazing'.

Actually, concerns with how some native Americans may have operated in the past (or the present) were of little concern to most intellectuals. Hardly anyone in the broader community knew or cared about how the Algonkians and others arranged their territories. It was Speck's endeavors which made them relevant to the popular views of the period and which lifted the topic out of the obscure realms of anthropology and into the public spotlight.

The account which Speck's presented to American readers of the time was that in aboriginal America, at least among the Algonkian and similar populations, private ownership of lands and natural resources were inherent and passed from father to son. This had supposedly applied from time immemorial. It was an answer to those who claimed that shared communal resources were the original basis of human society. It 'demonstrated' that even among the simplest native Americans accounts of communal rights to resources were spurious. Like other anthropologists of his time he claimed to merely be an observer of actual behavior. That those who presented a 'common resource' view of land use among Indian hunters also drew their
accounts from first hand observations did not seem to effect his ability to dismiss them.

Actually it was largely irrelevant to a Marxian outlook whether Indian groups in northeastern North America held lands in common or not. Marxists were primarily concerned with the conditions which emerged under capitalism, and how such conditions could be transformed into a regime which is less oppressive and more responsive to human needs. However for Speck and his associates Algonkian territoriality 'demonstrated' that private control over basic resources existed even among simple hunters. This bespoke the universality of private property rights, largely as Americans then recognized them.

Involved in this endeavor was Speck's attempt to propagate a view that Indian people 'owned lands' aboriginally much as American farmers did. This view also may have been originally intended to support native claims for northern lands, rights which were then being extinguished by the Canadian Federal government in preparations of turning them over to Ontario and Quebec.

Although Speck variously elaborated particular points about family-owned hunting territories, a 1915 article in the *American Anthropologist* entitled *The Family Hunting Band as the Basis of Algonkian Social Organization* can reasonably represent his position in these matters. He begins by noting that the family group is fundamental to the organization of tribes in the northern and eastern woodlands. His article was to challenge the view that northern Indian hunters ranged far and wide in the pursuit of game and had little interest in claims to specific blocks of land.

It should be remarked that his work was carried out among Montagnais, Cree and Ojibwa groups under the aegis of the *Geological Survey of Canada* in order to document Indian land claims in preparation for the transfer of these regions to provincial ownership.

He notes an allegedly prevalent view which held that

"...the American Indian had little or no interest in the matter of claims and boundaries to the land which they inhabited. This notion has, in fact, been generally pre-supposed for all native tribes who have followed a hunting way of life, to accord with the common impression that a hunter has to range far, and whenever he may, to find game enough to support his family" (Frank Speck, 1915 in Cox 1973: 58)

This is quite false, he tells us

"...... let me define the family hunting group as a kinship group composed of folks united by blood or marriage, having the right to hunt, trap, and fish in a certain inherited district bounded by some rivers, lakes
and other natural landmarks. The territory claimed by each tribe was subdivided into tracts owned from time immemorial by the same families and handed down from generation to generation. The almost exact bounds of the territory were known and recognized, and trespass, which indeed, was a rare occurrence, was summarily punishable" (Speck,1915 in Cox, 1973:59)

Speck held that the boundaries of family territories were sufficiently definite to be traceable on maps and notes that they are demarcated by heights of land, lakes, rivers and streams and even by blaze marks on trees. Quite an undertaking for hunters with family territories of hundreds of square miles.

He also tells us that among the Timiskaming, trespass on another's territory can allegedly result in the trespasser being killed He quotes one chief Aleck Paul of the Lake Temagami Ojibwa on the matter of trespassers being liable to be shot if caught trespassing and trapping on some else's territory.(Speck, 1915, in Cox 1973:63) I find such claims to be totally implausible. That people requiring the aid, at one time, of neighbouring family groups, people intermarrying amongst themselves and constantly sharing food, killing 'trespassers' from that same group is inconceivable. As for tracts being held from 'time immemorial', I would suggest that constitutes one or two generations, often far less.

As for what we may call the 'function' of family ownership of hunting territories to be, it is alleged to be animal conservation.

'The game was kept account of quite closely, the proprietors knowing about how abundant each kind of animal was. Hence, they could regulate the killing so as not to deplete the stock. Beaver were made the object of the most careful 'farming', an account being kept of the number of occupants old and young to each 'cabin' In certain districts moose or caribou were protected during one year to give them a chance to increase after a period of hunting' (Speck 1915, in Cox, 1973:63)

Speck held that family owned territories were found where native groups hunted nonmigratory species, such as the beaver, and suggested that private control over hunting territories was a mechanism of animal conservation - which allegedly could only be pursued through private ownership of the territories hunted on. He did not initially hold that such family hunting territories were found among all northern hunters, viewing the dynamics of caribou and other herd hunting groups as different from those applicable where 'family territoriality' prevailed.

By the early 1920s some American anthropologists and popular philosophers were trumpeting these 'New Findings' about private property
rights over land among even among simple hunting societies. By then the topic had little to do with the disposition of former Indian lands in America but it made a good talking point against views about communal resource utilization among hunters. Later, Speck's views became useful in pressing the Canadian government to establish exclusive trapping territories for native hunter-trappers. For instance, Speck noted that the Montagnais hunters of Lac St. John "...instinctively, the hunter understands how to operate with a natural law [of conservation] which no game commission can improve upon, and to maintain the beaver for his subsistence" (Speck. 1915: in Cox, 1973 :61)

By the mid 1920s Speck's account of Algonkian family territoriality was being seconded by a number of anthropologists, such as John Cooper. Cooper even argued for the existence of family trapping and hunting territories among the Chippewayan caribou hunters of the Northwest Territories, where Speck doubted they would apply. In 1929 John Cooper and Rev.J.M.Penard claimed that the internal equity found among the Chippewayan flows from the fact that "...they have an innate sentiment for justice - so much so that theft was unknown before the white man came and by his example taught them thievery" (Cooper and Penard,.1929 in Cox 1973:79). Although one may wonder what such an 'innate sentiment of justice' derived from, such accounts are not merely the phraseology of the time.

Speck, like most other anthropologists of the time, was relatively uninterested in the historical changes which had taken place among the people he described. So the Algonkian's 300 year history of engagement in the fur trade was not of especial concern to him. The Neskapı, who seemed to be living close to pristine conditions were presumed to have changed little from their original state. However the Hudson's Bay Company, which was then still the major European presence in the north, had been operating in the region since 1688. As the primary buyer of furs it had been striving to establish a policy of stabilized fur production since at least 1869, if not earlier. The HBC had worked out a system of theoretically conserving beaver in a manner quite similar to that presented by Speck as aboriginally Algonkian. The H.B.C. had never been able to institute this policy anywhere due to the fluctuating numbers of the fur animals and the great flexibility of Indian resource utilization. None of these historical facts played much of a role in the anthropological views being put forward at the time.

The completion of the Canadian National Railway system in 1915, allowed for a growing non-Indian presence in trapping. White and non status Indian trappers were entering areas previously held to be effectively
unreachable by outsiders. These trappers, to the extent that they existed, normally relied on their own grubstaking and not upon H.B.C. fur advances. They also sold most of their furs to outside buyers, where they got better prices. This was at a time when all Indian trappers in the region traded their furs to either the H.B.C. or to Revillon Freres, a French fur buying company established in the first years of the 20th century. The competition by non-native trappers allegedly reduced the number of furs available to Indian trappers by the early 1920s, and therefore the income which the H.B.C. could depend upon. Around James Bay there was a marked reduction of furs taken, especially beaver. This region was fairly removed from the C.N.R. line though.

During the depths of this crisis in native trapping the HBC and other external agencies tried to induce the provincial governments of Ontario and Quebec to establish trapping tracts restricted to Indian users, in the interests of beaver conservation. These undertakings utilized the rationale of the family hunting-trapping territories outlined by Speck. Each Indian trapping family (i.e. the entire population) was supposed to hold one such territory from which it would be allowed to take a yearly cull, once beaver numbers had increased. Game animals, such as caribou or moose and all other food sources were permitted to be taken by anyone - although this usually meant such animals would normally be taken by a member of a tract holder's family.

Despite the alleged similarity with the indigenous system of Algonkian family territoriality members of the bands effected felt it was an unparalleled imposition on their methods of hunting and trapping. Most elderly Cree individuals, interviewed approximately 25 years later, felt that they had previously been able to hunt and trap where they liked and resented being circumscribed by these new restrictions. Indeed, one D.E. Denmark, director of the original H.B.C. beaver preserves, had this to say about the process long after it had been but into operation.

"In the operation of large conservation schemes, it is essential that everyone who has any influence over the natives should lend their support. We have been very fortunate in James Bay in having the full co-operation of the Federal and Provincial Governments, the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, the Indian Affairs Branch and the Anglican and Roman Catholic Churches. Their help has been invaluable. Further success in beaver conservation depends upon their continued support, on the efforts of the post managers and on the co-operation of the natives." D.E.Denmark, 'James Bay Beaver Conservation' The Beaver, Outfit 279, Sept. 1948 : 43)
This suggests the kinds of forces which had to be mobilized to impose what was, according to Speck, the indigenous pattern of resource utilization. In fact virtually every external agency which then had any role in native lives was utilized in order to implement the beaver conservation/family territorial scheme among the James Bay Cree.

That Speck could have proposed such a narrowly delineated territorial system among the Algonkian depended upon his overlooking some central features of the animal and human populations themselves. Although some 'family sized' tracts might, just possibly, provide sufficient animals to be hunted year after year over a generation or more, the animal populations of the great majority of 'family territories' were always fluctuating. This was due to large bush fires, to normal cyclical changes, to animal diseases, to overhunting and to assorted unpredictable factors. Moreover, over the course of a generation or two the human populations of specific hunting groups also fluctuated: some families grew, others declined in number to the point of having to merge with other groups. Some families simply died out, especially during the influenza and other epidemics which swept through these regions during the early 20th century. Family owned territories which greatly restricted the manner in which people adjusted to changing human and animal populations would have been extraordinarily maladaptive.

In point of fact very little in the way of family territoriality seems to have existed among the Cree until they were caught up in the government imposed beaver preserves during the 1930s. Most elderly people at Rupert House had trapped and hunted at different locales throughout the band territory, and among neighbouring bands during the course of a lifetime. It was a very fluid system of adjustment of people to the available resources. Even in 1960 one could chart the movement, readjustment, and the changing composition of hunting and trapping groups over the course of a single year. Those families who held and operated within a particular trapping and hunting territory over an extended time were in a minority. Moreover, they were unable to actually restrict anyone else hunting game on 'their' tracts. Over the course of time even such families must have faced difficulties and required the ability to shift their hunting and trapping to other locales, at least temporarily.

None of these questions ever raised any concerns for Speck or his followers. As late as 1973 Darcy McNickle and Harold Fey's *Indians and Other Americans. Two Ways of Life Meet* could hold that European settlers had blatantly dismissed the existence of family owned territories among the indigenous peoples of America. He tells us that this ownership meant that
......within the domain of any given tribe, subordinate rights were recognized in separate bands, in clans, and even in family groups. Among the hunting tribes, which commonly were thought of moving indiscriminately over trackless wastes, there were well defined hunting territories, each claimed and used by an identifiably group. After fur trapping became a principal source of livelihood among the northern tribes, a system of individual property rights developed. But here, as in all matters touching on land, the right was a right to use, not to transfer in the market place. (McNickle and Fey 1973:21)

The supporting footnote for these comments cites the work of Frank Speck, John Cooper and Irving Hallowell. In short, all land in North America was already owned indigenously and held by particular groups and families, although it could not be sold or otherwise alienated. These lands had been stolen from individual owning families, McNickle suggests.

**Family Hunting Territories Revisited**

It was only in the late 1940s and 1950s that some anthropologists came to consider the historic changes which the people under study had experienced. Only then did the broader ideological claims of Speck's accounts fell into abeyance as anthropologists came to recognize the largely tendencious nature of his views.

Eleanore Leacock's Ph.D dissertation, done in 1951 and published in 1954 as *The Montagnais' Hunting Territory' and the Fur Trade*, documented that the inclusiveness of trapping territories increased directly with the length of Indian involvement with the fur trade, being the most all-inclusive along the St Lawrence and considerably less so in the interior, where native commercial trapping was last to be established. She suggested that the family trapping territories were not aboriginal at all but were rather due to native involvement in the fur trade, such involvement having a dissolutive effect on the earlier patterns of mutual aid and group adjustments over the land. Intergroup aide and mutual adjustments were still quite strong in the interior regions, where the fur trade had been last to develop. She held that family territorially was not an indigenous trait at all and that before the fur trade there been a more or less communal sharing of the land and its resources.

In a much later article entitled 'The Hunting Tribes of Subarctic Canada June Helm and Eleanor Leacock say that, "Some, but by no means all. Algonkian groups recognize the exclusive use of trapping territories by family groups, ordinarily father and sons and/or sons-in-law. Some earlier investigators believed this so-called 'family
hunting territory system' to be aboriginal, but contemporary ethnologists agree that it stems from post-contact alteration of the exploitative pattern, due primarily to commitment to fur-trapping (Leacock 1954; Rogers, 1963; for a variant see Knight 1965). In fact, the 'territories' are properly speaking, not hunting grounds but areas surrounding trap-lines. All non-fur resources, meat, fish, berries, bark etc. are available to anyone. [In addition] The Mackenzie Athabascans recognize no individual or family claim to any tract or resource, including fur animal locales." (Leacock and Lurie 1971: 22)

Helm and Leacock hold that the weight of evidence indicates that among the northern Indians all resources had been available to anyone in need of them. That when there was no game in an area people who were hunting there felt no compunction about shifting to an area where there was game. Furthermore, there was no resentment on the part of those already hunting in the new locale and certainly no trespass regulations in force. This apparently was then still the case for all of the Athabascan groups of the Northwest Territories.

Leacock, in her The Montagnais-Naskapi Band, (in Cox, 1973) restates her position that the degree of exclusive territorial control among Algonkian hunting groups stems primarily from responses to competitive fur trade. In addition, she outlines some of the ecological and demographic factors which continue to require a flexible and pragmatic approach to resource utilization and trapping group composition. She holds that despite recent accounts of relative food affluence among some subtropical hunters, the primary ecological and social relationships of Northern Algonkian groups were characterized, as they have usually been thought to be, by adaptation of recurrent scarcity. This position put her at odds with a then fashionable view which held that it was ethnocentric to view indigenous hunting populations as mired in scarcity.

Leacock's view was partly seconded by Edward Rogers, one of the most knowledgeable anthropologists to work among subarctic societies. He documented the continuing importance of animal food taken during hunting and trapping which, along with subsistence fishing, made up a large proportion of family food intake over a year among the Mistassini during the late 1950s. He also discusses the necessity of adjusting personnel to an ever changing faunal base. The 'family hunting territory' by his account is a response to the fur trade in the region, although not one which disallows shifting people to resources as required. All resources other than fur animals still remained the 'common property' of band members. There certainly was never any question of 'applying the death penalty' to those who took animals
from the 'family territories' used by other groups, as was suggested by Speck in his early papers on the subject.

Edward Rogers' *The Hunting Group-Hunting Territory Complex among the Mistassini Indians* (1963) is a thoroughly documented account which pursues the evidence for this 'complex' in detail. He holds that while the nature of family hunting groups - their size, composition, the geographic shifts therein - were aboriginal, the so-called 'hunting territory' was a product of the fur trade. In the concluding passages of his study he says that:

> Those explanations that attribute both hunting groups and hunting territories to the fur trade are inadequate. Similarly, the arguments presented by Cooper, Speck, and Eisely are faulty. They considered that both phenomena were basically aboriginal and that the fur trade had no significant effect. These authors contend that small animals, especially beaver, were of major importance to the inhabitants at the time of contact, The fauna was non-migratory, non-gregarious, relatively scarce, of restricted home range, and was evenly distributed. Accordingly, game could not be hunted communally. Within the eastern subarctic solitary hunting coupled with conservation practices provided the most effective system of exploitation. Conservation, in turn, encouraged ownership of the territory exploited, hence hunting territories were aboriginal. Finally, according to these authors, historical evidence suggests that hunting territories had become important before the fur trade.

> Cooper, Speck and Eisely are correct in assuming that the hunting groups are a stable feature in the social organization of the peoples of the eastern subarctic. (Rogers, E. 1963 :87-88)

However this is not the case for 'family owned' hunting territories. Rogers notes the usual requirement of a hunting group having two, two-man teams per camp, usually along with other family members. He goes on to point out that while the size of the hunting groups are relatively constant that of their hunting 'territory' vary greatly and are dependant on the animal density of various regions. He holds that the evidence given by past observers of family territorially is highly questionable. Although animal utilization might encourage conservation, the evidence is that conservation was *not* practiced until the end of the 19th century, if at all. The hunting territories are a late development related to the fur trade.

He holds that the various theories claiming to explain the existence of and operation of family territories among the Algonkian are flawed. *Cooper, Speck and Eisley were right in noting the antiquity of the hunting group, but they did not fully appreciate the multiplicity of factors involved in limitation of hunting group size. Furthermore, that available evidence*
indicates that hunting territories are a recent development rather than an aboriginal feature as these authors believed. Steward, Leacock, Jenness, and Bailey rightly attributed the development of hunting territories to the fur trade but did not isolate all the factors involved; they wrongly attributed hunting groups to the influence of the fur trade." (Rogers, Edward. 1963:87-88)

However by the 1970s, as the intellectual balance shifted with the reopening of native claims, a later generation of anthropologists rediscovered the wisdom of Frank Speck. Anthropologist and nativist Adrian Tanner restudied the Mistassini in 1971 and 'discovered' that the mental constructs of these Cree, in regards to land utilization, were essentially those proposed by Speck. He discusses this in his 1973 article, The Significance of Hunting Territories Today.

Knight responded to these findings as follows: "What Tanner apparently wishes to dispute is my claim that fixed territories with exclusive use by particular family hunting groups could not have been maintained over any longer period of time because of drastic fluctuations in human demography and the faunal resources of specific tracts. Tanner suggests that I have 'perhaps purposefully utilized a distorted account of the hunting group' (Tanner, 1973:104) and that my alleged misunderstanding of Algonkian territoriality and group composition stems from a too-strict reading of Speck's descriptions, incorrectly assuming that the family hunting group has the characteristics of an extended biological family. (Knight, 1974:354)

Actually, I diagrammed the genealogical and demographic composition of all trapping groups in the Rupert House area in 1961, discussed the bilateral and flexible nature of their composition as well as their stability, and devoted a half chapter to detailing the activities, movements and changing composition of three such groups over a year. (Knight, 1968) The demographic history of the band as a whole and some component units of it are also dealt with. My critique (1965) did indeed read Speck's accounts of territorial use and group composition strictly, in order to indicate its unworkability, as described, on purely ecological grounds.

"The major thrust of Tanner's analysis is that the flexible recruitment mechanisms of hunting-trapping groups were such that they are able to obviate any demographic fluctuations and that a wide roster of processes existed whereby faunal fluctuations of given tracts could be adjusted to. Territories themselves were moved, boundaries and tracts redivided, and extensive 'hospitality' allowed families to join with other groups in novel tracts. Tanner's description of the specifiable processes of adjustment of
group composition and land use is both knowledgeable and valuable. But in fact it indicates processes quite antithetical to those proposed by Speck.

(Knight, 1974:355)

The bulk of Tanner's account of Mistassini 'ethnoecology' revolves about their cosmological conceptions of land, animals, spiritual forces and man's place in this scheme. From this Tanner surprisingly concludes that Speck's accounts of Cree territorial utilization and ownership, as well as group composition were, despite some discrepancies, essentially correct. Why? Because they supposedly approximate the underlying Cree folk models of how these processes would best be constituted. Ethnoecology has here verged on becoming theological ecology.

Tanner also noted that some one quarter to two thirds of the Nichicun-Mistassini families who continued trapping during the period of his field work did not trap on their 'ancestral lands', either because they were too far away from the trade post or because they were temporarily trapped out. (Tanner. 1973:104) One must wonder about the importance of mental constructs regarding land utilization when such a large proportion of the population are not trapping on 'their own lands' but in a host of other arrangements

**What Happened to the Beaver?**

In an article entitled *The Ethno-Ecology of the Waswanipi Cree* Harvey Feit claims that the Waswanipi ".....say that when they want a moose they get a moose, and when asked what happens if they don't get a moose on a given day, they say that they try again later and they will get a moose' (Feit, 1973: 118)

This kind of response may have been in line with Waswanipi optimism but was it actually born out by their catch? I very much doubt it. Feit's evaluation of Waswanipi hunting and the effectiveness of their conservation methods does not square easily with other accounts of northern hunting societies.

Feit says that he cannot understand the collapse of the beaver population around James Bay during the 1920s and 1930s. The conservationist ethic which the Cree allegedly held was supposed to keep animal numbers on an even keel. He suggests that this decimation of the beaver was a single, unique, occurrence. The answer he naturally suggests is the presence of white trappers, who entered these realms at the time and slaughtered off the beaver. There is little independent evidence of this but it is a view put forward in J.W. Anderson's *Fur Trader's Story* and was a typical response of H.B.C. traders of that period.
Strangely, there was almost no mention of white trappers in the reminiscences of older Rupert House hunters-trappers, many of whom had lived through that earlier period within their adult lifetimes. One would imagine that so dramatic an incursion would have been remembered. Could it be that 'white trappers stealing the Indian's beaver' are largely a deus ex machina, suitable for all occasions and without any independent evidence needed?

Moreover, how is that that white trappers, often said to be seasonal white workers or farm boys, could match skills with the Cree, who had been raised in a hunting and trapping society and who had such phenomenal capacities when it came to locating and taking animals? How could a few white trappers, coming into regions new to them, have taken out the fur animals so completely and so quickly in competition with Cree hunters? By the early 1920s both groups had the same traps and the same rifles, although white trappers may have had more traps per person than the Cree. They both had access to flour and other trade foods, although the white trappers may have been more dependent on those food sources than were the Cree. It is the case that white trappers, elsewhere, generally did produce more furs per season than did Indian trappers. How does this stack up with claims to the unique knowledge utilized by the Cree about animals and their habitats? What importance is one to assign to that complex of such knowledge when white trappers, new to a region, could so quickly out perform the Cree?

Whatever the unquestionable skills and knowledge of the Indian hunters/trappers these were skills which could be learned by others, even when none of the white trappers had grown up on traplines. Marvellous as the skills of Cree trappers were they could be and were acquired by others; not the entire culture which went along with Cree hunting and trapping but the techniques of taking sufficient fur to make it pay.

One difference was that white trappers usually trapped alone or with a single partner while the Cree took their entire families, from young children to aged grandparents, with them onto the hunting-trapping grounds in order to feed them. That might constitute an advantage for non-native trappers. Still it is very strange. White trappers seem to have been like shadows in the night, whose effects were noticeable even when they themselves generally weren't.

Was it that the Cree hunters were taking only a limited proportion of the animals in order to conserve them on a sustained yield basis? Not really at that time. The entire procedure of making counts of beaver lodges and taking only a portion of the expected increase was something which was introduced by external agencies during the 1930s and later. Before that the general
response of Rupert House people was that they took whatever they could get since there was no assurance that they would return to a given area during the following year and if they did that the husbanded beaver would still be there.

One factor may have been that from the beginning of 20th century until about 1930 there were two major trading companies competing for furs in the James Bay area, the H.B.C. and Revillion Brothers. Competition between them raised the price paid for furs and the credit advances offered to Indian trappers. The primary answer to 'what happened to the beaver?' may simply be that Indian trappers trapped them out. This is not as rare an occurrence as it is made to seem.

Whatever the alleged white trappers did or didn't do they usually did not trade their furs with the H.B.C. or with Revillion Freres but sent or took their furs to outside markets where they could get higher prices. Speck's account of the 'Algonkian family territoriality' system may have served as a support for the H.B.C's backing of native trappers and their opposition to white ones. It served as a rationale for closing off trapping for white trappers in preference to Indian ones, who were still securely tied to the H.B.C.

While Algonkian groups did sometimes attempt animal conservation, evidence suggests that when these populations were fully engaged in hunting and trapping, game and fur animal populations were frequently decimated. (Elton, 1942:364,379; Innis,1930:265,337; Mason,1967:2,30,31) Moreover there are accounts of temporal food scarcity and outright starvation among the Northern Algonkian well into the 20th century. A single example, from the Montagnais of the Moise river reported by Speck himself during 1912 notes that An exceedingly high mortality among children as well as among adults among these miserable, half-starved, half-frozen hunters causes the distribution of orphans and half orphans" and that ....the band had lost fourteen able-bodied men and twenty-four children through starvation, freezing and disease while in the interior on their hunting territories" (Speck, Frank. "Kinship Terms and the Family Band among the Northeastern Algonkian " 1918 :143-161)

Speck held that the conservative nature of native societies was a prominent moral lesson to be taken from their ways of life. In a 1914 essay appearing in the Quarterly Journal of the Society of American Indians, arguing against making opportunities for social integration available to American Indians, Speck held that this would lead to assimilation and that An Indian with no native individuality is to the public at large merely a dark-skinned man who passes casually in the busy work-a-day American world, most unfortunately, as either a mulatto, Japanese, Chinaman, Italian,
or Syrian. Moreover, the shame of it is that when thoroughly deculturated the Indians often lose their pride enough to mingle and marry with their social inferiors among certain classes of Negro's and whites.

Now, how can we, in truth and honesty with ourselves and our friends, the Indians, ask them to lower themselves to the level of our heterogeneous dark-skinned masses. (Speck, Frank.1914 quoted in Hazel Hertzberg (1971:122)

That is the sort of conclusion one expects from his kind of outlook.

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Edward S. Curtis. Photographing the Indians of the BC Coast

Consider the photographic expeditions of Edward Sheriff. Curtis (1868-1952) among the Coast Salish, Kwakiutl and Nootka of British Columbia during the early years of the twentieth century. Curtis' photographs have long been standard illustrations for books about native history, especially those of a romantic cast. Many who see these photographs feel that Curtis managed to capture the look of traditional North American Indian life during its final days. However, it may have struck some viewers as strange that Curtis, whose field trips to the BC coast were mainly in the period between 1908 and 1916, was able to find Indian people living in such traditional circumstances.

Among Curtis' most famous photos from the BC coast are those of the Kwakiutl - feasts, winter dances, potlatch guest-laden canoes and portraits of individuals engaged in variously traditional activities. However, Curtis did most of his work among the Kwakiutl shortly before World War I and by that time the Kwakiutl had a 40 to 50 year history as handloggers, commercial fishermen, wage workers and entrepreneurs in varied enterprises. In addition was a previous 50 year history in the coastal fur trade. The parents and grandparents of some of Curtis' Kwakiutl subjects may have travelled to work in the canneries, sawmills, and hopyards of Puget Sound and the Fraser Valley during the 1870s. In fact a sawmill and cannery operated at Alert Bay from the 1880s, run mainly by Kwakiutl crews. Some Kwakiutl men had worked as seamen on coastal vessels and as sealers on hunting grounds from the Bering Sea to the Kuriles A few even knew Japan from first hand experience.

Shortly after 1900 the Canadian Pacific Steamships and the Alaska Excursion Line began stopping at Alert Bay (sometimes at Fort Rupert) on their summer cruises to Alaska. Among the touring notables of that gilded age who visited Alert Bay were John Wannamaker, the New York department store tycoon, and George Eastman of Eastman-Kodak. These luminaries enthused about Kwakiutl art and carted away carvings, memorial poles, and whole houses for their private collections. West Coast 'primitive art' was 'in' among some wealthy American collectors during the first decade of the twentieth century. Curtis' photographic expeditions were partly funded by J.P. Morgan: He knew Theodore Roosevelt, Gifford Pinchon, and the Goulds personally and had been the official photographer on an Alaska excursion by E.H. Harriman, the New York Central railroad tycoon (Boesen and Graybill, 1976: 5,7,13,28)
Before Curtis carried out his expedition among the Kwakiutl there already were a few Kwakiutl seine boat captains. One local man owned a steam tug which he used to tow logs from his logging operation. In 1912 Kwakiutl fishermen around Alert Bay had briefly gone on strike (unsuccessfully) against a nearby cannery. It was into this milieu that Curtis came to capture the images of the last traditional Indian cultures.

Considering the use to which Curtis' undeniably evocative photos have been put, it would serve us well if someone could closely examine whatever field notes, letters and photographic scripts remain of his expeditions in BC. We do know that Curtis frequently carried traditional costumes with him (supplied by ethnographic museums), as well as appropriate artifacts and ornaments, because he could not rely upon finding them among the people whose life he was photographing. Apparently there were recurrent difficulties in getting his Indian subjects, especially men, to wear the appropriate wigs.

Even enthusiasts of Curtis acknowledge this. "It is a fact that while among the tribes of the Pacific Northwest he carried with him a bag of wigs and a good supply of primitive garments. He explains in his writings that the woven cedar bark capes that appear in some of his photographs from the region had not been worn in years. Curtis wanted to capture more of the past than was there, so he had the natives don his wigs, which were legitimate representations of the earlier hair styles. The practice of wearing abalone shells as nose rings had entirely disappeared. Yet in some of his pictures of their region, Curtis was able to persuade the natives to wear them for the occasion." (Coleman and McLuhan, 1972, xi)

Viewers may have puzzled over the rather Edwardian poses struck in so many of Curtis' portraits. One should remember that Curtis had previously been a successful portrait photographer catering to American high society, both in Seattle and during the Harriman Expedition to Alaska at the turn of the century. It is not speculation but fact that Curtis directed and posed most of his portraits of Indian people at work and at home. Such posing was required both by the cameras at his disposal and because Curtis was determined to portray what he intuited to be the spirit of the scene. As his enthusiasts have said, he was not 'merely' a documentary photographer but an artist. The question is, what do the photos document?

None of the above is meant to detract from the beauty of Curtis' work. It may even be useful in providing some notion of what traditional life during the fur trade period looked like. But with the imported costumes and artifacts, with the directed poses, scripts, and with the photo editing and retouching done by Curtis, we cannot tell from the photos alone what was
the reality of the time and what was the vision of the photographer. The ethnographic accounts that accompany the photos provide only the rarest indication that the Indian peoples being described had as yet been changed by European contact in any significant way - and this in the years immediately preceding World War I" (Knight, Rolf 1996:145-147)

It may be worthwhile to mention some current appreciation of Curtis' work. Bill Holm and George Quimby's *Edward S. Curtis in the Land of the War Canoe: A Pioneer Cinematographer in the Pacific Northwest* is an account of what went into making Curtis' 1916 movie *Land of the Head Hunters*, which intended to portray Kwakiutl life in the period immediately before contact in 1792. It was not an adaptation of a Kwakiutl narrative, as I once believed, but was scripted by Curtis himself. Although the plot is all too typical of movies of that period, his attempt to reconstruct ethnographic detail was sufficiently painstaking that the film didn't mesh with American audiences' images of Indian life. That was why the film failed commercially but also why, 60 years later, it could be used to provide some idea of what traditional west coast society looked like.

Cedar bast clothing had to be made to order since it had long since been replaced by cloth; masks and other ceremonial gear had to be bought, borrowed or manufactured. The Kwakiutl actors and extras had to be coached in traditional roles. However many local people seem to have taken to acting like ducks to water.

Holm and Quimby have unearthed some of the filming directions and the records of what goods and services were purchased by Curtis. Better yet, they discovered the stills of a talented Seattle photographer who shot pictures of Kwakiutl actors and sets while the movie was being made. There is a picture of 'ferocious warriors' in a canoe, clowning for the camera and expiring in exaggerated poses during a break in the filming. Elsewhere we see a dead whale, borrowed from the whaling base at Naden Harbour in the Queen Charlotte Islands, surreptitiously being towed for Kwakiutl whalers to harpoon. Possibly the most amazing photograph is that of the redoubtable George Hunt, a local native impresario and sometime contributor to ethnography whose youngest son had secured the lead role in the film. The senior Hunt is stationed in front of an array to newly minted 'warriors' issuing from the mock-up of a big house; he stands before the camera, megaphone in hand, delivering last minute instruction on what the Kwakiutl actors are supposed to do when the camera starts rolling.

It is clear that Kwakiutl men and women weren't afraid to try their hands at this new media. That vitality was an important aspect of the broader picture of Indian people along the BC coast 90 years ago.
Robert Flaherty and Nanook

The last decades of the nineteenth and the first two of the twentieth centuries seem to have been a seedbed for American nativism, which came to fruition before World War One and lasted until about 1930. It was the conditions for the dissemination of such views and not the character of the individual purveyors which is of importance. However let us here consider a few of the individuals who were involved in this enterprise.

Robert Flaherty (1884-1951) was born the son of a small mine owner in the Lake Superior region. According to his biographer, Arthur Calder-Marshall, Flaherty had been traumatized as a child of nine when the miners, who had been locked out of the mine his father co-owned, stormed the mine offices and began chopping up the porch. (Arthur Calder-Marshall, 1963:16-17) This scene was allegedly engraved on the young Flaherty's memory - the mob, the sansculottes of the industrial system. Nothing like that among the Eskimo, Samoans, Gaelic crofters, Indian elephant handlers or Bayou dwellers of Louisiana.

Flaherty's father worked on his own as a geologist and a mine operator but by the turn of the century was hired by the U.S Steel Corporation for their operations in the Port Arthur region of Ontario. (Calder-Marshall, 1963:20) This provided the young Flaherty with an introduction into the world of international mining companies.

He was initially employed by major American mining companies to do geological surveys on Vancouver Island and in Northern Ontario in the years immediately preceding W.W.1. That is how Flaherty first came to the Ungava region of northern Quebec, to survey ore deposits for an American mining company. He apparently was not a particularly enthusiastic geologist and was more interested in travel and 'ethnology', from an artistic perspective, than in evaluating ore bodies. His interest in the Eskimo was heightened because they seemingly lived such vital lives in such harsh and dangerous conditions. All of Flaherty's films are more or less romanticized appreciations of pre-modern peoples living hard but vital lives outside of the corrosive effects of industrial society. Nanook (1921) Moana (1925), Man of Aran (1934), Elephant Boy (1937) and The Louisiana Story (1948) all convey a romantic cast in their storylines.

Nanook of the North was one of the earliest cinematographic accounts of native life in Canada, a film which played in commercial movie houses off and on for more than a generation. It was filmed on the northeastern coast of Hudson's Bay in 1919 and released in 1922 but was still shown to undergraduate classes in anthropology as late as the 1960s as an
ethnographic record. I first saw it in a commercial movie theatre in Vancouver in the early 1950s, with an added sound track. It is a remarkable piece of cinematography.

The cost of producing *Nanook of the North* was partly footed by Revillon Freres, a French fur company based in New York which from 1904 had begun investing a good deal of capital in an attempt to crack the Hudson Bay Company's monopoly of the fur trade in Canada. Revillon Freres had established a string of posts throughout the James Bay region and wanted to have its name put before the public. They stipulated that their name would appear at the beginning of the film which would recognize the financial support given. Fair enough.

Port Harrison P.Q., where *Nanook of the North* was filmed, was a Revillon Freres trade post and Nanook was a sometime trapper but mainly a provision runner employed by that post; at the time of the filming Nanook was an employee of Revillon Freres. Although there were some relatively pristine Eskimo groups still operating elsewhere in the Canadian arctic - the Netsilik of the Boothia peninsula and the Caribou Eskimo inland of Baker Lake - Port Harrison in 1919, although among one of the more isolated regions one could find in North America, was already part of a fur trade network.

Flaherty wanted audiences to be moved by his film but in cinema, even more than in still photography, authenticity and drama are often difficult to combine. So the more dramatic scenes in *Nanook*, such as hunting a polar bear, had to be staged. It is difficult to say from the record just how authentic or traditional the filmed passages are. For instance, the snow house in which Nanook and his family are shown to live in the film was in fact a cutaway mockup, not an igloo at all. This was necessary for the cameras used in the filming but it explains why the actors were fully bundled up in fur clothes while 'inside' the igloo.

Edward Curtis' photographic expeditions among American Indians packed along crates of the ethnographically appropriate clothes, wigs and tools, supplied by American museums, because they had often ceased to exist among the people he was photographing. Similarly at Port Harrison, Flaherty found that the traditional fur clothes and parkas etc. to be worn by the actors in *Nanook* had to be manufactured elsewhere before the filming could begin because such fur clothing was no longer in use and could not even be found in that locale. It may be a small point but when multiplied such small details make the difference between dramatic 'reconstructions' and authentic documentation.
On its release in 1922 *Nanook of the North*, was an immediate success among New York audiences. Flaherty, deservedly, made a name for himself as a brilliant new film maker. Unfortunately he largely squandered that reputation over the next twenty years in a series of cloyingly romantic fables. Only *Man of Aran*, a tribute to the storm-tossed fisherfolk of the Gaelic Irish island of Aran, recaptured anything of the power of *Nanook*.

Compelling as many of the scenes of *Nanook* are, neither it nor any of Flaherty's films provide any sense of what the actual social situation was. The account is as if they were people still living in pristine conditions. In the case of Nanook, some two years after the completion of the film, he and his travelling companion starved to death while making a trading run into the interior of Ungava. Possibly this lends authenticity to the film. Nanook could not know of a later 'anthropological' nostrum about northern hunting and trapping societies, which holds that accounts of privation and starvation among them are the illusions of ethnocentric observers.

Hugh Brody, a later day romantic commenting on *Nanook of the North* in his *The Living Arctic. Hunters of the Canadian North* (1987), manages to both enthuse about and to denigrate it because allegedly "...the film plays upon and reinforces stereotypes of hunters. The images of Nanook of the North add to the accounts penned by explorers for the Northwest Passage; they paint a picture of simplicity and benighted impoverishment that northern peoples themselves, as well as the anthropologists who have lived amongst them, have to struggle with' (Brody, 1987:21) Starving to death is an utterly unacceptable comment on the Inuit condition, it seems.

Flaherty's *Nanook of the North*, and the films that followed - *Moana, Man of Aran, Elephant Boy* - ended with a Standard Oil promotion film, *The Louisiana Story*, in which a Cajun family and a Standard Oil drilling rig are shown to live side by side in the Louisiana bayous, progress leaving room for cultural survivals during the 1940s.

What we generally see in Flaherty's films is some sort of reconstruction, sometimes fairly accurate but at other times wildly mythological, of the societies he is dealing with. In general Flaherty gives us a thoroughly romantic picture of the society pictured, with little or no consideration of the real world or the forces in contention effecting them. That is the way he liked it and so he left unpleasant aspects out of the films he made.

Although Flaherty's film directing had largely ended with the *Louisiana Story*, he toured West Germany in the immediate post world war 11 era, accompanying showings of his earlier films. He never gave up the hope of directing further films however and in 1950 submitted a proposal to the
International Motion Picture Division of the US Department of State, outlining a proposal to do a documentary on Hawaii, about which he wrote

To show the successful amalgamation of races of the Far East (Japanese, Chinese, Filipinos, Koreans), with their different cultural backgrounds, in a progressive western democracy. The American territory of Hawaii, 'Crossroads of the Pacific', is the scene. Such a film would be an implicit refutation of the Communist line that Asiatic peoples are 'ruthlessly exploited by American imperialists' (Calder-Marshall, 1963: 239).

The Department of State's film division was not set up to foster documentary film directors and his proposal came to naught. Flaherty was then a rather worn out man of sixty seven. During the last months of his life he took a job with Lowell Thomas and Mike Todd to direct an hour long newsreel film of General McArthur's 'triumphal return from Korea and arrival in Chicago' but before filming began Flaherty developed an illness which culminated in his death by cerebral thrombosis in July of 1951. General McArthur's hopes for a presidential nomination by the Republican party also petered out over the course of that summer. Sic transit gloria

As an aside, one may note a short novel by Mordecai Richler entitled Atuk of the North (1965). In it the Nanook stereotype plus a plethora of official Canadian enthusiasms about the Innuit of the Canadian arctic became the target of an exasperated farce. In Atuk we find a modern day Nanook rescued from an ice flow and brought to the Canadian south. Lionized by a gullible press Atuk quickly becomes a calculating 'innocent', a rapacious operator who dragoons his kith and kin who he brings south and installs in a basement sweat shop, turning out authentic Eskimo carvings en masse, a hallmark of Canadian artsy nationalism at the time. All the while Atuk repeats then fashionable maxims for the all-too-willing-to-be-deceived Canadian intellects. It is a mad cap satire which rings as true today as when it was first written, although it is questionable whether any press today would now have the nerve to publish it.

Black Elk and John Neilhardt

John Neilhardt was born in Illinois in 1881 and died in Missouri in 1973 at age 92. Shortly before his death he was still officiating at pseudo-Indian dedication rites at a documentation center created in his name. There is a photo in Black Elk and Flaming Rainbow (Neilhardt, H. 1995) of an aged Neilhardt giving a 'native' blessing at that center which is sheer Hollywood kich.
Black Elk Speaks. Being the life story of a Holy Man of the Oglala Sioux, as told through John Neilhardt (1932) is an autobiography of a former Sioux vision questor and deals mainly with his native spiritual philosophy. Black Elk (1863-1950) was an Oglala Sioux who had little opportunity to be a Sioux warrior. He was thirteen years old when the battle of Little Big Horn occurred. By the time he was interviewed, in 1930/31, the period of Sioux warfare was more than 50 years behind him.

Neilhardt's account only covers the period of Black Elk's life up to 1890, at which time he was about twenty seven years of age and one of the criticisms of the book is that it fosters the belief that the Sioux had no significant history after the Ghost Dance. Black Elk's account is a species of a 'last voice of a dying culture' This was a ploy which many native Indian spokespersons and showmen, such as Chauncy Yellow Robe, themselves used. However Black Elk Speaks has long been a 'classic account' of vision questing and has been used by varied readers to flesh out a picture of native Plains spirituality. The book had a brief return to prominence during the mid 1970s when it was taken up as a guide by bevies of back to the land enthusiasts.

Neilhardt's first published a book called The Lonesome Trail (1907), a collection of stories about the early pioneers of the west and the Omaha Indians, while A Bundle of Myrrh was a slim volume of love poems. From 1910 to 1938 Neilhardt was a literary critic for various newspapers and later worked for the Bureau of Indian Affairs from 1948 to 1965. In addition to teaching English at the University of Missouri, Neilhardt spent almost 30 years on his major work A Cycle of the West. It contains five book-length narrative poems covering the period from the opening of the Missouri Territory until the end of Indian resistance in 1890. The work is old-fashioned, but it is an authentic, vital picture of the frontier and the people who battled for its control ...... The novel When the Tree Flowered, 1951, the fictional autobiography of Eagle Voice, a Sioux Indian, one of Neilhardt's last works, is a sympathetic study of American Indian life. (Encyclopedia Britannica, 1993, Vol.8: 586/587)

The Cycle of the West begins with The Mountain Men, followed by two volumes of poetry about white pioneers in the west, then Song of the the Indian Wars and finally The Song of the Messiah, about the ghost dance of 1890. Neilhardt was working on the latter when he encountered, interviewed and wrote Black Elk's autobiography. At the time Neilhardt was a professional writer enmeshed in western Indian lore and he later felt obliged to justify the authenticity of the Black Elk account since it read so much like his own The Song of the Messiah.
Neilhardt had lived mainly in Nebraska until 1920, when he and his family moved to a small town in the Missouri Ozarks. He came from a strata of the regional middle class while his wife was the daughter of a major German-American industrialist, who was on the board of directors of two western American railways during the 1890s. Her father died while she was still young and the remaining family moved to New York. They were financially well off, allowing Neilhardt's later wife to attend sculpting lessons in France given by August Rodin. What brought her back to the midwest to marry Neilhardt in c.1908, whom she knew only through one of his early books, is impossible to say. (Neilhardt, Hilda 1995:4-10) Neither Neilhardt's daughter nor any of the commentators allude to the effects which the anti-German hysteria which swept through America during 1915-1919 had on him and his family. It is possible that it played some role in his escape into Indian romanticism.

According to his daughter Neilhardt took on the name of 'Flaming Rainbow' sometime after his meeting with Black Elk. Her Black Elk and Flaming Rainbow (1995) is a reminiscence of her father and the doings of Black Elk both during their interviews and over the following decades. She participated in the original interviews with Black Elk and took stenographic notes of the record made, Hilda Neilhardt later returned to Nebraska and became an attorney at law.

As for Black Elk, his young manhood occurred during the initial period of reserve life on the Northern Plains. He was not simply or only a survivor of an earlier era, untouched by European ways. He had worked with Wild West shows in America and Europe during the 1880s and had toured with the Buffalo Bill Cody's show, which invariably included Indian performers who provided a suitably exotic component for the audiences. After touring in America Black Elk participated in Cody's tour of England in 1886-87. While there he and an Indian companion left the show in Manchester and joined up with another Wild West show called 'Mexican Bill's'. They later toured France and Germany with that outfit. Black Elk fell ill in Paris, where he was taken in by a middle class French family, and allegedly had a vision of the subsequent massacre at Wounded Knee. Shortly afterwards he prevailed on his employer to pay for his fare back home.

Between the early 1880s and the early 1900s William Cody's 'Buffalo Bill's Wild West Show' comprised of up to 600 members often including many Indians, drawn mainly from the Great Plains groups and including peoples who had until recently offered armed resistance to the U.S.. There often were close to 100 Sioux along as well as some Pawnee and a few Cheyenne. For one or two seasons these performers included the Sioux
medicine man Sitting Bull. Other touring Wild West shows which included Indian performers were 'Pawnee Bill's Wild West' and 'Mexican Joe's', which not only toured American towns but also performed in England and continental Europe during the last two decades of the 19th century. This was a period when the romantic image of North American Indians was becoming well formed among readers.

According to Hazel Hertzberg, "Many educated Indians resented the wild west show image. They believed that ignorant Indians were being exploited for commercial gain, and they thought that white Americans were being given a false picture of the modern Indian, especially of the middle-class professionally trained Indian. To the Christian reformers, the wild west shows were anathema, a perpetuation of everything they were trying to eliminate. They greatly preferred the Indian exhibitions showing modern Indian accomplishments" (Hertzberg, 1971:25)

Black Elk's autobiographical account ends shortly after the collapse of the Ghost Dance. in 1891. One may wonder about his refurbished traditional cosmology and its translation into stereotypes about native Indians which already then were being conveyed to audiences in America and Europe. Nevertheless, his is one of the more coherent accounts we have of traditional spiritual practices among the Sioux. Valuable as it is we will not here outline his spiritual practices.

By the time he was interviewed by John Neilhardt, Black Elk had lost whatever capacity in the English language he may once have had and had to be interviewed through an interpreter, Black Elk's own mature son. This son also had a summer job performing for tourists as the 'Last of the Sioux Indian medicine men' in a road side tent in North Dakota during the early 1930s. (See Hilda Neilhardt, 1995)

Michael Steltenkamp is an anthropologist from a midwestern university who had little knowledge of the later aspects of Black Elk's life until he started investigations for his book Black Elk. Holy man of the Oglala (1993) Although Steltenkamp provides very little on the history of the Sioux since 1890 it is a surprisingly balanced account. He notes the broad swath of native romanticism which has grown up around Black Elk's book. (See Steltenkamp,1993:177-179 and.190-191).He also provides a humorous aside about the gullibility of a Hollywood star engaged in doing a documentary about Black Elk, relating how David Carradine, a vegetarian and California Buddhist, went bathing in the nude beside Black Elk's former home, to the shock and disapproval of Black Elk's aged daughter and family. They were all vociferous Christians.
As it turns out, Black Elk had become a committed Catholic in 1904 and for the rest of his long life (46 of his 87 years) he was an active catechist and travelling preacher for the Catholic mission in his home region. Shortly after Neilhardt's book came out Black Elk wrote to the local Catholic mission, through his son, saying that he had been tricked by Neilhardt and that he considered everything said in the book as a part of his pagan past. (Steltenkamp 1993:85 ) He held that since his conversion he had become a believer in the true God and the teachings of the Catholic church. This was also the thrust of Black Elk's daughter, Lucie Looks Twice, complaint about Neilhardt's account of her father's views.

Steltenkamp provides a photo of and briefly discusses the Catholic mission's 'Two Roads Map', an illustrated road map of the paths to heaven and hell, which Black Elk used as a teaching aide when instructing Indian children in 1935, some four years after his account of his earlier vision quests had been published. (Steltenkamp, 1993:100-101) Steltenkamp also notes that at the time of publication *Black Elk Speaks* did not elicit much interest. Broader public interest only emerged and came to fruition in the later 1960s and 1970s as part of the 'back to native spirituality' boom.

Steltenkamp exasperatedly dismisses some of the more florid 'reanalysis' of Black Elk's cosmology, such as Julian Rice's *Black Elk's Story. Distinguishing the Lakota Purpose* (1991). Rice, a professor of English at a Florida state college, infers the 'true meaning' of Lakota cosmology with the aid of literary and psycho-cultural analysis. It is the sort of thing you might expect from a commentator relying upon Shakespeare and psychoanalysis to decipher the 'meaning' of Black Elk's commentary.

A humorous minor element in Rice's book is his use of a cover photo which shows Elk standing on a high rock in the Black Hills (the center of his spiritual world) taken during Neilhardt's interviews in 1931. Black Elk is posed with his arms partly raised in a popular stance of native holy men, but had dressed himself in long red underwear, for the sake of propriety. He would have been nude in his original experience. On the underwear he had painted the designs he had drawn on his naked body during his original vision quest. (Hilda Neilhardt,1995:76) By the time of his interviews with Neilhardt Black Elk had long been a practicing Catholic, whose mentors tended to take a dim view of rituals resurrected from the naked past.

There were of course major difference between the America of the beginning of the 20th century and the world which emerged during the 1930s. The Great Depression had seemingly written finis to nativism and allied concerns of the previous twenty odd years. So the appeal of Neilhardt's tales of the 'Old West' and of Black Elk's account of Sioux
spiritualism were then largely superceded by the clash of then contemporary struggles. Black Elk's account seemingly was utterly dated and largely without relevance. It was not until the 1970s and beginning of the current world wide economic crisis that Black Elk reemerged to garner a following among contemporary spiritualists and back to the land enthusiasts.

**Buffalochild Long Lance, Native Imposter**

This account is taken exclusively from Donald Smith's fascinating work *Long Lance. The True Story of an Imposter* (1982). The story of 'Buffalochild Long Lance' says little or nothing about the actual lives of Indians in America and Canada of the time but a good deal about the fathomless gullibility of North American audiences on this topic. The taccual story, in outline, is this: 'Long Lance' was born into a lower middle class Black/Mulatto family in South Carolina in the mid 1890s. After spending a summer working for a Wild West show with Indian performers he returned home to face the strictures of Black life in the American south of that era, a rather oppressive prospect. However, as a young teenager, he managed to finagle his way into Carlisle Indian school as an Eastern Cherokee, using various spurious claims which he managed to maintain despite the hostile inquisitions of some of his fellow students. They were suspicious of possible Negro claimants to their ancestral prerogatives. I am uncertain if he graduated from the Carlisle school by the time it closed in 1916 but by then he had gone to Canada to enlist in the ranks of the Canadian army as a Canadian native. In a photograph taken of him at this time, dressed in his army uniform, he strikes a pose which definitely makes him appear to be native Indian.

He served in France and was wounded there. After the war, with a commendatory war record, he worked on various newspapers in the Canadian west, sometimes peddling the most outrageous hype about Canadian natives, about which he knew absolutely nothing. He never stayed long enough in any locale to ever be pinned down about his ancestry or his native accounts.

His 'personal story' evolved and was constantly changing, either because he couldn't keep track of the claims he had previously made or because someone who knew something about the topic asked embarrassing questions. Throughout his entire career Long Lance never seems to have learned anything about any group of natives or settle on telling one story. What gradually emerged was the tale that he was Buffalochild Long Lance, the son of a Blackfoot family which had moved to the U.S where he had been orphaned and sent to Carlisle Indian school for education. All of his
relatives had been lost in various tragic ways or through drink since then. This was intermixed with his supposed first hand accounts of Indian resistance to white settlers, of scheming Indian agents, and of an alleged inner knowledge which only Indians had. He apparently didn't convince any Canadian Indians with his line, whom he had little contact with in any case.

By the mid 1920s he was back in America again, living for a while in the residences of the Adventurers Club, a clubby hangout of 'adventurers' in New York, where he was apparently well supplied with doting girl friends. He passed himself off as a Native American to members of the old money crowd, some of whom gobbled down his spiel which he tailored to fit his listeners arch conservative political predilections. In 1929 he landed the starring role in a silent film epic entitled *The Silent Enemy* (ie starvation) which was to be shot on location in northern Ontario with a cast of some real Indians.

The role of 'aged chief' was acted by one Chauncy Yellow Robe, a Sioux who had spent almost all of his youth and adult life as a student and then a warden at Carlisle school. He must have known or guessed something of Long Lance background but he too had diligently created a self appointed role as 'spokesman of my people' so he couldn't say too much. The villain of the movie, a shaman who intends to cook the hero's goose, was played by a French-Canadian Metis named Paul Benoit, who hailed from just west of Ottawa. The winsome Indian maiden, standard issue in such epics, was one "Molly Nelson or Molly Spotted Elk, a beautiful Penobscot girl from Old Town, Maine. She was easier to find than the others - she danced every night in New York at Texas Guinan's Night club, a well known speakeasy." (Donald Smith, 1982:168) The one more or less authentic Ojibwa actor the directors discovered was George McDougall, a thirteen-year old from a trapping family, who seemingly took acting all in stride. A number of local Ojibwa were hired as extras, a job they were happy to get since the regional lumber and trapping economy had gone bust.

Reality is sometimes more outrageous than fiction: While filming, Long Lance met Agnes Belaney, the seventeen year old daughter of Grey Owl (Archie Belaney) by his first Temagami wife. She was working in a restaurant at Temagami where Long Lance and the rest of the film crew ate and she had the poor sense to tell Long Lance that he 'must be a different kind of Indian.' At this Lance exploded and intimated that she and almost everyone else there were all 'halfbreeds', a damning charge in his lexicon.

The movie was made and released, but as a silent film when movie houses were demanding talkies. It now circulates in some film libraries as a 'classic'. Of what I am not sure. Lance returned to the U.S. and wrote *Long
Lance, a spurious account of his youth and young manhood as a native Indian, which apparently piles it on even higher and deeper. It had a modest success.

By this time he had relocated to southern California and had struck up a dalliance with a white, Indianophile, a multimillionaire heiress. She had had her California desert mansion built in colonial Spanish style and decorated with a hodge podge of American Indian motifs long before she had met Long Lance. He apparently catered to her reactionary views. She was pathologically fearful of Communists, labor unions, of Blacks in particular and of working class immigrants in general. Finally, when Long Lance was revealed to be a Mulatto and not an Indian his patroness tossed him out. Long Lance shot himself shortly thereafter in 1932.

A note may be in order about Chauncey Yellow Robe (c.1868-1935) who was working alongside Long Lance on the set of The Silent Enemy. He was an actual Sioux who had spent most of his childhood and almost all of his adult life at the Carlisle school, first as a student and then as a warden. After W.W.I Yellow Robe emerged as a self-proclaimed spokesman for Indian heritage, which he promoted in all conceivable, mainly romantic, forms. Because of his long years in school he was largely removed from that heritage himself. But for almost twenty years he gave talks, attended ceremonials, propitiated Great (and some not so great) Spirits in what had become the standard 'Indian fashion' of the times. Yellow Robe's death elicited prominent obituaries in the American theatrical press.(Irving Hallowell, 1967)

The Silent Enemy has recently been reissued on video format and is introduced by Chauncey Yellow Robe, who provides the then typical hyperbole on the 'Vanishing Red Indian' theme. In a loose paraphrase, he 'thanks his white brothers for allowing him to show what true Indian life was like before the coming of the whiteman'. He says that 'the Indian ways of life were now coming to an end and that soon Indians, as they were, will be no more.' This voiced introduction was added before the film was released in 1930. That view was soon to be challenged by John Collier while he headed the Bureau of Indian Affairs in the United States.

Charles Curtis. American Vice President.

Charles Curtis (1860-1936, no relation to Edward S. Curtis) was born in Kansas Territory in 1860 and died in Washington D.C in 1936. Between 1929 and 1933 he was Vice President of the U.S. under Herbert Hoover. Curtis' mother was one quarter Indian - i.e one of her grandparents was Kaw-so Curtis had one great grandparent who was a native. He allegedly spent
part of one summer during his early youth with the Kansa (Kaw) tribe. This was later elaborated by Curtis' into accounts of his personal intimacy with native life.

Admitted to the Kansas bar in 1881, he practiced in Topeka, Kansas, then an important railway town. He served as the attorney general of Shawnee county during 1884-1888 and became the archetypical lawyer for railway interests of that period. Elected to the U.S. House of Representatives during 1893-1907 as a Republican railway congressman, he then entered the U.S. Senate from Kansas during 1907-1913 and again during 1915-1929. He served as the Republican Senate whip from 1915 to 1924. Needless to say, Senator Curtis' distant Indian ancestry played no part in his wheeling and dealing in the Senate and in his role of defending the interests of some of the midwestern railroads.

Curtis opposed Herbert Hoover's nomination for the presidential ticket but came over to him through backroom deals and was placed in the Vice Presidential slot in 1928. With the defeat of the Republicans in 1932 he returned to practice law in Washington until his death four years later. It would be hard to find anyone with a career more removed from Indian culture than this. However he was connected with developments among the Indians of Oklahoma. (Encyclopaedia Britannica, 15th Ed. 1993 Vol 3: 804)

As a representative from Kansas, he was the author, or at least the sponsor, of the 'Curtis Act' (1898), which imposed the Dawes Allotment Act upon the 'Five Civilized Nations' - the Cherokee, Chickasaw, Choctaw, Creek and Seminole - which had continued to operate as quasi-autonomous entities within the Indian Nations/Oklahoma Territory until then. Their remaining powers were disestablished through this act.

As Vice President of the U.S. under Herbert Hoover (1929-1933), Curtis spent his final years in office, during the depths of the Great Depression, regaling visitors with his collection of American Indian memorabilia. Also in pontificating about the simpler, more harmonious, more self-reliant, and more respectful-to-elders societies which the First Americans had had. (He himself had been respectful toward the interests of the railway companies and their allies for forty years by then). He was also given to repeating the maxim of how It was time that white Americans learned the lessons of the American Indian rather than to listen to foreign agitators and domestic disaffections. During the 1930s this line didn't sell - not even in Kansas and Oklahoma.
Oliver LaFarge.

One of the few professional Indianophiles who is the subject of a biography is Oliver LaFarge (1901-1963). Indian Man. A life of Oliver LaFarge (1971) was written by Darcy McNickle, an American Indian who had been one of the senior bureaucrats of the U.S. Bureau of Indian Affairs (Director of American Indian Development, 1952-1966). An able administrator and politician, a writer on Indian advocate history, McNickle was long concerned with mobilizing support among influential white Americans for various Indian projects.

Oliver LaFarge came from an established upper class family but by the time of his birth the family fortunes had declined somewhat. Although their decline seemed drastic to Oliver's parents they had not however descended to middle class status. They lived an existence which allowed for numerous servants, town and country houses, grand tours of the continent, art collections and membership in the better clubs in the New York area. They were part of the established penumbra of the American ruling class.

The LaFarge family had come to America in 1806 and were 'planters'(i.e. slave holders) in the American south for a while before they shifted into the import and export trade as well as real estate speculation in New York state. Like James F. Cooper they too had a settlement named after them, LaFargeville, N.Y. The family was related by marriage to Commodore Perry, of Japan-opening fame, and to assorted U.S. senators while a son-in-law was the U.S. Secretary of State during Grover Cleveland's reign. Oliver's father, Grant LaFarge, was a partner in and the consulting architect for the firm overseeing the construction of the St. John the Divine Cathedral in upper Manhattan, the temple of higher American Anglicanism and wealth at the beginning of the 20th century.

Oliver LaFarge was born in the upper east side of Manhattan in 1901. His schooling was first by private tutors and then in the select St. Bernard and Groton private schools. President Theodore Roosevelt was a family friend at the time. As a boy Oliver LaFarge had played at being Uncas and Hawkeye on the thousand acre 'abandoned farm' his father had bought on Narragansett Bay, Rhode Island, as a summer retreat and as a speculative venture. This may not seem like the most cogent background from which to appreciate the actual lives of American Indians (or most whites for that matter), but it suggests the class background from which Indian romanticism sprang.

During World War 1 Oliver LaFarge was caught up in the xenophobic patriotism drummed up in America and served as a teen-aged drill instructor for a platoon of Girl Guides. However ludicrous this may seem it was part of
the phenomenon known as 'home guardism', which was aimed more at 'alien foreigners' and 'unAmerican agitators' than any trans-Atlantic conflict.

After graduating from Harvard in 1921 Oliver LaFarge and his brother took a grand tour of Europe: a year when part of Europe was still aflame and when both fascism and working class revolt was in evidence in some of the countries through which they traveled. None of that seemed to touch them, or if it did it was merely further confirmation of the unique exceptionalism of the American Way. In any case the LaFarge brothers didn't stray from their cathedral tours or their attendance at upper class soirees. On his return to America Oliver began studying archaeology and during the next three years he was sporadically engaged in digging up Hopi artifacts. His father was then also dabbling in American Indianism and in 1922 he was commissioned by Elsie Clews Parsons, an heiress to a stockbrokers fortune, then studying anthropology at Columbia University, to do the illustrations for a book entitled American Indian Life.

Oliver LaFarge himself became committed to the Indian spirit during a quasi-religious experience he had while on a pack horse trip through Navaho country in 1924, his biographer tells us. Most of his compatriots were keeping cool with Coolidge that year: The imposition of prohibition, the massive rise of the Ku Klux Klan, and the halt of foreign immigration promised success in achieving the status quo ante in America. LaFarge went through the remainder of the 1920s in a series of appointments at Tulane University and in museums, spending part of the year digging up the remains of lost Indian civilizations in Yucatan and in discovering Quiche-speaking tribes which allegedly had retained their essential Mayan culture despite four hundred years of colonization and a previous eight centuries during which the Mayan states had dissolved. LaFarge's search for the essential aboriginal culture hidden within contemporary Indian peasant societies in Mexico and Guatemala were in line with what other American anthropologists, such as Robert Redfield, were doing during those years.

His initial claim to fame was his novel Laughing Boy (1929). It rapidly became an American best seller and won him the Pulitzer prize in 1930. Despite later carping and the inevitable charges of 'racism' made against the novel during the 1960s, Laughing Boy is a sympathetic account of an Navaho youth from the backcountry who comes to a trading post, marries and drifts into the ways of an more cosmopolitan Navaho woman. She had previously lived with a white man and knew the ways of the world. For some readers of the time that was akin to mortal sin.

Soon we see Laughing Boy succumb to the perils of drink, the seduction of trade goods and whatever attractions of 'white culture' were to be found
around a backwoods trade post in 1920s Arizona. The upshot is that Laughing Boy becomes 'a drunken bum,' as insensitive observers would have put it. It is not coincidental that America was then still in the grip of the Prohibition era when the book was written. Laughing Boy becomes irresponsible in his duties to his kin, to his sheep and to the imperatives of traditional Navaho culture. When he finally dies he is more to be pitied than censored. The moral of all of this, which probably rang true to many readers at the time, is that people of indigenous cultures cannot bridge the gap to individualistic American society and that those who leave 'their own' ways behind soon fall prey to personal dissolution if not literal death.

Don't 'we' have a duty to protect Indigenous peoples from the wiles of white society, don't 'we' have an obligation to create structures which allow them to retain their materially poor but culturally rich lives? Does that sound ridiculous? It's not so different from the maxims spun by public moralists then as well as today.

The Navaho reservation was something of an anomaly among Indian lands in America at the time. It was by far the largest reservation in existence - as large as a few of the smallest states in the union - and also relatively isolated from EuroAmerican settlements. However, the Navaho had had contact with the Spanish missions and Spanish colonial settlements for over three centuries by the 1920s. They had been part of the swirl of inter-Indian and European contact for at least as long. Navaho had been trading with Santa Fe and smaller Spanish outposts since the early 1600s. Laughing Boy's innocence may have seemed surprising to some Navaho because there was already a history of Navaho laborers and miners working in places like the Telluride mines (Colorado) or on railway construction or in a swathe of other non traditional jobs for a generation of more before 1929.

Laughing Boy appeared just before the beginning of the Great Depression, which soon swept concerns like those contained in that book to the sidelines. But it is of interest to note LaFarge's reaction to the New Deal administration which was to follow. McNickle tells us that, "In the circles LaFarge frequented at that time, the approaching election (1932) and the prospects of Roosevelt's victory brought spasms of fear and recrimination. Oliver did not indulge himself in the emotional outbursts which flared after some of Roosevelt's campaign speeches, but he did reflect the sympathies of his environment.......Thus he wrote in July 1932, 'We are all sick over the Roosevelt nomination, and at a loss what to do'" (McNickle, 86/87)

LaFarge lost most of his substantial earnings from Laughing Boy in various speculative stocks but he 'married well', meaning that his wife had a
lot of money. "Her ancestry was not as distinguished as the LaFarge line, but it included prominent business and social leaders, among them the Secretary of State in President Taft's cabinet" (McNickle: 62/63) During a time of Hoovervilles, of desperation and of semi-starvation among broad sections of white America, the LaFarges continued to live the life of the American upper crust, only somewhat inconvenienced by the depression. At the time the LaFarges were personal friends of the Cabot Lodges and the Henry Stimson, wealthy and influential Republicans of the time. A generation later, in a reflection, Oliver LaFarge would write, 'The strength of this class lay, and lies, in its control of money..... the great men of our kind were financiers, and they, realists to the core, knew that their power was stabler and more enduring than ever-shifting political power. In the long run money could out last and wear down any popular movement, with a concession here and there' (Cited in McNickle, 1971:87)

Remember, this is a tribute by a senior Indian Administrator to a leading white ally which native leaders should cultivate.

During the mid 1930s LaFarge opposed the introduction of New Deal programs for American Indians. He had lobbied to block the appointment of John Collier as Commissioner of the Bureau of Indian Affairs in 1933 and opposed passage of the Indian Reorganization Act in 1934. LaFarge repeatedly demanded that there be no meddling, in any way, with the Indian way of life on the reserves. Presumably this would also mean not meddling with the poverty existing on reserves. LaFarge however did come to work under Collier in 1936, in a field study of the Hopi of New Mexico Collier had asked Oliver LaFarge, president of the National Association on Indian Affairs, to help establish a tribal government for the Hopi which would coordinate the activities of a number of separate villages.

"LaFarge arrived in Arizona during the summer of 1936 and spent three months with the Hopi......[ultimately] A blend of native tradition and white legal concepts, the Hopi constitution created a tribal council whose delegates were chosen according to population [size]....The council had the power to negotiate with the Federal, state, and local governments, employ attorneys, regulate the disposition of tribal property, and convene as a court to settle disputes between villages. But the villages maintained a certain degree of autonomy because they could appoint guardians for orphan children, adjust family disputes, regulate the inheritance of property, and assign farming land " (Philip, Kenneth.1977: 166/167)

However the Hopi council government soon broke down into competing factions, each claiming the right to make decisions on all important matters. Many Hopi simply boycotted the council meetings and its decisions.
Actually, the internal conflicts among the Hopi were much more wide ranging than this, as we will note in a later chapter dealing with John Collier.

The Indian Reorganization Act was intended to be a kind of Indian New Deal. Dismemberment of reserve lands into private allotments was halted, even when individual native people wanted the process to continue. There were attempts to involve Federal agencies, other than the Bureau of Indian Affairs, in the provision of schooling, health care, agricultural support, employment and so forth on Indian reserves. Collier sometimes acted in support of native nationalism and under his administration the Bureau of Indian Affairs tended to devolve into maintaining viable Indian enclaves. The powers of band councils were strengthened over the next dozen years.

It is hard to see what LaFarge objected to in all this, other than that it was being implemented by a New Deal Democrat. It simply may have been that LaFarge felt his lot, rather than than Collier's, were the natural patrons of the Indian.

Many Indian reserves and Indian leaders were wary of any changes whatsoever. A considerable proportion of Indian people did not want to be placed under any resurrected tribal government controls and lined up influential allies against Collier. Others voted to accept certain aspects of the Indian Reorganization Act on their reserves, but not others.

During the midst of the depression LaFarge wrote another novel entitled *Sparks Fly Upward*, which deals with a Mestizo who joins the Mexican revolution, then historically recent. The tale evokes the safe ethnic nationalism which sections of the Mexican bourgeoisie had already donned. For Darcy McNickle it is a 'prophetic forecast'. He says that *Throughout the Americas, certainly for at least the past hundred years, the Indians of the two continents have been insisting that they are entitled to an Indian future* (McNickle, D. 1971:99.) One might have asked McNickle if Mexican society today, or the Indian enclaves in it, are the future foreseen for native people in America's tomorrow? A host of mini-maquiladoras with their own nonexistent labour and health codes and poverty wage scales, delivering to global corporations.

By 1939 LaFarge was divorced and had returned to the American Southwest. By then his parent's had become so impoverished that they had to close their summer house and had to reduce their New York staff to a single cook and a domestic. LaFarge was on the verge of going into business but instead he remarried into a family of Mexican-American land owners. He wrote enthusiastically from the hacienda of his new in-laws that the time was ripe for farming there; there were a lot of desperate tenant farmers around New Mexico. In early 1941 he wrote home saying *Remember that*
irrigated land here is ridiculously fertile and easy to farm, and labor almost indecently cheap. Share arrangements [i.e share cropping] are common and easily made. (McNickle, 1971:132)

Clearly, sparks were not about to fly upwards in New Mexico.

This is the denouement which lies behind so much Indian romanticism; a public concern for a handful of native peoples whose ways are to be protected and preserved from 'modernization'. But also a total disdain towards the vast majority of the working people who do not merit their concern.

On America's entry into W.W.2 LaFarge's tried to obtain a posting on the Latin American desk of the State Department, but without success. He wound up as the official historian of the U.S.Air Transport Command, with the rank of Lieutenant Colonel. His official history of the U.S.A.T.C. was called The Eagle in the Egg and McNickle lauds it in the style typical of the American cold war era.

LaFarge's last published work, A Pictorial History of the American Indian (1956), is like a museum catalogue of artifacts, customs, and illustrations of American Indian life at about the time of their initial contact with EuroAmericans, a century or two earlier. Accompanying it is a monochromatic account of the alleged dishonesty and avarice of Whites towards Indians and the natural nobility and tenacious spirituality on the part of native peoples. Other than despoliation and land grabbing there are no other aspects mentioned in the relationship between whites and Indians. Thirty-five years later similar accounts are the standard text of public school histories about native peoples in Canada.

American Indians are not mentioned as having had any part in the broader economy or society until about the Second World War. The most salient thing which LaFarge notes about Indian involvement in contemporary American life is their role as soldiers in America's wars around the world. Not for them the ways of the slacker or the draft dodger he says. "So there they are, nearly half a million of them [in the mid 1950s]. They have a tough struggle, and it is no wonder that many get discouraged, yet they refuse to give up. One of the amazing things about them is their loyalty to the United States. No Communist has ever been able to get to first base with them. Their record in World War I, World War II, and the Korean War is magnificent, not only in the armed forces, but in the way that, out of their poverty, they scrimped and scraped to give to the Red Cross, buy war bonds, help in every way that they could." (Oliver LaFarge. 1956 : 264)

That is the kind of uncomplaining, soldiering minority which a ruling class always has a use for.
As one might expect from a brother-in-arms, McNickle's biography is circumspect about LaFarge's broader politics. He does not elaborate on which social policies and whose interests were being advanced under the cover of Indianism. Nevertheless, *Indian Man* provides an intriguing peek into the background of a prominent Indianophile. It would be valuable to have additional biographies of similar figures during the 20th century.

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Ch.6 Notes from the Indian Nations of Oklahoma

Angie Debo. Popular Historian.

The following items about the Indian Nations of Oklahoma are drawn mainly from Angie Debo's (c.1902-late 1980s) *The W.P.A. Guide to 1930s Oklahoma* (1986). She also wrote *The Rise and Fall of the Choctaw Republic* (1934), *And Still the Waters Run* (1940), an account of the dispossession of the Indian lands in Oklahoma, and *The Road to Disappearance* (1941), a history of the Creek Nation.

Debo provides a general overview of early history of 'Indian Territory'/Oklahoma since the 1830s. Those peoples removed from their original homelands in the Southeastern U.S. gradually began to prosper in their new locales. They build houses and barns, opened farms and acquired increasing numbers of cattle, they built churches and schoolhouses in their scattered settlements and entered into diplomatic relations with their neighbours and with those Indians still living off reserves. They were, in theory, protected from incursions by white settlers by the Indian Intercourse Act and originally by their location beyond the margins of the white frontier. "After several conflicting boundary claims had been adjusted [during the 1840s], the immigrant Indians held patented titles to all of the present State of Oklahoma except the Panhandle. Their settlements were confined to the eastern half, but they made periodic hunting expeditions to the buffalo plains. To distinguish them from the wild natives of the region they were usually designated as the Five Civilized Tribes: and as the States of Missouri, Arkansas, Texas and Kansas were formed on their borders, their land become known as the Indian Territory. But they steadfastly refused to unite under a territorial government; each tribe was organized into a 'Nation', which maintained a separate existence as a protectorate of the United States and their treaties guaranteed that their tenure should be perpetual. Each of these little republics governed its citizens under its own laws; tried offenders and decided civil suits and probate matters in its own courts; and built capitols in the wilderness, where Indian legislators conducted smoothly running parliamentary assemblies and able chiefs prepared state papers and dealt with intricate problems of administration." (Debo, 1986 24)

However, inter and intra tribal conflict continued. For instance, in 1845 the Seminole from Florida were resettled in Indian Territory on Creek Nation lands. They had brought their black slaves with them. In addition were some 286 black slaves who had been captured by the Creek during their participation in the Seminole war, who were returned to the Seminole
by Federal officials. Seminole slaves enjoyed a substantially greater freedom than others did among the other Five Nations; they lived on their own farms and in their own villages and paid a proportion of their crops to their owners. In comparison the Creek slaves were held under slave laws which were patterned after those applicable in the American south.

The Creeks soon passed laws forbidding Negroes to hold any lands in their territory and attempted to recapture the Seminole slaves they had recently held. In June of 1849 a band of armed Creeks, with some Cherokee and white men, seized and carried off a number of blacks from the vicinity of Wewoka. The Seminole mobilized and, in arms, determined to defend their Negro settlements from any further seizures. The U.S. military was called in to stop a possible war between these two Indian nations. After a hastily convened Federal court conveyed a few of the black slaves to the Creeks, the conflict petered out. However this led, in 1856, to the creation of a separate Seminole territory. A degree of hostility and distrust continued between the Seminole and the Creeks (Debo, 1986: 305)

The evolution of the Indian Nations was interrupted by the American Civil War. Debo tells us that, *The natural sympathy of the Five Civilized Tribes lay with the South.*

*Their leading men held slaves, and they had modeled their slave codes after those of the white men. At the outbreak of hostilities the Federal garrisons retreated hastily from their country, leaving the forts in possession of the Confederates. Almost to a man the United States [Indian] agents to the various tribes were active Southern sympathizers, who informed them that the Union was dissolved; and delegations from Arkansas and Texas visited the tribes and, by alternatively using threats and persuasions, urged them to join the South. During 1861 all of the [leaders of the] Civilized Tribes accordingly made alliances with the Confederacy, and numerous bands of the Plains Indians followed their example. But in spite of this official action, there was a strong Union element among the Cherokees, Creeks and Seminoles; these tribes accordingly were torn by miniature civil wars of their own, the more deadly and devastating because of the close ties binding their citizens.* (Debo; 1986: 24/25)

Indian guerilla bands ravaged the countryside and Union and Confederate partisans killed each other on sight. Non Combatants fled to neighbouring forts while others died of starvation and illness. All the cattle in the region were systematically killed or carried off by raiders. When the civil war finally ended the refugees returned to their former homes, only to find them burned to the ground, their fields overgrown and their orchards cut down.
These depredations were mainly carried out by opposing Indian forces on each other. (Debo, 1986:24-25)

A northern refugee camp grew up around Fort Gibson, first established in 1824 but abandoned in 1857. It was reoccupied by Union soldiers during the civil war and soon witnessed some 6,000 refugee Creek and circa 10,000 other Indians, mostly Cherokee, seeking a haven among the Union forces. Stand Waitie's forces, a Cherokee Confederate Brigadier General, had stripped many of them of their homes and livestock, and at one point even took their clothing to clothe his own followers.

Waitie had a checkered history among the Cherokee. Initially he was one of a handful of leaders who signed what was held by the great majority of Cherokee to be a spurious treaty with the Americans in 1838. It surrendered all Cherokee lands in Georgia and Tennessee in exchange for new lands offered in Oklahoma. Most of the other Cherokee who signed that treaty were soon murdered.

However, by the start of the civil war Waitie had regained Indian support since he mobilized a full regiment of Cherokee and others in defense of the Confederacy and for their right to own slaves. Waitie was the owner of a large slave-run plantation and his Confederate forces had the support of a many Choctaw and Chickasaw volunteers as well as Cherokees. He participated with his Indian brigade in the battle of Pea Ridge however during most of the war his forces acted as irregulars, harassing and driving out those Indians who would not join him. John Ross, titular chief of the Cherokee for some forty years, reluctantly joined forces with Waitie. According to some accounts Waitie's was the last organized Confederate force to surrender. (Debo, 1986 : 261, 399)

Following the end of the civil war Federal officials took the position that the Five Civilized Tribes had forfeited their treaty guarantees by the act of rebellion against the United States and proposed to open their territory to white settlement. In the end however it was decided that only a portion of their domains would be forfeited and those used to settle other Indian tribes. A portion of the western half of the Five Nations territories was utilized to establish reserves for soon to be displaced Indian groups from western America. The treaties and removals which resettled western Indian groups in Indian Territory were concluded mainly between 1865 and the late 1870s, or in a few cases into the 1880s.

In addition, the Five Civilized Nations were required to liberate all of the slaves they still held. A minority of the Five Nations leaders "were induced to grant their slaves freedom as citizens within their nations with full property rights. However this step was resisted by most Indian groups until
"The Five Civilized Tribes made a surprising recovery from the economic losses of the Civil War. Their farms once more came under cultivation, and the rich ranges supported herds of Indian-owned cattle. The land belonged to the tribe, but each citizen was protected in the use of as much of the soil as he cared to cultivate." (Debo, 1986:27)

However in many tribal territories simmering feuds broke out between Indian factions and went on for decades following the Civil War. It made some regions a synonym for lawlessness. The problems of the Indian Nations was exacerbated by the rapid white settlement of surrounding States. The isolation of the Indian Territory was destroyed by the construction of a railway through their territory in 1870-72 and the other lines which followed. White settlement took place alongside these routes: they laid out towns and opened farms. Some operated as tenants of the Indian nations but others were defiant of both the tribal governments and the Federal Intercourse Act (which restricted contact between Indians and whites in tribal territories.) Bit by bit Indian control over their lands was being lost. In 1890 the first Federal census of the region showed that the 'Indian Territory' contained some 50,055 Indians, 18,636 Negroes and 109,393 whites. (Debo, 1986: 28) Many of these Negroes were descendants of former Indian slaves, whom the Indian groups steadfastly refused to recognize as members of their nations, some until shortly before their inclusion into the state of Oklahoma.

"All these non-citizens were outside the authority of the Indian governments. During most of the period they were entirely without civil law, and in criminal matters they were under the long-distance jurisdiction of the Federal court at Fort Sill, Arkansas. Their [ the white's] towns were built upon lands to which they could obtain no title, and their children were outside the benefits of the tribal school systems. Whether these non-citizens had come as intruders or as legitimate residents, they were eager for the extinguishment of the Indian land tenure and the creation of a government in which they could participate." (Debo, 1986: 26-27)

Some native chiefs during this period were also engaged in anti-working class activities when it was to their benefit. Witness events which occurred in the coal mining community of Alderson, on Choctaw territory, during a labour confrontation which developed in 1894. The Choctaw Nation required that the mining corporation involved pay a monthly tax for each employee, but as the result of a miners strike (over a 25 per cent wage reduction) the company refused to play this tax. The Choctaw chief then requested that the miners be removed from his territory as he received no
royalty payments while the mine was closed. This request passed through the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, the Secretary of the Interior, and finally up to President Cleveland's desk, who approved the removal of the striking miners. Three companies of U.S infantry and two of cavalry were dispatched to arrest and deport the striking miners; some two hundred workers with their wives and families were placed aboard box cars and shipped to neighbouring Arkansas. The strike was broken and work resumed with a new labour force and under the proposed wage cut. Royalty payments to the Choctaw Nation were then resumed. (Debo. 1986 301)

There was continuing conflict within Indian Nations as well. The winter of 1892-93 witnessed a political conflict among the Choctaw called locally as the 'Locke War'. The American Congress had voted to pay some 2.9 million dollars in settlement of Choctaw land claims and bitter strife developed among them as to the handling of this money, which became the central issue in the tribal elections of 1892. Two political factions, Nationalist and Progressive, but forward their respective candidates for the Choctaw chiefdomship. The vote was very close but the Progressive candidate, a Wison Jones, as wealthy cattle rancher, allegedly won. The Nationalists then formed armed bands with the intent of taking over the Choctaw government. They were dispersed by Choctaw militia loyal to the 'Progressive' government but 150 Nationalists barricaded themselves on a large ranch owned by one Victor Locke, whose wife was Choctaw. (Debo, 1986: 320)

The Choctaw militia attacked the blockhouse but was driven off. The Chief then called in Federal troops to restore order and an Indian commissioner finally prevailed upon both sides to make peace. It was hardly a traditional way to achieve a decision but the 'Progressive, candidate served out his term without further difficulties. The situation was indicative of the conflicts within those no longer tribal societies.

It seems that a section of the white settlers in Indian Territory were in support of a separate Indian State. These may have been established ranchers who had worked out arrangements with the tribal governments and who feared that these arrangements might be compromised if the territorial lands were thrown open to white settlement. By the late nineteenth century something like one half of the former Five Nations lands had been transformed into the white-settled regions. During the mid 1890s the delegate from Oklahoma Territory to the US Congress joined representatives from nearby states in calling for the end of Indian government rule over tribal lands. Settlers who had failed to get land elsewhere began to move onto these regions and laid out towns and farms. In
1893 Congress created the Dawes Commission and authorized it to negotiate the termination of the independent Indian regimes. The Indians steadfastly refused such negotiations, however the Federal government proceeded with surveying the Indian lands and taking a census of the population in preparation for the dissolution of tribal control. Under constant Federal pressure the Indian leaders were gradually forced into the liquidation of Indian governments' control over tribal affairs.

White townsites were platted and lands legally sold; people from throughout the U.S. began to enter lands still nominally within Indian Territory. Town bond issues were let, school systems devised, waterworks and electricity were installed and other infrastructure was built so that these white settlements took on the character of those in surrounding states. The Dawes Commission then proceeded to divide the remaining Indian lands among the Indian families.

Each allotee received his share under a restricted tenure; his land was inalienable and tax exempt for a term of years, during which he was supposed to gain experience in individual ownership. (Debo 1986:30)

By 1906 the work undertaken by the Dawes Commission was approaching completion. The small tribes in the northeast had also been induced to divide their reservations and to accept the white man's allotment; the Territory was ready for statehood. (Debo:1986:31/32)

Leaders of the Five Nations got together to merge their 'national' territories into a single native state, whose formation was overwhelmingly supported by the rank and file Indians. However white settlers called for statehood and legislators deemed it desirable to link the two territories, Oklahoma and Indian Territory. After writing a State constitution and electing Democratic party representatives Oklahoma was admitted into the American union in November of 1907. Oklahoma at the time had a population of 1,414,177 inhabitants, of which some 5.3 percent were Indian. (Debo, 1986: 31/32)

The circa 75,000 Indians in Oklahoma then (in 1907) constituted the majority of the recognized descendants of the native people from east of the Mississippi and also a considerable proportion of those from the American west. By the late 1880s some forty different tribes had also been established on reserves in Indian Territory. Only the Indians of the Northern plains, of the Pacific Northwest and Rocky Mountain regions, as well as those of the American southwest, remained on reserves in their ancestral regions. In total they comprised less than one half of one percent of the then current population of the United States of America.
The Osage Indians were one of the western groups settled in Indian Territory in 1872; they acquired a 1.5 million acre tract which was purchased from the Cherokee with part of the 9 million dollar payment made by the Federal government for the original Osage lands. Their new lands were composed of hills and prairies, a large part of which they leased as pasture land to white ranchers, although some Osage also raised cattle. All mineral rights were reserved to members of the tribe who in 1908 numbered some 2,230 individuals.

In 1903 oil and gas were discovered in the southwest corner of the Osage reserve. The subsequent development of a rich oil field catapulted the Osage into considerable wealth. By 1916 each member of the tribe was receiving from $2,200 to $15,000 dollars per year, depending on whether they held full 'head rights' or not. Between 1903 and 1934, the oil royalty payments amounted to some $255 million dollars, or some $125,000 per person - a considerable chunk of money in those days given that the buying power of a dollar was some 20 + fold that of today. However it is also the case that the Osage comprised only some five percent of the Indians in Oklahoma. (Debo, 1986: 288)

Debo has usually been considered to be a 'liberal' but what she really was was a supporter of Indian sovereignty no matter what it did. She had a quite dismissive attitude toward white workers and farmers in general. The actions of native leaders and people during the seventy year history of the Indian Nations might pose questions for contemporary enthusiasts of Native sovereignty in Canada.

**Edna Ferber and Cimarron**

Edna Ferber's (1887-1968) *Cimarron* (1939) is an example of a juvenile and vicious, but once popular, stereotype of American Indians. It is an example of how reactionary policies and sentiments can be presented as something courageously progressive. Ferber's 'historical' romances were widely read between the late 1920s and the late 1940s. All of her major novels - *Showboat*, *Saratoga Trunk*, *Giant*, *Cimarron* - were made into Hollywood movies. She has the dubious distinction of being one of few writers whose work was made more realistic by being turned into Hollywood films.

The Oklahoma panhandle is the locale of Edna Ferber's novel *Cimarron* It says absolutely nothing about the reality of Oklahoma Indians but a lot about the images which much of the American public held at the time. Ferber's book is remarkably offensive, a smugly self-satisfied adulation of a pioneer woman who finally lobbies Congress to have the Dawes Act imposed upon
the Five Civilized Indian nations within Oklahoma, who had escaped it until the late 1890s.

Cimarron deals with a 'pioneering' white family in the Cimarron strip from the 1870s to about 1930. The Cimarron strip was a block of territory in the southwestern corner of Oklahoma which, because of conflicting state claims to it, no government took responsibility for until the formation of the state of Oklahoma. The novel's plot revolves around a white newspaper publisher and his wife (the heroine), and how their children rise to wealth and influence despite the chicanery of those whites who have arrived later and who lack the self-styled 'tolerance' of the heroine. The novel trundles out the grossest stereotypes of both Indians and non-Indians.

Of especial interest is Ferber's treatment of the Dawes Severalty Act (1889) and the Curtis Act (1898), which set out to cut Oklahoma reserves into private allotments for individual Indian holders (and then disburse remaining reserve lands to white buyers). In Cimarron the liquidation of reserve lands and the allotment process is treated as a courageous recognition of Indian capabilities, which the heroine and her family advance in Congress, against stereotypic 'racists' who defend the continuance of Indian reserves and government obligations toward them. So, we have one of the last major assaults on native lands trumpeted as 'the new freedom' and its opponents slandered as reactionary racists.

Native history is here restricted to the standard victimological events; 'The Trail of Tears', the corrupt Indian agents, the broken treaties, the intolerant white newcomers etc. It is really not so different from current media history except that when Ferber's Indians enter the latter third of the book they do so as the recipients of overnight wealth gained through oil royalties. (This actually applied to only some five per cent of the native population in the state.) Written at the time when John Collier was the head of the Bureau of Indian Affairs and the Indian Reorganization Act was being implemented, Ferber's portrait was anything but apolitic. Regardless of how removed from reality Ferber was she could not have failed to realize which political camp her book supported. However offensive Ferber's caricatures will seem today, they were then proffered as a 'new appreciation' of the American Indians.

Consider an account of Ferber's hero in his struggle against stereotypic white racists. In popular melodrama no excess is too excessive.

"Tears came to his own eyes when he spoke of that blot on southern civilization, the Trail of Tears, in which the Cherokees, a peaceful and home-loving tribe, were torn from the land which a government had given them by sworn treaty, to be sent away on a march which, from cold, hunger, exposure, and heartbreak, was marked by bleaching bones from Georgia to
Oklahoma. Yancey [Ferber's hero] and old Lewis Venable had a longstanding feud on the subject of Mississippi's treatment of the Choctaws and Georgia's cruelty to the Cherokees.

"Oh treaties", sneered Yancey's father-in-law, outraged at some blistering editorial with which Yancey had enlivened the pages of the Wichita Wigwam "One doesn't make treaties with savages - and expect to keep them."

"You call the Choctaws, the Creeks, the Chickasaws, the Cherokees and the Seminoles savages! They are the Five Civilized Tribes! They had their laws, they had their religion, they cultivated the land, they were peaceful, home loving, wise. Would you call Chief Apushmataha a savage?"

"Certainly, sir! Most assuredly."

"How about Sequoyah? John Ross? Stand Waitie? Quanah Parker? They were wise men. Great men"

"Savages, with enough white blood in them to make them leaders of their dull-witted, full-blood brothers, The Creeks, sir" (he pronounced it, suh') intermarried with niggers. And so did the Choctaws; and the Seminoles down in Florida."

While proffered as a progressive viewpoint, Ferber's claptrap is in fact nothing more than the moralizing which was churned out by American editorialists throughout the twentieth century. A further example of this theme, dealing with the Osage, has Ferber offering a well-worn stereotype about the consequences of the discovery of oil under Osage lands during the early 1900s.

This stereotype, later conveyed in Hollywood movies and repeated by Ronald Reagan during his presidency, when tales from Hollywood films became the stuff of historical reality, features an account of the new cars bought by the now oil-rich Osage and how they smash them up, returning to the car agency to buy another as if it were a chub of baloney. Baloney it certainly is. Ferber goes on to regale the reader with the uses to which the Osage put their new found wealth, renting summer homes in fashionable Rocky Mountain towns, buying refrigerators which they stuff with food etc..

The somewhat unexpected follow up of this presentation is the heroine's proposal to liquidate Indian reserves by the transfer of their lands to individual Indian title - and the unstated dispersal of remaining reservation lands by the state. That is portrayed as a courageous stand of extending equal rights.

Sabra Cravat [Ferber's heroine] had introduced a bill for the further protection of the Osages, and rather took away the breath of the House
assembled by advocating abolition of the Indian Reservation system. Her speech, radical though it was, and sensational, was greeted with favor by some of the more liberal of the Congressmen. They even conceded that this idea of hers, to the effect that the Indian would never develop or express himself until he was as free as the negro, [in the early 1900s?] might some day become a reality. These were the reformers - the longhairs - fanatics" (Ferber 1939: 477)

So, the denouement is that those who pushed through the dissolution of reservations were the courageous radicals while those who argued to retain them were the prejudiced reactionaries. The Curtis Act of 1898 imposed the Dawes Allotment provisions on the Five Nations reserves which had previously been exempt. It was Introduced by Senator Charles Curtis, later vice President under Herbert Hoover, who was a claimant to native Indian status through his great grandmother.

At some future time it may be that currently 'indisputable' truths about native peoples will seem as ludicrous as Ferber's views do today.

About Will Rogers.

Will Rogers (1879-1935) was born in Indian Territory well before the creation of the state of Oklahoma. He was the son of a well to do rancher who had been an officer in the Confederate army. His mother was half Cherokee, so Rogers was what then was called 1/4 Cherokee. When the Indian lands of Oklahoma were converted into allotments Rogers was assigned a band membership number for the Paint Clan, Cherokee Nation. He acquired a Cherokee registration number No.11,384 from the U.S. Federal government, so in Canadian terms he could have called himself a 'status Indian'. While Rogers did not primarily consider himself an 'Indian' or a Cherokee he later sprinkled his accounts with laudatory references to the First Americans.

Rogers father had become a successful rancher and wanted his son to follow him in that undertaking but instead Will joined the rodeo circuit at the turn of the 20th century. The stage role he later developed was as an ungrammatical retailer of folk wisdom - in a cowboy style. It was a part of his act, it was a style he worked up and honed. In fact he had a a fair education for those times, having almost completed high school. Through his parents, who were members of the local elite, Roger was perfectly familiar with proper American manners and grammatical English.

He was allegedly attracted to show business when he visited the Chicago World Exposition in 1893. By 1899, at age 20, he was a member of a touring wild west show called the 'Mexican Vaqueros.' By the early 1900s he was
preforming in vaudeville shows in major cities, creating the lariat-twirling and wise cracking humor which were to be his trade mark. Vaudeville then was suffused by 'ethnic' comedians and jokes, dealing with the foibles and the dialects of various immigrant groups. Rogers routine was the anti-thesis of this immigrant humor: he proffered an image of the archetypal American, confident, easy-going, with laconic common sense and unfettered individualism. This persona was allegedly typified by the American cowboy. It is ironic that a representation of a miniscule and largely vanished sector of the American population, the landless hired hand of large ranches, would appeal to masses of Americans so far removed from any open range.

By the mid 1920s Rogers had established his home on the outskirts of Los Angeles, where his wife and children continued to live after his death. He doesn't seem to have had any sustained contact with Oklahoma, either its Indians or its cowboys, after he left the region at the beginning of the century. Like many images, the further away you stay the more idyllic they seem.

In 1924 Rogers had become a star in the Ziegfeld Follies, the top of the New York entertainment world. His cowboy style and dialogue was the centerpiece of his act. Rogers favorite image of himself was that of 'The Cherokee Kid', a folksy kind of trickster figure who enters a situation and somehow leaves it changed when he departs. One of Rogers' routines about 'the Indian as the First American' was his oft repeated joke, which in a loose paraphrase goes as follows:

"A little while ago I met a woman who told me that her ancestors came over on the Mayflower'.

'Well, I know', I told her, because some of my ancestors were already here to meet them when they arrived.'"

By the beginning of the twentieth century it had become fashionable among certain old stock Americans to claim descent from some suitably distant Indian ancestor, preferably an 'Indian princess' of some sort. Even the wife of president Woodrow Wilson let it be known that she too was a distant descendant of Pocahontas and John Rolfe. At the time this was not a particularly unusual claim, despite the fact that Pocahontas' only child is known to have died with its mother while on a visit to England in the early 1600s.

During the later 1920s Rogers was also a columnist for major U.S. newspapers and he travelled around the country picking up snippets of stories reported by the local press and then reworking them to suit his own maxims. In that he was like other newspaper philosophers for whom an actual event serves merely as a stage setting for the fiction presented as
'news.' During that period Rogers was also sent to tour Europe, from which his reports were mainly a reinforcement of American self-admiration. The message invariably was that 'Other nations are all economically and socially backward, possibly quaint but class-ordered when compared to a free and open America.' This easy-going jingoism was served up in a manner which the rubes back home could gobble down when delivered by one of their own.

Rogers was also the lead in a number of Hollywood movies during the early 1930s. Although now rarely resurrected, Rogers was an accomplished actor during the early talking picture era, with a style rather like that of his friend Wallace Beery. Some of the films in which he starred are *Steamboat 'Round the Bend*, *In Old Kentucky*, *The County Chairman*, and *A Connecticut Yankee in King Arthur's Court*. The latter has a scene in which the hero, bound to the stake as a witch in Arthur's kingdom, claims to create a solar eclipse while pronouncing magical nostrums of the early Roosevelt era, for example 'Prosperity is just around the corner,' 'National Reconstruction Administration', 'Civilian Conservation Corps'. They are the only magical formulas the hero can think of.

Rogers was at the height of his popularity from the mid 1920s to the early 1930s. While he was not a nativistic reactionary he also wasn't the American hayseed philosopher he was made out to be. He was an entertainer ready to utilize whatever images were popular at the time. Rogers considered himself a Democrat and served as the speaker who introduced Franklin Roosevelt at the 1932 Democratic convention. Two years earlier he had spoken on a radio program with Herbert Hoover and had said, in a loose paraphrase, that the 'crash' had been mainly caused by bankers and speculators and that the results were being born by the American working people and farmers who hadn't been part of the previous 'boom' at all.

Fundamentally, Rogers was as a dispenser of 'down home truths' to Americans; he believed that America should mind its own business and not become enmeshed in foreign entanglements. He had a confidence in the fundamental 'soundness' of America. This seemingly included an America which had smashed labor unions, had instituted a hysterical war-time propaganda followed by the red scare, had proceeded through more than a decade of prohibition and was thoroughly segregationist and racist. That same America had become mired in a decade long economic depression which made Rogers' folksy philosophizing sound rather simple-minded to many listeners.

Rogers died in Alaska in an airplane crash with aviator Wiley Post during mid 1935. Says the commentator of the *American Experience* television
biography (!991)( from which this acciunt is largely drawn ,' With the coming of World War Two and the changes in society which it created, Will Rogers and his image of American innocence, his anti-government stance, his appeal to self-reliance and his simplistic sentiments were dismissed and he himself was forgotten by most of the generation which came of age during and after that war. Today, with a changed world and with new problems facing American society at home, his views are once again reaching a new audience of those who draw strength from the American experience.' This seems to validate my view - that those who 'appreciated' Rogers' line were philosophes of American reaction.

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Ch.7 John Collier and his Campaigns

Background and Early Years in Immigrant Uplift

John Collier (1881-1968) was born in Atlanta, Georgia. His mother was the daughter of a former plantation owner who had owned about a hundred slaves but who had shifted to shoe manufacturing in Atlanta before the end of the civil war. He had left Collier's mother a substantial inheritance. His father was an Atlanta lawyer and banker who was active in promoting a 'Cotton States International Exposition' during the post-reconstruction period and who became the mayor of Atlanta during the late 1890s. In short, they were both members of the South's upper class, even if by the late 1890s the family found themselves in rather straightened financial circumstances. According to Collier's biographer the mother died in 1897 from the results of a laudanum overdose while in father died of a self-inflicted gunshot some three years later.

After his mother's death, John Collier was sent to live in a Roman Catholic convent school for a year where he departed from Methodism and briefly became Roman Catholic. (Philip, 1977:5) After the Collier children were orphaned they at times lived in relatively stringent circumstances, although there were trust funds established for them but they were never truly poor in the sense that Appalachian farmers were. However Collier early trained himself in a 'self-reliant' life. He seems to have been something of a pure food and prohibitionist nut even as a 16 year old. At times he lived mainly on vegetables and during the early 1920s he took his own family out to play at 'living off the land' while encamped in a tent in California.

He claimed that his initial contact with the Appalachian rural poor led to his first appreciation of folk culture and its nobility (See Collier's From Every Zenith, 1963:27-30) However there was enough money in his father's estate for him to enter Columbia University in 1902, where he became enamored of French literature, biology, obscure 19th century philosophy and was taken under the wing of various local eminences.

It was a feature of Collier's life that almost wherever he was or whatever he was doing he managed to attract the support of some one or some group of wealthy, or at least prominent, individuals. A part of his influence was due to his being able to round up the support of one or another set of wealthy Americans for support.

Collier's first real job came in 1905 when he became a reporter with a Macon, Georgia, newspaper, where he filled all positions, ate only one meal a day, and quickly rose to be editor. However he apparently had enough money to sail to Europe for a tour through Germany, France, England and
Ireland, where he met his first wife, one Lucy Wood, who was also on the
grand tour.

In 1907, back in New York, Collier began the first of twelve years he
would spend as a 'social worker', settlement house organizer, and promoter
of educational and community uplift among the immigrant populations of
Manhattan. For a while he was employed by or worked with something
called The People's Institute, which organized lectures and debates on
elevating topics at Cooper Union forum. He also investigated the manner in
which immigrant life in New York could be uplifted. In short, he was part of
the philanthropic 'Progressive' movement of the time - funded by wealthy
patrons who were opposed to Tammany Hall politics. They were against
corruption and for Good Government. (The "Goo Goo's" as Lincoln
Stephens called them.) While reformers like Collier were committed to
'community and democracy' they also contained the seeds of the emerging
Prohibition movement. For instance, Collier's stance on the moral threat of
the movies.

"During February 1908 Collier completed a study of commercial
amusements, his first assignment for the People's Institute. He reported that
the nickelodeon had become 'an unwieldy excrescence on the body politic',
often 'openly immoral in influence'. It threatened church activities, caused
children to cut school, and led to empty libraries. Collier indicated that the
city should inspect movie houses because they menaced the community with
their poor ventilation, congested rooms, and fire hazards. He recommended
stricter moral censorship to improve the minds of the people while giving
them entertainment." (Philip: 1977:12-13)

This report was used to establish a National Board of Censorship under
the guidance of the People's Institute. "Directed by Collier, the board
cooperated with exhibitors of motion pictures who agreed voluntarily to
remove undesirable scenes such as overacted love, the wanton heroine who
turned lightly from man to man, and fighting women or hair-pulling girls.
The board was careful, however, not to censor political, sectional, and
controversial films such as Birth of a Nation" (Philip. 1977: 13)

That about sums up such censorship; the evils of sex, drink and
nickelodeons were to be checked as well as any lascivious scenes censored.
But venomous racism was okay.

Collier was also involved in projects to check the activities of boys' gangs
around the city, and intended to turn their energy into acceptable games and
similar nonsense. From this he became involved in transforming certain
public schools into 'school community centres', featuring neighbourhood
activities and councilors. A sense of community was to develop from them.
One of Collier's 'triumphs' of that period was to organize a "Pageant and Festival of Nations" during June 1914, with three hundred children and family members dressed up in their 'national costumes' (Philip, 1977:16-20). In other words, songs and dances and spaghetti kreplach.

The idea behind all this, as in his later policy of Indian cultural revival, was that immigrants were supposed to treasure 'their' ways and customs, the celebration of which was somehow supposed to give them pride. However many of such customs were either superficial or obsolete before these people had left their homelands. This policy was intended to be the antithesis of the coercive 'Americanization' drive which was to overwhelm America during and after W.W.1. But it wasn't pride and colourful customs that the immigrant working class required-they needed decent jobs at decent wages, with work and living conditions which did not kill them. And that was not within the purview of Progressive reform.

During these years Collier was also involved in Mabel Dodge's salon; one project intended to raise funds for Isadora Duncan to teach immigrant children The Dance. There was also a project aimed at instituting supervised playgrounds in poor districts as well as the 'social' uplift programs hovering around some schools and the settlement houses.

In an example of how rapidly 'progressive projects' could be converted into vehement national chauvinism, 1917 saw the defeat of the Reform mayor and the return of Tammany Hall in New York. "......America's entry into the First World War caused the New York Board of Education to issue a proclamation stating that all public schools must remain open after hours for use by voluntary agencies 'organized to promote national purposes'. Since they were taken over by the patriotic National Community Councils for Defense, the school community centers no longer focused on urban concerns. Instead, they sold war bonds, issued propaganda for conserving food stuffs, dispatched relief materials, held military drill, and secured enlistments in the army" (Philip, 1977:22).

Collier watched these events with some dismay but like most other progressives he supported American entry into that war. In a keynote address made in Chicago on April 17, 1917, at his inauguration as president of the National Community Center Conference, Collier spoke about 'The Crisis of Democracy'. He warned that to maintain the values of Western civilization, the democratic nations would have to adopt a centralized organization similar to the one that made Germany efficient." (Philp, 1977:23) Naturally he knew nothing about Germany, neither of the background nor developments there. It was simply American patriotic puffery.
There is little evidence that he had any interest in or knowledge of labour struggles or of the political radicalism which encompassed substantial portions of the New York working class before and during W.W.1. Philip does not deal much with what Collier actually did during Woodrow Wilson's second term as President. It seems that he tried to get on the wartime band wagon but was outdone by fiercer patriots. In any case, funds for Collier's projects had dried up and the Americanization drive during W.W.1 made it impossible to continue with his plans. In September of 1919 he moved to Los Angeles and accepted a position as director of the state's adult education program, sponsored by the State Immigration Commission and the State Board of Education, as well as by the regents of the University of California. He began working with local teachers in a Los Angeles neighbourhood, giving lectures on what he considered to be the important topics of the day. Among these were his view of what the Russian Revolution meant; he believed he saw the resurrection of the communal peasant Mir in Russia.

"One year later, during the Red scare, he came under the surveillance of the Department of Justice agents who sat in his classes. They became suspicious of his ideas and cooperated with the Better America Federation of California, a lobby of reactionary businessmen, which convinced the state legislators to remove Collier's salary from the state budget" (Philip, 1977: 23-24)

One thing one can say in support of Collier is that he often had the right enemies!

By Nov. 1920 Collier had lost his job in California and he and his wife and three young boys set out to camp in the Sonora wilderness. While doing so they received a letter from Mabel Dodge, who had installed herself in Taos, New Mexico. She encouraged Collier to investigate the spiritual nature of the Taos pueblo. Taos was then an isolated townlet in a region of Spanish-American subsistence ranches, which could only be reached by a 26 mile stage coach trip from the nearest railway. Arriving there with his family he was introduced to Antonio Luhan (a Taos Indian who later married Mabel Dodge and was expelled from his pueblo) who accompanied Collier to some Taos Catholic rituals, which then had a 300 year old tradition.

"These powerful religious dances and the dramatic physical beauty of northern New Mexico had a profound impact upon Collier; he believed he had discovered a 'Red Atlantis' which had secrets desperately needed by the white world. Mabel Dodge was correct, he thought: Pueblo Indian life did possess a mystical social significance because its societies, unlike those of the white world, were alive and sources of power to their members. He was
convinced that the integrated social organization at the Pueblo offered an example of community life that had eluded him while a social worker in New York " (Philip, 1977:26.)

Collier does not seem to have had much knowledge of American Indian groups until he became involved with Taos land claims during the early 1920s. By then he was already 37 years of age. Although he became an Indianist - in the sense that his primary concern became that distinct Indian cultures and societies be preserved - he claimed that his commitment to Indian rights had universal significance, since they allegedly were among the few groups in the Americas who had retained their sense of community and a resistance to 'featureless modernity'. For Collier, the continuance of Indian cultures and communities might serve as a model for restructuring the modern industrial world. This is rather unbelievable but it is what he recurrently claimed.

On Pueblo Lands

After discovering Taos spirituality Collier remained in the area until Aug 1921, when he accepted a teaching post at San Francisco State College at Mill Valley. He began to make contact with leaders of the General Federation of Women's Clubs, which had a committee to support Indian rights. Such contacts with philanthropic groups and individuals were a keystone of Collier's influence throughout his life. He left his teaching post the following year to take up the position of research agent for the federation's Indian Welfare Committee, receiving $10,000 to begin a survey and investigation of the reservation system. (Philip, 1977:27) And he returned to Taos in the fall of 1922.

Collier's initial involvement with Indian matters was hardly spiritual but revolved around a tangled set of judicial decisions regarding who had the ultimate authority over Indian lands in New Mexico, something which had been brewing since that Territory had become a state early in the 20th century.

The pueblos held Spanish land grants from colonial times and following the Mexican-American war, by the 1848 Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, the US Congress confirmed the Pueblo Indians ownership of thirty-five Spanish land grants covering a total of some 700,000 acres. This was reconfirmed in 1876 when the US Supreme Court held that the Pueblos were not wards of the government and were sufficiently advanced to hold or sell their lands without government interference. The right to sell their lands resulted in the loss of considerable portions of Pueblo lands, which had been sold to or variously acquired by non Indians. This came under question after circa
1912, when rulings on other legal matters (liquor sales) treated the Pueblos as if they were under the authority of the Federal government. This suggested that the Pueblos had not been legally competent to sell their land since 1848.

The upshot of all this was that by 1922 there were some 3,000 claims by some 12,000 non Indians to former Pueblo lands - mainly by small farmers, often Mexican-Americans, some of whom had worked these farms for a number of generations. Although this land only represented some 10% of the Pueblo total they were important because they were often irrigated plots. This varied from one Pueblo to the next, but many of the water rights on some Pueblos had been lost.

By 1922 this became a hot issue again since a Federal government report had recommended that all the water rights and lands alienated from the Pueblos be returned to them in perpetuity. That would result in the wholesale eviction of white settlers. (Philip, 1977:30) In some locales there may have been as many 'white settlers' on these lands as there were Pueblo Indians. Many of them came from the neighboring Spanish-American communities who after 300 years of residence there were effectively as 'native' as the Indians.

A bill introduced in Congress, the Bursum bill (named after Holm Bursum, a senator from New Mexico), proposed to use a 1912 survey of the land use of Pueblo lands as a basis for determining what had been legitimately sold and what had to be returned to the Pueblos. During 1922 and 1923 Collier and his allies raised an alarm about 'The Pueblos Last Stand' in magazines ranging from the *New Republic* to the *Ladies Home Journal*. He raised a chorus of vocal outrage among the "friends of the Indians" who seem to have proliferated through the layers of the American upper-middle class by then. Members of Congress were lobbied to oppose the Bursum bill and there emerged a situation where wealthy Americans, urbane intellectuals, artistes of all stripes, editorialists and spokespersons of national women's groups were belaboring the Bureau of Indian Affairs and the Congressional supporters of the Bursum bill for 'a return of Pueblo lands'. These crusaders seemingly knew nothing of and cared even less for the non-Indians, most of them very modest farmers, who would be displaced as surely as Steinbeck's Joads were a decade later.

Spokespersons of the emerging Taos and Santa Fe art colonies also got into the act, sending assorted artists to defend the cultural treasures of their own favourite Pueblo. A 'Proclamation to the American Public', protesting the loss of Pueblo lands as they had historically existed came from such poets as Vachel Lindsay, Edgar Lee Master, Carl Sandburg, William Allen...

Collier toured the Pueblos and convinced some groups that their lands and waters were once again under threat. In an All Pueblo Council meeting in Santo Domingo in Nov. 1922, some 121 delegates voted to send a delegation to Washington D.C. to make an appearance before the Senate Committee on Public Lands and Surveys. Albert Fall, previously a territorial judge and one of the first senators from New Mexico, was then the Secretary of the Interior, the department containing the Bureau of Indian Affairs. He became the main target of Collier's campaign.

"Albert B. Fall responded to this nationwide outcry against his plans by threatening the wholesale eviction of settlers from Pueblo land. [Which was still at issue] He asked Attorney General Daugherty to give R.E. Twitchell, the government attorney for the Pueblos, the authority to bring to a favorable conclusion the law suits pending in the New Mexico District court against non-Indian claimants. Collier believed that Fall hoped to create panic among the Spanish and Anglo settlers in order to secure a friendly sentiment toward the Bursum bill in and out of New Mexico. The secretary never clearly stated his motives, but he evidently thought that the threat of eviction would make the opponents of the bill appear as ruthless extremists driving thousands of innocent non-Indians off their lands" (Philip, 1977: 36)

It would seem, from the line taken by the Pueblo delegation, that this view had some validity.

A seventeen member Pueblo delegation came to Chicago and New York and addressed meetings of sympathizers on their plight and the dastardliness of the Federal government. Chapters of a newly established 'Indian Rights Association' placed their demands before prominent citizens and opinion makers. When the delegation reached New York Collier arranged performances of the whole team at such venues as the Explorers Club and at Cooper Union. At the Explorers Club, the delegation appeared decked out in their finest ceremonial gear. "Antonio Romaro, an Indian from Taos, spoke for the whole delegation when he insisted that the government remove non-Indian squatters, assist the Indians in irrigation, and allow them a measure of self-government. In the evening this delegation made a similar
appearance at the People's Institute, but their most dramatic engagement took place before bankers and businessmen at the stock exchange. Because of a rule forbidding speeches, the Indians sang songs and beat drums. The stock exchange 'went wild', and many bankers sent telegrams to their congressmen suggesting that they 'kill the Bursum bill' " (Emphasis mine. Philip, 1977: 39)

This campaign, which marked Collier's entry into Indian politics, was awash with fund raising, the mobilization of assorted notables and active media managing. That was ultimately the basis of Collier's influence and later his acquisition of the job of Commissioner of the BIA. An account of all the wiles, sidelines, arm twisting, 'betrayals', denunciations and public moralizing in this and Colliers later campaigns is far too extensive to discuss here. It is as much an outline of 'politicking in America' as it is about Indian affairs.

The upshot of all this was that Albert Fall, the secretary of the Interior, decided to resign in March 1923. In Congressional hearings, it was decided that those settlers without clear title (either of purchase or tax payments since 1902) be treated as squatters, and presumably be removed from their farms. Pablo Abeyta, an Isleta member to the Pueblo delegation, addressed the Senate committee dealing with the matter with the demand for 'the ejection of all non-Indian trespassers' and the need for more government help to the Indians in improving herds, water resources and irrigation..The Pueblo delegation returned to tour New York and raise funds at benefits held at The Town Hall and the Economic Club. (Philip :42)

After the Secretary of the Interior had resigned, the trust of the campaign came to focus on then Commissioner of the BIA, Charles Burke. In a series of congressional hearings he and his assistants were bombarded with Collier's assorted charges and generally backed into a corner. Collier believed that the Bursum bill had been defeated and that the process of returning lands and water to the Pueblos would now begin. But on February 28, 1923, five days before the end of Congressional session, a new 'Lenroot bill' was introduced which provided a statute of limitations, in which if a person had held former Pueblo land under title of possession for twenty years or had simply held possession of the property for thirty years, would constitute proof of ownership by the Presidential Lands Board. (Philip, 1977: 45)

"The Lenroot bill passed the Senate because Francis Wilson, the attorney for the Pueblos and the Federation of Women's Clubs, had given their approval......Wilson sympathized with the settlers who had taken possession of Pueblo land between 1849 and 1913 when the territorial courts had
established the right of the Indians to sell and alienate their lands. Because he thought that many settlers had acted in good faith under these decisions,......

The New Mexico and Eastern Association of Indian Affairs [a private Indian support group] sided with Wilson because they sympathized with his concern about the claims of non-Indians. They feared the extreme position taken by Collier that 75 percent of the Anglo and Spanish-American claims were not based on legal title but on an ex post facto statute of limitations that was inoperative against Indian wards." (Philip 1977: 46)

Later in 1923 Collier established the American Indian Defence Association, with himself as executive secretary with a salary of $5,000 per annum. He worked mainly as a lobbyist in Washington to formulate a new Indian policy and the reorganization of the B.I.A. The American Indian Defence Association reached a membership of 1,700 and had an operating budget of $22,000 for a short while. (Philip, 1977: 46/47)

Shortly afterwards Collier was damning some of his previous supporters among the New Mexico [Indian] Association for having betrayed the Indian cause by accepting a compromise and failing to back him and the Indians to the limit. "Angered by the defection of the other reform groups, Collier attempted to purge the Defence Association of members who supported the Lenroot bill." (Philip :48) Collier seems to have generated this kind of animus during most of his adult life and it ultimately alienated most of his one time supporters.

Collier rounded up Pueblo representatives to denounce the Lenroot bill, who authorized Collier's Indian Defence Association to represent them before Congress. Using this pueblo groups's 'Declaration' as his guide, Collier drafted an 'Indian bill', which Senator Charles Curtis from Kansas introduced in January of 1924. It rejected the concept of a statute of limitations on 'lost' Indian lands and called for the creation of a three-man commission to visit the Indians to determine what lands they would give up. The Federal government would begin eviction proceedings of non-Indians to determine the legality of their claims. Both the Pueblos and settlers would receive compensations for relinquished land.

Hubert Work, who had been appointed as the Secretary of the Interior (1923-1928), had arranged for a Committee of One Hundred to be comprised of educated Indians, reformers and members of the Board of Indian Commissioners to advise him on the Pueblo lands issue. Collier believed that the direction of that Committee would be determined by its first vote to select its executive. He lobbied sympathetic committee members to support "...... General Hugh Scott, a progressive member of the Board of
Indian Commissioners, [but] lost by one vote in an election to determine the permanent chairman of the conference. Instead, the delegates picked the conservative Arthur C. Parker a Seneca Indian ethnologist who worked at the New York State Library at Albany (Philip, 1977: 50)

Arthur C. Parker had been one of the founders of the Society of American Indians which advocated the self-reliance of Indian communities. Most Indian delegates on the Committee of One Hundred had been or were members of that organization.(Hertzberg, Hazel 1971:52-53,202-203)

Disappointed with the Committee of One Hundred, the body now advising on Indian Affairs and the Pueblo lands, Collier returned to New Mexico and once again raised a delegation of Pueblo Indians to tour the eastern cities, raising support for the 'Curtis Indian bill'. In New York they were officially greeted by the Acting Mayor. "......using three kettle drums, they danced before a luncheon at the City Club and a meeting at Town Hall. Dressed in white feathers, with bells jingling from their waists, the Pueblo Indians chanted the corn grinding song and offered a prayer to the eagle for strength. Collier supplemented these dances with speeches against the 'second Bursum bill'." (Philip 1977:52

Collier was never hesitant to resort to song and dance routines in an attempt to influence his audience. His rounding up of notables and his lobbying went on perpetually throughout his career; an unending roster of individuals mobilized or defamed, of congressional committees met and interventions made by Collier.

A Pueblo Lands Act was passed by Congress in May, 1924.; it established a Lands Board in Santa Fe with three members. Non Indian claimants to disputed land had to substantiate their continuous possession of the land under color of title since Jan. of 1902, or a continuous possession of land, without color of title, since 1889. There could be appeals and there was monetary compensations for both white and Indian land lost in the decisions. All funds obtained from the transfer of Pueblo lands were to be exclusively applied to their purchase of additional land and water rights to replace those abandoned to white farms,(Philip,1977: 53)

Following the Pueblo lands battle Collier launched a campaign against the BIA and mission schools for their suppression of certain Indian dances and rituals. It became a 'crusade for the religious freedom of American Indian culture.' However, through his campaign Collier also got involved in a case where Pueblo traditionalists suppressed the 'religious freedom' of members of the American Native Church. Collier was rarely concerned with the rights and freedoms of individual Indians, but rather with the 'rights' of Indian
societies to maintain their customs, regardless of what some of their members felt.

"The conflict over religious freedom reached its zenith at Taos during the summer of 1925 when officers of the Pueblo disciplined two Indians who were members of the peyote-using Native American Church for invading traditional religious ceremonies dressed in non-ceremonial costumes." (Philip, 1977: 64) They were given the choice of paying a fine or being whipped. The two Indians chose the whipping.

At this point the BIA superintendent sided with the two members of the Native American Church and nine officers of the governing body of Taos pueblo were arrested for assault and battery and jailed in Santa Fe. However, the next day Judge Colin Nesblett released the officers of Taos after they appeared before the New Mexico district court. He repudiated the bureau's action by ruling that his court had no jurisdiction because Congress had determined by statute that the Pueblos should govern their own internal affairs according to their own customs." (Philip, 1977:64)

Collier utilized this intervention to launch a crusade for Indian 'religious and cultural freedom' (although clearly not for the freedom of individual Indians) He organized a Pueblo-wide conference which delegated twelve Pueblo Indians to again tour Indian Defence Association locals in Utah and California. This delegation had considerable success in California, where social leaders in the Bay area opened their homes to them and attended fund raising meetings at various cultural venues.

Basically, the question was which laws applied to Indians living on reservations and who the judges and administrators of law should be. Until the mid 1920s only eight major felonies - murder, rape, arson etc.- were tried under Federal law on the reserves. In the matter of law, as in all else, Collier propagated for the legitimacy of tribal authority.

The later 1920s saw Collier involved in the question of who owned subsoil rights on Indian reservations, what royalties should be paid and which taxes, if any, could be levied on resources extracted from reservation lands. The matter of oil rights on the Navajo reservation and the case of a Federal agency which gave permission for the Montana Power Company to flood a portion of the Flathead reserve in Montana engaged Collier throughout the end of that decade. Both entailed as complicated and as drawn out battles as those seen in the Pueblo lands case. It was through these campaigns that Collier rose to prominence. It would lead to his later being chosen to head the Bureau of Indian Affairs under Roosevelt.

During Herbert Hoover's administration Collier and the Indian Defense Association initially supported the two new administrators of the
B.I.A., Charles Rhoads (Commissioner) and J. Henry Scattergood, (Assistant commissioner) who seemed prepared to accept the Lewis Merriam Report, *The Problems of Indian Administration* originally established under Coolidge's administration but not acted upon until Hoover's presidency. (Philip, 1977:90-97)

Despite the depression which soon gripped America the Hoover administration raised funds disbursed through the B.I.A. from 15 million dollars in 1928 to 23 million in 1931. There was an increase in the monies spent on improving diets of Indian children in boarding schools but much of the money was spent on increased staffing, which rose some 300 per cent. Allegedly there came to be one B.I.A. employee for every 36 Indians. However when Collier later controlled the BIA, its employees also increased under his regime, although they then included many more Indians. (Phillip 1977:96)

The general governmental attitude to Indian administration during the Hoover era was that, since farming had apparently failed under the system of individual allotments, every effort should be made to merge Indians into the general labour force.

"In opposition, Collier favored a policy of cultural pluralism that would not turn the Indian into a white man, but let him contribute elements of his culture to white civilization. He believed that the Indian heritage offered examples of viable communal practices, potent educational disciplines, and the composite art of blending speech, song, and dance. He dreamed of preserving the institutional life especially of the Southwestern Indians because it provided a social alternative for the 'frustrated but struggling Aryan individualized consciousness.'" (Philip, 1977:97-98) Whatever that meant.

Collier had visited Mexico in 1930 and 1931 and was much impressed with the *ejido* system of communal land tenure being introduced there. The Mexican system operated on the principle that 'the Indian was a member of community'; he hoped that a cooperative society could evolve in which there would be a more egalitarian distribution of wealth. Collier believed that some such system could be reestablished among American Indians but he seems not to have studied the problems of the ejido very much.

The New Deal Begins. Collier at the Helm

What more or less foreordained the choice of John Collier as new head of Bureau of Indian Affairs under Franklin Roosevelt was the selection of Harold Ickes as Secretary of the Interior. Born in 1874, with a law degree from Chicago, Ickes had originally been a Republican party reformer who
had shifted to the Democrats in the 1920s. He and his wife had been among the first to join Collier's American Indian Defense Association in 1923 and had written about the stain on American history left by the treatment of the Indian. Ickes was generally a progressive in urban and working class matters while his wife demonstrated great interest in Indian matters; "......she spoke Navajo and her book, Mesa Land, made her a recognized authority on the life and history of Indians in the southwest." (Philip: 115)

Collier was made the head of the B.I.A despite some senatorial opposition and was sworn in as Indian commissioner on April 21, 1933. Ickes also appointed three lawyers who had been active in the Indian Defense Association on the Pueblo Lands campaign of the 1920s; Nathan Margold, who became solicitor for the B.I.A., as well as Felix Cohen and Charles Fahy, who became assistant solicitors. In 1939. Felix Cohen was 'loaned' to the US Justice Department to head an Indian Law Survey, which compiled a forty-six volume collection of Federal laws and treaties dealing with Indians. Cohen wrote a scholarly overview called the Handbook of Federal Indian Law, which presented legal arguments as to why Indians had distinct rights. He was later the author of an utterly romantic article on 'America as Iroquoian', which has been noted above. (Philip, 1977:117-120)

At this point it may make sense to note that both the Philip and Kelly books are as much studies of how lobbying, senatorial investigations and influence peddling work in the American political world. They deal only tangentially with the conditions actually existing among Indian groups. The qualms one has about even insightful historical accounts such as these is that they really do not concern themselves with what Indians, or others who were not part of the record-leaving classes, were doing at the time this history was being made.

One of Collier's first acts was to see a Pueblo Relief bill through Congress which provided an additional $760,000 dollars for Pueblo claims for lost lands and $232,000 dollars for whites whose lands had been returned to the Pueblos. These funds were disbursed to those Indian groups which dropped their legal suits seeking to eject further white settlers.

Under authority of Secretary Ickes, Collier issued an executive order abolishing the Board of Indian Commissioners, an advisory body, allegedly 'to reduce expenditures.' This was a fabricated rationale however, since these commissioners had only a miniscule budget but were mainly conservatives who generally favoured Indian assimilation. Many of the Board members worked closely with missionary groups on reserves and represented an obstacle to Collier's plans for the preservation of Indian heritage and the collective use of tribal lands. (Phillip. 1977:118-119)
During the first six months of his Commissionership Collier circulated an directive that halted all requests for allotments on reserve land to individual Indians. He also issued a general ban on all future leases of Indian lands to non Indians. He gradually made good on his promise to have Federal and some state agencies assume responsibility for Indian reserve populations (i.e to fund various projects on them). This was especially true for the New Deal programs and agencies which were created by the Roosevelt administration. These included the Civilian Conservation Corps, the Indian Emergency Conservation Works, the Federal Emergency Relief Administration, the Civil Works Administration and the Works Progress Administration of the National Industrial Recovery Act. as well as programs involving the Soil Erosion Service of the Department of Agriculture and aid under the Agricultural Adjustment Administration.

These and other agencies forwarded under The Emergency Relief Appropriation Act provided some 15 million dollars for rehabilitation and better housing on reserves. The Subsistence Homestead Division of the National Industrial Recovery Act, earmarked 500,000 dollars for Indian mini plots in five regions. The Works Progress Administration employed over 10,700 Indians annually on projects such as indexing and filing BIA documents. In New York, the National Youth Administration trained Onondaga Indians to act as councilors for city children during summer vacation. The Civil Works Administration employed 4,429 Indians in 1934 to build and repair government buildings and roads on reservations. The Resettlement Administration built some 900 Indian houses but found that some 73% of the populations on reserves still lacked adequate housing. Secretary of Interior Ickes sponsored legislation to write off $12 million dollars in tribal debt, acquired by tribes for various purposes in the past. (Philip :122-127)

Among Collier's undertakings was publishing a biweekly magazine beginning in Aug. 1933 called Indians At Work. It was edited by Mary Heaton Vorse an old radical labor journalist whom Collier had known in New York during the Progressive era. The magazine tried to stimulate Indian interest in conservation projects and included the experiences of Indians from around the country working on various New Deal projects. It lasted until the early 1940s and at its peak allegedly had a circulation of some 12,000 copies.

Whatever the benefits of these New Deal programs, they were mainly all stop-gap measures involving make work projects. Those Indians employed were mainly involved in projects on reserves or on public lands. The salaries were very low and there were few skills acquired which could be utilized
outside such projects. They did not lay the bases of reserve economies. Where public facilities were created on reserves under such programs Collier held that it demonstrated the Indians' 'living cooperative spirit'. But only as long as the government monies were injected. By the end of the 1930s most of these New Deal programs had been ended and the entry of America into W.W.2 closed down those that remained. Little of lasting consequence seems to have flowed out of these New Deal programs for reserve populations

As part of his policy of Indian cultural rehabilitation Collier set about eliminating residential schools and establishing day schools on reserves. Eventually 20 residential schools were closed. His new director of Indian education, one Willard Beatty, "...rejected the notion that the bureau should train Indians for non-existent urban jobs, such as auto mechanics and masonry, so he altered Indian curriculum to help solve problems on the reservations. Under his guidance, Indian children were taught to plant community gardens, care for livestock, and learn modern methods of conservation. Day schools became centers for a variety of community activities where children and adults learned homemaking skills, attended health clinics, and perpetuated their crafts and dances." (Philip, 1977:128)

It sounds rather like Collier's visions of school-community centers run by settlement house workers in pre WW1 American cities. It proved of little value to those who intended to do something other than living a reserve existence. It did however lay the basis for a recrudescence of Indian artists, potters, weavers, jewelry makers, dancers, story tellers and similar cultural producers.

However the Navajo strenuously opposed the replacement of residential schools, where their children were provided with food and clothing, which the usually impoverished day schools on reserves did not. By 1937 the BIA allocation for food for Indian students had declined to 13 cents per student per day, lower than it had been during the worst of the previous regimes. But Collier wouldn't back down on his school policies.. Ben Reifel, a Brule Sioux, "...claimed that while Indian children benefited from knowing how to raise rabbits and chickens, they often failed to learn how to read and write properly." (Philip, 1977 :128-129)

One of the most controversial reforms initiated by Collier consisted of executive orders which limited the influence of missionaries over Indian education, following the 'Indian Religious Freedom and Indian Culture' order of Jan. 1934. "It demanded that 'the fullest constitutional liberty in all matters affecting religion, conscience, and culture exist for all Indians' and,
furthermore, that an 'affirmative, appreciative attitude' toward native heritage was desired in the Indian Service." (Philip, 1977: 131)

A second order issued in the same month curtailed missionary activity in schools and prohibited compulsory attendance at religious services. This raised a furore among many Indians themselves, who launched various appeals to the effect that they did not want their traditional practices resurrected and wanted Christian missions to continue on their reserves (Philip, 1977: 131-132).

Collier doesn't seem to have had any clear plans of how to establish Indian self-government. So in 1934 he circulated a questionnaire to leading personalities involved with Indian matters as to what 'tribal government' should be. Ralph Linton, a prominent anthropologist of the time, replied saying that the Commanches in southwestern Oklahoma seemed content with their individual land allotments and feared only the loss of land to white real estate interests. That they had little interest in reviving tribal government. Oliver LaFarge, then president of the National Association on Indian Affairs, replied that the Navajo favored individual land allotments but needed a larger block of land for community pasturage. He noted that community government had been operating in many of the Pueblos but that internal factions would plague any formal self-government. Rejection of the reestablishment of tribal government flowed in from Arapaho, Blackfoot, Assiniboine, Sioux and other widely scattered groups. (Philip: 1977: 136-38)

Collier organized a number of Indian conferences to convey his suggestions about tribal self-government to Indian delegates, and to hear their response. He was greeted with modest enthusiasm but also with acrimonious hostility. What raised the greatest opposition was that, as initially proposed, the institution of tribal governments would not be based on voluntary decisions. In addition, individual allotments on the reserves would become subject to tribal ownership, without clear inheritance rights by the holder's children. That was something which many/most Indian groups then rejected.

A conference of Indians held in March of 1934 at Anadarko, Oklahoma, had delegates from the Osage, Quapaw, Kiowa, Commanche, Arapaho and the Cheyenne who voiced suspicion about fundamental changes in Indian administration. Tribal business groups representing the Pawnee, Ponca, Kaw, Otoe and Tonkawa tribes also criticized the Indian Reorganization Act.

At Miami, Ray McNaughton, a Peoria Indian, expressed the sentiment of many natives from Ottawa County when he warned that they had little interest in 'returning to the hunting class.' (Philip, 1977: 153)
Something similar emerged during another conference attended by some 2,000 members of the Five Civilized Nations in Muskogee, Oklahoma. There, Joseph Brunner, a Creek 'chief' representing assimilated members of the tribes, led an opposition to Collier's attempt to reestablish tribal governments, fearing that the move would result in the confiscation of their oil and mineral rights and take away their allotted lands. (Philip, 1977:153)

The passage of the Indian Reorganization Act (the Wheeler-Howard bill) provoked lobbying and politicking in senate committees as complicated as the Pueblo Lands question had been a decade earlier. Some of Collier's earlier congressional supporters now became opponents of what they felt was another New Deal power grab, involving Indians as experimental subjects. Collier had had the support of those who found government intrusion into Indian life offensive but now he seemed to be out doing past bureaucrats.

The Indian Reorganization Act which had originally strengthened tribal government was amended in Congressional debate to the point where William Hastings, a Cherokee Representative in the House, said that every provision in the original bill had been changed except the title. Roosevelt signed it into law on June 18, 1934. (Philip; 158/159)

Following this Collier halted all allotment of lands, extended the 'trust' period on reserve lands (which excluded allotted land from any taxation) and began a modest re-acquisition of public and private lands to be consolidated with tribal reserves. Collier proceeded down this road, dismissing warnings to the effect that it was not what many Indians wanted at the time.

Despite Collier zeal he still had to obtain the approval of members of each tribe in order to enroll them under the Indian Reorganization Act. This was due to an amendment to the Act by senator Edgar Howard, the initial sponsor of the act. The original act had not permitted for opting out. Over the following years charges of co-optation were made about efforts to institute the IRA. The upshot was that eventually some 181 tribes, with 129,000 people, accepted the I.RA. while some 86,300 opposed it and proceeded under a host of different arrangements. The Navajo rejected it absolutely. (Philip, 1977:162-163)

Interrupting concerns about preserving cultural heritage was the deepening poverty on many reservations. In 1935-36 economic matters could not have been worse. The Pine Ridge Sioux were existing under conditions of semi-starvation, despite the make work projects of the New Deal and after almost three years of Collier's administration of the Bureau of Indians Affairs. (Philip, 1977:165)
By the summer of 1936 Collier and Oliver LaFarge had apparently resolved their differences to the extent that LaFarge was sent out to consult with the Hopi to create a tribal government which would work under the IRA. LaFarge spent three months among the Hopi and noted that the Hopi had adopted a tribal constitution in late 1936 by a vote of some 650 to 104, but that the abstention of some 2,800 eligible voters could be considered as an opposition vote. Despite the institution of 'tribal self-government' the Hopi remained factionalized among various settlements and between traditionalists and others. (Philip, 1977: 165-167)

By the 1920s and 1930s there already existed a stratum of American Indians who were preachers, lawyers, successful local businessmen, to say nothing of Indian commercial fishermen, cannery workers, loggers and sawmill workers. Middle class Indian individuals pop up almost everywhere on the then contemporary scene. Apart from their prevailing cultural conservatism a proportion of American Indians during the 1930s were simply politically reactionary. At times they were linked to like minded politicians and non-Indian lobbies.

One of the more dramatic examples of Indian reaction was an organization calling itself the 'American Indian Federation', which claimed a membership of 4,000 from all parts of America, whose leaders met in Gallup, New Mexico during August 1934. They were strongly opposed to Collier's policies and to the Indian Reorganization Act, which they held would lead to re-tribalization, jeopardize individual Indian holdings by new tribal governments and would deepen racial prejudice against American Indians.

The president and driving force behind the A.I.F. was one Joseph Bruner, a 'full blood' Creek from Oklahoma who was a product of residential schools, an allotment holder and successful businessman involved in oil, real estate and selling insurance. He had been active in the 1920s in pursuing Creek land claims and was initially impressed with Collier's defence of Pueblo land claims. [Bruner].... wanted to continue the work of Dr. Carlos Montezuma, an Indian who stressed the desirability of adopting white civilization." (Philip, 1977:172)

Bruner began operating as a lobbyist in Washington D.C., sending memorials to Roosevelt and to members of Congress. He accused the Indian Reorganization Act of attempting to institute a form of 'Russian communistic life in the United States', demanded the removal of Collier from the B.I.A., and argued for the repeal of any separate administration of Indians and reservations. He capped his campaign by appearing before the Congressional Committee dealing with Indian Affairs and charging that
Collier had previously praised Isadora Duncan, an 'avowed atheist', and had written a memorial for Francisco Ferrer, a Spanish Anarchist philosopher executed by Spain in the early years of the century.

Alice Lee Jemison, a prominent 'mixed blood' Seneca, then took the stand and proudly claimed that she was a product of 'the American melting pot'. She said that the Seneca disapproved of the Indian Reorganization Act and held that Collier should be removed for introducing legislation to separate Indians from the American mainstream. She held that the new act would allow 'transient' Indians (i.e. off reserve Indians) to interfere in reservation affairs. To round off the charges she held that Collier was unfit to hold office, "... warning that he belonged to the American Civil Liberties Union, an organization which had defended the two Italian anarchists Sacco and Vanzetti" (Philip, 1977:172-173)

The anti-Collier coalition also included one Jacob Morgan, a member of the Navajo Tribal Council, who argued that the Navajo must learn to enter American life and did not wish to be part of a separate nation. Furthermore, he held that the residential schools which Collier had closed on the Navajo reserve had provided a proper schooling and care of the children, neither of which applied in the dispersed one room schools which had replaced them.

A Senator Elmer Thomas had an Act passed which exempted Oklahoma Indians from the provisions in the Indian Reorganization Act which made it illegal for Indians to mortgage or sell their lands. He inveigled Collier to accompany him on a tour of Oklahoma reservations in the fall of 1934. Meeting members of the Five Civilized Nations in Muskogee City, "Thomas told the Indians that he realized most of them wanted their land restrictions [i.e. disallowing sale of allotted reserve lands] extended, but warned that assimilated individuals such as former Vice-President Charles Curtis, a Kaw, needed protection. Under the present law they were prohibited from selling restricted land even if farming no longer occupied their attention" (Philip, 1977: 176)

It is uncertain how this went over with his audience.

Despite initially wide spread Indian opposition to the I.R.A. many Indian populations whose lands had been broken into private allotments reconstituted themselves under tribal governments, electing chiefs and councilors and issuing regulations for the first time in 40 odd years. It was a highly varied set of responses from Indian groups existing in highly varied conditions - ranging from some who had lost virtually all of their allotted lands to those which had preserved some degree of tribal government. During Collier's commissionership some nineteen tribes in Oklahoma, with a
population of over thirteen thousand people, adopted tribal constitutions. (Philip, 1977:177-180, 182)

In some cases opposition to the powers conveyed by the I.R.A. to tribal government was understandable enough, since tribal governments could and did act quite despotically. An example was the case in which members of the Native American Church (Peyote users), were seized, jailed and fined by the leaders of Taos pueblo for disregarding traditional rites.

"As early as 1917 conservative officers at Taos had split the Pueblo into two factions by persecuting peyote users who threatened their ancient traditions. This hostility appeared again during the New Deal because the conservative leaders insisted that self-government gave them unlimited authority to destroy the Native American Church. Consequently, on February 12, 1936, Antonio Mirabal, an Indian law enforcement officer, displayed his Federal badge and gun in order to enter a house where a peyote ceremony was about to start. Mirabal placed his gun at the chest of John Reynal, the cult's leader, confiscated the supply of peyote, arrested three leaders of the Native American Church, and confined them in the filthy Pueblo jail.

Bureau officials refused to intervene at the request of those jailed
A short time later, a trial was held at a council meeting and Mirabal acted as a prosecutor and judge. He fined fifteen peyote men $100 each [a large sum under then prevailing conditions] and Geronimo Gomez $225 after Gomez justified peyote worship and questioned the legality of the court's proceedings. Because they did not have any money, Mirabal confiscated approximately 300 acres of their irrigated land. In addition, he claimed that the peyote had failed to 'unwitch' a psychotic named Alvino Montoya and used this charge to imprison some of the defendants. (Philip, 1977:194)

Collier arranged a meeting between Mirabal and Gomez in Albuquerque and hammered out an agreement which was to preserve the ancient customs of the Taos but allow a degree of religious freedom. The land and fines were to be returned to the members of the Native American Church, who had to hold their services in a remote part of the Pueblo. They in turn promised to observe kiva rules and refrain from proselytizing. There were other cases in which Pueblo members who did not follow directions of their tribal leaders were whipped.

It soon turned out that the Taos leaders had not returned the 300 acres of irrigated land they had taken from the American Native Church followers and Collier had to use a section of the Pueblo Lands Act to administratively intervene to have the land returned. Santano Sandoval, the Indian 'governor' of Taos, replied that he could not accept Collier's compromise permitting the Peyoteists rights without violating New Mexico state law, which outlawed
the use of peyote. He demanded a Federal court hearing but Ickes, the Secretary of the Interior, remained adamant. The land was ultimately returned to its previous owners" (Philip, 1977:195)

And so on ad infinitum. Many of these cases, with their backgrounds in land conflicts, also involved factional disputes, the application of state and Federal laws, the intervention of assorted Indian defense organizations, and endless appeals to higher principles. They were a microcosm of the forces and interests which coursed through Indian communities operating with various degrees of self government.

One of the more melodramatic incidents in Indian opposition to Collier and his policies emerged when the American Indian Federation, a paper organization headed by Joseph Brunner, sought the support of 'certain fascist elements' in America during the later 1930s. This became a symbol which Collier supporters raised ever afterwards when facing opposition. "The mentality of the AIF [American Federation of Indians] became clear when thirty delegates met at Salt Lake City on July 23-25, 1936. Led by Joseph Brunner, their president, and O.K Chandler, a mixed blood Indian who had been superintendent of the Quapaw Agency, they attacked Collier for supposedly opening the gates to communism with the IRA, encouraging the decline of Christianity, and appointing radicals to his staff. (Philip: 1977:200)

The American Federation of Indians allegedly got the backing of some Nazi supporters during the later 1930s while an Elwood Towner, a mixed blood Indian and an attorney in Portland, worked his audiences while decked out in a mish-mash of Plains ceremonial gear. He called Collier a 'Jew loving Pink Red' who associated with Roger Baldwin, the legal advisor of the 'communist inspired' American Civil Liberties Union. (Philip, 1977: 202)

In addition, one James True, a rightwing pamphleteer, and William Pelly, a member of Father Coughlin's Silver Shirt movement, were raising money for Alice Lee Jemison, the district president of the American Indian Federation. A number of anti-New Deal senators, including Elmer Thomas, a senator from Oklahoma who opposed Collier, arranged for A.I.F spokes persons to appear before a Congressional investigation. "This resulted in a favorable committee act on a bill introduced in 1939, which exempted from the IRA the following Indian groups: the Pine Ridge, Standing Rock, Cheyenne River, and Yankton Sioux tribes, all Indian groups in Nevada and California, the Eastern Band of Cherokees in North Carolina, the Indians on the Colorado River reservation in Arizona, and the Navajos in New Mexico." (Phillip, 1977:203)
The American Indian Federation also received support from Congressmen Martin Dies of Texas, then the chairman of House Un-American Activities Committee. In late 1938 he summoned Collier to appear before the committee to answer charges brought by Alice Jemision that the Indian Affairs Bureau had fallen under communist influence.

This propaganda appealed to leaders of the federation such as Elwood A. Towner, a mixed blood Indian and attorney from Portland, Oregon, who used the German-American Bund to discredit Collier. Known as Chief Red Cloud, he dressed in full [i.e Hollywood] Indian costume, wearing a headdress of white, green and lavender feathers with a thunderbird design or swastika in the center of his forehead. Towner told audiences attending his lecture tours on the West Coast, that Nathan Margold and other Jews in the Interior Department drew up the IRA. (Phillip, 1977 :202)

No doubt there were reactionaries, both Indian and white, opposed to Collier and the New Deal in general. But the breathless expose offered in support of Collier partakes of the exposure of the 'demonic forces' behind whoever opposed him. It serves to block out any critical consideration of the basis of opposition to his policies. The 'pro-Nazi' orientation of certain Indian leaders and their supporters was probably nothing more (or less) than the doings of typical American reactionaries. It seems quite in line with the reaction which normally circulates in much of America, in Congress and among many Indian people themselves.

Kenneth Philip's chapters Failure to Create a Red Atlantis and Partial Restoration of Sovereignty are filled with the politics involved in opposing Collier's policies. The intricacies of the in-fighting is far too voluminous to even summarize here. However, the Indian Reorganization Act was constantly under revision in congressional bills throughout the later 1930s. During W.W.2. the Bureau of Indian Affairs was hobbled by declining appropriations under colour of wartime economy. By 1945 the appropriations for the B.I.A. was significantly lower than it had been in 1932, in the depth of the depression and a year before Collier had taken over. The 1945 appropriation for the B.I.A removed some two million dollars from its budget, making it three and a half million dollars less than it had been in 1932.(Philip, 1977: 208)

With America's entry into W.W.2 the Federal agencies which had extended many of their programmes to Indian reserves withdrew their services as manpower and funds for non-war work shrank. This was especially noticeable among doctors and medical personnel.

Collier's social patriotism was demonstrated in his 1942 plans for a detention camp of interned Japanese-Americans to be located on a western
Indian reservation. This was concurrent with his damning of opponents as 'proto-fascists'. He partly shifted his concern from native Americans and directed his zeal toward the Japanese-Americans. Vice President Henry Wallace had suggested that Collier be placed in charge of the entire Japanese-American 'relocation' authority but Roosevelt demurred. However Collier was allowed to supervise some 20,000 Japanese-Americans interned at Poston camp, located on an Indian reserve in western Arizona. (Phillip: 208-209)

"Several reasons compelled Collier to involve the Indian Bureau in the activities of the Poston camp. He hoped to use the Japanese agricultural experience to put 25,000 acres of land under cultivation. This would help irrigate the Indian reservation, enable the Japanese to raise surplus foods to feed American troops, and allow them to build check dams and similar projects on open range lands. Collier believed that the Poston experience might yield 'scientific results' concerning American administration of former Japanese islands in the Pacific Ocean."

"In addition Collier wanted to create a community atmosphere at Poston in order to restore Japanese morale and faith in democracy In June 1942 he told the Japanese evacuees that their camp would be a social experiment to demonstrate to the whole country 'the efficiency and splendor of the cooperative way of living "'(Emphasis mine Philip,1977: 209)

This was not intended as bitter satire

However, the director of the wartime 'relocation' authority strongly disliked camp settlements like Poston and was determined that they would never be converted into permanent communities. He urged the Japanese-Americans to disperse across the county as soon as feasible.

In any case, there was a riot by Japanese-American internees in which militants played martial music and waved Japanese flags. The Bureau of Indian Affairs got out of prison camp administration soon afterward; its involvement lasted for only about one year. This pleased the Mohave and Chemehuevi Indians who lived on the Colorado River reservation. They resented the Japanese-American intruders and disliked Collier because he had used their land for a relocation site. (Philip, 1977: 210)

Afterwards

After leaving the BIA in early 1945 Collier involved himself in a number of lobby groups similar to those which he had supported during the pre W.W. 1 period. He remained in Washington to take up various causes and soon came to oppose the cold war policies being elaborated by President Truman. In July of 1945 he organized an Institute of Ethnic Affairs which
was constituted of prominent individuals and anthropologists such as Laura Thompson, Clyde Kluckhohn, Dorthea Leighton, Philleo Nash, and John Cooper. It also contained Darcy McNickle, a senior Indian employee of the BIA, as well as directors of museums. This Institute was quickly torpedoed and their tax deduction status lifted after it criticized the American military administrations of Pacific Trust Territories (Philip:214).

Collier also engaged in speaking tours, warning of the 'resurrection' of Nazism, anti-Semitism, anti-Indianism and allied threats to the American way of life. In 1947 he published his *Indians of the Americas*, its recurrent thesis being that after 400 years of contact with Europeans Indian communities, whenever it was possible, had returned to some form of tribal government under the IRA in order protect their group's identity. This doesn't seem to accord with his experiences while instituting the Indian Reorganization Act.

During the immediate post-war period Collier was involved in opposing the colonial role of the US government and Navy in the administration of the Pacific territories, such as Guam and American Samoa, obtained from Spain in 1898. In this he crossed swords with Secretary of the Navy Forrestal. He also wrote a pamphlet called *America's Colonial Record*, which was a brief outline of American imperialism starting with its relations with American Indians and proceeding through the wars of territorial acquisition. He held that U.S. rule over Pacific territories had been for the benefit of business monopolies. He dealt in particular with the history of the Philippines since its acquisition, noting that the 1934 act to grant independence within 10 years included provisions for American corporations to operate unchecked within a neocolonial Philippine Republic. He also noted that Douglas McArthur had, after the reconquest of the Philippines, installed Roxas, a Japanese collaborator, as head of the Philippine government because of his devotion to crushing the Hukbalahap peasant movement which demanded a thoroughgoing land reform.. (Philips:220) All true enough. However that kind of an account was heresy in the U.S.; it served as proof positive to American reactionaries that Collier was a 'red'.

In 1947 he was offered a professorship in sociology and anthropology at City College, New York, where he taught courses on the comparative study of national minorities around the world and on the Indian and the New Deal. He also wrote about American Indian spirituality in the Southwest and came to believe that an appreciation of and active defence of Indian rights was a critical force in a world balanced between racism and pluralism. (Philips 223)

Later Collier became engaged as a critic of then current BIA policies and took a hand in lobbying Congress. By 1950 there were forces building up
both within the BIA administration and among congressmen which would emerge in 1953 as Public Law 280. This laid the basis for Federal government termination of two reservations and the removal of Indian status from the people so affected. It also placed Indians in the western US under the criminal and civil laws of their respective states. Collier's attempts to mobilize public opposition against such moves failed. He was shocked by the almost total repudiation of the polices he had fostered during his commissionership of the B.I.A. (Philip 228-229)

In 1954 he was caught up in the McCarthyist purges which surged through American colleges, especially in New York's college system. Conservative members of his department, who were on the college-wide appointments committee, requested the administration not to rehire Collier because he had reached the retirement age and also because ".....he involved students in research projects for the 'radical' Institute of Ethnic Affairs, instigated 'violent controversies', such as opposition to naval rule in the Pacific, and criticized current Indian policy. (Philip, 1977 :230) Collier was forced to resign.

In 1957, after a brief stint of teaching Collier settled in Taos, New Mexico, where he gradually retreated into retirement, writing a column for the El Crepuscolo (a community action newspaper memorialized in John Nicols marvellous novel The Magic Journey ). He wrote denunciations of the Eisenhower program for termination of Indian reserves and in 1960 began writing his autobiography, From Every Zenith. His eldest son, John Collier Jr., who also lived in Taos for fifteen years, comments that his father had developed a rather private existence.

Don Quixote at Dusk The Manners-Collier exchange

Near the end of his life Collier became involved in a bitter controversy with Robert Manners, an anthropologist with no stain on his reputation despite the charges leveled by Collier. In i962 Manners wrote an article entitled Pluralism and the American Indian in America Indigena which was followed by Collier's reply in the following year. It raised issues involved in a U.S. Supreme Court decision of 1960 which allowed the Federal government to flood a part of the Tuscarora reserve in upstate New York, following payment for lands lost.

Manners addressed himself to the furor about 'treaty breaking' which this decision set off. In part, he wrote that the guarantees of Indian status and separate Indian rights could act as a trap which limited Indian participation in the broader American world. He noted that the wardship status of American Indians living on reservations was a position which had grown up
in very different times, a position which was now limiting Indian involvement in America life. He suggested that American Indians might be well advised to dispense with the limited privileges they had acquired as a part of their wardship status. He noted that then, as forty years later, most Americans are 'on the side of the Indians', believing that they have been defrauded over the years and that both ongoing compensation and the right to live as they liked were due to Indian people. (Manners: 1967:671-672)

He noted that most white Americans have little choice in which elements of their culture they will preserve. However there is at least a commitment to the belief that all should have the opportunity to pursue whichever undertakings they find desirable. (Manners does not address the fact that such 'opportunities' are mainly illusory for the great majority of working class Americans.) He says that some of the best meant struggles for Indian rights may in the longer run have an affect opposite to that intended. Speaking of Indian rights he says that the struggles involved are implicitly conservative, to retain things as they were.

It is true that they [some] might still prefer an impossible return to the past. But the chief reason for this is that they see no other way out. For even many of those who have most sincerely sought to help them have often cast their eyes backwards in a devotion to remedies which are clearly anachronistic." (Manners, 1967:672)

Manners goes on to suggest that the struggle of American Indians should no longer concentrate on preserving an enclaved ghetto survival. He holds that entry into the broader American world could take place more rapidly and fully than any of their supporters could imagine, that it is a recognition of the difficulties which they face rather than a reverence for past conditions which underlays many Indian reactions.

.. "Most Indians talk longingly about the land and the old days and the lost security and/or excitement. But anyone who has spent some time among them knows that virtually all of the younger - and a good many of the older Indians as well - realize the dreamlike quality of the world they talk about. They know that they are overstating the case for the glories of the past. But what is even more important is that most of them would not have it if it were handed to them on a platter" ..............."It will not help the Indians to think of themselves - or to urge others to think of them - and their relationship to the land in terms that were appropriate 300 or more years ago. It seems a clear disservice to the shredded dignity of the American Indians to encourage him in the preservation and production of revised and synthetic forms whose original function disappeared generations ago........There is overwhelming evidence that many of the enclaved reservation cultures are
segregated and ghettoized cultures in the very worst sense of the words. They are at present in the sorry position of sharing some of the poorer features of both worlds." (Manners, 1967: 677-678)

Manners ends his article with a suggestion that the process of maintaining ghettoized Indian 'societies' may only be preserving the poverty into which they have fallen. That in order for Indian people to develop the capacities they have it may be necessary for them to put aside their 'identity' as native groups and to enter into the broader American world as individuals (Manners, 1967: 681-682)

Although this conclusion may seem somewhat excessive it is at least an argument for consideration. In present day Canada however such a position would be considered as 'racist' and native spokespersons and their lawyers would cast such views into stygian darkness.

Collier emerged from retirement and launched a counterattack in Divergent Views on 'Pluralism and the American Indian' also in America Indigena. Here we find that Collier's views were not so different from those of Oliver LaFarge, especially in his attitude toward the 'mindless, atomized masses'. It may be that Collier, already an old man, was merely repeating the views which he had held throughout his lifetime. But the similarity of Collier's views with Victorian visions of the working class are striking. He notes that Manners' view does not represent the then current thinking among social scientists but is rather the view of certain, unspecified but powerful, groups in the United States. Their views are not the unabashed language of exploitation

"It is a different language, derived from what is called Madison Avenue in the United States ....and it is the language of sweetness and light. Individuals and groups who are different from the pulverized, unstructured masses are to be pitied and not as in an earlier time to be scorned or hated. They are to be charitably saved from themselves through being made partners in the material and cultural dominance of the White, Western, economically affluent, socially atomistic, and spiritually featureless society which in this H-bomb epoch is being herded toward its own and the world's doom. Not guns or the lash or, in main, not jails, are to be used in the grinding of human differences into the faceless dead-level of White-decreed Western economic man; instead, that which Madison Avenue calls the 'engineering of consent' is to be used." .....The Indians are being led to accept ".....as final and as life-sufficing and as their own destiny the Western White Man's jungle and slough of despond in this middle Twentieth Century. Voluntarily abandoning their grouphoods, their undying pasts their cultures, their Indianhood, they are to take what they can get within the jungle and slough
of despond. What they can get as 'go-getting' isolates, will not be much.

Collier holds that Manners article appears as a hand from the dead past. But it is a past which will attempt to come alive again as it did in the years between 1953 and 1957, when the reserve lands and Indian rights of two tribes were abrogated, although later restored.

His response represents one of the underlying images of American Indian romanticism. He spells out the alleged alternative to separate Indian identities in all of its colour and, for him, horror. He holds that Manners' article has a wider significance.

"It seeks to rationalize the intentions of forces in the United States more powerful than all the social scientists. These forces intend, as implied at the beginning of this communication, that through polite 'engineering of consent', or if need be through brute force, there shall come about a dead manipulable flatness of human life in the United States and in the rest of the world: that the individual isolate, 'freed' from grouphood, culture and home, an atomized 'go getter', shall become - each individual - one among three billion interchangeable grains of sand in an unstructured sand-heap of the world."  (Emphasis mine, Collier,1967: 685).

God knows what one is to make of Collier's response. It is the same rhetoric he used to lambast his opponents from his pre W.W.1. efforts at moral uplift among immigrant populations in New York, through the 1920s when he was involved in advancing Pueblo Indian claims and also later when he was the Commissioner of the BIA. It seems that Collier played this refrain throughout his entire adult life. It successfully obfuscated many of the real issues which are at stake.

Near the end of his life, in poor physical health, Collier wrote to the officers of the Taos pueblo requesting that they permit his body to be buried in an unmarked grave somewhere on a mesa on the Taos reserve. They refused his request. He died in May 1968, at eighty four years of age, and was buried in the Hispanic-American Presbyterian cemetery overlooking the Taos valley. (Philip,1977:236)

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Ch. 8 On Indian Peasant Communities in Mexico: The Robert Redfield-Oscar Lewis Debate.

In North America indigenismo - an appreciation of indigenous culture and society- was anything but a radical force. Interest in native society in North America called not for a transformation of society as a whole but rather for an appreciation of native cultures as they had once been. Although sharing certain entusiasms for indigenous ethnic nationalism, the indigenismo of many Latin American intellectuals was markedly different from that which attracted North American entusiasts to Indian heritage. In Mexico, Peru and elsewhere in Latin America indigenismo was often linked to appeals for a radical transformation of their neocolonial societies. It emerged from the Mexican revolution and the promises which that conflict had created.

Robert Redfield and his world.

Robert Redfield (1897-1958) was born and grew up in Chicago, the son of a modestly prominent city lawyer. He attended the University of Chicago beginning in 1915 but two years later volunteered to serve in an American ambulance unit in France during World War One. On returning to America he reentered the University of Chicago, graduated two years later and then obtained a law degree in 1921. While he joined a city law firm after a trip to Mexico in 1923 he became enthused by archaeology and ethnography and briefly returned to the university for some further studies. He did fieldwork for his dissertation in the small town of Tepoztlan in Morelos state during 1926 and 27, which emerged in early 1930 as Tepoztlan, A Village in Mexico.

As a comment on the social background of Redfield world one might note that Chicago had contained radical currents in the late 19th and early 20th centuries (Jack London had seen it as America's Petrograd), the city of the Haymarket Martyrs, the headquarters of the Industrial Workers of the World, the location of J.H. Kerr book publishers and much more. Although all this was under violent attack in America well before World War One began.
Many of the more established white native Americans were dismayed by the masses of foreign immigrants and the seeming anomic urban life which existed in cities like Chicago. "Anomic" refers to a situation in which many individuals no longer know the rules of social life within a society and where actions become unpredictable and seemingly random. This topic was of concern to other social scientists at University of Chicago and also to American higher intellects of the period. It was a time when rural America was rapidly giving way to larger cities and what was considered to be their 'social disorganization'. In part this was the impetus which drove the broader Nativist-Prohibitionist movement of the time, the seemingly growing mass of 'unAmericanism' in the cities and of urban life in general.

The World War One period and the 1920s which followed were an era of unbridled reaction in America, one which witnessed the emergence of a multi million member Ku Klux Klan, the state repression of the left in all its forms and the broad destruction of labor organization almost everywhere. It witnessed as well the harassment and an attempted forced draft 'Americanization' of millions of members of recent immigrant communities. All of this was part of a resurgent Anglo-American nativism which aimed to return the country to the condition from which it had recently emerged whether overseen by Woodrow Wilson or by the following bevy of Republican presidents it was a viciously reactionary period in American history, one which hounded and impoverished millions even before the great depression struck.

Like John Collier and others Redfield became concerned to discover the nature and virtues of 'small scale' communities, especially the alleged virtues they demonstrated over the seeming anomic of the modern urban world. Although from urban roots himself Redfield was part of the first generation in which small towns and rural communities were being replaced by city life in America - he and similar thinkers were not happy about what that entailed. Chicago at the time was a huge and rapidly growing megalopolis with a notably corrupt public administration, an even more corrupt police force, with powerful gangster overlords. It certainly seemed like an example of 'social disorganization', in with no one was sure of how things were supposed to or did operate, certainly not the troubled Midwestern intellectuals. There were seemingly unassimilated masses of Slavs, Italians and other European immigrants, to say nothing of the Negro immigration that was then beginning to swell Chicago's population.

Then as today that city dominated State politics, where 'native Americans' in rural communities and small towns had become subservient to decisions taken in Chicago. Crime, irreligiosity, urban poverty were rampant, along
with an inability of much of the population to achieve the modestly 'independent' status allegedly prevailing among those living in small towns. Add to this a seeming allegiance to 'foreign ideologies' (particularly socialism) and a seemingly general breakdown of community life among the immigrant and first generation population; all these conditions disturbed Redfield and other intellects who were concerned with developments on the American scene. The University of Chicago was then the almost exclusive haunt of middle class, native born Americans, some of whom viewed the changes in American society with alarm*

*As a dissenting voice one may note anthropologist Ralph Linton's (1893-1953), a small town Midwesterner himself, who wrote a once much reproduced article entitled A Hundred Percent American's Day. Written in the late 1920s, it underscores the cosmopolitan roots of daily life in America and was Linton's response to the xenophobia which had had seized his country during that period.

In addition to unAmericanism at home events in Mexico had deeply disturbed the administrators of the burgeoning American Empire. The Mexican Revolution (1910-1920+) had triggered American armed intervention by the Woodrow Wilson's regime in 1916, as well as intervention in a number of Central American and Caribbean republics and an expeditionary force was sent into Mexico under General Pershing. The Mexican revolution had restarted following the assassination of President Francisco Madero when the regime of one general Huerta's had tried to set the clock back to the days of Porfirio Diaz. To some Americans it seemed as if Red Revolution had arrived at America's doorstep and that America itself was being threatened by members of militant labor unions and by socialist parties which, in the last election before World War One, had taken some ten per cent of the national vote. Fears about an internal alien threat were utilized by the British Intelligence service in early 1917 with the fabrication of the 'Zimmerman Telegram', a supposedly secret German policy document which allegedly attempted to ally Japan, Mexico and Germany which included a promise of a return of all American lands formerly held by Mexico. This hokum was retailed by the American press before America's entry into World War One, giving the rubes and Barbara Tuchman something to expatiate about. Whatever folksiness might exist within peasant communities the social consequences involved in the Mexican conflict were of far greater interest to America's rulers than simple ethnographic curiosity.

Redfield's initial field studies of Mexican Indian peasant life were in Tepoztlan, a townlet some 60 miles by rail from Mexico City. With the after-effects of the Mexican revolution, in which Tepoztlan had been
centrally involved, swirling around him Redfield managed to disregard the 400 years of colonial and class rule as well as the conflicts which characterized Mexican society. He footnoted the mass revolutionary movement of 1910-1920 and tailored it into unthreatening facets of 'folk culture'. You would be hard pressed to recognize that extremely bloody and chaotic revolutionary struggles had raged throughout Morelos state and much of the rest of Mexico for over a decade and that the aftermaths of that conflict were still going on during Redfield's field work.

In his account *Tepoztlan* is portrayed as a sleepy, highly 'integrated' community of Indian peasants; classless and without a history of internal struggles for land and resources. Internal differences are supposedly between the 'correctos' (right thinking) and the 'tontos' (fools), although such differences are allegedly bridged by the folk culture of traditional attitudes which dominate all. (Guess who the 'correct thinking' were.) Zapata, the revolutionary leader of the Indian masses in the region during the recent civil war is discussed as a kind of folk hero or saint. There is no consideration of the material issues at stake in the revolution or what attracted support for it from the Indian peasants of the region over a ten year period, then recently ended, in which possibly 10 per cent of the Mexican population perished.

One might note Redfield's treatment of the *cuatequitl*, a communal labour service which had been restored briefly in Tepoztlan during his stay but which had previously been a mechanism whereby the village *caciques* mobilized forced labor for their own purposes. It was a procedure strongly disliked by villagers and had fallen into disuse during the Mexican revolution. It was only briefly reinstated in Tepotzlan under the impetus of socialist inclined federal forces during the mid 1920s.

Enthusiasts of America's First People were usually not much enamored of the ways of unAmerican Indians, such as those engaged in revolutionary struggles in Mexico and elsewhere. When Robert Redfield, Oliver LaFarge and others of similar persuasion treated Latin American Indians in revolutionary contexts they simply converted such social upheavals they mainly explained them away as Indians attempting to return to the ways of their pre-European past. This outlook continues to have a substantial following even today.

The additional topics recounted in Redfield's portrait of Tepoztlan will be discussed below as they were restudied in Oscar Lewis' far fuller and far more sagacious account done some 20 years later.
Oscar Lewis and Tepoztlan restudied

Oscar Lewis was born in New York city in 1914 but grew up on in upstate New York state; he was quite poor at the time he took his B.A. from City College in 1936 and his Ph.D. from Columbia University in 1940. His doctoral dissertation dealt with the effects of the horse on Blackfoot culture during the 18th and 19th centuries. Lewis began his first fieldwork in Tepoztlan in 1943 which continued off and on until 1948. Initially employed by the U.S. Department of Agriculture he also occasionally taught at Brooklyn College until he shifted to the University of Illinois where he founded its department of anthropology at Urbana. He later did field work in working class districts of Mexico city and also in Puerto Rico but is probably best known for his life histories of ordinary Mexican people, peasants and urban dwellers. He was a professor of anthropology at the University of Illinois from the early 1950s until his death in 1970. Despite his later critics he was a remarkable anthropologist who produced some extraordinary work.

Lewis' Life in a Mexican Village. Tepoztlan Restudied (1951) is a detailed and wide ranging ethnographic account with extensive data on farming practices, on land tenure and division of labor, and on wealth differences within that townlet. It deals with local government and politics, religion, as well as a great deal on the quality of familial and other interpersonal relations. It discusses the life cycle of Tepoztecans and was produced with the aid of a roster of Mexican co-workers. It is a truly outstanding ethnographic study regardless of what case Lewis was making.

If Redfield's account of Tepoztlan might be said to be a quasi-anthropological tale of an allegedly traditional Indian community Lewis' account was based upon a detailed accounting of everything from corn cultivation to personal interrelationships, much of it quantified. More than that, Lewis investigated what historical documents existed for Tepoztlan's trajectory over the previous four hundred years.

Tepoztlan had been part of a state apparatus for a century before the Spanish conquistadors arrived, having been brought into the Aztec empire in the late 1300s or early 1400s, an empire which levied tribute on the Tepoztecans while they came to speak Nahuatl rather than their former indigenous language. After the Spanish conquered the Aztecs Tepoztlan became a part of the holdings of Cortes family. During the following centuries the church acquired large tracts of land around the town, including substantial amounts of Tepoztlan's communal lands. The church's holdings were finally lost following the victory of Benito Juarez during the Mexican
civil war of the 1860s, who disestablished most church landholdings. Following that large private landholders everywhere in Mexico began to make inroads into Indian community-held land. This created resistance by the increasingly landless Tepoztecs and proceeded in a deepening curve throughout the Porfirio Diaz regime. At the end of that period effective control over most municipio lands were in the hands of a group of local caciques (chiefs, bosses) who in turn were under the control of the spreading sugar haciendas. This was the system in place during Pedro Martinez' birth in 1889 and throughout his young manhood.

Despite attacks on communal lands following the government of the 'Indian' president Benito Juarez, and despite varying shifts in land ownership, the village of Tepoztlan continue to retain much of its communal land until the 1890s but these were often unavailable to the peasants who wanted to work them. Although the municipio of Tepoztlan held on to most of its communal lands, these lands were under the control of local caciques and, therefore, were not always available to the landless Tepoztecs. Before the Revolution of 1910-20 the caciques, with the support of the state and Federal authorities, prohibited the villagers from using the communal lands in order to acquire a cheap labor supply for themselves. One of the most important effects of the Revolution upon Tepoztlan was that the communal lands became open for all Tepoztecs. (Lewis, 1951:115)

It should be noted that these caciques mainly derived from local indigenous people, with generally the same Indian ancestry as the poor and landless. Over the years they established themselves as a local ruling class and their children sometimes extended this role into state and national affairs.

In his summation Lewis holds that Redfield had largely overlooked the external forces which had been intimately related to Tepoztlan for centuries and which must be taken into consideration if the character of Tepoztecan life was to be understood. He notes that when he began his study of that village he believed it would be a continuation of Redfield's work, which needed no fundamental reformulation. However "The impression given by Redfield's study of Tepoztlan is that of a relatively homogeneous, isolated, smoothly functioning and well integrated society made up of a contented and well-adjusted people. His picture of the village has a Rousseauian quality which glosses over evidence of violence, disruption, cruelty, disease, suffering and maladjustment. We are told little of poverty, economic problems, or political schisms. Throughout his study
we find an emphasis upon the cooperative and unifying factors in Tepoztecan society. (Lewis, 1951:428-429)

In particular, Redfield's account stressed the communal lands in Tepoztlan as a unifying factor in the village. While there is a certain truth in this it is a mainly misleading part of the story. Communal lands, following periodic redistribution, were worked and held privately while the acquisition of private land, particularly the richer plough land, was exclusively owned and the ideal of all Tepoztecans. Moreover, the communal lands have been a source of intra-village conflicts and during the year in which Redfield was there these conflicts resulted in very considerable violence.

Similarly, Redfield gives the impression that the *cuatequitl*, a traditional form of collective labour which previously had descended into a form of forced labour utilized by the village *caciques*, was an intimate part of village life. In fact, the *cuatequitl* had fallen into abeyance during the Mexican revolution and had only been temporarily resurrected by socialistically inclined forces in the village whose members were part of a national union of workers. It had been utilized only a very few times since. *Before the Revolution the village cuatequitl was not viewed simply as a voluntary, cooperative endeavor, but was associated with forced labor and imposition by the local cacique groups which ruled the village during the Diaz regime. In the colonial period the Spaniards similarly utilized the traditional cuatequitl as a source of labor.* (Lewis, 1951:429)

Moreover, Redfield portrayed Tepoztlan as a community of more or less equal landowners and did not mention a land problem. But Lewis found that over fifty per cent of the villagers did not own any private land at all, and that there was an acute shortage of good land and considerable population pressure in the face of dwindling agricultural resources.

Redfield also provided a rather glowing picture of Tepoztlan during the Diaz regime but failed to note that the 'cultural florescence' applied only to a very few Tepoztecans, the *caciques*. The great majority of the people of Tepoztlan during that era were desperately poor, landless and living under an oppressive regime which barred them from even using their own communal resources. Ordinary Tepoztecans had actually starved to death under the Diaz regime and it is important to note that the village became a center of resistance to the central government and a strong supporter of Zapata during the Mexican revolution. *Redfield apparently viewed the Mexican Revolution as having had the effect of halting the tendency for the merging of class difference, but we found that the Revolution had a marked leveling influence, economically, socially and culturally.* (Lewis, 1951:430)
Redfield presented only the positive and formal aspects of interpersonal relations and failed to deal with matters such as quarrels and violence within the village, of which there were 175 recorded cases during Redfield's own brief stay. Moreover, he described politics as a game, whereas in fact local politics revolved around bitter but quite rational conflicts. The year Redfield was there the political schisms culminated in open violence bordering on civil war, and it was this situation which finally resulted in Redfield leaving the village. (Lewis, 1951:430) I am not sure whether this refers to the intra-communal massacre of 1928 or to some earlier violent set to.

Redfield's held that the village was differentiated between 'correctos,' i.e. representatives of national ways, and 'tontos,' i.e. representatives of folk culture. However both terms are inapplicable and misdirect a fundamental consideration of this community. The main struggle was over access to land - some of the poorest may also be those most committed to national political organizations while some of the wealthiest supported a 'traditional' organization of the village. Granted that the influence of urban ways can be a means of demarcating differences within Tepoztlan, but it is not the only or the most important difference. Among the status distinctions which were then, and are today, more meaningful to Tepoztecans are those of rich and poor, landowners and landless, owners of private lands and holders of ejidos, ejidatarios and comuneros, farmers in hoe culture and farmers in plow culture, sons of caciques and sons of ex-Zapatistas, to mention but a few. (Lewis, 1951:430)

The alleged differences in world view between 'tontos' and 'correctos' (terms which Redfield had himself manufactured) misdirects our understanding of the political situation within Tepoztlan, and also of other communities elsewhere. The use of such terms as 'tonto' and 'correcto' to designate social groups makes Redfield's account of the forces involved in Tepoztlan is schematic and unreal.

.... the concept of tontos and correctos, as social classes representing different cultural levels, led to misunderstanding of the local political situation. The opposing political factions in the village during Redfield's stay were not composed of tontos on the one side and correctos on the other, the leaders on both sides included highly acculturated and little acculturated individuals, as did the members at large. (1951:430)

In short, there was little similarity between the largely fictional village reported on by Redfield and the actual village of Tepoztlan described by Lewis. The nature of class conflict and its basis there was studied by Lewis, as were a host of other phenomena, and it described a totally different sort to society than that noted by Redfield. Redfield ultimately replied saying that
Lewis account concentrated on the conflict evident in that society while he had concentrated on the folk-like, integrative, elements operating in that townlet. It was all a matter of choice what one choose to portray. That was hardly a response geared to support his account.

Because of its proximity to both the state and national capitals, Tepoztlan has been greatly subject to external influences and most national political currents had some repercussions in the village. Over the years, some members of cacique families from Tepoztlan had achieved substantial prominence outside the village, some reaching into high political circles. In the middle of the last century, many young men of the better-to-do peasant families left Azteca [i.e Tepoztlan] to become doctors, lawyers, teachers, engineers, priests and government officials. These men and their descendants kept in touch with one another and their relatives in the village. In 1920 the colonia Azteca, an organization of Aztecan living in Mexico City, was founded to eliminate illiteracy and to preserve the Nahuatl language in Azteca. This organization became a major outside political force in the village and a permanent, active, urbanizing influence." (Lewis, 1964: Lv)

Counterpoised to this was the trajectory of at least some of the Tepoztecan poor, who had previously emigrated to Mexico City. Members of one Tepoztecan family helped found the National Typographic Union and became engaged in national politics. However this Herrera family remained strongly associated with Tepoztecan politics during the first thirty years of the 20th century. One son was involved in helping to found the Confederacion Regional de Obreros Mexicanos in 1918, the national labor organization. These are hardly folk-like, localist, indigenous undertakings but they became central in the life of Tepoztlan during the 1920s and beyond. These were some of the organizations to which the so-called 'tontos' (fools) gave their allegiance to in the aftermath of the national upwelling.

Some fourteen years after publishing Tepoztlan Restudied Lewis released his life history of a Tepoztecan peasant, Pedro Martinez. A Mexican peasant and his family (1964). It is a tour de force and constitutes some sixty years in Pedro Martinez' life, with corroborative and conflicting views presented by his wife and oldest son. The fact driven home is that Tepoztlan was a very class divided society on the eve of the Mexican revolution, with the local caciques dominating life in the town. And that this class conflict had reemerged after the supposed end of the Mexican revolution.

Morelos state itself had been the locale of spreading sugar haciendas established by mainly American interests near the end of Porfirio Diaz' regime. These came replete with a railway to haul the raw sugar to the ports
and with the growth of other commercial haciendas spreading over formerly communal lands. By 1910 a body of local *caciques* ruled in Tepoztlan whose children often attended national universities and who became lawyers, doctors, engineers or were otherwise integrated into the national ruling class. These were Redfield's so-called 'correctos'. It is a period portrayed by Redfield as a golden age of gradual integration into the national culture, one in which local artizans were producing fancy saddles and ornamental ironwork while others were labouring for the small but burgeoning local middle class. That some people were literally dying of hunger and that the great majority were illiterate, largely landless, often ill, and generally oppressed did not enter into Redfield's account.

In his introduction to *Pedro Martinez* Lewis notes that the Mexican revolution transformed the social structure of Tepoztlan; it created a radical simplification with the *caciques* either fleeing or being killed. When some *caciques* returned in the 1920s they were generally impoverished, having lost their shops and their cattle. The rebuilding which took place did so within a drastically new social context.

*The participation by the villagers in the Zapatista forces had left its imprint on the psychology of the people and had acted as a distinct leveling influence. The Revolutionary slogans of the Zapatistas had been 'land and liberty' and 'down with the caciques'. Now the political dominance of the caciques was gone.'* (Lewis 1964: Liv)

Tepoztlan was one of the first towns in the region to proclaim for the ouster of Porfirio Diaz and to support Emiliano Zapata. The Mexican revolution rolled over and through Tepoztlan with killings, massacres, rapes, burning of houses, and the flight of local people to Mexico City, to neighbouring communities or to the cerros around Tepoztlan - a number of times. At times the village was almost abandoned and even by the early 1920s only about two thirds of the original population had returned to Tepoztlan. Many of the townspeople had been involved in full scale armed revolt against the local *caciques* and national rulers for the better part of the ten years, including Pedro Martinez himself. Moreover revolutionary struggles did not end in 1920 but continued in Tepoztlan, in various forms with sometimes the *caciques* and at other times the ex-Zapatistas in control, for more than a decade after 1920.

Martinez remained poor throughout his life. His surviving children married over the course of the next twenty years, two of them becoming school teachers by 1962. At that time Pedro was 73, more despondent about the trajectory of Mexico and of all their lives than he had ever been.
Political developments during the twenty years following the revolution were dramatic and often tragic. Wage work was scarce and villagers began cutting down the municipal forests to make charcoal for sale. The former Zapatistas wanted a controlled harvest in order to conserve the forest resources while the ex-caciques and their followers opted for a maximum cutting in order to recoup their losses.

The former group became the Union of Aztecan [i.e. Tepoztecan] Peasants and was affiliated with the CROM, a labor organization with headquarters in Mexico City. The other village faction, called the centrales branded the Union as radical and it came to be known locally as the bolcheviques (later the fraternales). These two factions struggled for village control throughout the twenties and thirties, with assassinations, imprisonments, and even massacre marking their conflict." (Lewis, 1964:134)

A few of the post revolutionary high points mentioned by Pedro Martinez are as follows. Between 1922 and 1925 Genovevo de la O, a former Zapatista commander originally from Tepoztlan, was the military Chief of Operations for Morelos state, sometimes at odds with the state governor. In Tepoztlan the Union of Tepoztecan Peasants was trying to come to power. Martinez conveys some of the quality of this situation after a deputation of the Tepoztecan Peasan UNION, Martinez among them, have gone to the provincial capital at Cuernavaca where they are arrested. They are soon freed by Genovevo de la O while the Tepoztlan municipal president, a representative of the caciques, is forced to resign.

Martinez describes how he and his comrades return home.

And off we went, the whole bunch of us. The people were all waiting at the foot of Treasure Hill. They were a big crowd. The mother of the Herreras was there with a whole lot of horses. Plenty of cavalry. We stopped there and fixed up the flag and then entered Azteca once more.

We went as far as the plaza shouting "Long live the CROM Death to the Aztecan caciques! Long live the huarache wearers" (Lewis, 1964:134)

In 1923 the Union of Tepoztecan Peasants finally took over the municipal government. Every first of May we put a red and black flag on the peak of the highest hill. When dawn broke, there was the flag of the CROM, on the top of the peak. But the period is marked by counter demonstrations and sometimes by armed action, in which at least one of the leading members of the Tepoztecan Peasants Union is killed. (Lewis, 1964:135)

And here is how Martinez remembers events of 1928, which forced him and others to flee the town. The sons of the former caciques had reestablished their power in Tepoztlan and had taken over the local Civil Defense. organization. Many members of the Tepoztecan Peasants Union
had already fled the town while Martinez, who had been hiding in the nearby town of Yuantepec, returned home. There he hears that two of his cousins in Yuantepec had been murdered,

*I didn't leave the house for eight days. I stuck it out until the Herrera brothers came back and the massacre occurred. It was in February during the carnival that the Herreras entered the village in costume to kill their enemies in the Civil Defense. They came dressed as dancers, with their guns under their robes. First they sent in a spy, also in costume and mask, and he told them how things stood. Then the others entered and surrounded the plaza. It was done face to face, during the day. They started to fire at Hidalgo's men but they killed many bystanders - men, women and children - twenty two in all and even more wounded.

Then I knew I could not stay any longer because, having been a member of the Union, I would be killed. I said, 'Now, yes, I will not wait. Now with this, who knows? There will be much revenge taken." (Lewis, 1964:151)

Martinez immediately fled to Mexico City where he stayed for more than a year. The remaining Herrera brothers were tracked down and killed while the CROM organization in Tepoztlan was destroyed. Martinez, along with others, lost his option to take ejido land. The *fraternales*, a loose grouping of the village poor, was later reformed in place of the CROM organization. (Lewis, 1963:181).

This is all far removed from the picture of a folk-like peasant village, given over to solidarity producing rituals, steeped in the ways of a largely Indian past, slowly tottering into the modern world. It seems to be almost the antithesis of the sort of community which Redfield painted for his readers - while all of this was still going on.

One thing which is clear about the Mexican Revolution is that those who came to power through it, be they Mestizo or Indian, became members of a new ruling class. Requirements for such a transformation were not particularly high, except possibly at the highest national level. Local military commanders and their senior officers were typically bought off by allowing them to acquire haciendas or blocks of land from those who had been defeated. In Chiapas and Michoacan, Morelos and Puebla, Guerrero and indeed throughout Mexico thousands of blocks of land were redistributed, with the result that many who had been 'Indian', or whose parents had been, became part of the regional ruling class, often with a tenacious grip over the local population whom they exploited much as their antecedents had.
In Yucatan. Chan Kom

A folkloric reworking of events applied also in Redfield accounts of Mayan peasant life in Yucatan, where the 'folk like' community he studied had previously been part of a fifty year long revolt know as the *Guerra de Castas* (circa 1850-1901 and yet later). During that war the Mayan Indians of Quintana Roo and in the south of Yucatan had risen in revolt against the peonage-slavery which was being imposed upon on them by the spreading Henequen plantations of the region. It was only one of a number of yet earlier revolts.

During the 'War of the Castes' the Mayan forces had been successful in driving the Mexican army, itself composed largely of Indians from formerly defeated groups in Mexico proper, out of much of Yucatan. They burned and destroyed the industrial infrastructure of the region up to the gates of Merida, which they besieged for part of a year. This revolt did have the quality of a race war in which non-Indians in the areas conquered by the rebels were generally killed. The Mexican army typically responded in kind, with massacres, shootings of prisoners and civilians and the extortion of forced labour which was often lethal. This war is sometimes described as the last successful Indian revolt in the Americas. The British crown, then still angling in troubled waters of the Americas, facilitated a trade in arms and ammunition with the Mayan rebels through its outposts located in British Honduras. (See Nelson Reed's *La Guerra de las Castas*, 1971.)

One of the concomitants of that revolt, other than the drastic simplification of social structure throughout the liberated region, was the emergence of a syncretistic religion based on a talking cross. This was a finger-length long cross which allegedly spoke to its initiated priests and told them that Jesus Christ had returned to the earth to cast his lot among the poor and humble (and armed). This cross was resident in a cathedral newly built for it by the Indian rebels in the jungle sanctuary of Chan Santa Cruz (now Felipe Puerto Carrillo). That was the situation which prevailed throughout the second half of the 19th century, when the Mayan peasants of that region returned to subsistence farming with relatively little class distinctions between them. It was totally different from the conditions which had existed within the class-structured Mayan states of a thousand years earlier. No one attempted to reconstitute them.

The cathedral built at Chan Santa Cruz existed from before 1860, when a Mexican army battalion seized the settlement but was surrounded and wiped out. That campaign was preceded by another invasion of Chan Santa Cruz.
some six years earlier in which a Mexican company which occupied the site was again surrounded and killed by the Maya.

Commenting on the nature of Mexican liberalism of the time, Eduardo Galeano, in his *Faces and Masks*, volume 2 of *Memory of Fire*, notes in his entry for the year 1869 that Benito Juarez was himself an Indian but dragooned other Mexican Indians into the army to fight the Maya rebels in Yucatan. 'Those 'pacified' in each war become 'pacifiers' of the the next, rebels defeated and made to kill rebels and thus the government of President Juarez keeps sending troops against the Maya of Yucatan. (Galeano, Eduardo 1986:201)

Galeano holds that Juarez's laws officially abolished peonage and intended to make the Indians into proprietors of small farms but in fact the haciendas advanced and the Indians became increasingly landless. Moreover, throughout this period Mayan war captives - men, women and children - were sold to Cuba as slaves, although slavery was illegal in Mexico.

At the beginning of the 20th century the Mexican government under Porfirio Diaz, with the backing of American interests in the Henequen plantations, determined to reconquer Chan Santa Cruz and bring the region back under its authority. Henequen or sisal was the stuff from which the binder twine used in American machine harvesting was made.

One general Ignacio Bravo, already experienced in earlier Indian wars in Mexico proper, was sent in during early 1900 and, laying rails behind him as he advanced, captured Chan Santa Cruz (now Felioe Puerto Carrillo) a decade before the Mexican revolution broke out. Although there was continuing guerrilla resistance by that time there was little capacity left among the Mayan forces to resist a modern army using modern arms. That is the background to the village of Chan Kom, or at least the region, which Redfield came to study in the early 1930s, as an example of a largely untouched folk society

As a more recent context for what had happened in Yucatan a few years before Redfield's study we should note the following. During the early 1920s the village of Chan Kom had become a part of or at least deeply effected by the Yucatecan revolution. That conflict was a regional replay of the Mexican revolution, except that the revolutionary forces in Yucatan were led by some socialist leaders who had a more coherent policy than did the forces which emerged in Mexico itself.

Felipe Puerto Carrillo (1870-1924) had been born and raised in a small town of Yucatan and had become involved early in Liberal party politics. Following the beginning of the Mexican revolution he had moved to Mexico
proper and had risen to the rank of colonel in Zapata's army. In 1918 he had returned to Yucatan to found the Socialist party of Yucatan and had begun organizing a wide spread membership throughout the towns and villages. They soon totaled 30 to 60 thousand members with locals in hundreds of settlements of the region; it was considered one of the more radical organizations in Mexico at the time. Despite various opponents he easily won the governorship in elections in early 1920. This may have opened the door to local opportunists who may have later used the party for their own ends but initially it seems to have been a party based on requirements of the Yucatecan workers and peasantry.

Puerto Carrillo immediately put parts of his policy into practice, establishing strong labor unions among the dockworkers of the ports and among many sugar and henequen workers. He also established a commitment to extend government support for the regional Indian population, establishing various programs and advancing teaching in the Mayan language as well as support for the Maya culture. When Chan Kom, then still a small village, requested a change into the status of a municipio he required that it establish a town center and that it organize a local of the Socialist party of Yucatan. Although Redfield later dismissed that organization as senescent and merely grafted on to the village it was still in operation during his stay there ten years later and even continued into the period of his restudy of the village some 28 years after being founded. (Wikipedia, Puerto Carrillo 2012)

In the midst of this work Puerto Carrillo was seized by a faction of the Mexican army, which rapidly overcame the units of armed civil guards he had established. He, three of his brothers, and eight other prominent supporters were executed shortly afterwards in early January 1924. This government had lasted about three years.

As Galleano puts it in a 1924 entry of Century of the Wind 'Felipe Carrillo Puerto, also invulnerable to the gun from which Obregon fires pesos, faces a firing squad one damp January morning.... He had been a colonel in Zapata's army in Morelos before founding the Socialist Workers' Party in Yucatan. There Carrillo Puerto delivered his speeches in Mayan, explaining Karl Marx was a brother of Jacinto Canek and Cecilio Chi [two Mayan leaders of Indian revolts during the previous century] and that socialism, the inheritor of the communitarian tradition, gave a future dimension to the glorious Indian past.

Until yesterday he headed the socialist government of Yucatan. Innumerable frauds and private interests had not been able to keep the socialists from an easy electoral victory, nor afterward keep them from
fulfilling their promises. Their sacrileges against the hallowed big estates, the slave labor system and various imperial monopolies aroused the rage of those who owned the henequen plantations.... So what could be done but call in the army to bring the scandal of an end.... The government of the humiliated has lasted a couple of years in Yucatan. The humiliated govern with the weapons of reason. The humiliators don't have the government, but they do have the reason of weapons.' (Galeano, Eduardo.1986: 58-59)

While Felipe Carrillo Puerto's socialist government was overthrown conditions in at least some villages like Chan Kom attested to the fact that the consequences of the Yucatecan revolution were not as transitory as some may have hoped.

In Robert Redfield and Alfonso Villa Rojas' original account of Chan Kom (Chan Kom, A Maya Village 1934) we read of a largely untouched Mayan 'folk society', not quite tribal but one in which the world allegedly is unchanging and held by sacred boundaries. A world in which there are certainly no classes and no class conflict, a society in which everyone and everything is 'integrated', where there is sufficient land for all and one without any of the anomie found in modern urban worlds. That was the thrust of Redfield' study of Chan Kom and serves to position it in a spectrum of settlements ranging from folk to urban as presented in his The Folk Culture of Yucatan (1941). This offers a comparison of the shift from a classless and fully integrated society (Chan Kom) to a provincial version of the modern world typified in the regional capital of Merida.

Alfonso Villa Rojas (1906-1998), Redfield's coauthor, was born in Merida and was the schoolteacher at Chan Kom, fluent in Maya, when Redfield arrived there. He went on to do future studies on Mayan quasi-tribal groups in more isolated regions in Yucatan and while his The Maya of East Central Quintana Roo (1945) devotes a sixth of its pages to the Caste War there is little mention of any struggles of the 1920s in the broader region. He later gravitated to Mexico city where he lived out his long life as a senior member of the famed Museo Nacional de Antropologia. One wishes he would have written something more about the peasant/working class revolt he himself had lived through.

One final figure who might be mentioned is that of 'General' Francisco May, who probably served as a model for Bruno Traven's adventure novel The General From the Jungle (1940). Francisco May had been the leader of a Mayan guerrilla group which had not surrendered to the Mexican invasion force in Quintana Roo and who, after many of Mexican troops were pulled out following the beginning of the Mexican revolution, returned to occupy Chan Santa Cruz. He was then the holder of one of the talking crosses. May
also controlled access to much of the forests in which chicle sap was collected for the rapidly growing American market for chewing gum. After ongoing battles with elements of the Mexican army he was invited to Mexico city in 1919 by president Carranza who made him into an official Mexican general and sent him back to Yucatan tasked with defeating the remaining Mayan rebel forces. What he did instead was to take over a very large block of land and to establish himself as the local caudillo, the owner of lands and people within a region of Quintana Roo where he had previously operated. Apparently he continued in that position, supported by an armed force, into the Cardenas period and possibly still later. (Wikipedia, 'General May', Forero anf Radclift, 2005 :13-22)

But let us end with a return to Chan Kom. According to Redfield the conditions which existed in Chan Kom were not constrained by class, by exploitation, by wars of liberation or their opposite or by the forces in play elsewhere in Mexico and Latin America. Yet elsewhere in Yucatan the effects of the Mexican revolution and of the Socialist party of Yucatan's brief rule there could be quite dramatic. There are accounts of caciques permanently driven from their villages, of armed conflict between villages and an at times a considerable interest in comparable struggles taking place elsewhere in the distant world.

Redfield did a restudy of Chan Kom in 1948 and wrote A Village That Chose Progress. Chan Kom Revisited (1950). By then the village had inexplicably 'chosen progress', that is to say that had been brought into the realm of commercial farming for the regional market and a large proportion of its men were working as local wage labour. The 'sacred nature' of the land had become mainly routinized, valued in accordance to what income it could bring in. Indigenous spirits and ceremonials, although remembered, no longer held sway and the local people were engaged in cash cropping food stuffs in a more or less individualistic way, as well as raising food for themselves. Redfield saw this as probably an inescapable but somehow a sad development among a formerly 'tradition-directed people' who were giving up their old ways without really knowing what they were getting into.

Developments in Mexico had no real parallel to what was happening among native Indians in the U.S. and Canada during the 20th century. In the north native people were initially stuck in some variant of the reservation system or had left them and had entered into the world of wage labour. They soldiered on under variously difficult conditions. This permitted commentators to expatiate about native peoples' unique cultures and the necessity of preserving them from external changes, preserving, in part, their traditional poverty.
Ch. 9 Return of the Native. The Hyperbole Mounts.

**Time Newsmagazine Weighs in on the Side of the Angels**

As an example of the persistence of popular Indian stereotypes consider the concluding paragraphs of a *Time NewsMagazine* special Issue dealing with U.S. Indians on Feb. 9, 1970. In its concluding passage it tells us that "The Indians' longing to live harmoniously with nature touches recesses of nostalgia in the minds of many Americans. Indeed, at a time when the drive to protect and restore the nation's physical environment is the most popular cause of the day, white's guilt over their spoilage of our land and water engenders a new admiration for those who have fought for so long to protect their own plains, lakes and hunting grounds.

*It would be wrong to romanticize Indian culture,* [which Time promptly does] *but there is something to be valued, or at least envied, in a society that respects the wisdom of elders, enjoys the closeness of kinship, prefers tranquility to competition and sees little merit in 9 to 5 punctuality at a desk*" (Time. Feb 9, 1970 : 28)

Remember, this was written during a period of unprecedented revolt within America, of spreading anti-war protests, Black urban risings, massive disaffection among youth and others and an amazement on the part of American rulers and their media that the old carrot and stick, the warnings about communist subversion, weren't working anymore. Indian romanticism was, at least in part, a ploy to get America's disaffected to worry about the environment or to hanker after the harmony of a simpler world or to treasure the wisdom of native elders. That was as much as the *Time* editors could then have hoped for.

**Jack Weatherford and Indian Givers**

Jack Weatherford's *Indian Givers. How the Indians of the Americas Transformed the World*, 1988, provides us with possibly the acme of Indian romanticism. The term 'Indian Givers' presumably is an allusion to its one time usage, implying that something given must now be returned to its previous owner. Weatherford apparently is a professor of anthropology and occasionally takes his students on voyages of discovery to Mayan, Cherokee and other cultural locales in a species of ethno-tourist expeditions. His book can be taken as a useful compendium of the more fantastic claims made about the Indian influences on America and the broader world.

The book begins with *Silver and Money Capitalism*, which informs us that Europe only emerged from feudalism with the influx of gold and silver, used for coinage, which was extracted from Mexican and Incan conquests in the
1500s Capitalism, in his view, is a child of American conquests and of hard money coinage. Similarly Piracy, Slavery and the Birth of Corporations holds that corporate organizations in Europe were an outgrowth of fur trading endeavors in North America and the plantations of the Caribbean. These often involved piracy, according to Weatherford, and witnessed the emergence of European slavery on New world plantations. Both of these gave birth to the initial European corporations. That piracy, slavery and corporations had existed long previously in Europe does not influence his argument The American Indian Path to Industrialization holds that plantations were established in the Caribbean and elsewhere, initially with Indian labour, which along with the forced labour of the obrajes, were the initial forms of industrial organization by Europeans. Steam engines and factories were only late and dispensable additions in Weatherford's account. White workers in the early European factories also play no role. The fact however is that forces gathering steam in Europe would have continued to develop regardless of whether the new overseas territories were integrated into them or not.

The following chapters, The Food Revolution, Indian Agricultural Technology and The Culinary Revolution have some bases in reality but transform maize, potatoes, and cassava into the Indian crops which saved the world from starvation. In fact, starvation had relatively little to do with what crops were available. Some of the greatest cases of mass starvation occurred during the 18th and 19th centuries, long after these new world crops had been introduced throughout Asia and Europe. Note the 'potato famines' which swept Ireland and northern Europe. or the famines which reoccurred in India during the late 18th and 19th centuries despite these newly introduced crops, or those of China during a somewhat later period. There is more to famines than a simple shortage of food, since in many cases food was in sufficient supply but was hoarded and sold by speculators at increased prices. Furthermore, the reliance on potatoes was a response of the European peasantry's loss of much of their land.

Indian Agricultural Technology rouses us with the ecological foresight of native planters who allegedly operated to maintain sustainable harvests in perpetuity. This only meant that there was generally no market system to foster increased production for sale. The Culinary Revolution informs us that Europeans were dogmatically conservative in the foods they would eat until the New World crops developed their taste to new foods. Hurrah for french fries and corn grits.

Liberty, Anarchism and the Noble Savage is a more interesting chapter in that it alludes to the use of alleged Indian customs as icons of 'natural social
arrangements' by those who held that Indians were noble savages (rather than savage nobles). However most of these proponents weren't truly interested in the reality of Indian conditions and were utilizing them mainly as symbols with which to arraign their royal rulers. *The Founding Indian Fathers* takes up the refrain that American Federalism, popular democracy, and the limited role for government held by the framers of the American constitution were taken from their understandings of American native society. It sets forth, once again, contemporary Iroquois claims to fostering American democracy. Arthur Parker and his followers floated this theme eighty to ninety years ago. In point of fact, virtually nothing 'Indian' was incorporated into the American constitution and representative democracy was only gradually won by struggles within American society itself. So to its retrogression into more oppressive arrangements.

Red Sticks and Revolution compares Indian-style revolution as 'exemplified' by Emiliano Zapata, with European-style revolutions directed by non-Indian leaders. Non-indian revolutions are destructively radical while Indian 'revolutions' are 'conservative'. In Weatherford's view Zapata's and the Mexican revolution weren't destructive. The destruction of evil regimes is apparently anathema.

The Indian Healer notes that Indian medicines had a great reputation among mid 19th century Americans (so did spiritualism and similar ideologies). He holds that indigenous Indian healers had cures for most diseases they were familiar with but that the host of new diseases introduced by the whiteman overwhelmed them. He notes that much of the spiritual techniques which characterized Indian medicine men were really not central to their previous cures and were mainly a response to despair after their traditional cures failed to work for new diseases. That is a novel view. But neither Indian nor European healers/doctors of the pre modern era had any cures for most of the diseases they were dealing with. Until the second half of the 19th century they generally didn't even understand what the diseases they were attempting to treat were or what caused them. It is immaterial whether Indian or European peoples believed their healers had cures for their diseases. They both believed in the power of prayer, holy water, snake oil, charms, the efficacy of pilgrimages to holy sites etc as sources of cures. They were both ineffective in treating the diseases which ailed them.

In Architecture and Town Planning Weatherford presents a view of prehistoric Indian settlements in Meso and South America as really the precursors of urban planning. He tells us that the grid pattern of streets, city squares, the differentiation of town districts by function etc, all flow from indigenous urban settlements. Europeans previously had no conception that
towns might be so planned. That requires no comment. In The Pathfinders we are informed that the river routes, trails and roads which Europeans followed to enter and the Americas had already been long used by Indian travellers. Without those lines of communication European expansion throughout the Americas would have supposedly taken centuries longer to effect. However, since the lines of communication were there, who was to stop European explorers from using them. Moreover, if such lines of communication had not been in existence European settlers would have discovered or created other communication routes where needed.

In general, Weatherford has a remarkably provincial view of what Europeans of the 16th to 19th century were and what they were capable of doing. He sees them as a population of 20th century American suburbanites, unable to sustain themselves for more a few days away from established towns and stores. His Europeans are everywhere dependant upon native foods, guides and goodwill. In fact, the original European settlers took advantage of whatever information and goodwill as could be obtained but when this was not forthcoming they proceeded with their own skills and resources. Europe and its new American frontiers produced a body of skilled and determined frontiersmen (and some women) who could and did penetrate new environments, extract a living from new locales and build new settlements on their own and with little or no help from native peoples.

Any impediment created by the refusal of native people to deal with Europeans did not materially hinder the spread of European settlement over the continent(s). The armed resistance of native groups in Meso and Andean America was notably unsuccessful in stopping European conquest even when the Europeans were vastly outnumbered. Possibly this is not as events should have been, possibly the wonders of Indian cultures should have given them an edge over intruders. But Weatherford's account is simply a nativist day dream. It has no basis in fact or history, whatever one may wish or fantasize about.

**Louise Erdrich. The Beef Queen**

Louise Erdrich (1954 - ) is the author of a half dozen novels about Chippewa Indians, victims of the 20th century white world but gradually resurrecting their native culture in North Dakota and Minnesota. She now lives with her children in New Hampshire, where most of her books were written.

The recurrent theme of Erdrich novels revolves around the sub rosa survival of the spiritual roots of Chippewa culture under more or less
contemporary conditions, even among those who do not realize it. This all proceeds on or around a contemporary Chippawa reservation.

Tracks (1988) deals with the period 1912-1919 and provides the basis of all her other accounts. It revolves primarily around members of a Chippewa band and serves as the departure point from which the individuals and their later relationships emerge. After more than a hundred years of involvement in trapping and trading and a more than eighty year presence of white settlement this Chippewa community is allegedly still thoroughly aboriginal. This despite its numerous French-Indian families and the community's internal factional disputes. It is still one of the best of Erdrich's books.

Love Medicine (1984), deals with the same community between 1934 and the 1960s and involves a Catholic Mission near the Chippewa reserve. Assorted family members interact with and plot against other reserve members in various ways. The story revolves mainly around a Chippewa chief and his wife, a young member of a drink-ridden mixed-blood family, who is ready to fight the church and fate itself to raise herself and her children up in that world. Her husband, backed by his wife's determination to advance her family, does become the band leader for a number of years, which is then still a largely unpaid position. It contains people with a mixture of quite believable strengths and weaknesses.

The Beet Queen (1986) marked Erdrich's entry into the major league of American novelists. It follows a young girl to work in her aunt's small town, North Dakota, butcher shop. A figure who enters early in the account happens to be a part-Indian girl/woman growing up in that town. Although there are a few secondary characters who are also Indian their background is not especially evident in the lives they live. One is not prepared for the main characters' conversion to native allegiances in future books. The Beet Queen is the daughter of a Metis woman who is chosen by her adopted uncle to represent the burgeoning sugar beet industry which has emerged in the region. The travails which the various characters encounter seem to have little to do with them having or not having an Indian heritage, it appears to me. That is why their later emergence as conveyors of native culture somehow rings hollow.

The Bingo Palace (1994) deals with a number of characters who have appeared in Erdrich's earlier books, some of whom were barely penciled in previously now becoming major figures while others who were previously prominent retreating to minor roles. In this case all the main characters are native. Set in the 1970s and 1980s the book centers around a convict who miraculously always escapes from prison, and his son who seemingly has the beginnings of shamanistic powers but who has neglected them until he
returns to the reserve after spending some years working in white towns. He falls in love with a young Chippewa woman who is raising a child and studying for a law degree, a natural undertaking in the contemporary Chippewa world. Facing them are the doings of a successful reserve entrepreneur and Indian politician. There are allusions to current native self-government and what it sometimes entails in contemporary reserve life. At the end the Chippewa convict again escapes from a snow-bound car which his son is driving and disappears into the countryside. There is, as usual, an implied magical component to this escape. By this time the nativist revival is well advanced amongst Erdrich's Chippewa and the book ends as an opening for future novels about her people.

It is symptomatic that hardly anyone on the reserve communities Erdrich portrays is engaged in income earning activity, other than providing social services which are externally funded. Off reserve Erdrich's heros are generally contractors and business operators of some sort or another. The Great Endeavor in all of Erdrich's books is in native people, often of quite varied derivation, resurrecting their traditional beliefs and practices - 'rediscovering' their roots, spiritualizing and dancing up a cultural storm.

*Tales of Burning Love* (1996) revolves around a 'mixed blood' member of the Chippewa reserve central to most of Erdrich's novels, who for 20 years has been a shoddy, rapacious, anti-union building contractor in North Dakota. I'm not sure if Erdrich intends him to be an odious figure: I don't think so. Despite his great vitality he exploits everyone he comes in contact with until finally he goes broke and is utilized by a cunning reserve politician cum businessman.

Much of the book revolves around the reminiscences of four of the contractor's former wives, trapped in a car which has run off the road during a winter snow storm. This follows the heros funeral and faked death in a fire which destroys one of his new but faultily-built houses in an upscale housing project he has almost completed but cannot sell. His ex-wives tell extended stories about their past lives with the hero, all of which wind up with them leaving him. He apparently is something of a sexual wizard or maybe it is his rapacity which attracted these women to him in the first place. They are generally not all that admirable either. Again, I am unsure whether this evaluation is intended or not.

The rather distant native background of some of the characters enters only at the start and the end of the book - their real lives revolve about conditions such as the universal urban sprawl and the decimation of working farmers in contemporary American society. The hero is from a mixed-blood Indian family mentioned in Erdrich's earlier books. In the end he is pulled
back into reserve life as a consort to a rising native politician. He also returns, in some sense, to his second wife, a rather smug former university lecturer hoping to document the life of a 108 year old potential native saint at a local convent. What the hell is one supposed to make of that?

*The Antelope Wife* begins in Minnesota of the 1860s with a massacre of peaceful Chippewa by U.S. troops, with the burden of guilt passing to contemporary whites and descendants of the original soldier. (Racial Guilt is an underlying theme in all of Erdrich's books)

Most of the novel deals with Chippewa in small towns and midwestern cities, including assorted Indian entrepreneurs. It tangentially revolves around an Indian woman whose spirit is like those of wild antelope, ever free and ever destructive of any man who becomes entangled with them. She is the instrument of destruction of the 1980s descendant of the original white soldier, now an Indian himself. The 'antelope wife' is 'captured' by his distant descendant at the beginning of the book during a western pow wow. In this case the character gradually turns into a hopeless drunk.

We are informed that the Chippewa mother of a child saved by the white soldier who participated in the 1860s massacre has laid a curse on all his descendants. That child was rescued and raised by the white soldier, who soon came to feel ashamed for his participation in the killing. While the soldier himself was not directly effected by the curse his descendants are. The story mainly plays out in contemporary American society, with a roster of native people engaged in various endeavors in a multi-generational working out of past events and forces.

As for *The Crown of Columbus*, (1991), a novel written with her author-husband Michael Dorris, I can't delineate what it's theme is. It deals with the adventures of a 40ish Native Studies professor and her academic husband come to the Bahamas to track down an authentic fragment of Columbus' original log, which disappeared in the early 1500s. It presumably is their contribution to the 500th anniversary of the arrival of the murderous whiteman to the New World. Erdrich's stories are far better when she stays within the North Dakota-Minnesota world she has created.

All of Erdrich's novels have a changing roster of overlapping people we have met briefly in her earlier books. Kashpaws, Lamartines, Roys, Lazarres, Nanapushs and many others. One could probably construct a kinship chart of all those involved, centering around the off-spring of members of a North Dakota Chippewa reserve first met during circa 1912 in *Tracks*. They, their children, grandchildren and great grandchildren, also the husbands and wives they acquire and sometimes lose, are all interwoven through her stories. The stories are basically their doings on and off reserve.
and the semi-conscious ties which bind them to their racial heritage, even when they know little of it. The older ones die off while their varied descendants fill the pages of her ongoing story. Erdrich is engaged in quite a successful undertaking.

Through all these novels Erdrich evokes the hidden Indigenous ways of her characters, which Nativists find so marvellous. Whites per se may not be legitimate targets for Indian revenge but they are still rather second rate human beings with nothing to offer Indians except materialism. (Erdrich suggests, as she hears the guineas clink through her literary earnings) Her novels treat most whites, certainly most members of the white working class, as destructive, exploitative, ignorant and if not racist then blindly Eurocentric. Her novels are interspersed with those whites who don't sufficiently honor native Indians or their undying cultures being dealt some form of retribution - presumably to the satisfaction of the author's readership.

Since all whites are materially co-involved with the displacement of the Indians and the taking of native lands they are all more or less guilty of Cultural Genocide. They all, more or less, deserve what is coming to them. It's all the whiteman's fault that the Indians aren't back hunting buffalo chips, raiding and being raided by their neighbours, and in general living rather short lives and dying in their time honoured, traditional, ways.

Most whites in Erdrich's books are either tricky government bureaucrats, small town businessmen fattening on Indian lands, or anti-Indian white trash. In general they are that body of men (and to a much lesser extent women) who serve as a foil for her native characters. These foils refuse to recognize the wonders of her people's ancestral heritage and the vibrant indigenous sentiments which move the assorted native characters who populate her novels.

The Whiteman must ultimately must pay for their sins of racism, greed, environmental destruction, and the arrogance of just being white. There is a good deal of racism and greed found among her Indian characters as well, but among them it is acceptable, admirable even.

Who are more sinful than the white working class? No one. So, in one book, Tracks, we find three hyphenated-American workers locked in a freezer room and frozen to death. In their case it is intimated that they have raped a magic working Chippewa woman who has cleaned them out during one of their perpetual card games. Punishment follows swiftly and surely in the form of a whirlwind which sends the three men to the apparent safety of the freezer where, running short of miracles, a young Indian admirer of the heroine locks them in and they are frozen to death. Such whites are the...
legitimate subjects of vengeance by a subjugated, but dangerous, Native Woman striking back against her oppressors. In none of the books is the American ruling class and their ideological hacks the oppressor.

White loggers, that ultimate evil of 1980s conservationist cant, appear in a couple of Erdrich's novels, cutting down the oak and pine forests husbanded by the traditional Ojibwa practices as the home of their game and fur bearing animals. This cultural arbocide leads to long-lived plans of vengeance by a monomaniac Indian heroine born at the turn of the last century. The white loggers, along with some Indian collaborators, are killed off en mass when they attempt to log off a tract of forest lands protected by a native curse. The forest, symbolically but unrealistically, is undercut by its native protector and crashes on and around the loggers when they enter to do their dirty work.

Arcane spells are a typical part of Erdrich's accounts. Well why not? In novels anything goes, so why not magic working the way it is intended to. However, despite all the wondrous out comes of indigenous magic working surreptitiously, the results do not seem to noticeably benefit 'her people'. In the end things generally turn out about the way they would had there not been any magical intervention.

Erdrich's novels also convey the bitter quarrels and endemic disputes which simmer within at least some Indian communities. People in these communities are not necessarily cooperative or folksy. They often maintain disputes and enmities running back over generations. The minuilia of local respectability are based on finely drawn differences and the characters are typically very mindful of the current standings of reserve families, a mercurial and changing quality in Erdrich's books. All the petty rivalries and small mindedness which one associates with small town America are theirs in full. Underlying such divisions are, supposedly, disputes flowing from the trickery and thievery of the whiteman. The endless factionalism which flows through the reserve, the disputed rights to allotments and their loss to white timber companies, and much else flows from their losses to the pillager society wrecking it's havoc on formerly natural Indian societies.

Erdrich is both a talented and prolific writer. She has turned out one book every two or three years since the late 1980s. I normally enjoy reading her work, even if not admiring the politics on which they are based. In some ways she reminds me of Isaac Bashevis Singer, that xenophobic, ultra orthodox Jewish teller of wonder tales. Both novelists have wonder workers, miracles, and magic scattered through their novels - in somewhat excessive amount for my taste. Apparently both of them feel that the intricacies of human existence are insufficiently compelling and required the addition of elements of the supernatural. In Erdrich case she resurrects 'traditional'
Ojibwa religious practices and beliefs. She is fundamentally a conservative ethnic nationalist.

A high percentage of Erdrich characters are of mixed Indian-White ancestry. In some cases this reaches back to 18th century French trappers and their offspring. It is suggested that this was the basis of past divisions within native society. But this has been followed by marriages between Indian, part Indian and whites from all ethnic derivations. Some drift away while others continue to live on the reserve, now pursuing profitable native traditions. Others, after the failure of marriages or following a more general urge, return to 'their people' with surprising regularity.

No matter how distant the Indian ancestry is, even if there has been virtually no connection between the individuals and their 'true identity', their Indian heritage is always there waiting. It is always ready to leap forth into actions, sentiments, and the inherent understandings of those with even a very distant Indian ancestry. Given the appropriate conditions all the seemingly lost native culture comes flooding back with the aid of Indian sages, pow-wows, native studies classes etc. It all returns to the consciousness of those with the appropriate genetic background. It is truly wonderful.

Strangely enough all the other ancestry of Erdrich's characters, all the generations of German, Scandinavian, Russian, Irish, French etc. parentage, often far more extensive than any native ancestry, does not seem to come flooding back. The individuals effected never have visions of the struggles of the 18th century French working class or the heritage of socialism which German and other European peoples have been heir to. It is always back to the the spirit worlds of their Indian past for Erdrich's characters. European ancestors, near of distant, many or few, have little or nothing to say to her characters. They are hard working dolts at best.

As Erdrich's novels have progressed they are increasingly filled with native people who are seemingly doing quite well for themselves, both on and off reserves. Others are dwelling in comfortable reserve-built apartments and housing projects, engaged in teaching younger people the basics of 'their own' language, conveying traditional Chippewa beliefs and involved in similar fulfilling tasks of native renewal. It is a long way from the poverty described in her earlier accounts of native life on parkland reserves at the beginning of the century. Erdrich does not countenance any accounts of whites living impoverished lives; they've had all the chances to improve themselves they deserve.

Erdrich is a talented writer, one conveying a native nationalist line which seems to sell well among contemporary Americans. Her insights are
typically viewed as flowing from her Native Heritage, or 'blood' as they used to say. It has nothing to do with her middle class, college educator, background.

Erdrich is the grand daughter of a Chippewa woman. (of four grandparents) Her father was an American of German extraction but the ethnic derivation of the others are usually not mentioned. Both of her own parents were college instructors and she grew up in the academic milieu of western college towns. The back cover blurb of _The Antelope Wife_ notes that she is "a mixed-blood member of the Turtle Mountain Band of Ojibwa."

Her books are offered up while many Americans are spiraling downward through the contractions of American capitalism. The recurrent recessions and layoffs, the retreating government presence in social security programs, the nation-wide investment scams and the impoverishment of the aged. None of this is ever mentioned by the author. Nor the never ending wars and the perpetual overseas crusades to Keep America Strong. If there is ever a reckoning to be paid for all this evil done in the world I wonder whether American Indians will be absolved from their participation in it. Or whether they will be able to pass themselves off as internal victims of American imperialism.

**Support Your Local Bosses. Two Native Biographies**

Roy MacGregor's tome, *Chief. The Fearless Vision of Billy Diamond* (1989) is allegedly about an individual of an oppressed group who rises to chieftainship and despite all the odds makes his way as a native entrepreneur. He becomes a successful band leader but is wracked by personal problems and becomes an alcoholic, one who is saved by his conversion to a fundamentalist Christian sect. The volume begins with the negotiations for the James Bay Agreement in the early 1970s and runs until the mid 1980s. Intertwined is the author's indignation at the cultural insensitivity of white power holders, the debasing treatment accorded native children in residential schools, and the challenges of getting white businesses to invest in Rupert House, now renamed Waskaganish. Finally, a Japanese company is talked into establishing a fiberglass boat factory to replace the canoe factory which previously had existed there. All of this is presented with a total unconcern, with an ignorance of the hunting and trapping on which that community was recently based. Possibly that is no longer very relevant.
The book is about one Billy Diamond as the native politician-entrepreneur and his hobnobbing with the great and powerful in Quebec/Canadian society. Just what *The Fearless Vision of Billy Diamond* was is hard to say; possibly it is the pursuit of economic and political self determination for the Cree people of the region. If it is, such 'self determination' has not yet been achieved, despite the truely massive funding which has flowed in from the Federal government. The book centres around Diamond's role in the James Bay Agreement of the mid 1970s and the inveigling of Federal and Provincial governments into financing the 'development' of Cree communities as part of the James Bay hydro project. It is an account seemingly taken from Diamond's reminiscences.

Billy Diamond became chief of Rupert House at the age of 21 through his fathers influence in the band and two years later was one of the leaders of the East James Bay Cree negotiations with the Quebec government consortium planning to build the James Bay Hydro project. After a long drawn out court battle and after winning a very generous settlement from the Federal and Quebec governments (which included exclusive native hunting, fishing and trapping rights to over 60,000 square miles for the circa 7,000 Cree, a large land claims payment plus ongoing Provincial and Federal payments) Afterwards Diamond becomes involved in putting together financial deals which include the creation of a native-owned regional airline, a boat factory and a number of local commercial ventures.

There is a fairly lengthy chapter about Diamond's creation of Air Creebec, his acquisition of a fleet of modern aircraft and his deals with Austin and other regional airlines. Also the establishment of a small fibreglass boat building plant at Rupert House by the Yamaha company. But the dealings involved are presented in such a childish way that one never learns what was really involved. Except that a lot of money flowed in through the new treaty payments and a good deal of infrastructure, housing and some economic entities were acquired. I don't know whether these Cree enterprises are still in operation or not.

There are also some bitter digs at the leadership of the Indians of Quebec Association and at certain then prominent national Indian leaders, such as George Manuel, who complained about a 'sell out' of native rights in the James Bay agreement. It's not all solidarity and harmony among the native leadership by any means.

If one can go by McGregor's account Diamond, throughout his Chiefdomship, was engaged in boozing it up so heavily that by his mid thirties he has become a physical wreck. By the mid 1980s he has been eased out of his political role by supposedly envious Cree who, we are told, always
set out to pull down an achiever and never thank those who have brought them so much. A fate which overtakes all great native leaders, McGregor's suggests.

While I was in Rupert House in 1961 Billy Diamond was the son of the then recently installed Chief Malcolm Diamond. Lawrence Katapaituk, who I traveled with up the coast to East Main by canoe, is mentioned as the Christian Salvationist who ultimately 'saves' Diamond junior. Isaiah Salt, my informant's David Salt's son, then a clerk at the local H.B.C. store, is mentioned as the chief of Waskaganish immediately preceding Billy Diamond. Otherwise none of the trapping families I knew are mentioned.

Although trapping does continue around Rupert House, now Federally supported as part of an assured annual Income program, MacGregor provides no meaningful account of it nor any overview of what Waskaganish/Rupert House people now do for a living. There is nothing about how local people spend their year or earn an income. In fact, the native communities of East James Bay serve only as a peg on which to hang a story of Chief Billy Diamond's alleged doings over a decade. Finally Diamond was replaced as chief because of local complaints over his endless conferencing and his free spending entrepreneurial endeavors. Although he was president of the Air Creebec airline he is said to have lived a relatively austere life.

On the flyleaf to Chief we are told that "It is Diamond's own brush with tragedy that gives his life new direction; economic self-determination for his people, evangelical inspiration for himself. In a powerful scene before his own villagers, Billy Diamond was struck unconscious by the hand of God, and emerged a born-again preacher who now speaks in tongues and is said, by witnesses, to have cured blindness and cancer."

That even beats locating and killing game through scapulamancy and by dream traveling..

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Helene Sevigny and Ronald Cross' Lasagna. The Man behind the Mask (1994.) is the work of a Montreal defence lawyer and is a 'biography' of one of the more prominent 'warriors' active in the Oka standoff during 1990. 'Lasagna's' real name was Ronald Cross. Helene Sevigny managed to gain access to Cross in prison where he was serving eleven months for his involvement in the Oka case, prior to his being granted bail. These prison interviews and subsequent discussions with Cross are the basis of this book.

Cross was said to be of New York Italian ancestry and a U.S. veteran of Viet Nam war. In fact his paternal grandparents had moved to New York from the Mohawk reserve of Kahnawake, near Montreal, to find work during
the 1930s. One of his sons, Lasagna's father, was born in Kahnawake in 1934 but was later taken to New York to work in structural steel with Italian and other construction gangs during the 1950s. There he married one Anne-Marie Casalaspro whose parents were of Italian and Scottish ancestry. These were Lasagna's parents. Ronald Cross was born in Brooklyn in 1957 but his father and family moved back to Kahnawake when he was 12 years of age (Cross-Sevigny 1994:62)

Cross quit school in 1976 when his father and an older brother were working in New York again. His father drowned in a boating accident beside the reserve the following year and Ronald Cross and his brother later worked on the construction of a post office in Montreal as well as on another construction job in Hamilton Ontario. Following that Cross migrated to Detroit to work and live. He settled in the U.S. in 1980 but returned to Kahnawake on some weekends. (Cross-Sevingny, 1994:68-72) So by the time of the Oka crisis in 1990, he had been out of school and working in off reserve construction jobs for about fourteen years.

Cross is clearly a bruiser, ready to fight and beat up anyone he is at odds with, someone who boasts about always being able to settle accounts with others in fights. Long before his role in the Oka standoff he was involved in strong-arm activities on the reserve. He may have been part of the local 'warriors' group which threatened and forced various reserve members out of their homes and off the reserve, because they opposed the then current reserve leadership.

He claims that his participation with the 'warriors' was to evict those reserve residents who they thought were selling drugs. This is as good a ploy for native vigilantes as any other. If they can decide who can and who can't live of reserve then they are the effective power in that community. Cross tells Sevigny,

"In 1989 there was a problem: The kids were caught smoking up and selling hash in the school. So the people took it upon themselves, and the men backed the women in of the community and we made a list of all the people who we suspected were selling drugs or who we knew were selling drugs, and we went to each and every one of their houses, and we gave them a warning. Maybe fifty or a hundred people of the community :We walked in and the women told them, 'We give you our notice as of right now: if we hear you're selling drugs in this community, or if we see you selling drugs in this community, we're going to banish you from here. You're gone. You're out of here. You'll never be allowed here again ' And we had to enforce that. And we put a stop to it, because we enforced it. We said 'That's the truth. We
catch you again, we hear you're selling again, you're never coming back. So you better think hard about it." (Cross and Sevigny, 1994: 55/56)

Is that an example of native law enforcement to be established on native reserves? Goon rule?

Sevigny's appeal to cultural relativism comes close to absolving these Mohawk goons of any crime they commit, either as individuals or as members of a group. In one particular instance this relates to a court case dealing with aggravated physical assault on a native Oka man, one Francis Jacobs, which resulted in charges being laid against two Mohawk warriors.

We are told that the cultural imperatives of natives and non-natives are so different that what helps in the defence for natives can be detrimental testimony to whites. For instance, an example drawn from the testimony of Angus Nelson in a case against Cross.

Angus Nelson is a Mohawk sympathetic to the Warriors' cause. He is the one who, on the night of September 1, 1990, drove Cross and Lazore to Jacobs place so they could talk. He saw the fight but did not get involved. It was not his business. So he testified in court about that settling of accounts between Cross, Lazore and Jacobs. During the testimony, he described Jacobs crying like a baby and pleading with his tormentors to stop beating him.

Angus Nelson is supposed to be Cross' and Lazore's friend and, what's more, he supports the Mohawk cause. What got into him to describe the two of them in such a way? And especially to insist on the fact that Jacobs was crying and whining like a baby without even trying to defend himself?

Sevigny notes that it would never enter a white person's mind that Nelson was well disposed toward the accused and had no intention of harming Cross and Lazore by his testimony.

To a Mohawk, a man is not a man if he cries and pleads for help instead of defending himself. To a Mohawk, whoever cries like a baby in such a situation does not deserve to have his beating stop, but rather deserves for it to go on until he learns to be a man. This different concept of manliness was used against the accused because the Crown was facing a White jury........

Julio Peris [their lawyer] tried in vain to explain this cultural difference to the jury. [I'll bet he did.] But the White jury had formed its own opinion of the violence of the accused and there was nothing the defence could do to bring it back to the Native's differing view. (Cross & Sevigny 1994: 137-138)

Sevigny has unwittingly provided a strong case for the legitimacy of deploying the army against the Mohawk warriors. It recalls a famous rely by the first British governor of the Punjab when faced by Hindu clerics
demanding that suttee be allowed to continue, as their sacred rite. In a loose paraphrase the British governor replied that 'We too have our sacred beliefs. When men burn women to death we hang them. If you follow your ways we will surely follow ours.' Such a reply will elicit outrage among those given over to the imperatives of cultural relativism but it seems to me to be a proper reply to the defenders of certain cultural practices.

Despite his American Legion views, Cross tells that he had never been in Viet Nam but that a lot of Indian warriors he knew had been. He notes that it was 'a racist war' but that it was the politicians who 'tied the military's hands' If not for that the soldiers could have repaved the entire country and stuck the American flag right in the middle of it. (Cross and Sevigny, 1994" 150)

Is this the native militancy we are supposed to admire and support? Sevigny notes that when this book first came out in French many of her associates and friends in Quebec belabored her with the charge that she was disregarding the rights of whites to blindly support whatever the Mohawk demanded. Such a response, she concludes, is part of the long history of racism in Canadian society. (Cross and Sevigny,1994:176-177) That response is just what one would expect from a lawyer who holds that race and gender interests make the world go round.
Ch.10 Canadian Nativism in Full Bloom

Pro-Native panegyrics came into prominence in Canada during the mid to late 1970s and proceeded to dominate the topic for the following quarter century. The following three authors represent possibly the most extreme examples of the insanity which prevailed during that time, when any claim put forward in the name of native peoples' by academics and popularizers went unchallenged and was accepted as undeniably true. The following three accounts are the views of three prominent 'Canadian' nativists who passed themselves off as experts on the topic and proceeded to way lay any rationale discussion of 'native rights' and demands. These views were probably influential in the discussions and ultimate recommendations made by the Federal Royal Commission on Aboriginal Affairs completed in the late 1990s. The various pipe dreams presented here remain in current Federal and Provincial decisions on how to allocate funds, priority access to resources, and special legal rights for Canadian native people.

Hugh Brody's Pipe Dreams.

Hugh Brody was born in Great Britain in 1945, attended public school there and graduated from Trinity College, Cambridge, with a degree in Philosophy and Political Economy during the mid 1960s. He then briefly taught at Queens College, Belfast, and later came to Canada, where he was employed by the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development doing social research in high arctic communities between 1971 and 1974.

In 1978 he was approached by the Union of B.C. Indian Chiefs to do a land use survey amongst a northern B.C. Indian band as a spin off of the MacKenzie Pipeline Inquiry. If his own account of his stay among the Beaver Indians represents what he actually did, it involved neither intensive interviewing about past practices nor much direct participation in current hunts.

Brody exemplifies a British class tradition of sending some of its sons out to the colonies to lead expeditions among the natives. The nineteenth century was filled with real and aspirant Richard Burtons and it is a tradition which refuses to decently die. Brody has done something currently more fashionable. In his expeditions, the savages here are the whites, workers in particular. His views are basically not much different from those which Archie Belaney dispensed some sixty years earlier.

Brody aims to set his readers' hearts aflutter at the injustices suffered by Canadian native people. An example of Brody's contempt for white working
people is his description of the depression-blasted emigres to the Peace River country and the desperate men and women of the Canadian working class who attempted to eke out some sort of a living by prospecting and washing gold, trapping, doing woods work and subsistence farming during the Hungry Thirties. Says Brody,

"In the 1920s and '30s, white trappers came in large numbers and with high hopes to the fur-rich country of northern British Columbia. This invasion was in part a result of the Depression, and trappers were but one stream in the flood of footloose, hungry and eternally hopeful vagrants whose prospects of both urban and agricultural success had been sharply curtailed by the economic conditions of the late 1920s ..........Until the late 1930s, white trappers set out from their homes with dreams of great riches, taking up trapping as others had earlier joined the gold rushes. Once again, world economic circumstances had caused a movement of population that effected lands and lives far away from the centers of power. (Emphasis mine. Brody, 1981:86/87)

Those whites who entered trapping, often must barely able to put food on the table, are the villains of Brody's account. His are the classic sentiments of English squireens; working people who intrude on crown lands are 'squatters, vagrants, feckless' and maybe worst of all 'eternally hopeful'. His account has the ring of the eighteenth century English gentry expatiating on the idle lower classes, the poachers and the improvident rabble.

Brody's account has been taken up by others For instance historian Arthur Ray's The Canadian Fur Trade in the Industrial Age (1990) recurrently cites Brody on white men living off the fat of the land by stealing Indian resources. In chapter five of that book Ray cites Brody some twenty times, far more than all the citations from all the anthropologists and historians mentioned there.

Great thinkers are always haunted by deep moral considerations; for instance Brody tells us that he was haunted by the thought that he did not know who might use his research. But in fact he knew exactly who he was working for. For the Maps and Dreams job he had been hired by and was being paid by the Union of British Columbia Indian Chiefs. His book was written to provide client-centered research for native claimants (Brody, 1981: xvii)

Maps and Dreams (1981) was written for a contemporary Canadian audience and claims to present new insights into hunting economies. But Brody provides virtually no data on the actual land use amongst the Beaver Indians. Any number of the anthropologists, whose work he disdainfully dismisses, provided far more specifics about indigenous hunting and
trapping than he does. He wound up working with the Beaver Indians on the Doig River and Blueberry reserves, some 40 to 80 miles from Fort St. John, B.C. According to Brody no anthropologist working with hunting and trapping groups ever understood the bases of such societies. How come? Because they were almost all Eurocentric chauvinists. (Brody, 1981: 52)

In point of fact all the 'new insights' offered by Brody- i.e that hunting can provide considerable food surpluses over the short run - were being discussed in Introductory anthropology courses by the beginning of the 1960s, where Brody may have discovered them.

Considering that Brody claims an intimate acquaintance with Inuit hunting life, his comments about his stay on a Beaver reserve are suffused with laughable soul searching. For instance, his decision to do without his truck because his suggestions about research were met with native requests for drives to town. This is breathlessly described for us as follows.

*So I decided to take a chance: I gave the pickup to a colleague in town, got a lift back to the Reserve, and stayed there without a vehicle. The first hours were frightening Not only was I vulnerable to personal rejection, but I had no easy escape from the difficulties that I feared would arise. I also knew that the research itself might now be declared unwelcome. Both my stay and the project were perhaps to amount to very little.* (Brody, 1981: XV)

These are the sort of emotional inconsequentials which students note during their first experience 'in the field'. You certainly don't expect it from someone who claims to have braved the dangers of the arctic with his Eskimo hunting companions. If this were not the voice of one who influences government commissions it would be good self satire.

Brody later provides the revelations of a native 'elder' which claims special insights which no outsider can truly evaluate or appreciate. When faced with such claims I am inclined to shrug my shoulders and pass on to what is understandable. Brody introduces us to one Joseph Patsah, a Beaver man who has hunted in that region since the late 1920s. He tells us that '*There is no more room for the whiteman's intrusions. Now people have to stand up and defend what has always been theirs.- all of the land.....He knew, however that the time had come for the Beaver Indians, for all Indians, to insist on the land, a right to its use, and on their right to protect it.* (Brody, 1981:12)

That is what Brody's study is in aid of, returning the land over which Indians once hunted back to it's rightful Indian owners. He assails bigoted government administrators, grasping white workers, as well as the white-world-power-structure in general for holding that these lands are Canadian and not the property of some native band.
As an example of the Brody's addiction to sniffing out ethnocentrism, note his extraction of some phrases and partial sentences from reports on the Beaver and Sekani Indians dating from 1897 and 1912, which allude to them as "impoverished", "primitive", "unfriendly", "often starving", "often drunken and riddled with T.B. and other diseases." The question is were or weren't those conditions existent among the Sekani and Beaver of the time? That question however is invalid, it is racist to even ask it. However,

....many of the region's older Indians tell stories of hardship and some starvation, possibly as a result of depletion of game by white hunters, or disruption to traditional seasonal hunting patterns by repeated visits to trading posts. In 1918-1919 the world-wide flu epidemic reached the area, causing some deaths and hardships among the Indians there. It was not the only such epidemic. It is possible then, that the commentators I have quoted were accurate rather than, or as well as, bigoted. Perhaps, the stereotype of the northern hunter was something of a truth when applied to northeast British Columbia in the early years of this century. "(Brody 1981: 59/60)

So, how do you square an allegedly highly productive hunting economy with the recurrent bouts of near/actual starvation described among northern hunters? Well, naturally, it's all due to the whiteman's presence, his intrusion unto Indian lands, his effect on the game population, his diseases etc which destroyed the intricate balance established by the pristine hunters.

The 'maps' in the title are the maps which older Indian hunters and trappers once knew or drew of the territories they used. The 'dreams' are the shamanistic dreams of where game animals were to be found. These, Brody implies, actually work in the way described by his informants.

"Some old-timers, men who became famous for their powers and skills, had been great dreamers. Hunters and dreamers. They did not hunt as most people now do. They did not seek uncertainly for the trails of animals whose movements we can only guess at. No, they located their prey in dreams, found their trails, and made dream-kills.. Then, the next day, or a few days later, whenever it seemed auspicious to do so, they could go out, find the trail, re-encounter the animal, and collect the kill." (Brody,1981: 40/41)

So these dreaming hunters not only located their quarry in dreams but also killed it the same way. Did they also eat their kill in their dreams and wake up satisfied?

Brody continues in a paraphrase from an older informant who says,

"Maybe', said Atsin, 'you think this is all nonsense, just so much bullshit. Maybe you don't think this power is possible. Few people understand. The old-timers who were strong dreamers, knew many things that are not easy to
understand. People -white people, young people - yes, they laugh at such skills. But they do not know.' (Brody, 1981:40)

Brody interjects, telling us that The Indians around this country know a lot about power. In fact, everyone has had some experience of it. The fact that dream-hunting works has been proved many times."

It has been proven, has it?

Atsin tells of a hunter who dreamed of a moose kill some years earlier, who marked the animal's hooves in his dream, went out the following day, quickly found the animal and killed it - recognizing the hooves he had marked during his dream kill.

'And not only that fat cow moose - many such instances are known to the people, whose marks on the animal or other indications show that there was no mistaking, no doubts about the efficacy of such dreams. Do you think this is all lies? No, this is power they had, something they knew how to use. This was their way of doing things, the right way. They understood, those old-timers, just where all the animals came from. The trails converge, and if you were a very strong dreamer you could discover this, and see the source of trails, the origin of game. Dreaming revealed them. Good hunting depended upon such knowledge. (Brody 1981: 40/41)

That shamanistic powers can be presented as a species of fact by a contemporary researcher is truly amazing. Probably Atsin and other men of his generation did believe that some had the power to locate game by dreaming or drumming or by scapulamancy. Such beliefs were part of northern hunting cultures. But it has to be explained, not taken as literally true.

Most of our own European ancestors, at one time, firmly believed in the recurrent if unpredictable interventions of God(s) and saints, of the earthly presence of the devil and his minions, and in the supernatural powers of witches. They believed in miracles and supernatural occurrences all around them. But regardless of how widely or strongly held that ideology was it was all totally fallacious. None of the supernatural entities cavorting about traditional Christian Europe existed outside of people's personal and collective beliefs. As long as people continued to believe in divine intervention and the operation of supernatural entities there was little possibility of discovering the often intricate natural forces which are involved in daily life. This applies as much to Canadian Indians and their ways as it does to earlier Europeans.

It is not ethnocentric to hold that moose are not killed by dreams, that cholera is not prevented by special masses, that readers are not enlightened by repeating fabulous folk lore etc. No matter what people believe and no
matter what the sentiments of ancient bards or modern snake oil pedlars are. Canadians will have entered a condition of terminal degeneracy if they allow decisions on how public resources are to be utilized, how facts are to be determined, on the basis of such dandified horoscope casting.

In *The People's Land* (1975) Brody noted that the Innuit of Banks island had then recently been threatened by oil drilling within their territory. This allegedly illustrated how the Federal Government had failed to protect their inherent rights and the local economies of native peoples. Jean Chretien, then the Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, is quoted as saying that the growth of the indigenous population in the north is three times higher than that in the rest of the country and that the only solution is to create job opportunities in the north.

"So the trap is set. Northern development is good because among other advantages, it gives native people a greater range of choice: they will, with education and industrial advance at the frontier, be able to choose between a life on the land and wage employment. But, we are also told, a life on the land is no longer possible - the population is too large and the renewable resources are insufficient. So Federal policy must be directed at creating jobs. Therefore economic development is urgently needed - in order to solve, of course, the Eskimos' problems. With this circular and self-justifying argument policy makers effectively narrow down the alternatives: Eskimos must become wage labourers. (Brody,1975:221-222)

Chretien's reasoning in this matter was not circular at all but was quite straight forward - there aren't the game resources to sustain the current Innuit population, at any level. This is an utterly wrong-headed view according to Brody.

His alternative is for the Federal government to subsidize hunting and trapping at such a level that all Innuit who wish to may remain as hunters on the land. Brody holds that hunting and trapping can still sustain a way of life in the north, 'prosperous' even. His option is to have northern natives paid by the Federal government to remain hunters and trappers for as long as they may wish. Since the cost to the Federal government of maintaining the circa 30,000 native people in the Northwest Territories is well over $1.25 billion per year, if these funds were turned over *en toto* to the Indian/Innuit population they could then do whatever they pleased. They could hunt spirit bears, charm seals, or become spiritual philosophers.

Brody might have cast his mind back to the early 1950s when the revelation of what living by hunting meant for some northern Indians and Innuit. Hunting and trapping in many regions had hit an impoverished dead
end and near starvation was the condition of many of those living solely from the land. That is the regime which Brody believes can be revitalized. (Brody, 1975:227-228) In lieu of the above, Brody foresees only the most tragic consequences of native involvement in the broader economy.

"The most recent trends are pushing native people increasingly toward the lowest and least certain rung on the national class ladder: if separated from his own means of production and unable to have a sure relationship to the intruders' means of production, the Eskimo, like many Canadian and American Indians before him, will be turned into a migrant worker, a casual labourer, and - as this lumpenproletarian condition develops - the prostitute, petty thief and beggar. " (Brody, 1975:229)

This paragraph sums up what Brody and many other native romantics feel about working people - that they are lumpen, beggars, and petty thieves.

Brody's The Living Arctic. Hunters of the Canadian North 1987 is a reworked version of The People's Land, with Indians added and with philosophizing updated to the late 1980s. The accompanying illustrations have an Edward Curtis-like cast of fur-clad hunters and conical tents, kayaks and igloos. There is something blatantly specious about portraying people as they may have lived 80 or more years previously in illustrations claiming to deal with contemporary conditions.

Here Brody notes that hunting peoples are unlike any population based on agriculture. On the side of Mammon are the authoritarian and ecologically destructive peasants as well as degraded workers. On the other side, the natural nobility of hunting the caribou or the stag.

To portray northern Indians and Inuit as mainly dependant upon hunting, today is simply untrue. That is so regardless of how important country food may still be in a few locales and however much native people still think of themselves as able to live off the land.

In The Living Arctic Brody tells us that hunters do not share peasant or urban views about the predominant social institutions: about property and social control, about law, about the nature of children etc.. Their views are radically different from those societies originally founded on agriculture and peasant attachment to specific plots of land, to marriage and the subordination of women, to explicit laws and to a preoccupation with private property. All of those notions and practices are deeply alien to most hunting societies"(Brody, 1987:13)

Although there is considerable truth in the above one might also note that in North America, even five hundred years ago, hunters continued mainly in those regions which were marginal to horticultural peoples. Societies based upon food producing were superior to those relying upon hunting in the
evolutionary sense that it permitted agriculturalists everywhere to support a far larger population and to supplant hunters where the two were in competition for the same lands. Even at the time of European contact, aboriginal populations based upon some form of horticulture were more typical of native life in the Americas than were hunters.

In the final pages of *The Living Arctic*, Brody holds that there can be no final solution to or negotiation of aboriginal rights. He holds that native claims should be open-ended and *a permanent feature* of Canadian political life. He notes the judicial decisions confirming aboriginal title to the James Bay region and the expected division of the Northwest Territories into homelands for the Dene and the Inuit. Brody holds that whites, who outnumber Indians even in the Mackenzie territory, cannot be permitted to have a say in such negotiations simply because they are in the majority.

'Newcomers' is Brody's synonym for white while 'the People' stands for native peoples. He proposes various means by which the rights of 'newcomers' can be circumvented. He also notes that native people must overcome the claims that the provinces own crown lands. The true owners, we are told, are the native people. They must be assured that these lands, which natives have 'conserved' for so long, will not be threatened by white settlement. (Brody, 1987: 239)

Brody was portraying a world which had largely ceased to exist for native people in Canada. The conditions discussed mainly constitute a nostalgia for a past 'golden' age. It was an age, however, which many older people who experienced it may be glad to have transcended. As for Brody's open contempt for white working people, it is what we have come to expect from his kind.

**Boyce Richardson and Devoured Lands**

Boyce Richardson was born in New Zealand in 1928, became a reporter for New Zealand newspapers in 1945 and emigrated to Canada during the 1960s. He briefly lived in Kenora but soon moved to become a reporter for the *Montreal Star*. In 1968 he was commissioned by that newspaper to do a number of articles on what was happening among native people in northern Quebec. The outrage he came to feel about the condition of native people there is recorded in *Strangers Devour the Land* (1975) This account of the James Bay hydro development project and it's associated court cases runs from late 1971 to 1974. The book is intended to make the case for the Cree trappers faced by a heartless, faceless, provincial government and crown corporation bent on destroying their way of life.
The crux of this book is the testimony delivered in support of a request for an injunction against the hydro project presented before one Justice Albert Malouf of the Quebec Superior Court. An annoying feature of *Strangers Devour the Land* is that Richardson insists of breaking up that testimony into fragments and dispersing them throughout the book. On the one side we find testimony given by Cree trappers and a wide assortment of specialists - wildlife biologists, anthropologists and others- who do provide some thoughtful accounts but who are rarely allotted sufficient space to make their points. On the other side the lawyers representing the James Bay Development Corporation, who are presented as malign and arrogant.

Richardson obviously learned a good deal about that northern environment over the course of the Malouf hearings and what he might have done is to pull that account together and present it as a coherent whole somewhere at the beginning of his book. As it now stands the only view that we can take from the testimony is that everything was in perfect ecological order previously and that changing anything will result in unknowable but disastrous consequences.

Part of the book revolves around Cree hunting and trapping knowledge. Richardson's respect for the older Indian hunter-trappers is evident throughout the work, which at times is moving. He sometimes does convey something of what that way of life entailed. But it is still a very one-sided account. Accordingly, we are led to believe that, traditionally, everyone knew or found their place within that society, the young were looked after by adults and the aged by their children. Food was normally plentiful and shared, people were attuned to their tasks and were keen observers of the natural fluctuations of animal populations and the land. There were no inter/intra family quarrels, hardly ever any hunger and diseases were exclusively those brought by the white man. Spirituality reigned supreme and the only knowledge and skills required were those known by all Cree men and women. Richardson compares this with the social discontinuity which has since effected many Cree youths who had learned nothing useful in school.(Richardson, 1975:195) A general hopelessness is alleged to have encompassed those who did not learn to hunt and trap. However, I would note that at least some Cree parents in the past held that hunting and trapping was not all that wonderful and were hoping that their children would be able to avail themselves of the new opportunities which were opening.

Being engaged in the struggle for Cree land claims got Richardson into film making. His films attempt to document Indian life around James Bay during the 1970s. These include *Job's Garden*, *Cree Hunters of Mistassini* and *Flooding Job's Garden*, all revolving around Cree hunters and the
James Bay hydro project. *Job's Garden*, a one hour documentary, deals with the daily life of one Job Bearskin and his family, a trapper who had hunted most of his life on the headwaters of the Fort George river. As far as I can make out this film only involved a few days spent in a travel camp a short distance up the river from the Fort George post, where no actual hunting or trapping took place. That expedition was followed with a few days spent at the abandoned Kanaupiscow post. Filming was not pursued there because they lacked a canoe and could not get to Job's trapping territory. No hunting or trapping took place there either. These few days are the basis of Richardson's film *Job's Garden*.

The film's title stems from Job Bearskin's recurrent reference to his trapping territory as a garden, which he carefully oversees and prunes. This is a somewhat strange allusion since none of the Cree in the region have ever kept a garden of any sort. It may be that either Richardson provided this imagery or that Job Bearskin was more attuned to the attitudes of Europeans than he let on.

A later film, *Cree Hunters of Mistassini*, was bankrolled by the National Film Board and was shot around Lac Trefart, north of Lake Mistassini. It entailed filming during a week before the fall freeze up and some eleven days in the early spring before breakup. That film actually includes the trapping of two beaver from a nearby lodge, preserved for just that purpose. However it seems that a great deal of the two weeks 'spent in the bush' were given over to events taking place around the campfire.

During his initial visit among the Cree of Fort George Richardson says the following,

> We understood that we would never be able to see the forest as they see it. We were blind and would remain blind, to the many signs of life that lay around them as they walked among the trees. The irony and tragedy of their situation was that the outside world remained ignorant of their enormous capacities: however masterful the men might be in this environment, it was obvious to us that if they were to end up in a small Canadian town or village as government policy would have them do, they would be qualified to nothing except perhaps to collect garbage." (Richardson, 1975:216-217)

Collecting garbage is the depth of degradation in Richardson's lexicon; producing it in print and film format is its antithesis.

The malignly evil forces facing the Cree are the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, the James Bay Development Corporation, the Quebec provincial government and the destructive 'whiteman' in general (how is it that there are never any malign 'Whitewomen' in such accounts?). White workers, when they are mentioned
in passing, are allegedly criminals who have been released from prison to work on the James Bay hydro project. Their labor unions are engaged in excluding Indian employees and in strong-arming their membership, who go on a destructive riot which closed down work on the project for a number of months in 1974. (Richardson, 1975:329) It's clear what Richardson thinks of white working people.

One of the development corporation's arguments was that during the main phase of hydro flooding, of 273 native trapping tracts then existing in the region, more than 200 would not be effected at all while most of the remaining tracts would be effected only marginally. In total, only some two to three dozen trapping families would be substantially impacted, involving possibly a hundred and fifty people, children included. (Richardson, 1975: 312-313)

Justice Malouf's decision on the Cree injunction came down in November of 1973, when he decided for the Cree and ordered all work on the James Bay project to be halted. There then followed arguments in the Quebec Court of Appeals which after about a year held that Malouf's decision was flawed and set it aside.

During the interval negotiations between governmental parties and spokespersons for the Indian groups around James Bay had proceeded. The agreement finally worked out was in essence a very substantial land transfer to the Innuit and Cree of Northern Quebec. This involved a deal finally being struck on November 15th of 1974. The result was that somewhat over 41.7 million acres of land (c 65,000 sq. miles) were conveyed to some six thousand Cree and a smaller number of Innuit in northern Quebec. Of this, some 5,225 square miles were set aside for Indian reserves and Innuit lands under Category 1. In addition, Category 2 lands comprise some 60,000 square miles, over which native people retain exclusive hunting, trapping and fishing rights. All whites are excluded from these lands and only Hydro Quebec and the Provincial government can utilize them under narrow restrictions. In Category 3 lands (the rest of northern Quebec), hunting and fishing was to be regulated by a commission in which a half of the members would be native. Native priority to hunting and fishing was also recognized. (Richardson 1975; 319-324)

In addition to this was a 150 million dollar settlement for the six thousand Cree effected, as well as ongoing support payments by the Department of Indian Affairs. (Richardson, 1975:313) Quebec surrendered a very large chunk of it's northern territory to a handful of native people in this deal however Richardson felt it to be a sell out of native rights.
Following the signing of the James Bay agreement Richardson moved to New Zealand for a while but returned to Canada by the 1980s and continued his career in film making and free lance journalism. His The People of Terra Nullius. Betrayal and Rebirth of Aboriginal Canada (1993) was written from material he gathered while preparing two articles for the prestigious America journal Reader's Digest. That is the fitting venue for this work.

He begins by telling us that aboriginal population of the two Americas at time of European contact was between 90 and 110 million, of which 90 percent were killed or died in the following century. "- incomparably the most appalling holocaust in human history." (Richardson,1993:2-3.) The proposed population of the Americas therefore was approximately the same as that of Europe west of the Urals and including a good part of the circum Mediterranean. If the aboriginal population was reduced by 90 percent in the first century following contact there must be vast ossuaries somewhere, although these have not yet been uncovered.

Richardson also tells us that " I was always painfully aware - in fact it became an article of faith with me - that the newspapers I worked for were owned by rich people who used them as vehicles to represent the interests of their class, and to oppose, usually with great vehemence and even viciousness, the interests of working people and the disadvantaged. I had been brought up in an egalitarian society, in an egalitarian time, and that early conditioning has stuck with me. My view of politics is that it is a never-ending struggle between the haves and the have nots, with all the artillery in the hands of the haves." (Richardson, 1993: 9-10)

That sounds promising but it is both the first and the last time we hear of class interests and views. The people who alone deserve our support, in Richardson's view, are that two percent of the population who are natives.

The People of Terra Nullius is a catalogue of the processes of 'Native rebirth' and the assorted undertakings and confrontations which native people have been involved in during the intervening twenty years. The book provides little discussion of the concept 'Terra Nullius'(empty lands), although it is claimed to be central to the justification of white seizure of Indian territory in Canada. This is a rather legalistic approach and I would suggest that any other legal proposition, or none at all, would have served equally well for the acquisition of native lands in the past.

The near decade-long Mulroney Conservative regime in Canada witnessed an upsurge in native demands and judicial decisions in their favour, as well as frantic governmental attempts to meet them. Some of this is surveyed in Richardson's book. Assorted cases of native abusement are
presented as the author makes his way around Canada in twenty five chapters.

Richardson's appreciation of Cree trappers is here lost in a many sided pursuit of Indian claims and charges against the settler state. Surprisingly there is no follow up of the developments which had taken place around James Bay following the construction of the hydro project - nothing dealing with what had happened to the people there. That is rather puzzling.

*The People of Terra Nullius*. traipses across Canada during the early 1990s and recounts talks with native people in some 40 different locales; some accounts are two pages long while others take up the better part of a chapter. Some occasionally go back to the nineteenth century but the majority are contemporary accounts, reports of the sweep of native claims and the actions taken to support them. He devotes part of a chapter to the treaties of the Mickmac with the English crown in the mid 18th century, enthusing over the fact that these have finally been recognized in Canadian courts which now permit the Micmac to hunt and fish over Maritime crown lands without regard to any externally imposed game laws or restrictions whatsoever. (Richardson 1993:76-78) The general thrust of the book seems to be that all crown lands in Canada, some 80% to 95% of the total national land base, are inherently Indian lands. (Richardson, 1993:167-172)

We are told that the whiteman built his wealth and nation on Indian-owned resources and should forever be in debt for them. National and provincial governments, crown and private corporations, and white institutions in general are responsible for the 'racist' laws which have, over the course of a century, worked such terrible havoc on Indian people. Richardson looks forward to the day when the oppressive Indian Act and the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development will be abolished. In this he is out of step with most native organizations, who were offered just such a move in 1968 and who vociferously rejected it.

Richardson provides examples of native people 'fighting back' and 'celebrating their survival' almost everywhere. There is one Marion Meadmore, a businesswoman and lawyer who 'owns one of several businesses that occupy a large native-owned office building in Winnipeg' and who keeps track of hundreds of native-owned 'retail stores, trucking companies, marinas, service stations, restaurants, airlines and outfitters', just some of the circa 5,000 native-run businesses now operating in Canada. (Richardson, 1993:241-243)

There is also a discussion of how, in the past, the Algonquin were pushed out of the Ottawa valley but are now demanding a return of their former forest lands there. Also mentioned are the Temagami demands for a
substantial portion of central Ontario forests. Richardson also offers a rehash of Sue Carter's claims that Indian farming on the prairies was systematically undercut by Department of Indian Affairs restrictions which helped destroy those Indian farms. There is a rich harvest of 'defrauding' and 'betrayal' proffered.

Included is a tribute to Ovid Mercredi, then Grand Chief of the Assembly of First Nations. Born on an eastern Manitoba reserve to Metis parents, he apparently never lived on a trapline and spent most of his youth in school. His father worked in assorted jobs, such as being a lake fisherman, but for much of his life was a tradesman for a provincial corporation. Mercredi made his way through college, became a lawyer, and was later elected leader of the Assembly of First Nations during the later 1980s. (Richardson 1992 337-343) He became an abrasive media personality and pushed 'the Native Question' into Canadian living rooms.

Fragments of properly corrected history surround many of the accounts, all of which go to demonstrate that the Indians were defrauded of their aboriginal lands. But everywhere Richardson sees a rebirth of native self-government escaping the tentacles which had formerly controlled them. ('Policy tentacles' is the general title of a number of subsections inserted between the accounts and deals with governmental policies.) Such developments are invariably advanced by dedicated new Indian leaders who are never engaged in personal enrichment.

From Nova Scotia to the west coast of Vancouver Island, from the Canadian north to the southern-most fringes of Canada, we are introduced to native people engaged in refurbishing native languages, in reclaiming native heritage, and in managing monies dedicated to the rebirth of Aboriginal cultures. Native people who had once opted to escape the stasis on reserves by leaving for the city are portrayed as now returning to their native roots. All these developments supposedly take place against the policy of the 'whiteman's government', rather than with its full support. Richardson clearly does not believe that many of the developments he lauds were initiated and backed by the Department of Indian Affairs.

Where a certain humanity occasionally shone through his Strangers Devour the Land, in The People of Terra Nullius Richardson has become a spokesperson for a strident native nationalism, which will never be satisfied. Any gains made will always be insufficient to pay for the loss of their past native worlds. Nothing but special rights and unending apologies from whites will suffice.

Tom Shandel, a film maker and book reviewer from West Vancouver, tells us that "People of Terra Nullius' smoulders with controlled outrage."
Richardson uses the legal concept of 'terra nullius' (empty land) to symbolize the attitudes of Europeans when they arrived here: the land was deemed to be empty of people. This effectively allowed for theft and then, to cover it up, genocide. No media balance hypocrisy here. Just well-earned bias expressed by a good reporter in the manner of advocate journalism where you choose to cover something which needs telling, research to understand, take a position, illuminate the dark shadows and call for justice by shouting from the rooftops" (Shandel, 1994: 21)

The shouting from the rooftops is there alright but the real issues surrounding native claims have been hidden in the deepest of shadows. Richardson tells us that "Our nation, it seems, is in need of a history lesson." (Richardson 1993:4) However maybe we should get it from qualified historians rather than from snake oil pedlars, or historians and snake oil pedlars.

Ronald Wright's Burning Indignation

Ronald Wright's Stolen Continents, The 'New World' Through Indian Eyes Since 1492 (1992) has become something of a bible among Indianophiles while the author, previously a writer of travelogues, has gone on to become an author of fiction. Born in 1948 he is another British emigre currently resident in Canada. Before becoming a savant of Indigenous peoples and the wonder worlds they inhabited he was a travel tour guide to exotic places and their peoples. That is, he was engaged in arranging and leading tours to Latin American sites of Indian high culture for well-heeled tourists.

Again we find an entrepreneurial Cambridge intellect maligning whites in general and western society in particular - together they murdered and enslaved the Indigenous peoples of the western hemisphere. They are the extractors and wreckers of the world's resources. The actions of whites are contrasted with the alleged conservationist qualities attained by past Indian societies, who lived in harmony with nature. About the working and living conditions existing among the vast majority of the current populations in Latin America he has little to say, except that most Ladino's and Mestizos allegedly are part of the middle classes and the Indians are exploited by all of them.

When he considers it at all, Wright views poverty in the under-developing nations as the consequence of a world-wide industrial system, but not of capitalism or the allied systems of exploitation. That industrialism and science-based technologies are the only arrangements through which all of
humanity can potentially be provided with decent living conditions is a view which Wright would reject out of hand.

Wright tells us that during his school days 'history' was a catalogue of the doings of Great Men, mainly British, in which the lives of the great majority of humanity played no real role. Instead he provides us a history of Great Native Indian Men, their chieftains, rulers, and other sages. He holds that anthropology and history are nothing but 'colonial ideologies'. Dismissing that vast body of work allows him to view his topic with a pure mind and an untrammeled soul. It permits him to write accounts uncluttered by academic intricacies and offensive facts.

Wright does not hesitate in setting leftwing Latin Americans straight on what they should understand about their own nations' history and about the social/racial priorities required. He holds that both the right and leftwing political forces are merely two fingers of the same hand, both dismiss the persistence and beauty of the native Indian worlds. So, the mass murders of the forty-year long killing machine which was/is the Guatemalan 'government' is essentially the same as the actions of the left victims to that regime. The Guatemalan guerrillas simply 'used' Mayan support, which they could not defend and which led to massacres among the Indian population by government forces. (Wright, 1992: 7, 267) I find that to be an odious and despicable charge.

White settlers are recurrently referred to as "squatters" while contemporary Brazilian gold miners and frontier farmers are called "rabble". For instance he says of white frontiersmen in America

_They wore buckskin, ate dried meat, grew maize, took Indian women, and were as quick as any Mankiller to take a scalp. They also cut the timber, dammed the creeks, wore out the soil, exterminated the game, and having done so, pulled up their shallow roots and moved on 'Settlers' is hardly the word for them; the Indians were settled. but most of the white men were nomads._

(Wright, 1992:112)

Wright's enthusiasm for Indian peasants and other aboriginal peoples, especially those from regions of native 'high culture', revolves around their capacity 'to live in ecological harmony with their environments', using their own manpower, not machines and fuel, to till their own crops and to operate artisanal technologies, which allegedly provided for all of their needs. They may be extremely poor but live fulfilled lives when allowed to operate within the context of their own cultural values. One could similarly enthuse about the lives of serfs in feudal Europe. Moreover, it is the case that Indian peasants for many generations have _not_ been satisfied to live in the manner of their ancestors, and have joined struggles to change that world.
Wright is an enthusiast of the allegedly changeless and traditional conditions which Indian societies represent. The usually narrow limitations and the typically short lives lived by such people doesn't trouble him since he and his lot are always able to leave for their own modern kips after visits among the natural people.

*Stolen Continents*. deals with the post contact history of the Aztec, Mayan and Incan empires and their descendants as well as that of the Cherokee and Iroquois. He begins by informing us that "By 1492 there were approximately 100 million Native Americans - a fifth, more or less, of the human race. ......Within decades of Columbus's landfall, most of these people were dead and their world barbarously sacked by Europeans." (Wright,1992:4)

Such population figures are quite dubious and have been created by multiplying the documented indigenous populations some ten or twenty fold. Moreover, even if the original population had been decimated during the initial centuries of contact why, given the capacity of populations to easily double within a generation, why have something like the original levels not been reestablished long ago? The case may be that over the centuries Indians were constantly moving out of that category and becoming mestizos.

Wright notes that only the first explorer-conquerors (Cortes, Pizarro, Hernan de Soto and a few French and English analogues) had any opportunity to witness what the native world was like. Usually, long before any conquest took place the indigenous people were laid low by pandemics of staggering mortality. These allegedly killed up to 96 percent of the indigenous population before or shortly after Europeans reached them.(Wright,1992:185) Small pox is Wright's primary disease but epidemics of cholera, typhus, whooping cough, decimated people with no resistance to them. The empty lands encountered by early Europeans were created by such diseases, he says. There is some truth in this but most of the north and centre of North America, and the huge region east of the Andes, were very thinly populated indigenously.

He holds that the conquest was the result of a narrow advantage the Europeans had in steel, muskets, horses and sailing vessels, which were decisive. However in other matters the Europeans allegedly were barbarians compared to the astronomical calculations of the Maya, the cities of the Aztecs, the administrative capacities of the Inca and the democratic life styles of the Indians of North America. We have met such accounts before in Jack Weatherford's book.

*Stolen Continents* is divided into three sections; Conquest, Resistance and Rebirth, which span the period from 1492 to 1992. The book was presumably written with the 500th anniversary of the European discovery (an
impermissible term) of the New World in mind. It deals with the experiences of the Aztecs, Maya, Incan, Cherokee and Iroquois during the three eras. This is a daunting task if taken seriously. Many of the sources cited are unfamiliar to me and I therefore have some qualms about commenting on Wright's portrayal. However some reply is in order.

He holds that although there were ongoing conflicts between indigenous groups they tended to be 'flower wars', with more ceremony than actual killing involved. It is true that the Mayan cities rose and fell in internecine wars but these were never like the holocaust which followed white entry. We hear nothing of the oppression which accompanied many of these native states.

Women were, naturally, highly honored in all aboriginal societies. Children were nurtured to become productive members of their society (including being peasant serfs). No one was afflicted with cultural anomie. Everyone had his own place and if that was a relatively lowly one it was within a known and accepted cultural framework. It should be remarked that there is no evidence for any such 'acceptance' and that indigenously subjugated groups rose up to support the Spanish Conquistadores during their initial conquest of their former rulers.

Native technology and their ways of dealing with their environments were more than adequate to provide all that was required of them. Indeed, native crops and agriculture far surpassed the food producing techniques of Europeans. In general, conditions were just short of living in a Garden of Eden.

Into this wonder world came the Europeans. They conquered the native peoples or pushed them into increasingly marginal regions. In Latin America native peoples were subjected to working for European landlords and in the mines which were opened; they were generally treated as a population of serfs. In many regions ordinary Indian people were controlled through 'their own' native lords, who rapidly became conversant with the Spanish language and culture. (Wright, 1992:256) Sometimes native people rose up, as in Peru during the revolt of Tupac Aymaru ll or in Yucatan during the War of the Castes.

In North America, with a rapidly growing population of whites to do the work, Indians were simply pushed out of the way. In regions uninhabitable by whites, such as the lands which sustained the fur trade, native people lingered on. In all regions an endemic form of racism came to prevail which treated native people as perpetual inferiors. The wealth of untapped resources, including those unknown to and unutilizable by the Indians, were seized by the whites who gradually built the industrial societies which now
exist, polluting the air, earth and sea and spreading social conflict in their wake.

Only in Mexico and only following the Mexican revolution did native people begin to come into their own. This was forwarded by President Cardenas and his distribution of *ejido* lands. During the most recent generations urbanization has come to incorporate masses of Indians from the countryside into Mexican society. Wright holds that contemporary Mexico is now predominantly Indian in racial make-up. Somewhat surprisingly he holds that this constitutes the ultimate triumph of the Aztecs. (Wright, 192: 248)

Since Wright's account is presented as "Through Indian Eyes" we would expect some native record of the conquest and the events which followed. The records presented are mainly accounts written by native people who, a full generation or more after the conquest, were reflecting on past events. These accounts were written in Spanish or in local languages transcribed into Spanish script. The writers were generally the sons or grandsons of indigenous nobles who had been educated in Spanish institutions. In one case, that of the *Cantares Mexicanos*, produced during the later 16th century, they are the work of students of one friar Bernardino Sahagun, a Franciscan monk who set about recapturing past native experiences. Sahagun's accounts are often moving but are presented in a form which seems strangely modern in their current translation. According to Wright, *Cantares Mexicanos* was only rediscovered in Mexican archives during the late 1880s, after having been lost for three centuries, and was translated into English only long after their rediscovery. (Wright, 1992: 153).

Also frequently mentioned is the work of Felipe Guaman Pomo's *Nueva Chronica y Buen Gobierno*, which was rediscovered in a Danish archive in 1936. It is a twelve hundred page manuscript written and illustrated by a part Incan scribe during the late 16th century. Garcilaso de Vega's *Royal Commentaries of the Incas* is the well known work of an educated, part Incan, writer who lived in Spain for most of his life. These accounts are rather utopian visions of what Peru under the Incas was like.

Despite their incomparable value these works are skewed accounts. They generally convey an idyllic view of the past societies they present. These 'first-hand, native-written' accounts must also be treated with a certain skepticism since they convey the views of the former ruling classes. There is a great deal to be learned from these accounts if surveyed with a questioning mind. But to treat them uncritically and to hold that they portray events 'through Indian eyes' would be like taking accounts written, let us say
by Richard Nixon's grandchildren, as if they were full and true accounts of America during the 1960's and 1970s.

In the case of the North American native history, few native-produced records exist before the middle of the nineteenth century. Those records which do exist were all written or transcribed by Europeans. Normally they are the records of speeches given at trade and treaty negotiations and greatly depend upon the skills of non-native translators. The very fluency of these accounts may lead one to question what actually was said by native speakers. A great deal must be read between the lines in order to determine what was intended by the speakers. That is beyond the capacities of an ordinary reader, including myself, and is also probably beyond Wright's capacity.

He informs us that the expulsion of the Cherokee from their Georgia-Tennesee homelands during the 1830s flowed from the intrusion of white settlers.

"With peace came a tide of frontier settlers - desperate people from the slums of Europe and the American seaboard, so hungry for land they were prepared to kill and die for it. Many deemed an Indian a 'varmint' and counted it a good day's work to kill one." (Wright 1992: 111)

Whites were racist killers, emigres from the slums of Europe and rabble from the lowest classes of people, according to Wright. This is supported by a letter from one Major Ridge, a Cherokee signatory to the terms disposing of Cherokee lands. He wrote President Jackson saying that

"The lowest classes of the white people are flogging the Cherokees with cowhides, hickories, and clubs. We are not safe in our houses - our people are assailed by day and night by the rabble."(Wright, 1992: 221)

We hear that despite certain differences there was a was a fundamental similarity among all native groups in North America. They existed in a rich land preserved by their inherently ecological good sense. Wright holds that questions of civilization vs. savagery are a form of Eurocentric racism and that it was the white 'newcomers' who were the savages and the natives who were truly civilized. He dismisses any consideration of the evolutionary differences between the two sorts of societies in contention and makes the replacement of one by the other attributable solely to differences in white military capacities. Or possibly it was due to the especial rapacity of the white rabble of which the 'settlers' were constituted.

Personality I am getting rather fed up with these smug derogations of white people, especially of workers and farmers, who did in fact build the societies which now exist and who received precious little for all their
efforts. What is particularly offensive is to read denunciations from well-heeled petty squireens who know nothing of and care even less about the struggles in which white working people have been engaged to create a more equitable society. Their Tory arrogance is thinly hidden behind their vociferous concerns for native peoples.

Wright's most recent book stands in contrast to the views presented in Stolen Lands. A Scientific Romance (1998) is a reworking of H.G. Wells' The Time Machine (1895). The hero is an English Cambridgean floating between Egyptian archaeological digs and English literary lectures, who discovers that Well's time machine is about to return to London at the stroke of the third millennium. Expiring with a broken heart and from an illness vaguely like AIDS (explained by a kiss on the hero's lips by a sexually degraded young rocker), the hero decides to travel forward in time in Wells' machine. When he arrives in 22nd century London he finds it deserted, tumbled down and overgrown with tropical plants and fauna. It turns out that apart from a few thousand individuals living in the vicinity of Loch Ness, in a state somewhere between the early neolithic and the Scotland of MacBeth, all the rest of Great Britain is devoid of human population.

By piecing together archaeological evidence and scraps of written records we are given to understand that a combination of disasters, which conservationists warned about in the 1990s, have come to pass almost simultaneously. The much deleted ozone layer has permitted ultraviolet rays to reach the earth and fry the lands below the northern extremities. Tropical flora and fauna, having escaped from zoos and botanical gardens during the collapse of society, now dominate the English landscape. There is even a bow to the dangers of genetically engineered new plants in the wide spread dominance of a grass strain, bred to create untended English lawns, which no animal will eat and which poisons its plant competitors.

Indeed, many of the more colorful scenarios of ecological collapse are given space as well as allusions to economic collapse and the in-migration of peoples from the devastated southern lands. The latter phenomenon triggers an explosion of skinhead-underclass violence matched by a brief military dictatorship, all compressed within three to four decades during the mid 21st century. Such developments are traced only for the British Isles, which apparently is still the center of the world for Wright. As in all science fiction, one cannot ask for a rational account of why things have turned out as they allegedly have.

Compounding the conditions for the destruction of the 'civilized world' is the spread of new epidemic diseases for which the much diminished
medical facilities have no answer. The scenario is rather like his view of the native Indian experience following European colonization of the New World. In Wright's book the diseases are linked to the ecological indifference of the late 20th century. This is all done with such excess that one wonders whether the author has presented us with a satire of this genre. I don't think so.

A Scientific Romance recreates the tenor of Well's Gothic horror story in a contemporary vein. What is missing is the acerbic wit of someone like G.B. Shaw, who commented on Well's horrendous future world where humanity has split into subterranean-dwelling Morlocks and sun loving Eloi, whom the Morlocks emerge at night to eat, 'like cattle' "Why is it that monstrous creatures in distant times always keep humans as cattle, rather than raising cattle as cattle?' as Shaw quipped in a loose paraphrase. He was alluding to the serious ecological disadvantage of raising people for food.

The 'Glen Nessie' are an enclave of retrogressive human life the hero finds in a futurist Britain. Surviving in North-western Scotland beyond the regions of the now dominant and indestructible grass, they are mainly descendants of Black people who had previously migrated to Great Britain and who were somehow 'more adapted to the hotter conditions' They have acquired a culture drawn from facets of English history and are living in a mainly illiterate, village-based, quasi-Presbyterian society which includes a rite of occasionally nailing a community member to a cross to drive out assorted evil forces.

In the end, in a decided turn-around from his former enthusiasms, Wright's hero decides that he cannot tolerate living in a world in which the survivors are living stringently 'in harmony with their environment'. A society of poor peasants descending ever further into the dark ages, without the capacity or desire for travel, without savoury foods, science or literature, without the modern world which the hero now recognizes he does desire. His Glen Nessie primitives are xenophobic religious fanatics given to petty cruelties, ridden with disease during their short lives and with no desire to reacquire a fuller culture, of which they know nothing.

These few thousand Black Highlanders seem to be an approximation of the exotic 'natural peoples' of the world which Wright so much admires - living poor lives but within a community and within the ecological balance which nature demands. However it is impossible for anyone who has known something better, civilization, to live like that. It is a pessimistic self-discovery.
Although past descents into dark ages have been overcome in time, Wright holds that this future descent can never rebuild civilization. He ends by saying that,
"The Glen Nessies of the earth may survive, human numbers may eventually rebuild, we may with time and luck climb back to ancient China or Peru. But the ready ores and fossil fuels are gone. Without coal there can be no Industrial Revolution; without oil no leap from steam to atom. Technology will sit forever at the bottom of a ladder from which the lower rungs are gone. And how heavy the fallen knowledge will lie upon any who hope to resurrect it.........A civilization such as ours ploughs up the rails behind: we had at best one chance to get it right.

The most we can aspire to now is a Scrap-Iron Age; old girders beaten into swords and ploughshares over charcoal fires, stainless steel more precious than gold" (Wright, 1997:305/306)

In short, there is to be no salvation for a disintegrating Britain led by black suited pilot-philosophers emerging from Air Armadas, arriving from some New Rome (as was H.G. Well's vision when, in 1923, he wrote The Shape of Things to Come.). Although A Scientific Romance is billed as fiction while Stolen Continents goes under the name of history, it seems to me that the Wright's approach to reality is not much different in either.

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Ch.11 Some Replies to Native Romanticism.

Hobsbawm on Ethnic Identity Politics

Eric Hobsbawm (1917 -), writing about the collapse of socialism around the world but also alluding to the declining social standards which are coming to prevail in many capitalist nations, notes the rise of 'identity groups.' These mainly involve the claims of 'ethnic groups', or their self-selected spokespersons, which exist in most contemporary societies. Their claims are comparable to those which have arisen among native peoples in North America. He says that the rise of identity groups - 'human ensembles to which a person could belong, unequivocally and beyond uncertainty and doubt', was first noted in America during the 1960s and appeals to some common ethnicity, an appeal which was allegedly unknowable by outsiders.

"As the emergence of this phenomenon in the most systematically multi-ethnic of states suggests, the politics of identity groups had no intrinsic connection with the 'national self-determination' i.e. the desire to create territorial states, identical with a particular 'people', which was the essence of nationalism. Secession made no sense for U.S. Negroes or Italians, nor was it part of their ethnic politics. Ukrainian politics in Canada were not Ukrainian but Canadian. Indeed, the essence of ethnic or similar politics in urban, almost by definition heterogeneous societies, was to compete with other such groups for a share of the resources of the non-ethnic state, by using the political leverage or group loyalty..........

What ethnic identity politics had in common with ethnic nationalism

"....was the insistence that one's group identity consisted in some existential, supposedly primordial, unchangeable and therefore permanent personal characteristic shared with other members of the group, and with no one else. Exclusiveness was all the more essential to it, since the actual differences which marked human communities off from each other were [long] attenuated. .....The very fluidity of ethnicity in urban societies made its choice as the only criterion of the group arbitrary and artificial......Increasingly one's identity had to be constructed by insisting on the non-identity of others.(Hobsbawm,1994: 428-429)

Hobsbawm goes on to note that the absurdity of these 'exclusionary identity politics' is that they could not possibly work, they could only pretend to. The members of such identity groups live and work within societies in which such identities are largely irrelevant.

The pretence that there was a Black or Hindu or Russian or female truth incomprehensible and therefore essentially incommunicable to those outside
the group, could not survive outside institutions whose only function was to encourage such views. ......

Even a world divided into theoretically homogeneous ethnic territories by mass expulsion and 'ethnic cleansing'. "...was inevitably heterogenized again by mass movements of people, ......of styles and by the tentacles of the global economy. That, after all, is what happened to the countries of Central Europe, 'ethnically cleansed' during and after the Second World War. That is what would inevitably happen again in an increasingly urbanized world. "

" Identity politics and fin-de-siecle nationalism were thus not so much programmes, still less effective programmes, for dealing with the problems of the late twentieth century, but rather emotional reactions to these problems. And yet, as the century drew to its end, the absence of institutions and mechanisms actually capable of dealing with these problems became increasingly evident." (Hobsbawm, 1994 :429-430)

Although Hobsbawm did not have native Indian nationalism in mind when he wrote about identity politics his comments fit their political rationale to a tee.

He suggests two possible responses to the sloughing off of social responsibilities undertaken by governments in the western world,1.the creation of multi-national entities such as The European Union, with may be strong enough to oppose corporate interests, or 2.the operations of vast transnational corporations, such as Standard Oil, of which there were possibly two hundred by the 1990s. He suggests that if governmental control over such corporations is to be achieved in the future it must be through transnational entities. However there is no indication that such is the path which will be followed and an indeterminate future of general social decline may await the majority of the world's people. A broad social retrogression in which many kinds of fantasies, including vociferous forms of ethnic nationalism, will reemerge.

Chief Seattle and his Mythical Speech

Let us consider an account of a speech allegedly delivered by one Chief Seattle in the mid nineteenth century. The following account is extracted from a newspaper article entitled The Best Speech the Chief Never Gave, written by Randy Adams, a photographer and poet who lives in Nanaimo, B.C. It appeared in the Vancouver Sun(April 22,1998) and revolves around a speech allegedly delivered to American settlers by Chief Seattle in 1855 which supposedly dealt with environmental pollution and the profane treatment of native peoples and their lands.
Adams notes that since 1970 people have been gathering on April 22 in city parks to celebrate Earth Day and that one of the most widely repeated texts is a warning allegedly delivered by Chief Seattle during the 1855 Port Elliot treaty negotiations which transferred much of coastal Washington State to Federal title. 

*There are several versions of the speech, but the most popular includes the line, 'I have seen a thousand rotting buffalo on the prairie, left by the white man who shot them from a passing train'.

The problem is that it wasn't until the late 1860s and after Seattle's death that such [bison] slaughters took place. How could he have spoken the words in the 1850s? The plain and simple truth is that he didn't.

In his book *Indians and Europe* an essay by historian Rudolph Kaiser indicates that the first recorded mention of Seattle's speech was given in the *Seattle Sunday Star* in 1887. It was proffered by one Henry Smith who, on his deathbed, later claimed that the speech had been reconstructed from notes he had taken at the time of Seattle's address. But those notes have never been found. Smith's version was reprinted in 1891 in Fredrick Grant's *The History of Seattle*. Seattle was then a boom town with more immediate problems to concern it and it was only forty years later that another version of Seattle's address was offered. That one was by Clarence Bagley in a 1931 issue of the *Washington Historical Quarterly*. The following year John M. Rich published a booklet called *Chief Seattle's Unanswered Challenge*, which included Bagley's revisions and some further new changes.

A later version appeared in 1969 when American poet and writer William Arrowsmith published his own adaptation, modernizing the vocabulary of Smith's Victorian English. Sometime between 1972 and 1974 yet another version appeared, under the title of *The Decidedly Unforked Message of Chief Seattle* by one Ted Perry. This constitutes at least five revisions of the 'original' text by Henry Smith, which itself is rather doubtful.

*This version, which has become one of the widest circulated of all native tracts, was originally written by Ted Perry, a scriptwriter who used the speech as the basis for a fill contracted by the Southern Baptist Radio and Television Commission*.

Adams notes that Seattle lived from the late 1780s until circa 1866 and was the chief of a Puget Sound Salish village during the time of Federal treaty making. He had converted to Catholicism in the 1830s and had never fought the Americans. These were considerations in the U.S. government's acceptance of him as the representative for the Salish as a whole during treaty negotiations. What is he actually recorded as saying in them?
According to the original records at the National Archives in Washington D.C., Seattle said to Gov. Isaac Ingalls Stevens at the signing of the Port Elliot treaty, "I look upon you as my father. I and the rest regard you as such. All of the Indians have the same good feeling towards you and will send it on to the Great Father. All of them, men, women and children rejoice that he has spent you to take care of them. My mind is like yours. I don't want to say more. My heart is very good towards Dr. Maynard. I want always to get medicine from him"

This rather simplistic style may be due to the fact that the exchange was conducted in Chinook jargon, a limited trade language, or it may have been due to the limitations of the translator. David Maynard, the doctor mentioned by Seattle, was a physician of sorts but mainly a trader and sometimes a buyer of salmon for commercial curing.

He and the chief allied to serve each other's purposes. Maynard needed Indians to cure and pack salmon for his trading store, and the chief needed powerful friends to reinstate himself after a rival native leader took over his fishing rights. In 1860, Maynard penned Seattle's name into the territorial register, and so the city of Seattle was named.".

Henry Smith's 1887 recollection of Seattle's speech opens with a description: of the chief as a model representation of the Victorian Age's noble savage. His version has Seattle saying that
"It matters little where we pass the remainder of our days, They are not many ........Your God loves your people and hates mine.' [But] The most quoted version reads: 'Our God is the same God..... He is the God of man, and his compassion is equal for the red man and the white.'

However the 1974 version by Ted Perry has seen some major changes. The new and improved version is also the first to mention the buffalo or to include these eloquent lines:'We are part of the earth and it is part of us. The perfumed flowers are our sisters, the deer, the horse, the great eagle, these are our brothers'

It should be noted that Perry didn't intend to defraud or mislead the public about Seattle's speech. He has admitted that he first heard of the speech during an environmental rally in the early 1970s. What he heard would have been Arrowsmith's [1972] adaptation. Perry then wrote his script, a fiction, paraphrasing a few sentences from Arrowsmith's text.

Perry admitted that it was a mistake to use Seattle's name in the film script but the producer made the deciding error when using the words without attributing them to their actual source. Perry, when he saw those words attributed to Chief Seattle, apparently cancelled his contract to do another film with that company. However, the pervasive capacity of television to
shape modern mythology had assured the chief a place in contemporary folklore.

"...although the chief may not have said the well-known words, it is probable that because of Perry's script large numbers of people have been convinced to care for the earth, to recycle their waste or to search for alternative ways of life. But exposing the myth of Chief Seattle also serves a purpose. The words attributed to him are a form of rhetoric which could lead to the discrediting of many valuable and worthwhile endeavors. First Nations have much to contribute to a sustainable land ethic, but their beliefs are only valuable when expressed in their true voices."

This is a polite way of saying that manufacturing native texts to support currently fashionable causes, out of virtually nothing, is a way of manufacturing pseudo history. If it can be done with such ease in this case why not for any number of other worthy causes? In these cases 'expressing beliefs in their true voices' means laying aside the hokum and addressing what people really did and said.

Randy Adams' text is a remarkable comment to find in a local newspaper.

James Clifton on the Invented Indian

James Clifton's *The Invented Indian. Cultural Fictions and Government Policies* (1990) includes a section entitled *The Indian Story :A Cultural Fiction*. It presents the main and general features of current popular accounts of Indian-white history, as known today by almost everyone. It is a synthetic summary of currently fashionable tales and is quite sagacious. Clifton (1927-) served in the Pacific during W.W.11 after which he returned to the United States to obtain his doctorate in anthropology. Between the 1960s and the 1980s he wrote at least three books on the ethnohistory of specific Indian groups in America. He is a fairly conservative anthropologist but one who felt impelled to tell the truth about what he knew and observed.

Clifton had served as an 'expert witness' in court cases dealing with Indian claims in the American mid-west but fell afoul of lawyers and Indian claims seekers. They required that he advance cultural fictions relating to the cases he was testifying on, which Clifton refused to do.

He tells us that in one case before the Indian Claims Commission, that of the Michigan and Wisconsin Potawatomi, the stake was some millions of dollars, which the lawyers for the Kansas and Oklahoma branches of that group wanted exclusively for their own clients. *Striving to hold to academic standards did my reputation no good among the Kansas Potawatomi, now suddenly quadrupled in population., since the commission's decision cost them part of the spoils.*
Observing the skilled and forceful lawyers advancing their groups' cases was an eye opening experience, Clifton tells us. I learned much about the selective use and suppression of historical and anthropological evidence, systematic distortion of facts in support of preconceived 'theory of the case', the dexterous manipulation of judicial and public sentiments, perfectly astounding hyperbole, and the most outrageous fabrications. (Clifton, 1990:25)

At last an impetuous attorney explained to him that the paramount aim was not to determine veracity but to win the case. These attorneys were interested in neither the truth nor in the social consequences of a decision, only in obtaining the largest short-term benefits for their clients that was possible. American Federal courtrooms have been the arena for many such contests over the previous twenty-five years, in which probity and a search for justice through a marshalling of evidence are not much in evidence.

Making the above sorts of comments set him at odds with the leadership on various reserves, who ultimately barred him from talking with any of 'their people.' He therefore set out to produce his book *The Invented Indian. Cultural Fictions and Government Policies*. Clifton was writing about the United States in the 1980s but his comments could easily apply to the Canada of today. He notes that the themes of the Indian Story are repeated in novels, pulp fiction, television and movies; they appear in court performances and in variously scripted theatricals. The authors, artists and managers who project the 'Indian story' come from various backgrounds. If they cannot claim Indian status they must face questions of the plausibility of their accounts, how did their interpretation come to be. *On the other hand, if they do assert Indianess, even if such an identity is merely hinted at, the question of believability is automatically blunted, even set aside entirely. Professed Indian performers, their audiences assume, are inherently, rightfully, fully possessed of the heritages they represent in public. There are no acceptable esthetic or academic standards of criticism of such performances. In truth, critiques of them are not readily tolerated."* (Clifton: 1990:29-30)

Those who present variations on the Indian story cannot stray too far from the established narrative structure of the tale. Audiences and performers are joined in the retelling of the tale, although from time to time novel facets of the story may appear. The performer and the audience are conjoined in repeating the preferred dominant storyline. However audiences vary in their level of sophistication and in their demands. 'Pivotal urgencies' also arise to modify the listeners' demands so that enhancements and elaborations of the main storyline regularly appear. (Clifton, 1990: 30-31)
Although the 'Indian story' is rarely presented in its entirety, the parts form an 'expressive cultural unity'. The overall narrative has pronounced social, political and economic implications. However stimulating the narrative is when delivered piecemeal, the entire account is even more so. The complete story tells the traumatic experiences of the righteous Indian in North American history; but it also predicates and ratifies a special place for the Indian in modern North American moral orders and political systems (Clifton 1990:32)

Clifton says that the following digest is his attempt to construct an abridged account of the entire 'Indian narrative' as it now exists in the public mind. Since his overview runs to many pages I will take the cavalier step of reducing it to the seeming highpoints of his tale. One could add particular themes to it but as a synthesis Clifton's overview is quite compelling. Here follows the cultural fiction of the 'Indian Story', all of it taken from Clifton's more biting original account.

"In the beginning, North America was motherland for between ten and thirty million truly humane beings. This dense population was organized into over two hundred separate, sovereign nations existing continuously [and unchanged]- according to the unquestionable authority of their own traditional histories - from time immemorial. Each such sovereignty had its own government and exclusive national territory. Although none of these indigenous nations understood or recognized the propriety of owning, buying, or selling land, they did claim and exercise the rightful privilege of occupying parts of it and using its fruits. This right, as hosts, they freely shared with their neighbors and visiting strangers, whom they treated generously as guests......

Underneath the minor cultural differences there lay vitalizing commonalties, the heart and soul of the Indian. Every nation defined its territory as a 'Holy Land' which they worshipfully personified as Mother Earth, and on which they coexisted in harmony with all her creatures. This environmentalist ethic pervaded every aspect of the life of the Indian, for whom all things, all thoughts, all behavior, and all happenings were pervasively sacred. Purely spiritualistic and uncontaminated, these archaic nations existed in free-floating, ahistoric time, "...their beliefs and ways irreversible, insoluble, and - as others have but recently come to appreciate - ineradicable.

These shared bonds of harmonious being were most conspicuous inside each Indian nation, within the daily and seasonal rounds of community life. There social living was marked by the great value placed on equality, tolerance, kindness, altruism, mutual affection and respect. Interference in
the freedom of every person to do what they pleased was unknown. Little children were treated with much regard as small-scale adults. Women enjoyed a position on a par with that of men. (Clifton, 1990:31)

Political power in these indigenous nations could not corrupt because it was so widely shared. Important decisions were made only after full consensus spontaneously manifested itself. Wealth could not be accumulated by any individual, group, or faction because generous giving was the accepted rule.

Freely given cooperation was the norm in all things political and economic, made possible because everyone owned all necessary means of production - tools, skills, access to raw material. For all these reasons, the evils of political, economic, social and gender inequality was unknown. Political hierarchy was incomprehensible to and incompatible with the Indian way......

So, living spontaneously, joyously, in intimate, peaceful, stress-free relations with one another, close to and in harmony with the rhythms of the earth and its creatures, consuming natural foods, nearly free of disabling or deadly diseases, with extensive knowledge of nature's materia medica, their medicine men available to cure all ailments physical and mental. Baring unforeseen accident the Indian lived to a ripe old age.... (Clifton 1990:31-32)

In this account there is no native warfare, of which we have ethnohistorical and archaeological knowledge. Nor is there any account of native slavery, such as that which existed among native societies of the Northwest coast and elsewhere. Nor was there ever any hunger or famine due to population pressure or to normal fluctuations in the environment. Neither were the economic bases of native societies shifted, as with the later introduction of the horse and muskets or fur trapping. As for the hierarchical arrangements maintained by native state societies in Meso and Andean America, these are passed over entirely in this account.

We are told that this pervasive archaic pattern was perfected over ages, so ancient and so potent that it was carried foreword through the generations, transmitted in the very life essence of every Indian. It is allegedly an insurmountable barrier to the assimilation of natives to other ways.

(However) far to the East, there lived another variety of humankind, the Whiteman. The Whiteman's values and ways were shockingly different for those of the Indian. Following his own ancient Judeo-Christian ethic, he was the greatest environmental sinner the world has ever known. Rather than to be worshipped, its resources husbanded, a life in harmony with it treasured, the earth for him was a thing, a physical asset to be ruthlessly exploited for
his own crass materialistic gain. His fundamental ethic was secular, not sacred, for all the surface trappings of his artificial religiosity.

Finding his own lands and their resources inadequate to his ravenous greed, the Whiteman's destructively competitive craving for power and for the accumulation of wealth sent him forth to discover and capture the riches belonging to those inhabiting other parts of the globe (Clifton, 1990:34)

The European rulers had previously dispossessed and exploited the mass of the population in their own societies and after the discovery of the Americas transported millions of them overseas to the lands of the Indian nations. These native peoples the whiteman saw only as 'others' to be exploited, with no rights other than those subordinate to the policies of their new masters....simply more helpless humans to be brutalized and overpowered for his own capitalistic gain " (Clifton 1990: 34)

At this point I can imagine that some of the readers are nodding their heads in agreement.

"On the beaches and in the interior of North America the Indian at first peaceably and generously welcomed the Whiteman - as a respected guest sojourning in his ancient land..To these visitors the Indian selflessly gave much valuable knowledge and many of his even more valuable inventions and things; new food crops to feed the starving millions and to help develop the Whiteman's unproductive lands; unprecedented medicines to combat his terrible diseases, fresh, practical styles of clothing, previously unknown technologies; new kinds of raw materials and new sources for old ones for his expanding factories - all these the Indian freely gave, asking and receiving little in return. (Weatherford, 1988)

The Indian even considerately gave the Whiteman bountiful places to live for those expelled from their homelands- the deprived, the homeless, the banished, the disillusioned.These the Indian instructed on the survival skills needed in the new land. The whiteman however looked upon the Indian with racially prejudiced eyes and called him a 'savage'. However as his own ruthlessly murderous behavior toward his host later amply demonstrated, it was the Whiteman who was the Savage.

[But].....the very best of the good things the Indian gave the Whiteman included a set of sterling ideals and values for proper social living. Following early experiences with Indians, reports about their estimable lifestyles gradually filtered into the bigoted minds of these aliens, eventually producing radically new fashions of social thought. At first only a few of his philosophers, or an occasional legal theorist, recognized the ultimate truths of the Indian way. (Which just happens to be 'American Democracy').Thus, the Indians' ideals of liberty, human rights, representative Democracy, and
the sharing of power and property equally led first to fresh visions of new political styles for the Whiteman, eventually to shattering revolutions seeking their realization. One expression of this Indian political-economic gift was in the new United States, where the Iroquois Nations gave the Founders a model for their own constitution. (Clifton 1990:35)

The Whiteman repaid the Indian for his inestimable gifts with the fraudulent purchase of the Indian homelands, the transfer of which the Indian could not understand since .... the idea of selling strips of Mother Earth's tender flesh was quite beyond him. Servitude was another experience delivered to the Indian by the Whiteman, as he sought to profit from Indian labour or through enslavement after Indians rose up to rebel against the horrors inflicted on them. But no Indian could long survive as another man's chattel (except presumably as Indian slaves of Indian masters.)

The Whiteman also tried to bully the Indian into adopted new roles, accepting new customs. Rape and prostitution of Indian women were among these. The appointment of easily corrupted High Chiefs to do the Whiteman's bidding was another, as was widespread bribery. Numerous unthinkably barbarous customs the Whiteman intimidated the Indian into adopting, including their employment as Black and Indian slave hunters, and as mercenaries to fight the Whiteman's wars. Even the abominable practice of scalping the Whiteman introduced and compelled the Indian into practicing. (Clifton 1990:36)

In later years the Whiteman deliberately introduced germ warfare, seeking to accelerate the butchery - a Final Solution to the Indian problem. Finally the whiteman captured the few survivors, bound them in chains, and bulldozed them out of the remnants of their aboriginal lands, driving them westward like cattle along the Trail of Tears into the Great American Desert, hoping there they would soon languish and die unnoticed. (Clifton: 1990:36)

However, in the centuries-long campaign to stamp out the Indian way of life, the Whiteman failed, Clifton's sardonic account tells us. Everywhere there were Indians, scattered or in whole nations, their Indianhood retained, virtually unchanged. However remote from their 'ancestral heritage' some Indians may be it only requires the proper conditions for their cultures to reestablish themselves and for their ancestral life ways to reappear. This is because their culture runs in their blood.

Some Indians survived within the centres of whiteman population by adopting a 'cultural chameleon strategy' disguising themselves as whitemen when heavily pressed to change their ways. Others hid themselves away, avoiding contacts with domineering whitemen who would have exposed and
compelled them to do the unthinkable. In neither case had the Indian changed one iota.

The Indian was greatly aided in this cultural resistance movement by an intrinsic feature of his nature, one discounted if recognized at all by most Whitemen. His inherent Indianess is inevitably carried across the generations in his distinctively Indian blood. In fact, Indian blood has sufficient power to overwhelm even the results of many generations of interbreeding with Whitemen, compelling the original Indian's distant progeny to become, think, and act as a True Indian. (Clifton, 1990:36-37)

However, little by little, after World War II the conditions necessary for resuscitating native peoples intrinsic Indianess started appearing. More and more Indians came out of hiding to doff their masks and take up their legitimate place as the heirs of North America's rightful, original owners. To many other thousands the long buried, unsuspected germ of their Indianess was revealed, and these started revitalizing their old nations. Other surviving Indian nations, beleaguered on small parcels of land, increased their recruiting of kin moved elsewhere and were long last track of.

The 'Indian renaissance' came about largely by the Indian's own efforts, with modest external aid Among the most important external sources of support were the Indian treaties and the Federal courts.

At long last, wise jurists have recognized the Indian treaty for what it was originally. When the United States began, they finally admitted, its founders saw the Indian nations like all other nations on earth, sovereign peoples each owning its own territory. And so, when the Whiteman set out to steal Indian land or to commit some other injustice, they negotiated treaties for such purposes.....

At the time Indian treaties were negotiated there was a great difference in how the Whiteman and the Indian viewed them. For the Whiteman, the treaty was little more than a scrap of paper, an instrument of temporary expediency which in later years could be easily discarded, ignored or abrogated unilaterally. But for the Indian a totally different view prevailed. For him the treaty was a sacred pact, unalterable by any mortal, perpetual in its guarantees and provisions, a promise that the Whiteman would support and protect the Indian for as long as the grass grows and the waters flow. (Clifton, 1990 :37)

Today, impelled by idealistic attorneys, academics, and church people selflessly serving the Indian cause, this Indian view has been accepted as the highest law of the land - moral and juridical.

Among the most sacrosanct guarantees the Whiteman offered the Indian in these old treaties were these; the Indian would forever be allowed to live
unmolested and protected on the tiny reserved remnants of his national homelands. There, the Whiteman had irrevocably stipulated, the Indian would be allowed eternally to govern himself, living by his own chosen ways, separate and isolated from mainstream America, with his own special key to the Federal treasury. These obligations, the Whiteman now came to understand and accept, are no more than the rents they must forever pay as unwelcome guests among the host nations of North America.

After many successes in the courts and in Congress, and after raising the public's consciousness about the Indian's important place in the history of North America and his vital contemporary role as mentor and model, the Indian is finally taking his proper place in modern American and Canadian societies. The Indian story, so long concealed by the Whiteman's shame or misshapen by his vanity, can now be proclaimed throughout these lands (Clifton,1990:38)

So ends James Clifton's abridged, sardonic, somewhat overdone, but basically accurate account of 'The Indian Story' as told today in Native Studies programs, Royal Commissions on Aboriginal Affairs, in tall tales presented in the courts, in public school classes, on television and in the press and virtually everywhere. He goes on to say that the narrative is composed of various parts, each of them subject to innumerable variation. These generally all include the themes of Victimizer versus Victim, Guilt Rampant versus Innocence Violated, Alien versus Indigene, Artificial versus Natural, Dominance versus Subordination. Often the accounts involve invented speeches or dialogue, presented as if they were verbatim records issuing from the mouths of real historical figures

In present day America the term 'Indian' has been taken as the designation of all those who successfully claim descent from some indigenous person of the past. It is from this large reservoir of potentials that many new, publicly proclaimed Indians regularly appear, presenting themselves to claim their rightful place and prerogatives as legitimate (that is, legal) Indians...(Clifton 1990:40)

Clifton notes that this Indian narrative is largely fictitious and presents the participants as rigidly defined adversaries in competition for control of resources and monies. The narrative is also factious because it divides the population as a whole into adversarial groups and justifies their opposition to each other. The claims of racial separateness is manifest in these accounts. This 'Indian story' has been extraordinarily influential during recent decades, swinging legislative, judicial and public sentiment toward Indian claims/reparations and mobilizing a great deal of moral clout. (Clifton 1990:40/41)
The involvement of non-Indians in support of this undertaking is more difficult to explain. It may simply be a matter of individuals looking for a safe theme to support, especially when they themselves do not believe they will be affected by the claims made. Moreover the story line has become so pervasive that there is hardly any alternate viewpoint available. So pervasive a part of American popular culture has this story become, and so unrelieved in its expression, that uncritical masses of a generation reared on 'Custer Died For Your Sins', 'Bury My Heart At Wounded Knee' and 'Little Big Man' accept it as legitimate and authoritative. (Clifton 1990:41)

It is now intellectually impermissible to question native Indian cant if one teaches at a university. It is virtually impossible to get a hearing from publishers, the media, or the public in general for any account which departs from the accepted Indian narrative to any significant extent. Academic careers are now based on repeating this story and challenging it is an affront to these individuals' prestige and the basis of their jobs. The aim of those who produce this Indian narrative is not to enlighten but to persuade, which is facilitated by sticking to well trodden paths. Those who depart from portraying the 'proper truth' in the proper form simply do not get a hearing.

The story line is, above all else a cover story. It has achieved long running top billing, and it obscures or suppresses other interpretations and conclusions. For this reason, it may be defined as a significant, multifaceted work of perfectly enchanting cultural fiction, one that is both believed by its impresarios and presented as believable to others. The aim of such a narrative is not to illuminate but to make converts. (Clifton 1990:43-44)

The existence of accepted fictions have long been recognized in anthropology, for instance the role of fictive kin and the construction of fictive genealogical relationships. Cultural fictions, then, are fabrications of pseudo-events and relationships, counterfeits of the past and present that suit someone's or some group's purposes in their dealings with others. (Clifton 1990:44)

The 'Indian Story' is a cultural fiction designed to advance the claims of and to obtain expanded rights for North American native peoples vice a vis others.

Clifton's book includes a dozen other chapters by various authors which touch on aspects of fictitious Indian history within their own spheres of competence. For instance, Lynn Ceci writes on Squanto and the Pilgrims.'On Planting Corn in the manner of the Indians', which deals with the once widespread claim that the earliest New England settlers learned about planting corn from the Indians, using fish as fertilizer. (It does not address the question why people would use fish to fertilize corn crops rather
than preserving and eating the fish directly.) Instead it deals with dead fish taken from lake strands after seasonal die offs. Ceci provides a convincing argument that the carcasses of the alewife-like fish which allegedly were used by the New England Pilgrims would have attracted raccoons and other foraging animals, who would have destroyed any crop planted. This is what happened when this procedure was tried in Newfoundland during an early period.

Christian Feest's *Pride and Prejudice. The Pocahontas Myth and the Pamunkey* deals with the story of Pocahontas' marriage to an English gentleman, John Rolfe, in the early 1600s. It demolishes the myth of how Pocahontas allegedly saved governor John Smith from death at the hands of her relatives some years earlier. It also questions the belief that anything whatsoever came from this marriage; it certainly did not lead to any greater affiliation between whites and natives in Virginia, however much the marriage was touted in London society.

Feest does not deal with the emergence of claimants to descent from Pocahontas during the late 19th and early 20th centuries, or the rationale behind such claims. For a time it was fashionable for some old stock Americans to claim that they were more American than the emerging monied aristocracy - through some suitably distant native Indian ancestry. Even President Woodrow Wilson's wife claimed, at various times, to be a descendant of Pocahontas. This is somewhat surprising since Pocahontas and John Rolfe had only one child, who died with its mother while they were visiting England in the early sixteen hundreds.

Elizabeth Tooker, a specialist on Huron and Iroquois ethnohistory, offers an article on *The United States Constitution and the Iroquois League*, which challenges the view that the U.S. constitution had anything to do with the Iroquois. She notes that Benjamin Franklin's alleged part in this view was both tangential and largely derogatory of the Six Nations Confederacy. It was only during the early twentieth century that claimants to the Iroquois basis of the American constitution arose, partially through the efforts of J. N.B. Hewitt, a Tuscarora anthropologist working at the Smithsonian Institution. "Undoubtedly it was Hewitt's conclusion that Matthew W. Stirling, director of the Bureau, [of American Ethnology] was referring to when he wrote. 'There is reason to believe that the framers of our Constitution were inspired in some degree by the League of the Five Nations' (Tooker. 1990:120) Tooker also cites a prominent Bureau of Indian Affairs lawyer, one Felix Cohen, who provided a totally spurious account of the Iroquois bases of American society and the U.S. Constitution. She proceeds to demolish this myth as quite fatuous.
Leland Donald, an anthropologist working on the topic of slavery among natives of the Northwest coast writes on *Liberty, Equality, Fraternity, Was the Indian Really Egalitarian?* It is a part of his later book which demonstrates that a substantial proportion of the native population on the Northwest coast were slaves indigenously and that they were beholden to chiefly families for their very lives. There was no question of any liberty, equality or fraternity among the indigenous people of that region aboriginally. In fact according to Donald accounts of Indian slavery on the Northwest coast had a chilling effect on native romantics at the time those conditions were first reported.

David Henige writes on *Their Numbers Became Thick: Native American Historical Demography as Expiation* It provides an exasperated account of how historical demographers, beginning in the early 1950s, began to reevaluate population figures for the number of native Americans who had existed at the time of contact. Initially their views on the larger populations which had previously existed were well taken, but the figures began to expand with each telling and with every research strategy. The result was that proposed population figures were soon ten to twenty-five times as large as we have any evidence for, with claims of up to a hundred million persons residing in North and South America at the time of their discovery. He holds that such figures are largely a form of scholarly expiation, decrying the 'genocide' of native people which allegedly occurred following white contact. Although he does not say so, it may well be the case that native peoples in Canada are more numerous today than they *ever* had been in the past.

Alice Kehoe, another practicing anthropologist with an interest in public imagery, provides an article on *Primal Gaia. Primitivists and Plastic Medicine Men*. It is a survey of the more popular and absurd claims by individuals trading on 'Indian spirituality', including one Adolph Hungry Wolf, a German emigre who remade himself as a Blackfoot and for two decades pitched his 'back to the land' philosophy to white readers. She also deals with one Ms. Andrews, who is the author of a number of 'popular' books which combine feminism, Nativism and utter absurdity into a selling package. There are many others returned to rework the ground first ploughed by Black Elk and Grey Owl some sixty years previously. Most of them are unknown to me but Kehoe presents them with wit and cutting exasperation. A very readable account which may tell you as much as you ever wanted to know about the topic.
Daniels on Developments in the Canadian North

Doug Daniels (1947-) taught sociology at the University of Regina for twenty-six years and worked with native groups in Northern Saskatchewan and in the Northwest Territories throughout much of that time. He tells us that he "was raised in a C.C.F./N.D.P. environment and was for many years an activist on the left until forced to leave for his opposition to the opportunist encouragement of hatreds between race, sex and nations which came to predominate in that movement." The following are extracts from his 1986 article submitted to Native Studies Review entitled Crisis in the Aboriginal Rights Movement: From neo-colonialism to renaissance.

He begins by saying that;
"One sees the remarkable staying power and the frustrations of Native leaders struggling by every means to get some economic development in their communities - not to enrich themselves as leaders but to bring their people out of poverty. The author [Daniels] has also known many of the founding leaders of the current Native movements and has shared their anguish as they watched their movement's original ideas crusted over by bureaucracy and careerism. It is for these sincere people that this paper is written." (Daniels 1986:17)

Daniels summarizes the concerns which arose in the aftermath of the Mackenzie pipeline hearings, when that pipeline and allied development in the north was halted following judge Thomas Berger's caustic Royal Commission report. Federal funding then flowed in and came to be administered by Dene-directed agencies. He alludes to the government funds which have buoyed up private aboriginal companies which contracted to do the construction and service work for Federal projects in the region. 'It was feared that the cooperatively based corporation set up as part of the land settlement would run at a loss while the various Native and White subcontractors would make substantial profits. That a well-heeled Native leadership would enrich itself and increasingly lose touch with the Native rank and file, who would remain on the reserves with the usual mixture of fishing, trapping and chronic unemployment. One saw the possibility that many White and Indian intellectuals would apologize for it if not actually glamorize this unemployment with rationalizations about Indians losing their culture if they took part in wage labour". (Daniels,1986: 18-19)

He notes that there was considerable discussion "during the founding period when Native development corporations were established; discussions about how graft and corruption could be kept out of them and how profitability could be made subservient to social needs. How the salaries and incomes of heads of the various native corporations, their subcontractors and
consultants, could be kept at a modest level, in keeping with the incomes of rank and file Indians they were supposed to benefit. (Daniels 1986:19)

Daniels tells us that various strategies were discussed ‘whereby Native communities could pool all their resources, from resource revenues to government transfer payments, to create a central fund which could be allocated to provide necessary services and the needs of the communities as a whole. Communities would decide democratically and on a regular basis how to utilize their combined resources. They would be freed from outrageous consultants fees and managers salaries derived from the expectations of white professionals. Such strategies would attempt to make their people more self reliant and could also incorporate the natural produce of fish and game and lumber to free up funds for those things which can be bought only from 'outside' for cash.’

"These ideas were all very attractive to the rank and file who heard them. For example, the Dene rank and file formally demanded to take part in wage labour coming out of the Mackenzie corridor developments, despite the White experts who warned them of the supposed evils of a decent job. The proposals for salary ceilings on the leadership came close to being formalized in the organizational charter. (Daniels,1986:20)

These ideas struck a positive chord with the Dene because most of them came from the people themselves. What emerged however was spreading bureaucratization. For instance ......battles with the National Energy Board or with the lawyers hovering like plump bumblebees around the constitution, the charter of rights and aboriginal claims courts. Such bureaucratic and legalistic battles sapped more and more of the energies of the movement until simple survival of the organizations seemed to become paramount and early principles of the struggle were overshadowed by spectacular court battles and 'meetings with the Minister'.

In these contests the struggles for a better not just a richer Native society were gradually lost. What replaced them were various get-rich-quick schemes wherein native leaders claim salaries which place them far above those of their people and in which native organizations fight to sustain themselves as only bureaucracies can. (Daniels, 1986:21)

He argues that the funding flowing into Native Affairs in Canada was tended to incorporate the native leadership and to bureaucratize the simmering conflicts.

The state funding creates a series of bureaucracies which become one of the only routes to upward mobility for young Natives, since the actual productive wealth remains in the hands of the multinationals except for some sub-contracting spin-offs.. Politics becomes a paid vocation. ......The
shortest route to a decent career then derives from the 'governing party' [of a reserve or region] and wealth comes from government contracts and consulting fees distributed by that 'party'. Access to resources comes from membership in the dominant organization and the young Native leader who criticizes the new 'establishment' soon finds him/herself with few career prospects, ostracism and ridicule or worse. (Daniels, 1986:22)

Native critics of this turn of events are called national traitors and dismissed as being no longer part of the people. An example of such political vendettas was the response of Harold Cardinal and his heated denunciation of so-called Dene 'radicals' who have supposedly.....abandoned the Indian way of consensus. (Harold Cardinal, The Rebirth of Canada's Indians 1977:22,23.) Non-Native scholars who dare to point this out [the repression of dissidents] are labelled as racist and ostracized from polite company." (Daniels, 1986:23.)

Noted are some of the fantasies which 'friends of the Indian' were spinning during the late 1980s. These include accounts of the excellence of all past Indian 'ways of life', the maintenance of hunting and trapping as a mainstay for the native economy, and assorted 'natural' ways of living, all part of the romanticism forwarded by both Indian spokespeople and their white supporters. Here too, as in the third world, many leaders continue to romanticize the old ways since they have no strategy for the thousands entering the city. While one emphatically agrees that everything possible must be done to aid and enrich the lives of the remaining trappers and fishermen, the vast majority of the people are the new Native working class in the urban centres. They are the invisible, inaudible majority of Native politics, [but are] far overshadowed by constitutional and resources royalty issues. One is now hearing the voices of Native women......their demands are often very different from those of White women who claim to speak on their behalf. Rather then seeking to end the nuclear family, they are trying desperately to hold onto the extended and ever changing Native family that is under attack by unemployment, alcoholism, prison and child apprehension. They show little interest in breast feeding and home-childbirth but in proper clinics and medical care in their communities" (Daniels, 1986:24)

From the original classless, kinship based, communal Native society come many classes and they do come into conflict. Native businessmen declare that a Native carpenter's union is 'un-Indian', Native managers insist that their secretaries and staff members cannot unionize or demand better conditions, for the same supposedly 'cultural' reasons. The new Native upper class insists that it is by nature incapable of
exploitation, since Natives never exploited before and that unions, financial checks and balances on the leadership and checks against their powers are therefore 'un-Indian' How familiar these evasive claims are to those who have followed the protestations of the Third World neo-colonial leaders.... (Daniels, 1986:25)

Daniels suggests the possible emergence in the future of Indian activists who may yet drive the native bureaucrats from their seats of power. However, a reasonable cynic may view such a process in the terms of an old Spanish maxim, "Levantate Tu, Para Imponerme a Mi" (Get thee gone, so that I can place myself in) Whatever the case, Daniels holds that current trends in Native economic advancement will not lift the bulk of their people out of poverty.

Ironically, the scenario which is most widely shared in Canadian politics is also the least likely to succeed. It is the liberal/social democratic project for Native upward mobility through resource megaprojects and state funded creation of large and small entrepreneurs, of 'red capitalism' in Native communities. (M. O'Mally "Red Capitalism: Self-sufficiency for Native peoples", Canadian Business, April 1980) It is unlikely to succeed if the definition of success includes the lifting up from dire need of the great majority of the Native population. " (Daniels, 1986:26)

Given that the dominant forces in Canada have swept aside any national social mandate and have replaced this with purely market driven forces, it is difficult to imagine how native enterprises can be expected to retain their autonomy when whole sectors of industry in Canada are closing down due to processes of 'rationalization' This of course does not mean that considerable wealth cannot be amassed by some Native leaders. Daniels notes that a number of wealthy Native individuals are being created by the oil wealth percolating down from multinational subcontracting and labour contracting in northern Canada.. Allegations of extreme corruption and misuse of funds abound, hovering just outside of the courtroom" (Daniels, 1986:27/28)

Involved are questionable consulting and subcontracting procedures which can drain the economic life blood from land settlements. Daniels foresees the increasing disappointment of the majority of the native population as a few scramble to the top, abandoning the goals if not the rhetoric of the earlier movement. Given the prevailing global and national forces, the Liberal agenda of gradual upward mobility for the Canadian native population seems doomed to a slim and exceptional success.

Noting the increasingly negative aspects of emerging native political agendas Daniels holds that these
include the abandonment of some of the best features of liberal democracy in the name of that very democracy, or of 'pluralism'. For example, Federal and provincial Human Rights Commissions have been cautious to a fault in avoiding the application of their jurisdictions in Native communities where there are many examples of religious, kinship, gender and moral discrimination in the hiring of teachers, treatment of band employees or in economic programs.

'Indian self-government' is cited as the justification to abandon tenure for teachers, making the classrooms in some cases subject to the whims of the band council since teachers can suffer instant dismissal. The author's ten year press file on Native labour relations contains countless examples of anti-labour, anti-union practices, including occupational health issues, all justified under the aegis of native nationalism. Similarly, the claim that Indians don't exploit, or that labour organizations and conflict are 'un-Indian'. We are hard pressed to think of positive examples in this field. Some of the first legal battles over aboriginal rights have been by Indian and Metis organizations trying to exempt themselves from the Canadian labour code. (Daniels, 1986:30-31)

Daniels notes that the above tendencies all came together in a Native Business Summit held in Toronto in June 1986. There, leading chiefs and Native entrepreneurs made their agenda quite clear. Lacking the necessary capital and managerial skills to develop their natural resources, and in some cases lacking such resources, the leadership focused on two assets to market themselves as partners with major corporations: (a) inexpensive labour and (b) the legal and political means to guarantee that it remains inexpensive. Since Indians living on reserves and employed by Native employers are not subject to Federal or Provincial income taxes, they can apparently be paid less than others and still take home a significant income. This formula could be expanded if deduction for social programs such as Canada pension, unemployment Insurance, workers' compensation etc. are also dropped. Further savings of course could be made by ensuring non-union labour and that issues of occupational health and safety and environmental protection were skirted. (Daniels, 1986:31)

Daniels suggests that the economic effects of such 'free trade zones' on the rest of the Canadian labor force could, if they become prevalent, unleash a considerable backlash. It would be tragic to see the political advances of liberal democracy reversed by the backwardness involved in allowing exemptions from the prevailing labour codes and social security regulations in the name of 'multiculturalism'. At a 1986 Regina conference native spokespersons rejected plans for a greater participation of Indians in the
Canadian labour force. Instead they demanded the creation of native-owned businesses to solve the problem of Indian unemployment. (Daniels, 1986:32) All of the flaws and self-seeking noted earlier is implicit in such a strategy.

**Homer Stevens. Native Workers and the Native Brotherhood**

Homer Stevens (1923-2002) was born in the Fraser Delta, began working as a teenaged fisherman in 1936 and in 1948 became the leader of the United Fishermen and Allied Workers Union, a post he held for more than thirty years before his return to fishing. His life history deals with his life in fishing, his involvement in the union movement and an overview of the battles he faced as the secretary-treasurer of the U.F.A.W.U. It ends before the wide spread displacement of white fishermen from the fishing grounds through license limitations and the priority given to exclusively native fish openings.

Throughout its history the U.F.A.W.U included many native fishermen and cannery workers - at one time probably the majority of those Indians working in the industry. Throughout it's history that union was also engaged in a 'fraternal' coordination of efforts in the setting of strike dates and in price/wage negotiations with the Native Brotherhood of B.C., an organization established on the B.C coast during the late 1930s. Over the years, however, the ethnic nationalist leadership in the Native Brotherhood emerged and ultimately triumphed. By the 1970s it was engaged in sundry but bitter attacks on the U.F.A.W.U. These divisions ultimately culminated in the 1990s when the Federal government created 'Native only' commercial fish openings which came to predominate on the Fraser river and crept into other salmon rivers of the province.

The following extract is from *Homer Stevens. A life in fishing* (Stevens and Knight, 1992) and is taken from a chapter entitled *The Native Brotherhood and Native Workers*. It deals with that union's set-tos with the emergent native ethnic nationalism which came to dominate the Native Brotherhood. What Homer feared would happen,a process of deunionization and the emergence of an ethnically fractured fishing industry, is approximately what has developed over the past decade and a half.

The Native Brotherhood combines the roles of being a native lobby group and nominally a labor organization for those natives involved in the fishing industry It's leadership often represents those who own larger fishing vessels which hire native crewmen. More recently, other native fishermen have emerged with their own special fishing rights and exclusive fish openings. Some have, at times, been at odds with the Native Brotherhood but generally they are as opposed to non-native fishermen as the Brotherhood.
Discussing the cannery shutdowns along the coast which began in the late 1950s and continued through the 1970s, Homer Stevens says, "The UFAWU fought those shutdowns every way it could within the limits of our strength. But the Native Brotherhood portrayed that development as if the union was responsible for those shutdowns, instead of presenting it to their members for what it was - a corporate decision which they needed to join forces with us to oppose. The Brotherhood leaders made out as if we accepted the shutdowns and centralization as a good thing, when in fact we opposed it as strongly as we could because of what it did to our own membership, including Indian members.

They [the Native Brotherhood] always made it appear as if it were a fight of Indian against non-Indians. They would pretend that the benefits were going to non-Indian workers when the plants were shut down in places like Klemtu and Goose Bay. Sometimes they'd point the finger at the Japanese-Canadian fishermen, sometimes at white fishermen and shoreworkers. Rather than joining forces with us, the Native Brotherhood always managed to load as much of the blame on us as they could get their people to swallow. It often came close to them saying, "They're all whites - the union, the companies, the shoreworkers - all in cahoots against the Indian."

There was no essential conflict between the average native and non-native workers in the fish plants or on the fish boats. But because of the unsettled question of aboriginal rights it was possible for some Native leaders to play upon that and make it appear that they had to have completely separate organizations for Natives within the industry. And anyone who denied their claims was denounced as a racist or a chauvinist of some kind.

In collective bargaining, if each ethnic or racial group were to establish separate negotiations with the companies the only ones who would gain would be the companies. They'd be able to play one group off against the other. Those who were prepared to sell their labour power the cheapest would be the ones who'd get the lion's share of the employment. Eventually there would be no possibility of taking collective action to enforce contracts or even to achieve contracts with the companies. Each group would be powerless against the big operators. Bargaining by separate groups doesn't achieve anything for any of the people who work in the plants or on the fish boats. They don't gain anything by it - although they can sometimes be convinced that they might.

Maybe I shouldn't overstress those reversals. Because the case is that the union still has a substantial Native membership, especially on the north coast - among shoreworkers and others. If you go to our annual
conventions, you'll still find that a good proportion of delegates are Native members of the UFAWU.' (Stevens and Knight, 1992: 154-155.

......The Brotherhood used to pretend that they spoke for all the Native people in BC, but they don't - and never did.

The question of aboriginal claims and the role played by the Native Brotherhood are two different things. The Brotherhood attempted to play two distinct and sometimes contradictory roles; one was to deal with questions of aboriginal rights and the other was to become the bargaining agent for Native workers, primarily fishermen and others engaged in the fishing industry. At times the Native Brotherhood have done things which made it appear that they were little more than an arm of the Fisheries Association. [i.e. the negotiating arm of the canneries]

The overall question of aboriginal rights and claims will have to be settled in a way that Indian people get away from the small nation chauvinism which prevails today - an antagonism against anyone who disagrees with their claims. I don't hold any brief for those who say that Native people should get everything that they demand and I don't think that the serious Native leaders hold that view. That sentiment is coming from a small number of Native demagogues.

Native people do have a claim which is different from that of others and they have every right to pursue a solution to their problems in their own way. But in so doing they shouldn't rip apart organizations which would be of benefit to Native as well as non-Native people in the industry. There is after all no guarantee that Native groups will be able to achieve separate enclaves under Indian authority as they are now calling for. Or, if they achieve it, that they will be able to operate within the context of Canadian society and economy in some way which will allow them to dispense with organizations like the United Fishermen and Allied Workers, which has defended the interests of Native workers, like those others, both in the past and in the present (Stevens and Knight, 1992: 156)

Stevens retired from fishing in the mid 1990s and died in October of 2002. By that time the United Fishermen and Allied Workers Union had been incorporated into the Canadian Autoworkers Union, along with fishermen's organizations in eastern Canada. The union was by then a skeleton of its former self and much of its previous militancy had been dissipated. By the 1990s most of the remaining canneries in British Columbia had been closed while white fishermen operating on the Fraser River, and elsewhere, were rapidly being squeezed out of fishing by exclusive 'Native only' fish openings. Fish licensing has divided the coast into a number of different regions to which fishermen are limited by the
licences they hold. The division of the fishing industry by region, by ethnic background has returned the industry in some ways to what it was 70 years ago. Some of Homer's worst fears have come to pass within a little more than a decade.

And so ends our account of Indian nativism in North America throughout the 20th century. From small beginnings it has become a reigning ideology, one which ensnares both 'progressives'. and 'conservatives' alike. As I have indicated, this outlook is generally hostile to the claims of non-native working people, which may be one reason why it appeals to some of its enthusiasts. Nativism has historically also partaken of anti-immigrant sentiments, which may also appeal to some its supporters. In general, Nativism has been a reactionary force in both America and Canada.

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In Summation

We began this book with a consideration of some 19th and early 20th century nativists and noted their hostility towards working people in general and to immigrants in particular. We considered James Fenimore Cooper's background as the son of a successful land speculator who grew up following the American revolution on lands formerly held in trust for the Iroquois. Cooper's Leatherstocking novels portray a Daniel Boone-like figure who 'appreciates' Indian ways but who destroys them in his westward march from upstate New York to Illinois during the first 40 years of American expansion. Despite their wooden heroics and gaseous speechifying Cooper's books had a remarkable effect on a number of generations of American and European romantics. However it is difficult to square an 'appreciation for native peoples' with the plain message Cooper's books contain.

We continued with a consideration of Arthur Parker and his grand uncle Ely Parker, who were both members of the emergent American bourgeoisie who happened to be 'native Indian'. We mentioned their social backgrounds on upstate New York reserves which probably prepared them for their future roles. Ely Parker parlayed his connection with President U.S. Grant into the first Commissionership of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, although he was soon forced to leave that office. He then had a brief career as a stock speculator, until caught up in the crash of 1873. Arthur Parker had to make do with becoming a New York state ethnologist, advancing his partly mythical accounts of the Iroquois past. He was a tireless promoter of Indian organizations and his reactionary sentiments toward social policies and a great many kinds of people were noted.

Hertzberg's account of the trajectory of the Society of American Indians, founded in 1911, outlined the programs of an early Indian petite bourgeoisie, one influenced by the 'progressive' reform movement of its time. It was predominantly Christian and initially committed to integrating American Indians, of whom they often knew very little, into American life. It had virtually no support on Indian reserves and seems to have been largely an organization of individuals derived from an often distant Indian ancestry. As internal quarrels fragmented that organization some of its members, such as Arthur Parker, moved to emphasize their 'tribal' roots and also to fish in the dark waters of American reaction as it evolved during the 1920s. The varied doings of these allegedly 'progressive' native spokespersons participated in the most viciously xenophobic aspects of America life during that period.
We also considered some extracts from a student paper done at the University of Toronto which was lifted almost entirely from an article by one Felix Cohen, a lawyer for the American Bureau of Indian Affairs during the 1940s. It presents an account which holds that all which is uniquely American or Canadian is derived from Iroquoian cultural roots. Democracy, women's rights, 'the gift of corn' which raised Americans above the servile starvelings of Europe, are all trotted forth in this account of native Indian contributions to the American way of life. It is a story so removed from historical reality that I have not answered these claims in any meaningful way. Hopefully that is not a mistake.

We then briefly outlined the background of the Canadian 'Iroquoian' poetess Pauline Johnson. We noted that although she was raised on a southern Ontario reserve in the late 19th century the society which she was part of was, in the view of some observers, archetypically 'Rural Victorian'. Her mother was English. After being required to leave the reserve following the death of her father and after living many years in a southern Ontario town, she developed a name for herself as an 'Indian' poetess. For about ten years at the turn of the 20th century she treated readers in England and Canada with her utterly Victorian versions of 'the noble Indian' Her poems exemplify a degree of Anglo-Canadian chauvinism funnelled through this 'Iroquoian' spokesperson. Johnson has recently been resurrected and considered to be a courageous example of a Native-Feminist 'crossing cultural boundarie's'. However her work strikes me as utterly banal, despite all the Canadian heritage involved.

There followed accounts are of three players in the pseudo-Native/conservationist cant of the English imposter Archie Belaney, or Grey Owl. Something of Belaney's background is discussed, the utter gullibility of his readers noted, and some chauvinist themes in his work mentioned. His accounts of the alleged conditions of native Indians in Canada were totally unreal and I remarked that it was amazing that intelligent readers could ever have taken him seriously. However some were.

We considered a memoir by one of Belaney's wives, one Anahareo (Gertrude Moltke) which was written some forty years after their time together in the 1920s and early1930s, Anahareo's tale even outdoes Grey Owl in her account of her own native ancestry, with absurdity piled on absurdity. It seems to me that her tale was written at least partly tongue in cheek. After her time with Belaney Anahareo spent the remainder of her life in France married to a Swedish 'count' and finally retired in Kamloops BC, far from the beaver ponds of northern Ontario.
The chapter ended with Grey Owl's publisher, one Lovatt Dickson. Raised in an English upper middle class background he tried his wings in Canada during W.W.1 Dickson seems to have been totally estranged from the Canadian working people he briefly worked with and was concerned with the intrusion of 'foreigners' (i.e non British elements) into Canada. On returning to Great Britain he became involved in publishing and 'discovered' Grey Owl at the beginning of the 1930s. It appears that Dickson was completely taken in by Belaney's claim to being an Indian and the voice of a still 'natural' people. They were both given to the Anglo chauvinism which then still held sway in Canada.

We next dealt with Frank Speck and the question of Algonkian family territoriality. We have met Speck before in a note on his views put forward in the Society of American Indians journal. He might be described as a nativist and scholarly reactionary. Something of the broader political context of his 'discovery' of Algonkian territoriality is discussed as well as his 'documentation' of the alleged private property rights to lands within even hunting societies. This should be seen in relation to the allegedly final settlement of native claims to the northern reaches of Ontario and Quebec. In Speck's account clearly demarcated hunting tracts were allegedly passed down within the same family from time immemorial. This was at odds with views which held that basic resources were normally communally held in hunting societies. The rationale which Speck later presented was that Algonkian hunters depended upon beaver, practiced beaver conservation and that such conservation could only work when territories were privately owned. Popular philosophes were soon repeating his findings, holding that they invalidated Marxian and other 'theoreticians' views about communal property among hunters. Some anthropologists stubbornly resisted this claim.

Twenty to thirty years after Speck had largely won the day other anthropologists began to carefully reinvestigate his claims. Eleanore Leacock discovered that the exclusiveness of territorial claims varied directly with the time which native people had been engaged in the fur trade. She held that such territoriality was not indigenous but a response to trapping for trade. This point is reinforced by Edward Rogers' study of Mistassini hunting and trapping, a particularly elegant account. He noted that while ecological factors determine the size and composition of hunting-trapping groups the existence of trapping territories was a consequence of their involvement with fur trade.

Knight noted that both the faunal density of specific tracts fluctuated widely over time as did the number of descendants of particular hunting
groups. Over time this itself would have required a fundamental flexibility among Cree trappers, which in effect would vitiate the claims to family-held property rights. Furthermore, in 1961 older trappers at Rupert House claimed that in their youth they had trapped in shifting locales both inside and external to current Rupert House lands. This was born out by some of their trapping histories. In short, until beaver territories were externally imposed during the 1930s most people could and did hunt and trap over the entire band territory, without regard to claims to ownership of specific tracts.

A dozen years later one Adrian Tanner reexamined Mistassini hunting and trapping, providing something of the Crees' cosmological views of how these processes might best be handled. Surprisingly he noted that Speck was essentially correct in his presentation of the process. However he also noted that a large percentage of the Mistassini were not hunting on their 'own' lands but operating on the tracts of others. In addition, some of the smaller groups had merged with others and had shifted to their host's territories. I suggest that when an account disregards what people actually do as opposed to how they say things should work then ethnoecology has crossed the border into becoming theological ecology.

We ended with a consideration of 'What happened to the beaver?' around James Bay and its hinterland during the 1920s and 1930s. The massive decline in beaver populations was not as unique a phenomenon as it has been made out to be and a fairly simple answer is suggested. The beaver were trapped out, probably by Indian trappers. Today many of the 'lessons' to be drawn from Algonkian family territoriality have retreated into abeyance. Algonkian territoriality is now viewed as a consequence of their involvement in trapping for trade. But who can guess to what use his view can be put in the future?

The following chapter turned to a consideration of more popular forms of nativism and the work of a half dozen American proponents. We began with a consideration of Edward Sheriff Curtis' photographic tours of the Northwest coast in the early part of the twentieth century. His evocative photographs of native people there are noted to have all been posed and costumed, often with wigs and apparel he brought along from ethnographic museums. The poses struck are often typical of this topic during that period. Basically Curtis was attempting to recapture the Indian world as it had existed before the arrival of the whiteman and was in fact not documentary at all. Many of his subjects had already been engaged in the provincial economy for forty to fifty years by the time Curtis arrived (as commercial fishermen, loggers, mill workers and in similar resource industries). This followed a fifty year period of fur trade in which many of the items
portrayed had disappeared. His portraits however are beautiful and are now *de rigeur* in accounts of native renewal.

Robert Flaherty's filmic account of Nanook is that of a totally romantic film maker who pursued images of 'vanishing' peoples throughout the world. Something of Flaherty's background is suggested as a reason why he failed to record the external world which his subjects were part of. We noted that the fur clothing worn by the actors in *Nanook* had to be made up in neighboring communities since it had passed out of use in Port Harrison, where the film was shot. Some other fundamental modifications of Inuit life, as portrayed in the film, were also noted and held to have been the necessary consequence of making that film. Despite these provisos *Nanook of the North* is still a very compelling film. Nanook and his travelling companion starved to death some years after the film was made, possibly lending some authenticity to Flaherty's account.

Black Elk, a Dakota elder, and his biographer John Neilhardt, provided a supposedly traditional Dakota cosmology of that people's spiritual world in 1932. It has since become a standard reference work for those pursuing native spirituality. Something of Neilhardt's particular background was discussed and his previous writing examined. These suggest a certain historical escapism which blends all too well into Black Elk's account. I also noted also that Black Elk had earlier been a travelling Indian showman and a Catholic lay teacher for some forty years by the time he provided his story. He later vigorously rejected the view that he was still influenced by his former views.

Michael Steltenkamp provided a sagacious commentary on the actuality and appeal of Black Elk's account today, noting its use for the most romantic of purposes. Some humorous snippets of later contributors to the Black Elk 'story' were also mentioned. It is as if Buffalo Bill Cody's show had been stood on its head and given an intellectual basis.

Buffalochild Long Lance's story was the account of a mulatto imposter who passed himself as a Blackfoot Indian during the 1920s and early 1930s, starred in a silent film entitled *The Silent Enemy* and generally bamboozled those members of the American and Canadian public who were willing to listen to his versions of then popular beliefs about Indian people. It was suggested that he knew virtually nothing about Indian life, a fact which kept him well away from any real Indians. Mainly this account is of the fathomless gullibility which members of his American audience had on the topic of American Indian society.

Similarly the maunderings of Charles Curtis, an American senator and railway politician of the late 19th and early 20th centuries. While of very
distant partial native ancestry he had been prominent in extending the Dawes allotment act to the 'five civilized nations' of Oklahoma, which for better or worse largely destroyed the tribal governments of those groups. When, late in life, he became the U.S. Vice President under Herbert Hoover, he rediscovered his native heritage and opined about how native peoples looked after their own and did not require government largesse. This, he held, was a model which white Americans would be well advised to follow. At the time, during the Great Depression, his views didn't wash, not even in Oklahoma..

We ended the chapter with an account of Oliver LaFarge, an upper class American Indianophile, as presented in an admiring biography by Darcy McNickle, a senior Indian administrator of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Although an anthropologist LaFarge was also a successful popular novelist. His views about the necessity of keeping Indian cultures and people distinct from American ways, as well as his political views in general, indicate that he was a thoroughgoing if sentimental reactionary. He is a clear example of this book's thesis.

Following this we considered the account of popular historian Angie Debo's reflections on the 'five civilized' nations living in Oklahoma. It highlights some aspects of their history when they operated as quasi-sovereign Indian nations and discusses some their achievements as well as the conflicts they faced over questions such as Indian slavery and whom their governments should be responsive to. Debo deals exclusively with native peoples in Oklahoma and her account glorifies that period when these groups operated under their own sovereign governments. The conditions existing under such governments may however give pause to those Canadians who support the institution of native sovereignty here.

A brief discussion of novelist Edna Ferber's *Cimarron* followed. Written in the late 1930s when John Collier and the Indian Reorganization Act were an ongoing topic of debate, this novel is an example of the most derogatory, racist, and generally reactionary views imaginable - mixed with copious breast beating about the 'Trail of Tears.' It portrays the Dawes allotment act (which intended to break up reserves) as a courageously progressive step and focuses on the oil wealth obtained by the Osage, who comprised possibly some five percent of the Indian population in Oklahoma. This account is quite remarkable in its farcical gall.

The chapter ended with an account of Will Rogers, that archetypical American showman of the 1920s and early 1930s, who was of distant Cherokee ancestry but who operated fully in the broader American world. Despite Roger's occasional asides about Native people as the original Americans he apparently saw his Indian ancestry as largely tangential to his
own life. His recurrent line was that America was the most advanced nation on earth and that it should refrain from any foreign entanglements. Although apparently not a reactionary himself it is suggested that many of his enthusiasts were.

Following this we consider the campaigns and the ideology of one of the most important figures in native administration/rights during the twentieth century. John Collier was the orphaned son of two members of the Georgia upper class who made his way through Columbia university early in the 20th century and became involved in 'immigrant uplift' in New York. It was suggested that he held rather romantic views about the goals of such immigrants, who required not an appreciation of their past cultures but decent jobs with decent wages. (As well as decent living conditions.) Collier was caught up in the patriotic hysteria which surged through America during W.W.I but did not get on the bandwagon fully enough and moved to California, where he was soon blacklisted by that state's business lobby for his proposals about more communal social arrangements.

He became involved in Pueblo land disputes with the Federal government and through that developed a lobbying style which served him throughout his entire life. It was suggested that this consisted of constantly keeping an issue before the public and charging anyone who disagreed with his views as a supporter of the theft of Indian lands and the suppression of Indian ways. In leveling such charges he was able to acquire a spectrum of liberal supporters and cash. It was his constant involvement in Indian claims which brought Collier to the attention of the Secretary of the Interior, in which the Bureau of Indian Affairs was embedded, during Franklin Roosevelt's initial administration and led to his being chosen to head it in 1933.

During Collier's twelve year administration of the Bureau of Indian Affairs he set the directions for Indian policy in that country, although not without vigorous opposition by individuals and spokespersons for many Indian groups. His plans to return all Indians to be administered by their tribal councils and to halt dispersals of reserve lands into private allotments were only partially successful. Throughout his reign he was constantly faced with senatorial watering down of the Indian Reform Act. We noted that his protection of individual Indian rights on reserves was quite secondary to his protection of the rights of 'Indian Nations' to run their own affairs - as was evidenced in the persecution of members of the Native American Church by leaders of Taos pueblo during Collier's reign.

While Collier's administration utilized many of the national programmes involved in Roosevelt's New Deal, he basically felt that it was pointless to prepare people on Indian reserves for non-existent jobs in the national
economy. Therefore his administration witnessed an upsurge in programs fostering local handicrafts and Indian artwork - much to the annoyance of his critics who, reasonably, noted that teaching Indian children pottery, beadwork and decorative blanket stitching was a very poor way of ensuring their place in the modern world.

Shortly after Truman became president Collier departed from the B.I.A.: he spent some years in teaching, and was later dismissed from CCNY, a prominent public college in New York, during the McCarthyist crusade.

We ended with a brief overview of Collier's final philippic with anthropologist Robert Manners, over the question of whether the treaty lands of the Tuscarora were inviolate or not. It might have been a rational debate but Collier injected all the name calling and the imputation of the diabolic forces of evil descending upon native Indians which he had utilized over the past forty years, not failing to derogate white working people in the bargain. I noted that he seems to have held these views throughout his entire life.

The next chapter dealt with two very different accounts of Indian peasant communities in Mexico. Anthropologist Robert Redfield was deeply influenced by developments in Chicago during the post W.W. 1 era. He and others were shocked by the undissolved immigrant enclaves there and the apparent social anomie which prevailed in that city. Redfield began casting around for situations where social change allegedly was gradual and generally acceptable. He supposedly discovered these in the town of Tepoztlan in Morelos state, Mexico. There he claimed to have found a situation where indigenous life styles proceeded alongside peaceful, gradual, change. This was the forerunner of his vision of 'folk societies'.

Some fifteen years later Oscar Lewis began his restudy of Tepoztlan and discovered a society which had been, previous to the Mexican revolution, marked by lethal poverty and a population which had been central to the Zapatista movement during that bloody, long drawn-out, Mexican revolution. The social consequences, the massive deaths and social simplification engendered by that revolution were still being felt in that town. Redfield had passed over the Mexican revolution, and its effects on Tepoztlan as if they were folklore. Lewis later life history of one aging Zapatista supporter conveys something of the struggles which had surged through Tepoztlan between 1911 and the late 1920s, when an attack by former Zapatistas left many of the reemerging ruling class dead and which allegedly resulted in the departure of Redfield from Tepoztlan.

Lewis' fine grained political history of that town challenges Redfield's findings root and branch. It reintroduced the class character of the conflicts into the scene and made maulderings about the nature of 'folk societies'
totally beside the point. Lewis' monograph of Tepotzlan is one of the triumphs of social anthropology.

By that time Redfield had already shifted his interest to Yucatan and the study of series of communities there, ranging from the Indian peasant hamlet of Chan Kom to the regional city of Merida. These were to exemplify the gradual changes from 'folk' to modern urban society. However he had failed to mention that Chan Kom had been a part of a Maya region which had successfully thrown off Mexican authority during the Guerra de las Castas during the mid 19th century. Chan Kom had only been recaptured at the beginning of the 20th century.

More than that, Chan Kom had been deeply affected by the Yucatecan revolution of the early 1920s, which saw the recently established caciques driven out of the village by forces mobilized by a socialist regime which briefly held power in Yucatan. Aspects of Chan Kom's participation in that revolution is even portrayed in Alfonso Villa Rojas' section of Redfield's Chan Kom. A Maya Village (1934), which however occasioned no rethinking on Redfield part. In short, Redfield's accounts of 'folk society' had nothing to say about the intricacies of the class and racial oppression which existed in Mexico or about the confused revolts which had ultimately toppled the regime ancien. Among those involved in those revolts were Indian peasants who were only very partially, or not at all, involved in a return to 'their roots'.

The chapter entitled Return of the Native dealt with more recent hyperbole issued in the name of native peoples. Jack Weatherford's Indian Givers deals with how 'the Indians of the Americas transformed the world', as he puts it. Apart from some of his comments about the world-wide importance of American agricultural crops, this account is an utter fantasy. Neither European industrial expansion, nor city planing, nor 'democracy' nor the host of other alleged effects of indigenous cultural patterns on Europeans has any basis in fact. None of these phenomena were the result of the European acquisition of indigenous practices.

We also considered the works of Louise Erdrich, a talented American novelist with one Ojibwa grandmother who has written a large number of books about a mythical North Dakota Ojibwa reserve and the doings of its inhabitants. Most of her characters are held to have deep, often hidden, ties with their Indian heritage - which apparently 'runs in the blood'. However none of her characters' non-Indian 'racial ancestry' ever seems to emerge. It was noted that Erdrich herself stems from a family of college instructors and grew up in college towns in the American west.
White working people in her books play the role of environmental destroyers, variously malign racists and unworthy inheritors of the native lands which their ancestors seized. In various ways they must now begin paying for the destruction their ancestors have wrought. Apparently Erdrich's white readership find this proposition to be laudable and eminently acceptable.

Two biographies of Canadian native individuals followed; that of the chief of Rupert House during the James Bay settlement process, and the other of a 'Mohawk warrior' before and during the Oka standoff of 1991. The account of chief Billy Diamond is an example of hyperbole and journalesque puffery taken to such an extreme that one can hardly say anything about it, other than the fact that it fails to provide any meaningful discussion of the economic processes discussed. It is a species of the "Great Man" theme. It ends with Chief Diamond's conversion to a Christian fundamentalist sect, his being 'resurrected' from the dead and his talking in tongues - an appropriate ending for this book, an example of utter Canadian know nothingism.

Lawyer Sevigny's *Lasagna, the Man Behind the Mask,* serves as a defense of one Ronald Cross, a third generation structural steelworker whose mother was a New Yorker of Italian-Irish ancestry. In the course of the interviews Sevigny provides an account of Cross's role in beating up a reserve member who was at odds with his 'warrior' gang's activities. This, the author tells us, must be understood through a cultural relativist approach, thereby confirming once again the misuses to which some anthropology can be put. The book is basically the story of a native thug. Although not it's intention, this account could serve as a justification for the use of military force against the Mohawk of Oka, who who took control of a major bridge and all of the land they claimed as theirs during the time of their 1990 standoff.

The chapter ended with a brief consideration of George Manuel /Michael Posuluns' *The Fourth World.* Manuel's book is rife not only with mythological history but also redolent with ethnic chauvinist charges. The original white settlers of BC are described as 'riff raff, human leftovers who could not make it in California' while contemporary white millworkers are described as making implausible racist comments about native church goers. He graces us with his view that Europeans and other non-natives can return to their lands of origin if they dislike the way developments are turning out in Canada, a native version version of the hoary demagogic cry 'go back to where you came from'. The book is introduced by the American native activist Vine Deloria, who charges those Americans opposed to Israeli oppression as participants in 'radical chic' and as cosying up to Palestinian
'terrorists', a people one might think would figure as 'fourth world' people. The book is an example of right-wing chauvinism disguised as native insight.

The next chapter, *Canadian Nativism in Full Bloom*, is filled with so much hokum and excess that is difficult to know how to summarize it. It began with Hugh Brody's (*Maps and Dreams*, 1981) tale of aboriginal hunters' mastery of the environment in which they operated. It informed us that Indian *spiritual* practices could both locate and kill whichever animals the natives choose, while accounts of hunger among northern native hunters were allegedly the product of European ethnocentrism. This fly's in the face of solid documentation of past starvation among assorted northern peoples. Brody's recurrent contempt for and hostility towards white workers was also mentioned.

It was noted that his evaluation of hunting as a productive strategy has been generally known for some fifty years. Nevertheless accounts of food shortages and even starvation among northern hunters were real enough. It was held that appealing to indigenous spiritual practices in accounts of hunting is comparable to tales about miracles and beliefs in supernatural entities evident in traditional Christian Europe. It is an example of the ultimate dead end of those who rely upon 'cultural relativism' to provide an answer to their questions.

Something comparable applies to Brody's demand that opportunities to continue traditional hunting practices be preserved for indigenous people in Canada. It was held that such a response would provide an income only to a very small handful of Canada's native population, even if it were maintained as a subsidized activity. It was suggested that Brody is a current day example of the English adventurers of the nineteenth century, individuals who spent time among and enthused about distant native peoples. In Brody's case it is members of the white working class who are the destructive savages and the native people who are the long-suffering carriers of human traditions, traditions which he holds *must be* preserved in perpetuity.

Boyce Richardson's two books on the native condition in Canada are in some ways comparable to Brody's. In *Strangers Devour the Land* Richardson proffers the view that native hunting and trapping in the James Bay area was comparable to farmers tending their gardens (a generally misconstrued view of hunting strategies). While his account of the court case which initially blocked the construction of hydro dams in the region does occasionally offer some insight into Cree hunting and trapping it was noted that Richardson's presence in actual trapping camps was of very limited duration, mainly of a week or two. His demand that Quebec give up
its northern energy resources for the benefit of the few dozen Cree trapping families effected did not come to pass. Richardson too had only the most derogatory things to say about those white workers who entered the region to construct the dams and spillways of that project.

His *The People of Terra Nullis* was the outgrowth of two articles he wrote for the American journal *Readers' Digest*. The book traipses across Canada during the early 1990s and provides a catalogue of the processes of 'Native rebirth', the resurrection of 'native spirituality' and the assorted undertakings and confrontations which native people have been involved in during the intervening years. In general we are told that the whiteman built his nation on Indian-owned resources and should forever be in debt for them. National and Provincial governments, crown and private corporations, and white institutions in general are responsible for the 'racist' laws which have, over the course of a century, worked such terrible havoc on Indian people. It is allegedly time that full restitution be made for such crimes.

We are treated to accounts of natives 'fighting back' and celebrating native renewal, along with accounts glorifying successful Indian entrepreneurs and the doings Indian leaders, as well as the court cases they have launched to reclaim their 'inherent rights' to large sections of Canada. Everywhere Richardson sees native self-government escaping the 'tentacles' which had formerly controlled them. One admiring reviewer notes that his book 'smoulders with rage' transmitted by 'shouting from the roof tops'. The shouting is there alright but any meaningful semblance of reliable evidence usually is not.

A brief overview of Ronald Wright's *Stolen Continents* concluded his chapter. It was noted that Wright was long a travel writer/travel tour entrepreneur and that his account is of the marvels of the Indian high civilization of Meso and Andean America, around which his tours previously focused. He also details the wonders of the aboriginal Cherokee and Iroquois worlds. These accounts are filled with an appreciation of the complexity and equity which Indian civilizations allegedly managed to achieve indigenously. Their defeat was based exclusively upon the European reliance on horses and steel weapons, after which a holocaust of epidemics and forced native labour followed. The rich indigenous cultural practices collapsed during the following holocaust, although an indelible Indian outlook lies just below the surface of all native peoples, we are told.

Wright's account utilizes some native historical accounts, although I am unsure how accurately he represents them. Three of the better known such accounts were written by descendants of the former Indian ruling classes and present a picture of idyllic life among the native populations previous to
Spanish conquest. Wright seconds such accounts with his own enthusiasms about the ecological good sense of previous Indian societies which lived in harmony with nature. The native American worlds were rich, rewarding and fulfilling for their inhabitants, he tells us. However, there is no evidence for the acceptance of the prevailing Indian powers in Latin America among many native peoples living within indigenous empires. Their negative responses may help to explain the large number of native people who supported the small Spanish forces which originally overthrew the hegemonic Indian states.

In North America as well, we are told that natives were living in a world of spiritual and ecological concerns. A general amity allegedly prevailed as well as processes which facilitated the achievement of the best that anyone could be. Here again we are treated to accounts of the invading whiteman as destroyer and despoiler, killing or expelling the original inhabitants to ruthlessly exploit the environment. Wright informs us that the expulsion of the Cherokee from their Georgia-Tennessee homelands was accomplished by settlers from the 'slums of Europe and the American seaboard', whom he portrays as racist killers from the lowest classes of people, a bloodthirsty rabble.

In a later novel, *A Scientific Romance*, Wright seems to rethink some of his enthusiasms about living in harmony with nature. In it he foretells the ecological collapse of the civilized world (in Britain) and the dreadful social consequences for the small surviving human population there, without the capacity or will to regain the contemporary world they have lost. It is not a world in which the hero can live but it is suggested that this will be our collective future unless stringent checks on industry are imposed immediately. It appears that we should all return to the barley cot and ox yoke by which our ancestors existed - all except sages like himself of course.

In the final chapter we considered writings which question contemporary nativism. The chapter began with a brief comment on 'identity group politics' by Eric Hobsbawm. He notes that identity groups are "human ensembles to which a person could belong, unequivocally and beyond uncertainty", mainly ethnic groups. Such politics are not directed toward national independence, which generally is unthinkable, rather they are the politics of groups whose leaders aim at getting more resources from and influence on the states of which they are a part. He notes that ethnic groups are allegedly primordial, unchangeable and therefore permanent assemblages whose members share central characteristics with other members of their group but with no one else. He goes on to note that such
ethnic identity groups compete for a share of the resources with others through political leverage in non-ethnic states.

The absurdity of identity politics is that they could not possibly work, they could only pretend to. However in Canada such pretences have gotten native peoples some ten billion dollars annually in Federal disbursements. Moreover, no one has seriously questioned the claims for 'native sovereignty' to be achieved by sovereign Indian enclaves within Canada. To date, the ethnic identity politics by native peoples has worked spectacularly well and has brought in a flood of subsidies and resources.

Randy Adams' *The Best Speech the Chief Never Gave* is a brief but amazing account of a totally fabricated 'speech', never given, by one Chief Seattle during the mid 1850s. As Adams tells us, this *alleged* testament sprang up twenty years after Seattle's death and went through numerous fundamental revisions tailored to the reigning hokum of their day, until it emerged as a centerpiece of the environmental movement during the 1970s. Possibly the most amazing thing about it is that the internal evidence within Seattle's alleged speech, bewailing the fate of the buffalo and calling for the preservation of mother earth and all her creatures, is contradicted by broadly known historical facts. Seattle couldn't have made that speech.

In a politely understated way Adams holds that manufacturing native texts to support currently fashionable causes is a way of manufacturing pseudo history. If it can be done with such ease in this case why not for any number of other worthy causes? Instead, he says, that '*expressing beliefs in their true voices*' means laying aside the hokum and presenting what people really did and said. Who could argue with that? Lots of people, apparently!

James Clifton's *The Invented Indian, Cultural Fictions and Government Policies* is tour de force into a heavily defended area of profitable fiction making. While it dealt exclusively with conditions in the US it is also applicable to Canada. Clifton noted the political infighting and lawyerizing over Indian land claims as well as claims of individuals' membership in native entities. He mentions the totally fabulous historical accounts presented in courts by lawyers concerned not with historical fact but in advancing the claims of their immediate clients, by any means whatsoever.

We considered his summary of the currently dominant *Indian story* as known to and believed by almost everyone, an account which according to Clifton is largely fictional. This story begins with a totally romantic version of what life in indigenous societies was like. Such societies allegedly were conservationist, peaceful, equalitarian, supportive of women and children, suffused with natural medical knowledge. Their people lived long lives in a rich land and never were beset by hunger and disease. They were attuned to
spiritual ways and keen to listen to the advise of elders; they had simple but marvellous technologies which provided for any wants they might have. And much more.

Into this sacred realm came the whiteman, Clifton sardonically tells us, who had over-exploited his own European lands and who was bent on seizing the lands of others. Although invariably met with good will by America's indigenous people, who transmitted to him the means to survive in this new world, he was soon despoiling and driving the native Indians from their ancestral homelands. He was 'the greatest ecological sinner the world has ever seen', quips Clifton. For over two hundred years the whiteman advanced west from the eastern seaboard, destroying the forests, raping the land and murdering the buffalo while driving the remnant native peoples into the 'barren wastes' of Oklahoma, where the Indians were to languish and die off. In the mean time all the organizational tools at the whiteman's disposal were utilized to deculturate the Indian remnant. This however proved to be an impossible task because of the deep racial roots of their cultures.

Then, following WW2, a new generation of whitemen began to recognize the injustices which had been done to the Indian and began to accept the demands for restitution put forward by Indian claimants and their idealistic lawyers. A revitalized Indian Claims Commission went forward righting past wrongs and finding endlessly new Indians who had secreted themselves within white society and who now remembered their native ancestry. Finally the stage was set for teaching the whiteman the true story of the conquest of the continent and the crimes which had been committed against native peoples. This, in outline, is the Indian Story, as sardonically presented by James Clifton.

He holds that contemporary native claims are based upon melodramatically generated feelings of shame and guilt. This technique has been extraordinarily influential in recent decades and packs a moral clout which swings judicial, legislative and public sentiments in favour of Indian claims. It is now intellectually impermissible to challenge Indian cant and near impossible to find a publisher if one questions it in print. The 'Indian story' is made all the more influential by not permitting any notable departures from the accepted line. It is above all else a cover story which had achieved long running top billing.

Clifton ends by noting that the existence of cultural fictions have long been recognized in anthropology; for instance the role of fictive kin and the construction of fictive genealogical relationships Cultural fictions then are 'fabrications of pseudo events and relationships, counterfeits of the past and
present that suit someone's or some group's purposes in their dealings with others.'

Unfortunately no matter how detailed the rejection of native cant is most readers will be unable to overcome the mass of accounts emanating from television broadcasts, films, public school lessons, court cases, the sayings of public sages and in general the thrust of all establishment institutions in this matter.

Doug Daniels' discussion of developments in the Northwest Territories returns us to Canada. Writing in the late 1980s he noted the rapid bureaucratization of native authorities in that region and the substantial flow of Federal funds into native communities, a considerable proportion of which were funnelled into privately-owned native companies. As funding continued to flow into northern native communities it tended to create an Indian bureaucracy which was one of the few routes of upward mobility for native people. Politics becomes a paid vocation, Daniels says, with the shortest route to a decent job deriving from actively supporting whichever Indian leadership was in power. The native individual who criticizes the new 'establishment' soon finds him/herself with few career prospects, ostracized and ridiculed or worse.

He tells us that in regard to native unemployment, *One saw the possibility that many White and Indian intellectuals would apologize for it if not actually glamorize this unemployment with rationalizations about Indians losing their culture if they took part in wage labour.*

Also noted were some of the fantasies which 'friends of the Indian' were spinning by the late 1980s. These included appeals for the maintenance of hunting and trapping as a mainstay in the native economy and support of assorted 'natural' ways of living. Daniels held that many native leaders romanticized about the old ways because they had no strategy for the thousands entering the cities. From a classless society there sprang various classes, who do come into conflict despite the claims of the new Indian bourgeoisie, which insisted that Indians are by nature incapable of exploitation.

Daniels noted that various wealthy native individuals have emerged in northern Canada through income obtained in labour contracting, as well as through 'consulting' procedures which can drain off the economic life blood from land claims settlements into private hands. He foresees the increasing disappointment of the majority of the native population as a few scramble to the top, abandoning the goals if not the rhetoric of the earlier native movement.
Noting the negative aspects of the emerging native political agendas, Daniels holds that these include the abandonment of some of the best features of liberal democracy, in the very name of such democracy. Federal and provincial Human Rights Commissions have generally refused to address charges of discrimination stemming from reserves. He mentions examples of anti-union practices and efforts to circumvent the Canadian labor code, all justified by a defense of native sovereignty.

Daniels concluded with a meeting of native businessmen held in Toronto in 1986, where leading chiefs and native entrepreneurs made their agenda clear. Often lacking any special resources or capital their main option was to provide native labor as cheaply as possible. Opposing involvement of Native people in the broader Canadian labour force, these native leaders demanded the creation of native-owned enterprises to solve the problem of Indian unemployment. All of the flaws and self-seeking noted earlier is implicit in such a strategy.

We ended the chapter with a consideration of Homer Stevens account of the United Fishermen and Allied Workers Union relations with the Native Brotherhood of BC. The Native Brotherhood has long acted as both a native lobby group and as a quasi-union representing some native people in the fishing industry, especially native boat owners. The role which Native ethnic nationalism played in the efforts of the Native Brotherhood was classic. They held that only Indians could represent other Indians and that the U.F.A.W.U. and the canning companies were somehow in cahoots to exclude native people from their rightful place in the industry. Stevens noted that the Brotherhood sometimes attacked Japanese-Canadian fishermen, sometimes white fishermen and shorworkers, and attempted to load as much blame for the contraction of the industry onto the union as they could get their followers to swallow.

He held that

There was no essential conflict between the average Native and non-Native workers in the fish plants or on the fish boats. But because of the unsettled question of aboriginal rights it was possible for some Native leaders to play upon that and make it appear that they had to have completely separate organizations for Natives within the industry. And anyone who denied their claims was denounced as a racist or a chauvinist of some kind.

Stevens noted that if each separate racial group operated independently in collective bargaining the only ones to benefit would be the canning companies. Those who were prepared to sell their catch and labour at the lowest price would get the lion's share of the work while the canners would play one group off against another. Although some Indians may think they
will achieve certain advantages through separate deals with the canners and fish buyers, in the longer run they will be the losers.

He held that there are no assurances that natives will be given the resources they demand, and that if they do obtain them that ordinary Indian workers will not require a militant labour union to defend their rights vis a vis native employers.

Since these comments were made many Native bands in B.C have obtained priority rights to commercially fish in an increasing number of areas along the B.C. Coast. These native fishermen operate under fishing regulations established by their own respective bands, effectively outside the control of any Federal agency. This process has made it extremely difficult if not impossible for non-native fishermen to operate in many critical waters. This constitutes a significant strengthening of the application of special ethnic rights which have come to prevail in Canada.

**Concluding Remarks**

A wide variety of claimants to special knowledge about native Indian societies were presented and their essentially conservative character suggested. They ranged from Frank Speck to Oliver LaFarge and from Arthur Parker to Ronald Wright. The great majority of those discussed here were whites, writing mainly to white audiences. However it seems that similar accounts have entered native versions of their own history and have won their own adherents. Adulatory claims about the nature of past native societies are generally part of broader conservative views about how individuals should behave. Basically the message is that ethnic or racial allegiances do and should overshadow any other allegiances which may arise.

We considered elements of the work of some three dozen authors dealing with native peoples in North and Latin America. Some of them were quite knowledgeable about native societies and their specious accounts were long difficult to contradict. Other commentators are utterly fantastic in their claims about the nature of aboriginal society and the alleged role these played in creating the contemporary world.

Views about what native Indian societies were/are like often flow from broader attitudes about how the world should be constituted. We noted that Frank Speck's view about privately owned indigenous hunting territories was geared to attitudes about private property emanating from American society at the time he wrote. It was suggested that Speck carried such views into his accounts of the alleged private ownership of Algonkian hunting tracts and his attacks on accounts about the communal nature of resource
ownership in hunting societies. His views about family-owned territories have since been held to be largely incorrect.

The majority of those nativists alluded to here, from Grey Owl to John Neilhardt, to say nothing of imposter Buffalochild Long Lance, and many others mentioned above, all participated in a sentimental and basically mindless 'appreciation of the American Indian', who was to be protected from deleterious contacts with the broader world. Their conservative views were made all the worse by the utter gullibility of those who heeded them.

The examples of native romanticism cited throughout this book have indicated some of the reactionary strains this philosophy is heir to. Nativist proponents, both past and present, have maligned white workers for their alleged racism and their seizure of native lands. Such charges are once again raised in the writings of Hugh Brody, Ronald Wright and Boyce Richardson, emigre philosophes come to Canada to belabor the crimes of the whiteman.

The most ludicrous claims all find a home in the writings of contemporary nativists. In the more extreme instances we are required to believe that traditional shamanistic hunting rituals could not only locate game but also kill it through the supernatural powers possessed by native hunters. We are also told that northern hunters lived in a harmonious adjustment with their environments which obviated hunger and that they maintained their inviolate hunting-trapping territories like 'gardens'. These authors have only the most venomous things to say about about white workers who, from their viewpoint, are 'shiftless vagrants' and 'feckless squatters'.Their accounts prioritize the demands of native people over those of the great majority of Canadians and Americans.

Many of the accounts presented represent the rise of ethnic identity politics in which individuals claim to hold beliefs and responses which allegedly are incomprehensible to others outside their own ethnic group. As Hobsbaum suggests, such claims are normally the response of those who seek certain benefits from and influence on a non-ethnic state. While his account does not mention the case of native Indians his comments seem particularly applicable to their current claims.

Homer Stevens commentary on the rise of ethnic nationalism among B.C's native fishermen drives home the question of the division of working people into ethnic strata and whom this will ultimately benefit. The United Fishermen's Union, which he long led, had an admirable record of supporting its native members and others.Yet this did not preserve it from attacks by the emerging Native Indian bourgeoisie.

Any appeal to solidarity with others outside a narrow ethnic purview is generally treated with disdain by current aboriginal spokespersons. They are
generally hostile to any suggestion that others also have interests to defend. A smug disinterest in the exploitation suffered by others is all too common among native romantics and the small minority they champion.

In North America, native involvement in movements broader than those engaged in obtaining 'Native rights' (whatever they may be) is seemingly frowned upon by the current Indian leadership. This policy is quite distinct from developments in Latin American countries where a substantial native population continues to exist and where the struggle for 'native rights' is conjoined, at least to some extent, with the legitimate demands of their nation's working class.

Some of the policies forwarded by the emerging native bourgeoisie in Canada were discussed in Daniels, paper. The intervening years have made his cautions - i.e. that the monies being poured into northern native projects are funding the emergence of a new Indian bourgeoisie - more applicable than ever. As long as the world continues to be composed of exploiters, their praise singers, and the exploited, modifying the colour or the ethnic derivation of the exploiters will not ultimately serve the interests of the exploited, be they native Indians or others. This is a lesson which native people and the great majority of Americans and Canadians still have to learn.

Canadians have been inundated over the past thirty years with accounts which glorify indigenous ways of life and which castigate the whiteman for ending such wondrous worlds. The fact of the matter is that indigenous Indian societies (with the exception of hunting bands) had their full share of oppression, murderous wars, hunger and diseases, as well as an all-pervasive 'spiritual' outlook which utterly beclouded an understanding of the way natural processes actually work. Their state level societies were sufficiently bloodthirsty to warrant little approbation. Where indigenous states or proto-states existed there was always some form of subjugation and the great majority of the people in such societies were not free to do as they desired.

Those who currently wish to resurrect aspects of traditional native culture normally do so only with the proviso that all the advantages provided in a modern society, of which they are a part, will be furnished to native peoples by the state. What native people seemingly call for is more, not fewer, benefits provided by the state. As well they demand the provision of vast tracts of natural resources which can be used to provide additional funds for themselves. That is quite understandable, if legitimately opposable.

However, anyone who has benefitted from the advances which have been made in modern medicine, in vastly expanded food production, in
contemporary technology as well as the hard-won social security supports which currently exist (however partial they may be) can not legitimately romanticize about the nature of earlier Indigenous or European societies. Which had none of this. We are all the inheritors of the long, arduous and often assailed struggle for the gradual liberation of humans from the material limitations under which humanity has found itself throughout its long history. To cast such advances aside for pipe dreams is a true measure of the reactionary sentiments of nativistic proponents.

The terms 'conservative' and 'progressive' seem to have lost their meanings in the context of Indian ethnic nationalism. An 'appreciation of' native people in North America has become a vehicle for almost every sort of claim imaginable. Political entrepreneurs, groveling academics, as well as the inevitable cabal of lawyers and consultants; all have all shown considerable elan in advancing native claims during the last thirty years. It is clear why native peoples support such claims - they currently pay substantial returns. More problematic is the support which so many non-natives give to such claims. The white majority may now consider this to be simply 'doing the right thing', as they have long been taught. It also may be that the majority of the Canadian and American populations are now so removed from the utilization of public resources that they are willing to dispose of them in order to obtain social peace with native claimants. They may feel that they themselves will not be unduly disadvantaged by such transfers.

Appeals made in the name of native people in Canada and America are usually anti-materialist; they appeal to the spiritual nature of native peoples vs. white materialism. Such appeals now generally demand distinct legal and social rights for aboriginal people. In Canada today, the rights of native Indians are held to be superior to the claims of any other sector of the national population. Native appeals often are anti-industrial, anti-working class, anti-scientific and sometimes partake of the hokum of the environmental conservation movements. Each of these positions invokes support from various sectors of a fantasy-ridden national bourgeoisie.

Although not especially evident in Canada one facet of American nativism was a strain of anti-immigrant xenophobia. During the first third of the 20th century an 'appreciation of the American Indian' was often linked with a hostility toward more recent immigrants by certain old stock Americans. It was part of an ideology which was anti-immigrant, anti-Black and anti-Asian, anti-organized labour and broadly reactionary. It had its native supporters.
It is true that 'Americanism', that xenophobic outlook stemming from south of the border, was rarely paralleled by developments in Canada. At least not during times of peace. However native romanticism and their appeal to fabulous accounts of past native life have been quite comparable in both countries. Such accounts hold that past native societies were more coherent and fulfilling for their members than any arrangement which has existed since. This is often a smoke screen which covers up the hardships involved in living in past native societies. Such romanticism has glossed over the effects of diseases, wars, famines and internal oppression which are rarely considered. Life in such societies was something other than living in a Garden of Eden. To enthusiasts the numerous casualties of tradition are considered acceptable because it was 'their own way of life'. This may not have been the estimation of many earlier native people who had experienced neo-traditional ways of life and who were ready to supersede them.

Among some romantics the appeal of traditional native life stems from it being the seeming antithesis of an industrial, urban society; a society in which class conflict is an underlying force. Native romanticism has reemerged among those who wish the world to be more spiritual, more localist, more conservationist; a world more given to all the superstitions and restrictions which people have inherited from the past and which we have so recently broken free from..

Contemporary nativism seemingly holds that rights should be based on an individual's ethnic derivation. This view is evident in any proposition which holds that the fundamentals of human loyalties are those of 'race and culture', which must always be respected. (It is unclear why, other than the vocal demands of their proponents.) Such an outlook is the antithesis of any view which considers class membership to be of fundamental importance in the contemporary world. The interests of native entrepreneurs and bosses are not the same as those of their employees, regardless of the ethnic nationalist ideology to that effect and its success in convincing many native people.

The participation of native people in the broader economy may today be more problematic than it was a generation or two ago. As the productive economy provides fewer jobs it is perfectly comprehensible why native people pursue employment in novel spheres, such as those provided by the state or by the burgeoning native administrative apparatus. After more than a generation of extensive governmental support native organizations with a nativist ideology have captured the public stage. Native nationalism has become big business; it involves multi-billion government funds flowing from hydra-headed sources. This stake partly accounts for the host of
lawyers and others now involved in advancing native claims. Pocket politics may not explain all the delusions rife in this milieu but it does go some way in making comprehensible the extraordinary claims proffered by interested parties.

Non-native supporters of native nationalism generally consider it their role to transmit whatever demands Indian spokespersons put forward. Practiced in the stagecraft of the mass media, these individuals are usually attuned to the reigning public gullibility in matters relating to native peoples. One thing we can be certain of is that as long as public monies flow in to fulfill them there will be endlessly more native claims.

At present native demands for additional lands and resources are everywhere being heard and being catered to. Any number of judges, Federal bureaucrats, perpetually outraged academics, cabinet ministers, as well as rank and file enthusiasts, support almost whichever native claims are advanced. Many Canadians whose livelihoods are not immediately not threatened also support native claims to public resources and see themselves involved in righting past wrongs.

One might expect a certain skepticism to emerge among some observers when the judiciary, the mass media, the federal government and all its bureaucracy, the intellectual establishment, and political parties ranging from the right to 'left', all agree on the need to advance native sovereignty and to disperse the monies and resources required to establish it. Typically, such policies are advanced without anyone fully considering what the consequences will be and with virtually no opposition heard or permitted.

Public lands and resources which for more than a century had remained in the hands of the crown, potentially for the benefit of the population as a whole, are now being turned over to native bands - in perpetuity it would seem. The public as a whole neither knows nor does it seem to care about what is being disposed of in their names. Nativism is a reactionary force proposing reactionary policies, even if its supporters believe, or claim to believe, that they are engaged in a progressive undertaking.

It is conceivable that the dismemberment of Canada and its public resources may yet be reversed at some future time; resources may yet be taken back into the public domain for the benefit of the entire Canadian people. But that seems to be an increasingly unlikely scenario. A nation which underwrites its own Balkanization no longer has the capacity to retain it's own sovereignty.

End
Appendix 1
From the Highlands of South America.

Culture and Conquest

George Foster's *Culture and Conquest. America's Spanish Heritage* (1960) considered items said to characterize Indian background of certain peasant societies in highland Mexico and South America: their music, medicines, the structure of settlements, fiestas and *cargas*, internal political arrangements, religious conceptions, non agricultural technology such as ironsmithing and weaving etc. He then traced them to practices as they had existed in rural Spain during the 16th and 17th centuries. Foster also dealt with the mechanism through which these cultural practices were transferred from Spain to Indian communities in the New World. He holds that much of the life of highland Indian communities is not a carryover of indigenous social-cultural patterns but rather indicates the extent to which the colonial forces were successful in transmitting the culture of colonial Spain. This is so despite the fact that indigenous languages continue to be spoken in such communities and that certain non Spanish practices continue, to some extent. It was a quite audacious study when first published.

For instance Foster notes that the settlement pattern, the nucleated villages centered around a central square dominated by a church, typical of most highland villages, was directly imposed upon indigenous communities by the Spanish state shortly after conquest as a means to control the native population. Indigenously most people had lived in a much more dispersed pattern. They were brought into these communities, by force if need be, during the 16th and 17th centuries and were placed under the control of the Spanish priesthood. These are what Eric Wolf calls 'closed corporate peasant communities' because they generally were closed to any outsiders and because the lands of each village were held in the form of a village 'corporation'(which however allowed for considerable differences in wealth among village members.) This was the pattern which existed from the late 1500s to the later 19th century, when newly established republican governments throughout most of Latin America began attempts to transfer lands from the Indian villages to assorted large landholders. The closed corporate peasant communities constituted surviving hold outs to that process.
The technology used by members of such communities was typically Spanish of the 16th and 17th centuries; for instance ironsmithing and the machetes, hoes, ploughs and other implements used in farming. The use of horses, donkeys and oxen to plough land and to transport goods and the ways in which the draught animals are utilized were also Spanish. Also the hand looms on which locally manufactured cloth is woven, including now 'traditional Indian' wear. All these are Spanish techniques of the 16th and 17th centuries.

It is true that many of the crops - corn, beans, potatoes, tomatoes, yuca and other domesticates - are of indigenous origin, as are some of harvest festivals dedicated to them. But they are generally grown within a system which was imposed upon the native population and which inserted many of the technological and social elements currently found in these highland Indian societies.

The imported customs even apply to such items as music and herbal remedies, which might seem far removed from Spanish influence. The groups of musicians which could once be found in every highland Indian community play on instruments which are mainly Spanish in origin, as is much of the music they perform. This is not the music of the high renaissance but flows from past Spanish village music. The musicians once found in highland Indian villages are also be related to the 'carga' system, which often exempted people able to play an instrument used in community festivities from more onerous duties.

Possibly the most amazing element, given the private nature of herbal cures, is that many of the healing techniques, the concepts of sickness as well as the cures applied to the sick, are direct carryovers from the Spain of the 16th century. A great deal of what are spuriously thought of as a continuation of indigenous medical practices are in fact found in Spanish medical texts of the 16th century - pre-modern, 'non-infection-recognizing' procedures. This includes the belief in balancing typologically 'hot' and 'cold' foods, bleeding for medical purposes, and even the 'indigenous' herbal remedies used, a great many of which are found in 16th century Spanish medical texts. Although some herbal cures were probably carry overs of indigenous medical procedures.

The fiesta-cargo system itself was clearly imposed by the Spanish church upon the indigenous communities it had founded. In this system a majority of a village's adult males are required to take on specific 'cargos' (burdens) during their active lifetimes. These cargos relate to the fiesta system of highland Indian communities: the fiestas given during a year to celebrate assorted saints, the costs of such celebration being the burden of one cargero
or another. It typically was an expensive burden in which the current holder of the cargo must arrange and pay for musicians, fireworks, masses to be said and costs of the celebration in general. Such fiestas sometimes impoverished a cargero, who occasionally had to be dragooned into accepting his role by members of the community and by past fiesta givers.

The individual involved in bearing the cargo might start out as a junior aide in the procedures, let us say delivering messages, and proceed, over the course of half a lifetime, up the ladder to those who collected fees and arranged for the fiesta. Many would drop out of the system over time but those who remained and who were able to mount fiestas proceeded to become the important men of the village.

As has often been noted, the cargo system could operate as a 'wealth leveling' mechanism in which any 'excess' wealth is drained off from community members and funnelled into the church and into related festivities. That some cargeros were able to pass through this system and retain much of their wealth is a testament to their entrepreneurial skills but did not affect the system as a wealth extracting procedure. The cargo system was directly imposed by the church and sustained for some three hundred years. Although it may have acted as a 'wealth leveling' mechanism it was also a system which helped to keep the Indian highland peasant communities impoverished.

It may be that Foster somewhat overstates his case and that, in addition to Indian languages, there are other significant and important carry overs of indigenous practices still pursued in upland Indian communities. However it is the case that observers no longer recognize what past Spanish social patterns were that makes their survival in highland Indian communities seem indigenous. A Spaniard of the 16th and 17th centuries would have found much that was familiar in such Indian communities - the central role of the church, the fiestas and the system of fiesta givers, the technology of field and workshop, the conceptions of illness and cures, the music and indeed the reigning religious concepts, with the inclusion of a few indigenous American elements. These seem to us unique because we are far removed from their European origins.

One consequence of the 'closed corporate peasant communities' among highland Indians is the isolation of each community from the others. Each village is isolated from all others, with conflicts between them which are sometimes almost endemic. The Peruvian indigenista writer Ciro Alegria, in his 1941 novel Broad and Alien is the World, describes a traditional highland Indian community in the 1930s whose lands are seized by a neighbouring hacendado and who are expelled by force. A powerful aside
in this story is that the neighbouring Indian community, just beyond the *hacendado's* reach, watch this dispossession take place but care mainly for their own lands, with little regard for their neighbours who are then being displaced.

What had remained of the indigenous Indian cultures were their languages and their status of being 'Indian'. Throughout the colonial centuries this was an unenviable status since it often placed the Indian in the role of conscript laborer with, at best, second class status within the national population. One result was that there was a constant leakage of persons from 'Indian' to some other status. A large proportion of the general population within the Andean, Central American and Mexican societies are today genotypically Indian but are culturally and structurally part of the national population. Over the centuries people have streamed or trickled out of the 'Indian' caste to become 'Mestizos'. This required learning Spanish as well as adapting to the class-based society of which they became a part.

Possibly Foster was overstating his case and his account of the imposed cultural patterns found in contemporary highland Indian communities was somewhat overemphasized. However his evidence was so compelling that those claiming an indigenous derivation for contemporary cultural patterns in highland America were at a loss for how to reply. Today however, more than forty years later, Foster's work is largely forgotten so that all manner of claims can be made about the 'indigenous patterns' allegedly being preserved in highland Indian societies.

Foster's work was part of the historical reevaluation which some American anthropologists made of the societies they were studying. They began to consider the historical processes which had been at work in their venues of study. It was an eye-opening endeavor as processes previously thought to be shrouded in the allegedly 'unknowable' past rose to the surface and provided sometimes novel accounts of why things were as they were.

**Marvin Harris on the highland heritage**

In chapter three of *Patterns of Race in the Americas* (1964), Marvin Harris deals with what Eric Wolf has termed 'Closed, Corporate Peasant Communities.' These are the Indian communities which typically emerged in the densely populated highland regions from Mexico to Bolivia, following Spanish colonization. As Wolf describes them they are communities in which locally generated wealth is systematically drained off in the performance of festivals given for local saints. These festivals flow from religious obligations in which most adult males are involved to some degree during the course of their lives. The political hierarchy of such villages
revolve around the contributions made in the fiesta system, which emphasizes the prestige attached to performing such roles. It involves private consumption patterns which verge on a 'cult of poverty', as well as a rejection of all forms of novelty. This pattern results in an apparent leveling of intra-communal economic differences, although successful fiesta givers seem to retain the bulk of their wealth. In addition, such communities are typically set apart from other communities in a region and are sometimes differentiated by dress styles or sometimes by certain craft specialties. These villages are normally endogenous.

It was Eric Wolf's suggestion (1957) that the fiesta/cargo system acts as a 'wealth leveling' mechanism, which serves to retain a general availability of land on which all community members rely. Although there are individuals who for any number of reasons generate greater wealth than others within a village, their wealth is supposedly drained off into village-wide fiestas for local saints. Why is that? Surely it would be the height of enthnocentrism to find anything unusual in the fact that some people scrape and save to achieve the prestige which their provision of fiestas gives them. Who is to say what processes a people will choose to pursue prestige? Some like it hot, some like it cold, some like in the pot - nine days old.

Nevertheless it is somewhat strange that people who are otherwise recorded as being highly attuned to making profits in market trading, in literally counting their pennies in home consumption (normally because there are only pennies to count), who are critically aware of the cost of things, why they should be so ready to disperse their hard won earnings in pursuing merely 'prestigious' undertakings.

Marvin Harris' account of these matters is different than that of the above. He notes that most of these highland communities had been established by the Catholic Church as part of their commitment to reforming Indians into Christian peasants. This was a process which lasted for about three hundred years, from the 16th to the late 19th century in most of the highland regions of Latin America. Harris notes that if the processes at work within the fiesta system is to produce a village-wide solidarity in defense of village lands then they have been spectacularly ineffective.

These Indian peasant communities had broken the links between most other such communities which had existed for hundreds of years before European conquest. The church had been largely successful in severing most villages from their neighbours, as witnessed in the often deep seated conflicts between neighbouring villages and the near impossibility in arranging any coordination between them in defense of their mutual interests. Harris goes on to point out that during the height of church rule
over such communities (until the late 19th century in most locales but as late as the 1950s in some parts of Ecuador) the local priest might literally dragoon members of the local Indian community into serving in one capacity or another of the fiesta system. Moreover, a good deal of the income of local churches came from the cost of saying special masses and in donations made to the saints venerated in the fiestas. There were a number of these in the course of any year.

Those persons who had previously borne a fiesta carga (burden) could normally be relied upon to impose this burden on others who had not. The burden was not only in providing the aguardiente, the feast and musicians, the fireworks and the cost of the masses required, but also the fact that much of the cargero's work year was taken up in seeing to it that the preparations were carried out. In the case of some cargeros this undertaking meant that they went into debt, a fact which was not lost on traveling recruiters for lowland plantations, who provided cash advances to cargeros in return for their future labour.

However there were a strata of men within the Indian villages who could provide the funds for fulfilling their duties without stripping themselves of cattle and cash. These became the caciques, the bosses, the 'community leaders'. The wealth differences within such communities were greater than easily observable to external viewers.

The cargo system continued only a little changed in highland Latin America despite the loss of church holdings and did not begin to fundamentally change until the early 20th century. What caused closed corporate peasant communities to maintain this facet of 'their way of life'? The answer seems to be, at least in part, because such operations were sustained by and were beneficial to the church, and also by other parties interested in Indian labour. Such a finding lacks the appeal to the mysteries of cultural practices so dear to the hearts of some observers. As Harris says, "Not only has the fiesta system failed to level the Indians into a homogeneous solidarity group, but a more inefficient defense against outsiders could scarcely be imagined. It might be argued that the fiesta system has helped to maintain the separate identity of the highland communities, but this is scarcely a result which possesses any clear adaptive advantages for the members of such communities. On the contrary, these communities themselves are the product of a colonial policy whose net result in the long run was the maintenance of the Indians in an 'exploited and degraded position.' Far from protecting the Indian communities against the encomienda, repartimiento, [two forms of colonial labor exploitation] debt peonage, excessive taxation and tribute, the fiesta system was an integral
and enduring part of the mechanisms by which these noxious influences gained access to the very heart of the village.

It seems all too often to be forgotten that the closed corporate villages fulfilled certain vital functions with respect to the larger system in which Indian life was embedded. From the point of view of this larger system the proliferation of ceremonies, the burdens of the cargeros and the whole civil-religious hierarchy are nothing but direct or indirect expressions of the economic and political vassalage into which the Indians had fallen. (Marvin Harris, 1964:29)

Not all of the community fiestas follow the pattern outlined above. In the coastal regions of Peru as well as in post revolutionary Mexico, patterns emerged which may seem similar but which were critically different to those in the traditional Indian villages. There, in many cases, the fiestas given became something of a money making endeavor, either for an individual or for a community as a whole. There the costs of fiestas were carefully weighed against what profits they may bring in increased sales of local goods or generated through contributions made by others who attended the fiestas. Of course, costs might overtake income and the fiesta sponsors might wind up paying out more than they took in, but that was not the intention of the providers. These modifications of the traditional fiesta system have emerged from the destruction of the supervening powers which, over past centuries, had imposed the original pattern of wealth extraction.

Let us now move to aspects of the more or less contemporary conditions in the four South American nations with a substantial 'Indian' population.

Colombia

Let us first consider a note on Colombia which stems from my own doctoral field work in the sugar plantation region of that country during 1965-66. I will restrict myself to some comments about 'indigenous' workers in that region at that time. Initially a comment about the the forces which held a revolutionary process in check there. The use of Indian conscripts and volunteers in military and police forces are of note.

"Still, when all is said and one, it was not American experts nor was it loans and not even military advisors which kept the fat out of the fire in Colombia. What did was the traditional use of plodding repression and policies which retained the support of crucial strata of the lower middle class. That and the disbursement of penny ante perks which assured the more or less loyalty of the army and police to the National Front government.
The Federal Police force was a fair sized army in its own right, organized along the lines of the Guardia Civil of Spain. Its ranks were filled largely by ex-Indian peasants, volunteers recruited from the southern highland regions after a tour in the regular army. They were the face of everyday state power in the cities and in the countryside. In a photograph, the Federal Police might have struck an observer as quaintly anachronistic with their battered Model '98 Mausers and their dated 'Bolivian' style uniforms. But in the flesh, met on some empty side road, they definitely weren't to be trifled with. How safe you were depended on how influential you appeared and on whatever may have happened in that locale in the recent past. As a poorly dressed foreigner wandering around hillside favelas, you would soon have a couple of these Federal Police trailing around behind you until they decided to examine your papers.

An ironic turnabout, you may think, members of the exploited Indian peasantry serving as the first line of defense of the exploiters: It's nothing new to Columbian, Peruvian or Salvadorean etc. peasants. The Federal Police treated Indian, Black, White and Mestizo workers with equal callousness.

If a couple of these policemen stopped me I halted in my tracks, turned slowly and looked directly at them without saying anything. Dead eyes - these guys all had dead eyes. Don't reach into your pocket unless you are ordered to, never argue, never show fear or emotion of any sort." (Knight, Rolf 1972 :221-222)

This was the case in the mid 1960s during the continuation of a inchoate civil war (originally between the Conservatives and the Liberals) which had been going on since 1948. During the 1960s it seemed to be winding down but it would last until the present day. It was a civil war which had by then had claimed at least a quarter million lives and witnessed innumerable massacres, assassinations and pathological killings. The FARC (Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionario Colombiano) were already in the field but the later host of paramilitary forces and rightwing death squads were not. The 'drug traffic' consisted mainly of a few people, usually the poor, who liked to occasionally puff on marijuana. One might say that Colombia was one of the first South American nations in which genocidal practices emerged to terrorize the population into obedience, although that would overlook the previous policies of Trujillo and Somoza and others.

The point which I want to make however is that there was no fundamental political differentiation of the population in terms of race, or ethnicity, at least not in the plantation area I was familiar with. Although upper class Colombians no doubt prided themselves on their European
heritage, there were Whites, Indians, Mestizos and Blacks on every side of the political divide. One group of union workers would be composed of people from all those categories while, just down the street, would be another group of anti-union stalwarts comprised of a similar mix. It is my impression that such a multi-racial political mix was quite general.

Indeed, *los indios* -without any qualifications- normally referred to the still tribal peoples of the Amazonian region or, just possibly, to the compact Indian peasant communities in the southern-most highlands of the country. However the bulk of the Indian population were considered to be *campesinos*, or peasants. In the succeeding thirty-five years, with the influx of American ethnic nationalist ideology along with many other American viewpoints, this may have changed. Many of those with Indian ancestry may now consider themselves to be 'Indian' to the exclusion of any other self-designation. However in the 1960s it was still general to find people who felt that racial ancestry was mainly irrelevant to their lives and considered themselves to be workers first and foremost, plantation workers in particular.

By the mid 1960s the parties on the left, while they acknowledged the particular difficulties faced by the Indian population of the country, acted and thought on a class basis. They had had sufficient experience of Indian policemen and members of the army, Indian gunmen and strike-breakers, not to wax eloquent about any special status which Indians may now claim in Colombia. The left was concerned with achieving the rights of *all* those who worked for a living, all of the poor - a vision which included Indians, mestizos, whites and blacks.

**Ecuador**

Ecuador is one of the most tradition-bound countries in Latin America and retained it's system of semi-bound Indian labour (at least in the highland regions), as well as the repression of other workers, until the late 1950s, when it only gradually began to change. This does not mean that there was no class conflict in that country previously. Strikes and revolutionary confrontations began to occur from the beginning of the 1920s in Quayaquil, the main coastal port. Some of the novels about such struggles follow. Their authors have produced not narrowly *indigenista* accounts but ones which indicate that Indians are only part of a complex of oppression and resistance in their country.

Alfredo Pareja Diez-Canseco's *Baldomera*, 1938 (Baldomera) is a novel dealing with the quasi-revolutionary strike of Quayaquil workers in 1922. It touches on the oppression and poverty from which it grew and of the military repression which crushed it. This defeat initiated the organization of
the Communist party in Ecuador. His *Hombres Sin Tiempo*, 1941 (Men Without Time) is a semi-autobiographical prison novel which contains a collage of 'runaway' Indian peons, thieves, teachers, murderers, labour organizers and political subversives thrown together in a Quito prison during the late 1930s and attempting to survive.

Joaquin Gallego Lara's *Luces Sobre el Agua*. (Lights on the Water) 1946, is another novel dealing with the events of November 15, 1922 in Quayaquil, where a general strike was crushed by the army and the massacre of strikers which followed. The title refers to the small rafts with lighted candles which, in memorial services a generation later, are placed on the river where the bodies of the murdered workers were thrown. It represents a tapestry of working class traditions in Ecuador and their continuation though periods of struggle and those of seeming forgetfulness.

As for *indigenista* writing, Jorge Icaza's *Barro de Sierra*, 1933 (Clay of the Sierra) is the work of a progressive author which includes six stories dealing with different aspects of Ecuadorean oppression at the time, portraying rural and urban, Indian and non-Indian cases. It describes the triumvirate of church, state and capitalists working as fingers of the same hand. It also includes accounts of left wing organizers attempting to mobilize people in economic self defense. His *Huasipungo*, 1934, is one of the best known of Latin American *indigenista* novels, one which converted that theme into something approximating a proletarian form. It deals with an Indian community in highland Ecuador during the 1920s and early 1930s, its members struggle to retain their lands against the expansion of a foreign owned hacienda and the utterly venal courts which defend the *hacendados*. It culminates in the police seizure of Indian lands and in a bloody battle which destroys the village and scatters the survivors who become migrant labourers, or 'Huasipungo'.

Icaza's *En Las Calles*, 1935 (In the Streets) is a novel about a group of highland Indian peasants forced from their lands when a neighbouring hacienda seizes their water rights. It deals with their migration to Quito and the daily rounds of discrimination, unemployment and the struggle to survive which leads to individual and then organized resistance. It involves a catalogue of the strategies of repression used by the Ecuadorean ruling class. *Cholos* 1938 deals with mestizo rural workers sandwiched between large landholders and Indian peasants. It is an account of the everyday life of the mestizo workers and a picture of the 'racial' divisions which fetter the poor in the Ecuadorean countryside. *Huairapamushkas* 1948 deals the changing but continuing exploitation of the highland Indian peasantry under the emerging small town bourgeoisie who were then supplanting the former
hacendados in a new balance of political power. Finally, Icaza's Seis Veces la Muerte, 1953 (Six Times Death) and Cuentos Viejos, 1960 (Old Stories), which comprise two collections of short stories which proclaim that the 'old story' of exploitation, injustice, repression and smug hypocrisy continue in post W.W.II Ecuador with only the rhetoric a little changed.

There is also Angel Rojas El Exodo de Yangana, 1949 (Exodus from Yangana), a panorama of Ecuador in the 1940s as seen through the eyes of members of an Indian community which has lost its land and is travelling through the countryside searching for work and a place to settle. Humberto Mata Ordoñez's trilogy Sol Amarrado (Moored Sun) begins with Sumag Allpa 1940. It is the account of a highland Indian who by his middle age has experienced almost the entire roster of exploitation extant, including seizure of Indian lands, debt peonage, forced labour, and the demands of local priests and politicos. It ranges through the 1920s and 1930s. The second volume, Sanaguín 1942 follows the hero of Sumag Allpa into the eastern frontier zone where he works on a sugar cane/alcohol producing plantation on which the owners attempt to transpose the subjugation of the Highland regions but are faced with a partly successful revolt by Indian and mestizo workers led by a white Ecuadorean socialist who in the aftermath leaves to fight in the Spanish Civil War. Finally, the last volume Sal, 1963 (Salt), deals with the now aging survivors of the previous two volumes, their children, and the new figures in the changing practices of oppression and resistance in Ecuador during the post W.W.II period.

These novels suggest that even a tradition-bound society such as Ecuador has witnessed an undercurrent of struggle and resistance to the forces which continue to rule that society throughout its current history.

Peru

Although there had been many Indian revolts against Spanish colonial domination during the three hundred years of their rule, these had normally been local. Part of the reason for this was the success of the Spanish system of reducciones, a system whereby scattered Indian communities were drawn together and encouraged in localist responses to others. Also involved was the fact that many of the original Incan overlords were incorporated into the new system as landlords who within a few generations became culturally Spanish. (Although sometimes retaining claims to their Incan heritage.) The one major native revolt of the late colonial period (1780-1781) was that led by Jose Gabriel Condorcanqui, a landlord with Incan ancestry who styled himself Tupac Aymaru 11, alluding to the original Tupac Aymaru who had been the last leader of a resistant Incan enclave some two hundred years
earlier. Tupac Aymaru II's rising constituted a major native revolt throughout the central Andes, which besieged the city of Cuzco and killed whites throughout the region but was ultimately defeated. Condorcanqui was finally betrayed by one of his trusted compatriots, tortured and put to death along with most of his family. Indian resistance retreated into local skirmishes for the following hundred and fifty years.

Peru was one of those regions where the church had been most successful in installing and operating a system of *reducciones*. (concentrated Indian settlements) These were established throughout the sixteenth century and lasted relatively unchanged until the late nineteenth century. A significant number of former Incan nobles were also incorporated into Peruvian society as large landholders. None of them followed Tupac Aymaru II into revolt.

Indians were recruited to serve in both the Spanish and Republican forces during the wars of independence, although they don't seem to have benefited from whichever side won 'National liberation' (for those who owned the country) came into effect during the 1820s. Large tracts of previously Indian-owned lands fell into the hands of Peruvian entrepreneurs following the mid-19th century and onward. This process witnessed land seizures by expanding *haciendados* despite innumerable attempts by Indian communities to resist them.

An account of such a struggle during the present day is Pablo Neira (Hugo Neyra) *Tierra y Muerte en Cuzco*, 1963 (Land and Death in Cuzco) It deals with a Peruvian Indian community engaged in gradually retaking hacienda lands in the Cuzco region during the early 1960s, and touches on the 40 year history of such struggles. The Quechua Indian village which Neyra deals with was still largely self-sufficient, although it owed labor rents to the neighboring hacienda, which owned much of the land which the villagers used. This land was used for planting potatoes and other crops but especially for pasturing the Indian sheep. The hacienda's claim to such land was under contention, as was land claimed by anyone not a member of that Quechua village. The conflict ranged from tactics such as the Indians stealing and butchering hacienda sheep, to moving boundary stones to refusal to pay rent or do labor service to the hacienda. This conflict escalated occasionally into pitched battles with the police, who in the past had been sent in to evict villagers. Indian villagers at times had been killed in such set-tos. All of this goes back to the mid 1920s.

Such events were not atypical of highland Indian villagers, who still had little contact with the wider world. Yet they had, already by the 1940s, made contact with left-wing and labour groups in Cuzco who, when they could, supported the demands of the Indian villagers. At least on one
occasion they had halted police action by declaring a general strike. In the end, the hacienda owners were so discouraged by the never ending struggle that they pulled out and sold their lands to a distant entrepreneur, which is where the situation stood at the time of Neyra's writing.

In Peru the line between the highlands and the coastal regions is fairly clearly drawn, with the highlands populated largely by 'Indians' and the coastal lowlands by Mestizos and Whites. However there was a continual influx into the lowlands by highland Indians and the distinction between the two regions began to change during the second half of the 20th century, with massive movements of people from the highlands looking for work along the coast.

One thing which had characterized Indian struggles in Peru was the isolation of the combatants from each other. This had begun to change by the late 1950s, especially among those former highland Indians who had moved to the coast to take up jobs as plantation workers. On the Peruvian sugar plantations, increasingly mechanized and fairly important in the national economy, Indian workers changed their outlook diametrically and became a leading force in the strikes and organizational battles among the workers on such plantations. Solomon Miller's 1964 Ph.D. dissertation *The Hacienda and the Plantation in Northern Peru* discusses such factors as improved road transport in the Andes, the overthrow of the dictator Odria, the legalization and organization of labour unions nationally and on sugar plantations. These and other macroscopic factors are involved in explaining why Indian plantation workers were becoming resident on the coast and rapidly becoming nationally Peruvian.

Members of this class strata, to one degree of another, become aware of their common position and condition. Plantations, especially when a number are concentrated in a region, are frequently accompanied by the first and often the only union organization in the agricultural sector of the particular country. (Knight, R. 1972 :163)

On the Peruvian plantation studied by Miller, a high degree of unity existed among Indian field workers. In 1959 they constituted the bulk of the employees on all plantations and the majority of the sugarworkers' union membership. Far from being prone to paternalistic arrangements, they tended to press the union leadership for greater militancy. Solidarity with plantation workers in other areas also was manifest. Miller observed an unorganized but massive slowdown and sympathy strike among workers on one plantation in support of non-unionized workers whom they did not know personally, on a distant plantation which most had never
Miller holds that these 'Indian' plantation workers constituted the core of union militancy during the time of his study.

Jose Carlos Mariatequi was one of the first educated Peruvians to promulgate *indigenismo* in Peru and to hold that the basis for a transformation of Peruvian society had to flow from an appreciation of Indian cultures. This view was generally rejected by the emerging left in Peru as a dead-end, although they all envisioned a revolutionary transformation of Indians' lives with a fundamental change of Peruvian society. That is the view which has come to prevail among those Peruvians actually involved in struggle, as opposed to intellectual enthusiasts of Indian culture.

As for accounts in literary form one should mention Ernesto Reyna's *El Amauta Atusparia*, 1930, a novela serialized in Jose Carlos Mariatequi’s journal *Amauta*. It deals with an Indian peasant uprising in Huaraz in 1925 with flashbacks to an earlier rising there in 1885. Told as a series of reminiscences, it underscores the continuing exploitation and resistance of the Indian peasantry and the repression of those who attempted to support them.

Cesar Vallejo's *El Tungsteno*, 1931 (Tungsten), is one of the great socialist novels of Latin America written by Peru’s leading poet of the time. It is an account of the entry and expansion of a large US mining corporation in the Huanuco region of Peru shortly after W.W.I and its rapid destruction of traditional society there, both for good and for bad. There is little of the usual nostalgia about traditional Indian peasant communities here.

With the transformation of Indian peasants into miners their outlook and their dialogue becomes increasingly more proletarian. The novel then shifts to an Indian miner and labour organizer with a generation of working class experience, detailing his distrust of traditional church and state 'mediators' and also of the middle class *indigenista* intellectuals hovering around the scene to 'protect' the Indians. The story culminates in a strike which is bloodily suppressed by the National Police, who are more or less at the beck and call of the US mining corporation. But the forces in contention are more complex than in most comparable strike novels.

Ciro Alegria's *El Mundo es Ancho y Ajena*, 1941 (*Broad and Alien Is the World*, 1951, is one of the best known *indigenista* novels from Peru, dealing with a traditional highland Indian village in the mid 1930s whose lands are seized by a neighbouring hacienda. It revolves around their initial disbelief and then the growing resistance of Indian villagers to the *hacendado* and his allies. It ends in an army attack which destroys the village and scatters the survivors to prison or dispersed as migrant workers throughout the region. A
minor but powerful comment on the lack of solidarity among the Indian population of the region is a scene in which the members of a neighbouring village watch the army assault on the resisting village without any attempt to aid them. Alegria's *Los Perros Hambrientos*, 1938 (The Hungry Dogs) is a thematic sequel to *Broad and Alien*, portraying the lives of the dispossessed Indian migrant workers on the coastal plantations and cities during the 1930s.

Manuel Scorza's *Redoble Por Rancas*, 1970 (*Drumbeats for Rancas*, 1977) is a novel about the web of local, national and international forces arrayed in the exploitation of Indian peasants and miners in the Cerro de Pasco region of highland Peru in the late 1960s, with considerable attention to the daily lives of Indian peasants/workers on the local level. In *El Jinete Insomne*, 1977 (*The Sleepless Horseman*) and *Cantar de Agapito Robles*, 1977 (*To Sing of Agapito Robles*), Scorza continues the story begun in *Drumbeats for Rancas*. The focus shifts from the world of Indian villages to the region as a whole during the waves of land seizures, strikes and insurgency during the 1960s with the accounts taking on a ballad-like quality. In *La Tumba de Relampago*, 1978 (*The Tomb of Lightening*), the final volume of the tetralogy, he deals with the Indian peasant struggles which verge on becoming revolutionary but are finally crushed with military might; it returns to a more realistic style.

Jose Maria Arguedas' *Yawar Fiesta*, 1948 may serve as a warning about certain kinds of indigenista writing. It is a collection of stories about Peruvian highland Indians and their culture as evidenced in an annual fiesta during the 1930s. Arguedas alludes to the conjunction of church and state and to the alleged role of all non-Indians in exploiting the Indians but also of the Indian's undiluted retention of their own unique 'cultural values' from time immemorial. The novel embodies many of the themes recurrent in indigenista writing ever since. Suffused with a racial mysticism, it is the antithesis of any class outlook and without the slightest consideration of comparable non-Indian working class and peasant experiences. *Todas Las Sangres*, 1964 (*All Bloods*) is yet another indigenista novel set in the late 1940s and 1950s dealing with the incursion of foreign capital and the 'rationalization' of highland haciendas by technocrats, who set about displacing traditional hacendados through mortgages and Indian peasants and labourers by machinery.

Hugo Neira Samanez's (ed.)*Huillca: Habla Un Campesino Peruano*, 1974 (*Huillca: A Peruvian Peasant Speaks*) is a life history of a Peruvian Indian peasant leader, interviewed in and translated from Quechua. It documents not only this man's own life but also details fifty years of struggle
by the Quechua peasantry, independently and in alliance with non-Indians, against a variety of forces. All this is interwoven with accounts of everyday life. It is the sort of moving account which the Casa de las Americas publishing house has issued for forty years.

**Bolivia**

Following the wars of national independence, the final battles of which were fought in Bolivia and in which Indian recruits fought on both sides, the region separated from Peru and began its long trajectory of regimes which were changed every few years by military coups. Bolivia lost its coastal territories in the Atacama desert in a war with Chile during 1879-1883 and proceeded down its road of national irrelevance until the discovery of rich tin deposits at the turn of the twentieth century. The Patino family became the owners of a good deal of the tin then mined on earth. The gold mines of the region were rapidly outmatched by tin mining and a huge mining complex developed around Siglo Viente mine at Catavi. Many, ultimately the great majority, of those who laboured under and above ground at the Catavi mine complex were Bolivian Indians who over the course of two generations became miners first and members of native communities only second. It was a remarkable transformation.

The eye-opening event in the lives of many Indians in Bolivia was the Chaco war of 1932-1935, in which the two most impoverished nations in Latin America fought over the boundaries of a waterless scrub land, utilizing Indian and Mestizo conscripts until both sides were exhausted. In Bolivia this set some Indians to rethinking their condition and by the early 1940s a peasant movement of broader than local scope was taking shape in the Quechua-speaking area. During the previous one hundred and twenty years a changing assortment of large landowners and military leaders had ruled Bolivia and had chained Indians in the serf-like oppression which characterized that society into the 1940s.

In 1952 all this seemingly came to an end in a revolutionary civil war which pitted an Indian miner's militia against an anachronistic army. Many of those who owned everything fled the country, others stayed and some were killed; the destruction of the traditional ruling class seemed to be taking place. The spokesman for national liberation, Victor Paz Estenssoro, nationalized the tin mines and made a start on bringing Bolivia into the twentieth century. Amazingly, the Bolivian army was completely disbanded and the miners militia took over La Paz and other towns. Life magazine photographs of the time show them marching down the streets of La Paz, disciplined and battle hardened, packing their battered Mausers and home.
made grenades, flying the flag of the miners union. *They actually did it*, they carried through an armed revolution in which the bases of the former state were seemingly destroyed.

In America, then still engaged in the Korean war, events in Bolivia seemed rather remote and the U.S rulers determine to wait out events there, applying economic pressure where necessary. The price of tin on the world market dropped to a third of what it had been. Within a few years the miners militia was replaced and the beginnings of a new army reestablished. Land reform in the countryside and social programs everywhere slowed to a snails' pace because of financial difficulties and because of the temporizing of the Bolivian legislature, which drifted increasingly out of the control of those who had made the revolution. The Bolivian revolution wound down into administrative stasis until, in 1964, after a long period of retreat, a new army coup placed the generals in power again. A series of military moves against the Indian miners crushed the main basis of resistance. There began more than thirty years of military rule under neo-fascist bosses, a feature generously overlooked by their American supporters until the Bolivian rulers became too deeply involved in the international drug trade.

A few of the novels and personal testimonies of the Bolivian struggles are Jesus Lara's *Repete* 1937 (Repeat), an anti-militarist novel dealing with the Chaco war of 1932-35 told partly by a journalist and partly through the diary of a dead Quechua conscript. It reviles the official patriotism, the pointless deaths and suffering which epitomize the corrupt nature of Bolivian society. *Surumi* 1943 is another novel by Lara, a widely translated Quechua socialist writer. Set in Cochabamba province, it deals with the oppression and resistance of Quechua peasants to the 'semi-feudal' conditions of the *regime ancien* during the later 1930s. (This and the following titles in Quechua are works whose texts are actually in Spanish)

*Yanakuna* 1952, is a novel dealing with the anger and revolt simmering just under the surface of the seemingly unchanging Indian-landlord relations on the eve of the successful revolution. It deals with land seizures, strikes, and the driving out of comprador Indian caciques. *Yawarnichij* 1959 (Our Blood) is possibly Lara’s best known novel; it describes Quechua peasant communities and haciendas in the highlands after the 1952 revolution. It touches on the slow and limited changes which filter into the countryside despite massive support for land reform. It also deals with the work of teachers, communists and Quechua miners in helping forge a militant peasant movement and ends with the organization of underground cells to continue the struggle when the social revolution is derailed by the re-
emergent middle class. All this is interwoven with accounts of the centuries-long struggle of the Quechua peasantry against their exploiters.

Sinchikay 1962 is a novel of the attempts by Quechua peasants to establish collective farm communities in the face of a 'land reform' which is geared to advance commercial capitalist farming. Finally Llalliy Pacha/Tiempo de Vencer, 1965 (Time to Win) and Nancahuazu/ Suenos, 1969 (Dreams), are two novels dealing with the attempts by Quechua peasants, miners and workers, to continue the 1952 revolution through their own organizations during an era of deepening reaction and repression. Sujnapura 1971 is a two volume historical novel comprised of El Solar y la Gelba and La Derrama .1972 (The Assessment), which returns to the effects of the Chaco war on the mainly Indian peasant conscripts, the broader worlds and new ideas they encounter and their initial appreciation of their own potential power.

For a more recent account in English one may note Domitila Barrios de Chungara's Let Me Speak. Testimony of Domitila, a woman of the Bolivian mines 1978. It is a personal testimony of the wife of an Indian miner in Siglo Viente under the series of increasingly fascist military regimes which controlled Bolivia after 1964. There is also Guillermo Lora's A History of the Bolivian Labour Movement, 1977, a social and political history of a once remarkably militant force in such an underdeveloped country. The account is built around extensive personal biographies of its leaders, rank and file activists and members over the previous fifty years.

Renato Prada Oropeza's Los Fundadores de Alba, 1969, (The Founders of Dawn) is a novel about the life and death of a young seminarian who is appalled by the misery and hypocrisy he finds in his country and who joins with a Guevara-like guerrilla movement. It is told through the reminiscences of an Indian peasant who met the seminarian during various stages of his life. Oscar Justiniano Barbery's Zapata, 1963, and El Hombre Que Sonaba,1964 (The Man that Dreamed), and El Roto, 1967 (The Broken), are three novels dealing with the dissipation and betrayal of the opportunities proffered by the 1952 Bolivian revolution. They deal with the dissention, lack of action and opportunism of national leaders and the following series of retreats. They portray reaction triumphant during the later 1960s but also the continuing dreams and struggles for social justice among the oppressed - Indians, miners and workers.

In Overview

These fragmentary accounts of Indian workers in Andean America are intended as comparisons to developments in Mexico during the twentieth
century. They suggest both the emergence of an 'Indian' members of the working class in a number of countries and the involvement of that sector in the broader class struggles of their respective countries. Left undiscussed here is the 'Americanization' of much of the middle and ruling classes in those nations and the retreats which popular forces have all too often been forced to accept. It now may not be unusual to witness a 'rebirth of Indian identity' in many of the nations mentioned, often supported by off-shore intellectuals. This can simply be a way of further dividing the oppressed in those countries.

It may be worthwhile to repeat that in many of these Latin American nations the ranks of the army and of the police are filled with Indian conscripts and volunteers. They are often the everyday face of repression. There is nothing liberating about having Indian policemen and members of the army supporting oppressive regimes. It is a sad fact that such forces are often drawn from the same source as the opponents of the prevailing regimes. It is a fact which North Americans usually neither know nor much care about.

In any case, the realities of Latin America are far removed from those existing the North America. Nowhere in North America, other than in the northern territories of Canada, do Indian people now make up a significant proportion of the labour force or the population as a whole. Nowhere in North America do Indians comprise any portion of 'the left', if indeed such a force still exists. Native North Americans seem to have accepted the role assigned to them by their ethnic bourgeoisie - making perpetual demands on the state for their special rights. Given their small numbers within the overall population such a strategy may make sense, however opposed it may be to the legitimate demands of others. In this, the position taken by native peoples in North America seems to differ from that taken by many native Indians in Meso and Andean America in the recent past. It may be a considerable time before native North Americans recognize that native bosses can be as rapacious as non-native ones and that the majority of their people are not going to advance through the policies of ethnic nationalism.

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